U.S. - Africa Relations

Anglophone West Africa Position Paper

Final Report

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

THE AFRICAN CAPACITY BUILDING FOUNDATION | FONDATION POUR LE RENFORCEMENT DES CAPACITIES EN AFRIQUE

Securing Africa's future through capacity development

July 2014

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The United States (US) and Africa's relations date back to the founding days of the former but US policy towards Africa has basically been an afterthought. From the periods of colonialism, the slave trade, the Cold War and now, US dealings with Africa has been, as any other nation will do, steered by its national and strategic interest. Until 1958, African affairs were given little prominence. However, under President Eisenhower who authorized the creation of a Bureau of African Affairs in the Department of State; successive US administrations have often blamed each other for paying too little attention to the needs of the African continent. This attitude of the US has been exacerbated by the lack of a coherent policy by African states towards the US. African countries deal with the US individually and negotiate in an unequal terms when their national interest is at stake, creating the opportunity for a continuous unbalanced relationship. Even as the US started to engage Africa constructively, the relationship was not perceived on a reciprocal terms at the first instance. In the words of Phillip Carter, then Acting Assistant Secretary to the Bureau of African Affairs, US engagement with Africa was "too often [seen] with the idea of trying to do good *for* Africa, rather than to do good *with* Africa."

This type of relationship, real or perceived, has created a lot of challenges, suspicion and mistrust but in spite of these challenges, US-Africa relations have a promising future. This paper asserts that in order to prosper economically, African countries will have to cut their own external and internal trade barriers and undertake wide-ranging economic reforms that will enable Africa's private sector to grow. There is also an urgent need to open up Western markets for African exports. Whilst opening US markets to African goods can help Africa, such a move is not sufficient to bring Africa out of poverty.

The paper outlines several opportunities for a mutually beneficial US – Africa relationship, amongst which are a technological surge that create an innovative and expansive market capable of fuelling economic growth, the youth bulge, the influence of West African diaspora*,* and the rise of Citizen Movements that can be harnessed to become a catalyst for change.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Three: The State of Current US Relations with Anglophone West African Countries

Chapter Four: Conclusion and Recommendations

List of Figures

List of Tables

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACBF	African Capacity Building Foundation
ACOTA	African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance
ACSA	Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement
ADAPT	Africa Deployment Assistance Partnership Team
ADF	African Development Foundation
AFD	French Development Agency
AFRICOM	United States African Command
AGOA	Africa Growth and Opportunity Act
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AQIM	Al-qaida in the Islamic Maghreb
AU	African Union
AWEP	Women Entrepreneurship Program
CCP	Committee on Colonial Policy
DEA	United States Drugs Enforcement Agency
DFA	Fund for Africa
DOMA	Defence of Marriage Act
EARSI	East Africa Regional Security Initiative
ECOWAS	Economic Community for West African States
EU	European Union
FTO	Foreign Terrorists Organization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHAI	Greater Horn of Africa Initiative
IASA	International Assistance Security Act
ICBM	Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IMET	International Military Education and Training
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa

SSR	Security Sector Reform
TSCTP	The Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Partnership
UN	United Nations
UNODC	United Nations Organization on Drugs and Crime
US	United States of America
USAID	United States International Development
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
YALI	Young African Leaders Initiative

CHAPTER ONE
STUDY BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Globalisation and the closer interconnectedness among countries and interests has led to growing consensus that peace and security, economic, governance and socio-cultural issues which affect the interest of many countries and regions should be addressed from a continental and collaborative perspective. The interconnectedness has also exposed the challenges and the strengths of regions for collaborative efforts. Over the years the United States (US) and Africa have developed relationships to their mutual benefit. While America has interest in the energy, markets and strategic security alliance with the region, West Africa needs the security and intelligence support, investments and development assistance of the US.

During the Cold War, Africa was tied to its former colonial rulers like the United Kingdom and France, and subordinating US interest to the interest of the former. On the other hand, "US policy makers have tended to ignore the African continent until some politico-military crises grabs their attention."[1] Consequently the US did not pursue definite African policies. US- Africa relations began to change after the Cold War, when it became clear that African issues were of strategic concern to the US and vice versa. Some scholars have argued that it was not until the 1998 attacks on the US' embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the US that the US considered Africa an important partner in promoting its national and international interest in peace and security.[2] Most of the terrorist groups that threaten the peace and security of the US are increasingly growing in Africa, using the continent to plan their attacks. Among the growing number of Africa based terrorist groups that pose security threat to the US are, al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Ansar Dine, and the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (all in northern Mali), al-Shabaab in Somalia, Boko Haram in Nigeria, and Ansar al-Sharia's in Libya. There is the fear that Africa, and West Africa in particular, is fast becoming the centre for the recruitment and organization of extremist groups pose a serious threat to US national security and strategic interest in the region. US' peace and security partnership with Africa would therefore help flush-out these terrorist groups and reduce any threat that they may pose to American citizens and assets both in the US and in Africa.

Furthermore, Africa's economic development is of immense interest to the US. Consequently, the growing global interest in Africa's trade and economic potentials has become a strong motivation for the US to expand and establish its economic interests on the continent. Africa is a large market for US exports, and given that export is very important for the growth of the US economy, there is need to increase its exports to African countries.[i] Hence the US interest in supporting and protecting the African market against all manner of threats.

The US depends on trade with the rest of the world for its own economic growth and the well-being of its citizens. Consequently, it is interested in the expansion of world trade and in enhancing the global economy's potential for significant and substantial new trade and investment opportunities at high rates of return. This underpins the US's aggressive engagement with the African continent. It explains the fact that the US has substantial aid programmes and projects in the areas of good governance, democracy, education health, water and sanitation, poverty reduction, agriculture. As at 2011, US aid to Africa was $6.9billion[3]. Any form of conflict or political instability could lead to loss of such investments and a fatal disruption of such assistance to many African countries.

The military presence of the US in Africa gives confidence and support to US investments and strategic interests and to Africa's own security, peace and stability. This accounts for the establishment of the US African Command (AFRICOM) in 2007, and restructured into a stand-alone command in 2008. The command is responsible for "all US Department of Defence operations, exercises, and security cooperation on the African continent, its island nations and surrounding waters."[ii] In other words, the peace and security of Africa is connected to the strategic interest and security of the US. It is at this intersection – mutual security that US-Africa relations meet.

---

[i] Many US businesses earn more than half of their revenues from exports, creating millions of jobs for US citizens.

[ii] Africa Command. "The command's operations, exercises, and security cooperation programs support U.S. Government foreign policy and do so primarily through military-to-military activities and assistance programs. Our core mission of assisting African states and regional organizations to strengthen their defense capabilities better enables Africans to address their security threats and reduces threats to US interests. We concentrate our efforts on contributing to the development of capable and professional militaries that respect human rights, adhere to the rule of law, and more effectively contribute to stability in Africa. US AFRICOM most effectively advances US national security interests through focused, sustained engagement with partners in support of our shared security objectives."

1.2 Objectives of the study

The overall objective of this paper is to examine US-Africa relations from a sub-regional perspective, focusing on only Anglophone West Africa. Specifically, the paper will review what has worked, what has not worked, and the way forward; and propose how Africa can benefit from its relations with the US. To achieve these objectives, the following questions were posed: what is the nature of US relations with Anglophone West Africa countries? What has worked? What has not worked? What should African countries seek in this partnership with the US, and how can Africa achieve this?

1.3 Methodology

The research design is purely qualitative, using the case study method. Anglophone countries - Nigeria, Ghana, and Liberia were selected for this study. Nigeria was selected because it is one of the largest recipients of US aid in Africa and also one of the US' largest trade partners. Ghana is the region's most stable democracy and of immense interest to the US, prompting frequent visits from US presidents. Liberia has umbilical ties with the US. In these countries, four thematic issues were selected for analysis. These are peace and security; economic issues with focus on trade, investment, aid, agriculture, and infrastructure; Socio-cultural issues focused on health care and education. Finally, governance issues focused on democracy and leadership. Data was collected through extensive review of available literature - books, journal articles, and online sources, including those of US embassies and the US State Department. Key informant interviews were conducted with relevant officials from US Embassy in Accra, Ghana's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Universities and leading Think Tanks in Ghana.

1.4 Structure of the paper

The paper is divided into four chapters. Chapter One provides the background to this study. Chapter Two examines the historical evolution of US-Africa relations, looking at the administration of various Presidents and teasing-out strategic policy relations with Africa. Focusing specifically on Anglophone West Africa, the chapter analyzes the gradual shift of US interest in Africa and the opportunities that come with this change. The chapter also appraises the existing and potential threats vis-a-vis this new relationship. It concludes by providing a conceptual framework to explain US-Africa relations. Chapter three presents a

thematic analysis of US-Anglophone West Africa relations. The analysis in this chapter centres on three Anglophone countries; Nigeria, Ghana, and Liberia. Chapter four provides a summary of the issues discussed; it arrives at a conclusion and provides recommendations in the form of policy directions and capacity development imperatives.

CHAPTER TWO
EVOLUTION OF US-AFRICA RELATIONS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter takes a look at how the US policy towards Africa has evolved under various American Presidents, from its inception under President Eisenhower to President Barack Obama, over the last half century. The chapter also provides a summary of the main features of US policy with particular reference to Anglophone West Africa: Nigeria, Ghana, and Liberia. Despite challenges that marred Nigeria-US relationship in 2010, their bilateral relations continued to improve, and cooperation on many important foreign policy goals, such as economic cooperation and regional peacekeeping has been enhanced.

There are about forty million (30 million) African-Americans in the United States. Out of this number, one in ten, proudly traces his/her heritage to Africa, meaning a large population of Americans have blood ties with the African continent. Yet, Africa has not received much attention from the policy agenda of US governments. According to Schraeder (1994)[4] there are three factors that explain the low level of attention Africa has received from the US, particularly in the Cold War period.

(i)   American Presidents are forced by necessity to select those countries, geographical regions, and functional issues which would receive priority attention by their administrations.

(ii)   There is an assumption of European responsibility for Africa due to African's enduring relations with its former colonial rulers of Europe.

(iii)   East-West political factors have historically influenced presidential attention to African issues. According to this school of thought, US policymakers tended to view Africa from an East-West perspective at the time when the Soviet Union and communism were the central focus of US strategic thinking, particularly from 1947 when George F. Kennan formulated the doctrine of containment[5]. There was therefore, "selective engagement" with Africa.

Although relations between the US and Africa greatly improved in both quantity and quality during the post-World War II period, US Presidents from Harry S. Truman to George Bush have traditionally paid the least attention to Africa, relative to other regions of the world. This

trend continued under the Clinton administration because the administration down-played the importance of foreign policy and instead focused on US domestic economic concerns.

2.2 First Formal Engagement with Africa

The first engagement of the US administration with Africa was in 1957 during the twenty-day tour of the African continent by Vice President Nixon. The tour provided the opportunity for assessing the basis for future engagement with Africa in the light of the growing divisions between East and West during the Cold War. African countries were emerging from colonial rule. On his return home, he recommended to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the need for the creation of a separate Africa Bureau within the State Department which was necessary in the face of the growing concerns within the US government about the potential vulnerability of Africa to the spread of communism. The concern with the communist threat in Africa intensified under the Kennedy administration. However, this attention only resulted in monitoring activities rather than the offer of any material or military assistance.

The visit by the great civil rights leader, Martin Luther King in 1957 to represent the US as Ghana celebrated its independence was a further indication of the growing recognition that America needed Ghana and Africa as a partner in the fight for a better future and to deepen the meaning of democracy in America and Africa.

2.3 Overview of US Africa Relations

President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953 -1961)
Sub-Saharan Africa gained its own identity and prominence in the US foreign policy agenda when in 1958 President Eisenhower, on the advice of his Vice President, authorized the creation of a Bureau of African Affairs in the Department of State. Over the years, US' Africa policy has often been controversial, with debate typically focusing on whether a particular Administration has done enough on an issue, such as apartheid in South Africa, African development, or the Soviet/Cuban role. Indeed, the Congo crisis of 1960 presented the Eisenhower Administration with its first African crisis. Concerned that the Soviet Union would exploit the Congo crisis to its advantage, the Administration supported the deployment of a U.N. peacekeeping force, which the Soviets initially agreed to, but backtracked.

President John F. Kennedy (1961-1963)

On October 14, 1960, at 2 a.m., Senator John F. Kennedy addressed a crowd of 10,000 cheering students at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor during a presidential campaign speech. Kennedy asked, "How many of you, who are going to be doctors, are willing to spend your days in Ghana? … and willing to work in the Foreign Service and spend your lives traveling around the world?"[6] The aftermath of this speech was a petition signed by 1,000 students who were willing to serve their country abroad. The Peace Corps came out of this initiative. The first Peace Corps was inaugurated on August 28, 1961 at the White House when President Kennedy gave the international volunteers a personal farewell before their departure to Africa.[7] Congress approved the Peace Corps as a permanent federal agency within the State Department, and Kennedy signed the legislation on September 22, 1961. In the same year, the first batch of US Peace Corps arrived in Ghana which had attained independence from Great Britain in 1957. In 1981, the Peace Corps was made an independent agency. Through the Peace Corps, President John F. Kennedy sought to encourage mutual understanding between Americans and people of other nations and cultures.

Though it was more favourably disposed toward African nationalists than the Eisenhower Administration Cold War pressures limited the Kennedy's Administration (1961-1963) policy options. This favourable disposition found expression in President Kennedy's approval of funds for the Akosombo Dam Nkrumah had planned for Ghana. And "toward the end of his administration, Kennedy began to press the white minority regimes of southern Africa for reforms"[8]. Then in 1963, the US supported a UN-sponsored voluntary arms embargo against South Africa, notwithstanding objections from Britain and France.

Presidents Johnson (1963-1969), Nixon (1969-1974), and Ford (1974-1977)

Schraeder (1994) further notes that "Africa policy during the Johnson Administration (1963-1969) focused on Congo (Zaire), where the United States gave extensive covert aid to suppress rebellions thought to be communist-inspired or of potential benefit to the Soviet Union"[9]. This period saw Mobutu Sese-Seko, with US backing, consolidating his position as Zaire's president.

In the ensuing Nixon and Ford Administrations (1969-1977), the focus of US. Africa policy shifted to southern Africa and the violent conflicts in Angola, Mozambique, and Rhodesia. This was accompanied by considerable controversy as critics accused US Africa policy of

being too sympathetic to the white minority regimes. Henry Kissinger, the most influential policymaker of the period, would counter that the Soviet Union was following a policy of "ruthless opportunism" and "adventurism" in Africa and elsewhere.

Presidents Jimmy Carter (1977-1981)

Under his administration, President Jimmy Carter (1977-1981) introduced *human rights* as a new dimension to US foreign policy, leading to a strong push for majority rule in Zimbabwe, advocacy for Namibia's independence, and heavy criticism of apartheid in South Africa. In keeping with this human rights agenda, Zaire's Mobutu was also pressed for economic and political reforms, but US Africa policy generally, continued to be constrained by Cold War considerations.

President Bill Clinton (1993-2001)

The Clinton Administration continued with the focus on democracy but with what Copson (1998) calls "a decidedly Afro-optimist tone"[10]. President Clinton made an extensive trip to Africa in March-April 1998, visiting six countries in eleven days. He told the South African parliament that he was seeing "what Deputy President Mbeki has called an African Renaissance."[11] In a speech in Ghana, President Clinton had said that "democracy and peace and prosperity are not slogans, but the essence of a new Africa."[12] The President acknowledged during his visit that Africa faced continuing economic problems and disruptive conflicts in a number of countries, but insisted that "from Ghana to Mozambique, from Cote d'Ivoire to Uganda, growing economies are fueling a transformation in Africa."[13]

It is important to note, however, that the Clinton Administration abandoned the Cold war assumptions, particularly with the outbreak of the Rwandan genocide in April 1994. This event highlighted the need for proactive policies and responses by the US, the world super power to deal with crises in Africa. This recognition led to the creation of three new institutions in the Clinton government: the Office of the Ambassador at Large for War Crime Issues; the Atrocities Prevention Interagency Working Group; and the African Crisis Response Initiative, which was designed to build African capacity for peacekeeping with US assistance[14]

The commitment of the Clinton administration for partnership with Africa became evident in June 1994 with the organization of the first White House Conference on Africa[15]. This was followed by presidential visits to Ghana, Uganda, Rwanda, South Africa, Botswana and Senegal at the beginning of the democratization process when many of the authoritarian regimes crumbling and were being replaced by democratically elected leaders in sub-Saharan Africa. The democratization process presented a new hope for peace and prosperity and the needed transformation in Africa. The Clinton visit was "to introduce the people of America to the new face of Africa". The visit was an indication that, first, America was prepared to assist Africa to nurture its fledgling democracy. Second, because democracy must be matched with prosperity, America wanted to increase trade and investment in Africa which is important for the eradication of conflict and poverty on the continent.

President George Walker Bush (2001-2009)

President Bush initiated the Millennium Challenge Corporation. In 2002, he called for a new compact for development with accountability for both rich and poor countries. He pledged to increase development assistance by 50% by fiscal year 2006 (which, by the end of 2004, had doubled and was to double again by 2010).

Further, the Bush Administration 2001, launched the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) which is described as "the largest commitment by any nation to combat a single disease in human history."[16] Twelve of the fifteen PEPFAR countries are in Africa, namely, Ivory Coast, Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda. The focus on Africa was a strong indication of the Bush Administration and in promoting the health and prosperity of Africans.

President Barack Obama (Since 2009)

The focus of the Obama Administration has been on building viable democracies across the world. Outlining his policy objectives to Africa on his visit to Ghana, he indicated that "Africa doesn't need strong men, it needs strong institutions". The commitment to these policy goals affirms the fact that Obama sees Africa in a partnership with America that must be grounded in mutual responsibility and respect[17]

President Obama has demonstrated enough commitment to building strong democratic institutions in Africa by launching the Open Government Partnership (OGP) in 2011, with strong participation from African governments and civil society organizations. South Africa

is a founding member, with Ghana, Liberia, Tanzania, and Kenya as other members. This is critical in his drive to advance government transparency and accountability worldwide.

For instance, at the onset of the crisis in Cote D'Ivoire, President Obama personally communicated to former Ivoirian leader, Laurent Gbagbo, the imperative to choose between stepping down in support or democracy, and hanging onto power and facing greater isolation. In Kenya, the United States helped lead an international effort to support Kenya's ambitious reform agenda developed in the wake of the 2007-8 post-election violence. The President's outreach to the Kenyan government and the Kenyan people, as well as the Vice President's 2010 trip to Kenya, contributed to a credible national referendum in August 2010 and the historic adoption of a new constitution. The US continues to support efforts to deepen reform and to promote justice and reconciliation.

2.4 The New Africa Foreign Policy Focus of US

The end of the Cold War presented the US Congress with the opportunity to re-focus African foreign policy on development issues, especially from the 1990s. Since then bills, resolutions, and hearings in Congress have dealt with a variety of issues such as famine and economic development, as well as democracy and human rights issues. In furtherance of this new objective, Congress has passed the Africa Seeds of Hope Act in 1998, aimed at promoting African food production, African Growth and Opportunity Act in 2000, intended to promote African development through increased trade and investment, and the Global AIDS and Tuberculosis Relief Act of 2000, authorizing new funding to combat the global HIV/AIDS epidemic. Most recently in 2014, the House of Representatives passed the Electrify Africa Act of 2014 under President Obama's Power Africa Energy Initiative. This law aims to double access to electricity in Sub-Saharan Africa, thereby spreading energy access throughout the continent and increasing Africa's ability to attract private investment. The Electrify Africa Act is in keeping with USAID's new development model of a results-based method of partnership and innovation that will end extreme poverty.

All this mean that United States interest in Africa has continued, not only because the region is affected by a number of serious problems, some of which could have grave security and humanitarian consequences globally, but also "because of the potential Africa offers for US

trade and investment should these problems ease"[18]. In the initial stages of the United States constructive engagement with Africa, the relationship was not seen on reciprocal terms. In the words of Phillip Carter, then Acting Assistant Secretary to the Bureau of African Affairs, United States engagement with Africa was "too often [seen] with the idea of trying to do good *for* Africa, rather than to do good *with* Africa." The strategic importance of Africa in United States foreign policy priorities was revealed by US President Barack Obama when he noted in a foreword to the unveiling of the new US policy priorities in respect of Africa that "it is clear that Africa is more important than ever to the security and prosperity of the international community, and to the United States in particular"[19].This was reinforced by the United States' National Security Strategy, released in May 2010, which called for partnership with African nations as they grow their economies and strengthen their democratic institutions and governance. This new thrust in US-Africa relations was outlined in a Presidential Policy Directive issued in June 2012. In that document the US President outlined his vision with respect to US policy toward sub-Saharan Africa.

Meanwhile, the US Administration emphasized Africa's importance as a US trading partner, underpinned by increased trade and investment opportunities and growing oil imports. US officials repeatedly argued that Africa was already supplying 16% of US oil imports, and that Africa would overtake the Persian Gulf as a leading supplier of oil to the US within decade[20]. To further its objectives in Africa, the Administration gave strong endorsement to congressional trade and investment initiatives, and launched several Africa assistance programmes, such as the Leland Initiative, aimed at enhancing Africa's access to the Internet, and the Greater Horn of Africa Initiative (GHAI) intended to reduce perennial food insecurity over much of eastern Africa. As a result of such initiatives many agencies and departments of US government boosted their Africa-related capabilities.

2.5 Africa Union - US Relations

The US and the African Union (AU) enjoy a strong partnership that continues to develop, spanning a variety of sectors. According to the US mission to the African Union, "the United States and the AU formalized this partnership in August 2010 by signing a $5.8 million assistance agreement that supports projects in peace and security, democracy and governance, agriculture, health, trade, and other fields, as well as general capacity building. As further

evidence of the US-AU partnership, the United States and the AU initiated an annual high-level meeting in 2010 that brings together US and AU officials at the cabinet-level to discuss African political and economic issues, existing initiatives, and future areas of collaboration".

The A.U has a number of programmes and initiatives that guides and shapes its development aspiration for African countries. Among these are;

2.5.1 NEPAD

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), is an African Union strategic framework for pan-African socio-economic development. It is both a vision and a policy framework for Africa in the twenty-first century. NEPAD is a radically new intervention, spearheaded by African leaders, to address critical challenges facing the continent: poverty, development and Africa's marginalization internationally.

NEPAD provides unique opportunities for African countries to take full control of their development agenda, to work more closely together, and to cooperate more effectively with international partners. To achieve the above objectives, NEPAD manages a number of programmes and projects in six theme areas. These themes are:
- Agriculture and Food Security.
- Climate Change and Natural Resource Management.
- Regional Integration and Infrastructure.
- Human Development.
- Economic and Corporate Governance.
- Cross-cutting Issues, including Gender, Capacity Development and ICT.

Ndedi in an evaluation of NEPAD concluded that "NEPAD's lack of a clear and coherent structure is largely the result of the piecemeal expansion and adaptation of the document by its creators in order to accommodate a variety of interests and approaches, from within and from outside of Africa".[21]

2.5.2 Africa Peer Review Mechanism

The APRM was initiated in 2002 and established in 2003 by the African Union in the framework of the implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). The objectives of the APRM are primarily to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable

development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through experience sharing and reinforcement of successful and best practices, including identifying deficiencies and assessment of requirements for capacity building.

Performance and Progress are measured in four substantive areas:

- Democracy and Political Governance
- Economic Governance
- Corporate Governance and
- Socio-economic Development

Twenty nine A.U member countries had signed up to the APRM, while 25 had yet to accede as at January 2010, meaning more than half of Africa's countries have participated in some form in the APRM process. Bing-Pappoe. (2010) in a seven-country review, noted that "…deeper inspection showed that of the 29 countries that had acceded, only 15 had actually started the journey in any meaningful way; the remaining 14 had signed up but done little more to move matters forward. Of the 15 that had started the journey, two countries (Ghana and Kenya) have almost completed their programmes of action and are getting ready to undergo a second self-assessment exercise. Meanwhile 10 countries were in the process of implementing their programmes of action, while two other countries had just completed their self-assessments and programmes of action and were waiting to be peer reviewed".[22]

2.5.3 African Governance Architecture

The 16th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union which convened in January 2011 adopted the African Governance Architecture and its Platform. The African Governance Architecture (AGA), is the overall political and institutional framework for the promotion of good governance in Africa by enhancing interaction and synergies between African Union organs/institutions with a formal mandate in governance and strengthen and their capacity to produce "Shared" agendas of Governance.

2.5.4 African Peace and Security Architecture

The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) was established by the African Union in collaboration with the Regional Economic Communities. Its role is to deal with prevention, management and resolution of conflicts in Africa. Its core organ is the African Union Peace and Security Council. The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) relies on the eight Regional Economic Communities (RECs). Writing for Chatham House, Alex Vines,

noted that "over the last decade the AU has found a voice and, despite some setbacks, it has shown through AMISOM in Somalia that it is capable of conducting a successful peacemaking operation". On challenges, he concluded that A.U's "biggest challenge is not making the decision to intervene or deploy forces, but the capacity of most African states to deploy effectively", concluding that "not all of Africa's security problems can be solved by Africa alone, but APSA does provide a vision framework for African and external partnership".[23]

Challenges

- There are lots of African governance initiatives at different levels but many of the initiatives are unknown/disconnected
- Within African Union several Organs are dealing with governance, but also disconnected.
- Vines again notes that "APSA's dependence on external partners needs to diminish over the next decade if better African solutions are to be found to peace and security challenges in the continent. Yet, the internationalized nature of crises such as the one in Mali in 2012–13 requires international partnerships".

2.6 Conceptual framework of US Africa relations

"*Every nation determines its policies in terms of its own interest*" - President J.F Kennedy

The Concept of National Interest
Today, globalization has linked national production, distribution, markets, interests and information systems into a gigantic system of dependence and interdependence among nations. However, centuries ago when the US nation was in its formative stages, US President George Washington warned his countrymen in his farewell address against permanent alliances in the conduct of foreign affairs. President Thomas Jefferson reiterated this position in his inaugural address five years later when he posited that America's foreign policy will be guided by "peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none".[24] Lake (1999) argues that "this injunction against foreign entanglements was elevated, over time, into an almost sacred principle of American policy".[25] Many would argue that this has been the underlying principle of American foreign policy and border on the principle of "permanent interests and not permanent friends".

The concept of national interest is best captured in the words of President Kennedy "Every nation determines its policies in terms of its own interest." Every state has the responsibility to seek the welfare and the best interest of its citizens, in terms of providing security, freedom, food and economic infrastructure, and social services. This defines a country's national interest and determines foreign policy.

Related to the concept of national interest is the concept political realism. This is the approach and practice of international politics by which nation-states are motivated by national interests which are disguised as moral concerns. The concept is based on the principle that all states seek to protect their political autonomy and territorial integrity and they rely on their own resources to secure their interest, enforce whatever agreement that they have so far as it serves their interest.

This approach is evident in US relations with Anglophone West African countries. The next chapter of the paper will build on this by analyzing US relations with Anglophone West Africa based on thematic areas of US relations with Africa identified in the chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STATE OF CURRENT US RELATIONS WITH ANGLOPHONE WEST AFRICAN COUNTRIES

3.1 Introduction

US development cooperation with Anglophone West Africa is in the areas of peace and security, economic relations, socio cultural, and democracy. This chapter presents an analysis of US relations with Anglophone West Africa using Nigeria, Ghana, and Liberia as case studies. The chapter attempts to answer the question: Has US relations been beneficial to Anglophone West Africa?

3.2 West Africa's Interests and Challenges

We attempt to answer this question along the four thematic areas listed above, namely; peace and security, democracy and leadership, economic and socio-cultural.

3.2.1 Peace and Security in West Africa

Context

According to the *Failed State Index*, West Africa is one of the most unstable regions in Africa. In 2009 only 3 West African countries were in the top 20 failed states, this increased to 4 in 2010, and since 2012 this has increased to 5, namely; Ivory Coast, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Nigeria and Niger.[26] Mali since 2013 would increase the number currently to 6.

The region has four main conflict zones which account for the instability in West Africa. These are: the Mano River, Niger Delta, Gulf of Guinea and the Sahelian zones. Most of the countries have or continue to experience conflict or some form of unrest. The countries include, Liberia (1989 -1996, 1999 - 2003), Ivory Coast (2002 - 2007), Guinea (2013), Burkina Faso (1985), Mali (1962, 1985, 1990, 2002, 2007, 2012), Niger (1990, 2002, 2007, 2012), Nigeria (1967, 2000, 2004, 2009 - 2014) and Sierra Leone (1982, 1991-2001).

Studies show that violent conflicts are more deadly and last longer in Africa than other regions. Consequently the social, political and economic consequences are quite grave.[27] Productive labour is lost, men, especially the youth are killed in conflict, women suffer death and grave abuses, many others suffer from the spread of various diseases; there is high

military spending, capital flight, and the economic infrastructure including industries are destroyed, productive activities decline and the economy contracts.

Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea is a security concern. The number of such attacks has continued to rise. About 62 attacks were recorded in 2012 as against, 53 and 39 in 2011 and 2010 respectively.[28] The rise in piracy is attributed largely to weak security systems in the region and the high demand for black market fuel. For example, between 2006 and 2012, there were 322 attacks on the West African coast.[29] While petty robbery was estimated at US$ 1.3 million per year, attacks on oil vessels is valued at about US$ 30 million per year.[30]

Anglophone West African countries face a proliferation of weapons and illicit trade in arms. It is estimated that there are about 500 million small arms and light weapons in circulation worldwide, which have contributed to the death of about 500,000 civilians. About 100 million of these weapons are in Africa.[31] As the situation in northern Mali and north-eastern Nigeria shows, these constitute a source of weaponry for fuelling attacks on civilians, internal conflicts, and wars in the sub-region. It is estimated that about 60 - 90% of deaths were linked to the proliferation of illegal weapons. These weapons have become the weapons of choice in many of the political and civil wars, terrorism, drug conflicts, attacks and organized crime in Africa. The conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Mali, Guinea Bissau (Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia and Sudan), etc, were also spurred by the circulation of illegal arms.

Conflict in the West African sub-region has undermined good governance, slowed down economic growth, and impeded human development. As the Liberian civil war showed, the risk of such conflicts spreading to neighbouring countries is quite high.

The United Nations Organization on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimates that at least 50 tons of cocaine valued at US$2 billion are transported through Africa, especially West Africa, each year to Europe.[32] Between 2004 and 2008, at least 1,357 cocaine couriers have been detected on flights from West Africa to Europe.[33]

Current evidence is that West Africa has become a hub for trafficking in illicit drugs. Figure 1 below, indicates the number of reported seizures of cocaine in West Africa.,

Figure 1: Individual seizures linked to cocaine in Africa, 2005 - 2008
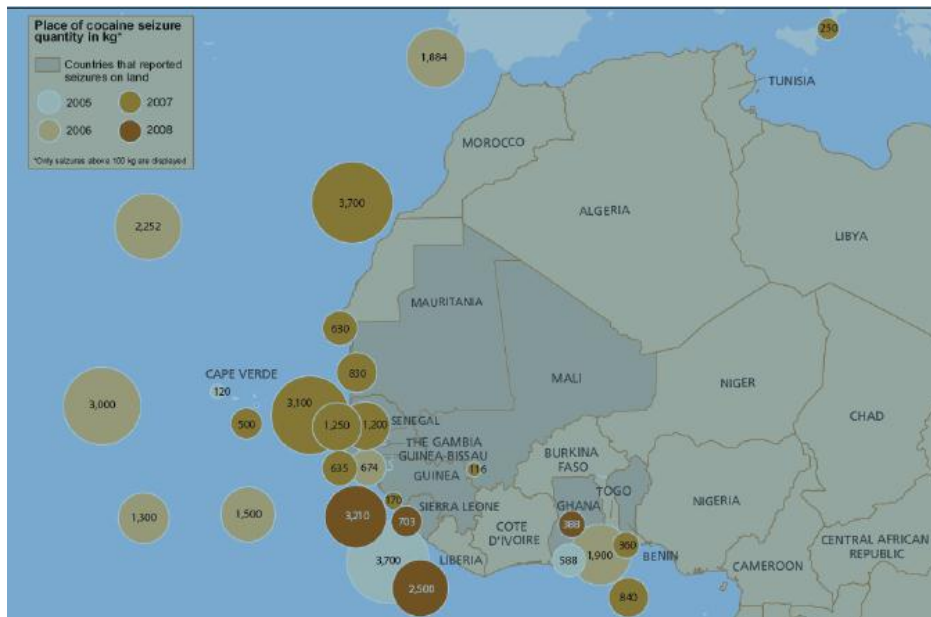
Source: UNODC, 2008

In 2008 the UNODC, estimated that 14% of trafficked drugs to Europe valued at US$1 billion were delivered through West Africa. This is estimated to have increased to 27% valued at US$1.8 billion.[34] Below in figure 2 is the record of annual cocaine seizures in West Africa between 2000 and 2007. Yet the sub-region lack the capacity to combat this menace.

Figure 2: Annual Cocaine Seizures in West Africa, 2000 - 2007
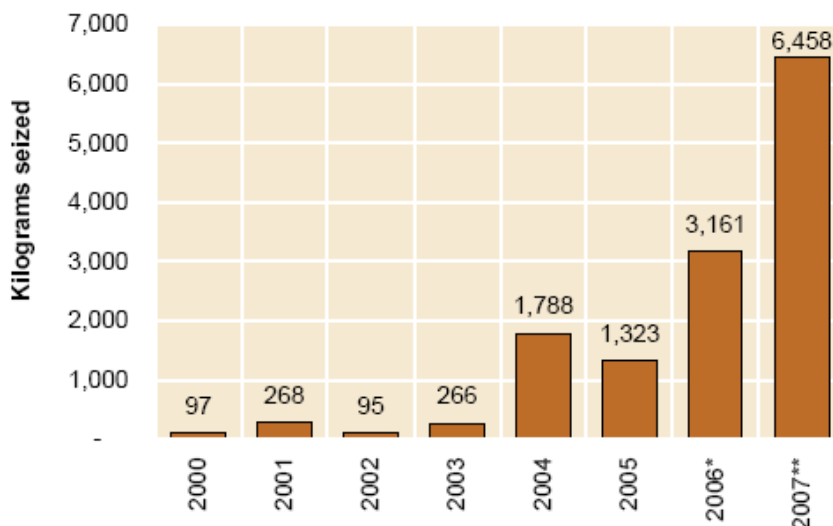
Source: UNODC World Drug Report, and UNODC 'Data for Africa' for 2006 and 2007 statistics (cited in UNODC, 2008)

* Preliminary data for 2006 based on available data as of November 2007

This and other security threats in the sub-region are connected to security and strategic interests of the US. In view of this, the US and Africa have undertaken joint efforts to ensure peace and security in the region. This point was emphasized when President Bill Clinton stated in his speech during his visit to Ghana "we need partners to live in peace." [35]

Initiatives

The US has played various roles in peace and security issues on the African Continent. President Jimmy Carter for instance held summits in Egypt and Tunisia in 1995 and 1996 to address violence in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. Countries in the Africa's Great Lakes Region include Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. President Carter played a key role in negotiating the Nairobi Agreement in 1999 between Sudan and Uganda.[36]

In Fiscal Year 2011, the US provided $262 million in assistance to improve the professionalization of African militaries and to enhance their capacity to better respond to challenges such as peacekeeping, maritime security, and counter-terrorism. This was additional to United States' prevailing support for peacekeeping operations across the continent, including the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Also through the US National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security, the US continues to advance efforts to strengthen women's participation in peace building and protect women from sexual and gender-based violence in conflict.

US Africa Military Command AFRICOM

In 1998, two US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya were bombed, killing hundreds of people. The date of those bombings marked the eighth anniversary of the arrival of American forces in Saudi Arabia. The attacks which were linked to local members of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, brought Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri, and their terrorist organisation - al-Qaeda, to the attention of the American public for the first time, and resulted in the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) placing bin Laden on its ten most-wanted fugitives list.[37] The successful bombing of the embassies was indicative of the global spread of terrorism. It also

exposed the African continent as the most vulnerable to deal with the threat and as the breeding ground for terrorists.

The response of the US government to this threat was the establishment of the United States Africa Command (USAFRICOM or AFRICOM) as the ninth Unified Combatant Commands of the United States Armed Forces, headquartered in Germany. AFRICOM has the operational task of deterring and defeating transnational threats. The US declared in February 2008 that AFRICOM would be headquartered in Stuttgart for the "foreseeable future"[38].

US security assistance to Africa had been through bilateral and multilateral agreements often through regional bodies such as ECOWAS. The US has provided assistance to the AU in the establishment of the African Standby Force (ASF), which is composed of "regional brigades".[39] In the 1990s the US supported security initiatives in Africa through the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), the Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities (EIPC) program, the African Regional Peacekeeping Program (ARP), and International Military Education and Training (IMET). Under the National Guard Partnership Program, the US National Guard units undertake joint operations with African countries. [40] The purpose of all these security initiatives is to manage the various conflict situations in the Africa.

After more than a decade of its existence, key issues remain with the future of AFRICOM. The following are some of the issues. Preference to emerging democracies in the selection of the Command's partner-nations; the desirability of regional approaches in Africa, including helping the African Union and its Regional Economic Communities to establish standby brigades; the location of the Command's headquarters, which should remain in Stuttgart, Germany, for operational efficiency; and the need to carry out a top-down "right-sizing" exercise at AFRICOM during a time of severe budget constraints and a real risk for the United States of "strategic insolvency.

Challenges

1. West Africa has faced many threats in the area of peace and security resulting from civil wars and conflicts, terrorist attacks, piracy, proliferation and illicit trade in arms and drugs, etc. These are transnational security threats that individual West African countries do not have the capacity to address on their own.
2. Frequent wars and conflict on the African Continent and in the West African region in particular, has been a major concern.

3. Attacks on ships operating in the area pose a serious threat to international trade; because the Gulf of Guinea and the Gulf of Eden are major international trading routes.

4. Proliferation of weapons and illicit trade in arms in Anglophone West African countries raises grave concerns for peace and security in the region.

3.2.2 Democracy and Leadership

Context

West Africa ranks 3rd (52.5/100) behind Southern Africa and North Africa when the Mo Ibrahim index of African Governance for 2013 is used as a proxy for good governance,. See Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Regional Scores on Governance
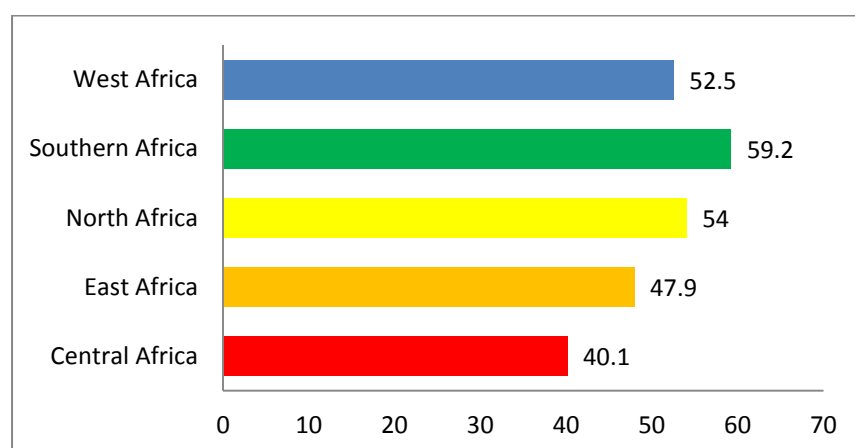
Source: Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance (2013)

According to the index which is computed on the bases of the following indices; Safety and Rule of Law, Participation and Human Rights, Sustainable Economic Opportunity, and Human Development, West Africa has improved in governance over the last 13 years (2000=100).

Since the 1990s, there has been sustained effort on the part of West African governments to establish democratic institutions. Multi-party elections have become the norm for selecting leaders. Most countries are striving to achieve credible and peaceful elections. Ghana has held six successful elections since 1992, consolidating democracy and standing out as a model for other countries in the region. For example, Senegal, Benin, Burkina Faso,

Mauritania have recorded credible elections over the years. Since the end of conflict in 2003 in Liberia and 2001 in Sierra Leone, the two countries have also demonstrated the gradual consolidation of democracy in the sub-region

Initiatives

A US initiative that focuses on good governance is the African Global Competitiveness Initiative (AGCI), which was to provide $200 million over five years to support increased trade and investment in Africa. Ghana and Senegal are two of the four regional Global Competitiveness Hubs and the primary implementers of AGCI for West Africa. Botswana and Kenya are the hubs for Southern Africa, and East and Central Africa respectively.

A similar initiative which is central to investment promotion is the Africa Financial Sector Initiative launched in 2007 which created seven new investment funds that would mobilize more than $1.6 billion through support of OPIC. The aim of this initiative is to mobilize adequate domestic and foreign investment to spur job creation and economic growth. The OPIC has so far supported numerous investment funds that are mobilizing approximately $ 1.3 billion in private investment for the continent.

The Obama Administration has introduced "Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI)", which seeks to provide tools to support leadership development, entrepreneurship, and connect young leaders with one another. United States has so far included more than 2,000 programs for young leaders across sub-Saharan Africa starting with the President's Forum with Young African Leaders in 2010. The First Lady's Young African Women Leaders Forum was held in South Africa in June 2011, and, in June 2012, the State Department sponsored a Young African Leaders Innovation Summit and Mentoring Partnership that connects young African leaders with mentorship opportunities in the United States.

Challenges

1. Coups d'état in Mali and Guinea Bissau in 2012, and violence that marked elections in Nigeria and Ivory Coast in recent years indicate that the region is still vulnerable to political violence and instability.
2. According to the UN, election violence in West Africa is related to structural and institutional weakness, especially those emerging from conflict.

Way Forward

1. Curbing electoral violence would require identifying and attending to these weaknesses, ensuring that such issue are addressed or controlled. Sustainable growth and development will depend on the consolidation of peace and security in the region, and efforts must be focused on this objective. Assistance toward peaceful and credible elections, and strengthening good governance structures is extremely important.

3.2.3 Economy

Context

Sub-Sahara Africa has very low GDP compared with others. A regional comparison of Gross Domestic Products (GDPs) in Figure 4 below, shows that sub-Sahara Africa's GDP is 6.4% of the GDP of East Asia and Pacific, 7.4% of the North American GDP, 7.8% of EU GDP, and 22% of Latin America and Caribbean GDP. The poor GDP is a reflection of the low level of productivity, low income, poverty and underdevelopment on the continent.[41]

Figure 4: Regional GDP in 2012
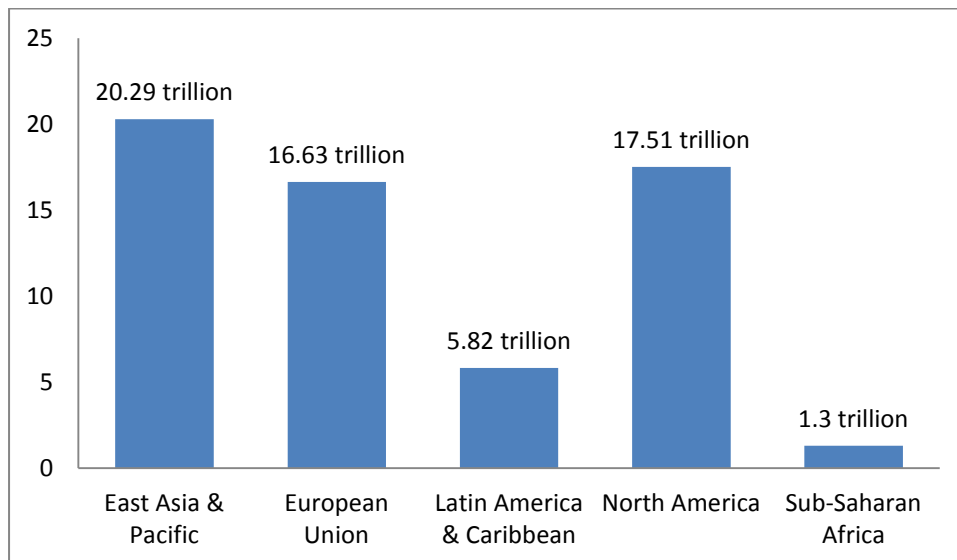
Source: Computed from UN Data[42]

West Africa consists of 16 countries out of the 53 African countries, with an estimated 30% (324 million) of Africa's population. West Africa is an important market for the US. It is one of the fastest growing regions in the world with an average GDP growth rate of 5%. It has about 30% of Africa's population and a rapidly growing middle class. Furthermore, the

region is projected to be a major financial, tourism, telecommunications and retail hub of the globe by 2020.[43] As shown in Figure 4 below the sub-region has only 18% of Africa's GDP. Economic productivity and national revenues for development are very low in the region.[44]

Figure 5: Distribution of Africa's GDP by region
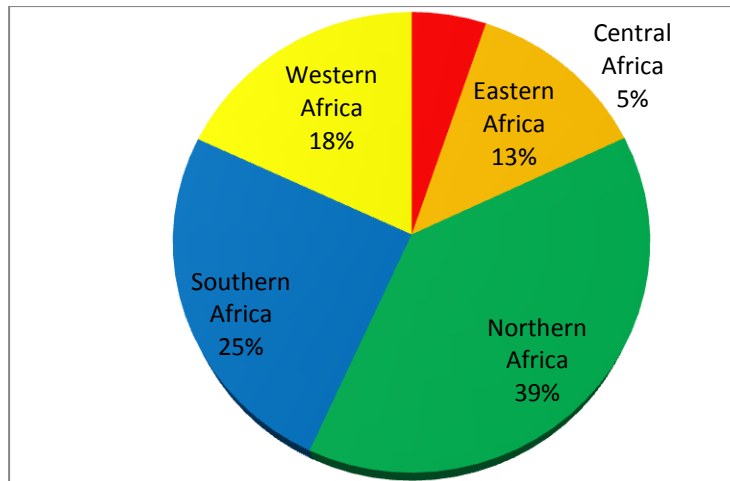
Source: *Regional Strategic Analysis and Knowledge Support System: Based on 2003–2011 annual average values of GDP and agricultural GDP measured in 2005 international dollars using purchasing power parity exchange rates*; World Bank (WDI) 2013.[45]

The region is largely dependent on the export of raw materials; a structural weakness that underpins the low levels of economic development, the high levels of poverty and the abysmal level of human development in the regions. The region exports 50.7% of its exports to the US and the European Union (EU).[46] Also it would need to diversify its exports by adding value to its primary commodities.

Initiatives

The clearest manifestation of US commitment to African democratic and economic development in furtherance of its objectives was the enactment of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) during the Clinton administration.[47] The initiative offers an incentive to African governments to open their markets and to promote good economic and political governance. Inclusion under the AGOA is predicted on meeting governance imperatives.[48]

Under the leadership of President Bush, the US delivered historic aid increases to Africa. In President Bush's first term, the United States more than doubled development assistance, the

biggest development assistance to any continent by the US, apart from the Marshall Plan. President Bush pledged to increase total assistance (both bilateral and multilateral) to $8.7 billion by 2010. He was also very instrumental in securing international agreement on the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative, an initiative that provided 100 percent debt relief from the major International Financial Institutions (IFIs) to the poorest and heavily indebted countries in the world, most of which are in Sub-Sahara Africa. A further indicative of the commitment of the US's continued engagement on trade with Africa President Bush launched the (AGOA) in July 2004. In 2006 the AGOA was further amended by the Africa Investment Incentive Act, to further help African nations that are exporting textiles, yarns, and apparel to the US.[49]

Some gains have been made under the AGOA. In 2012, goods worth $19.9 billion were exported into the US.[50] Some other gains include progress towards numerous economic, social, and political reforms within the framework of neoliberal open markets.

Despite the benefits to be derived from the AGOA, questions have been raised concerning the overall benefits of the AGOA to the developing nations of Africa. An audit of Africa's exports under AGOA shows that the vast majority of the exports to the US are oil or other natural resources. In 2008 for instance, US imports from Africa grew by 278%, but this was largely due to an increase of 31.9% crude oil imports, which made up 79.5% of total imports from Sub-Saharan Africa.[51] However, in 2010 textile and apparel exports fell by 34 percent, while chemical exports were up by 27 percent, and minerals up by 115 percent. Currently, only five countries account for 90 percent of AGOA exports to the US; Nigeria, South Africa, Chad, Angola, and the Republic of Congo.

One area in which Africa could benefit most under the AGOA is agriculture. However, the African farmer cannot compete with the US farmer due to the tariff quotas. As a result, despite producing sugar and peanuts very cheaply, it was impossible to export these to the US. In areas where the tariff has been lifted, the benefits were immediate, with Kenya gaining over $700 million in exports of freshly-cut flowers to the US. In short, the African farmer would be unable to participate fully in the global supply chain under AGOA unless the problems that face agricultural products are addressed.[52]

President Obama appears poised to address problems confronting agriculture with the launch of the Feed the Future Initiative which supports country-driven approaches to address the root causes of hunger and poverty. Through this Presidential Initiative, the United States is

investing in 12 African countries to drive inclusive agriculture-led growth that would improve agricultural productivity, expand markets and trade, and increase economic self-reliance of vulnerable rural communities in the beneficiary countries. Furthermore, in 2012, the US led the G-8 to launch the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition, a partnership between the G-8, the African Union, international partners, private investors, and civil society to substantially accelerate agricultural growth across the continent and help more than 50 million people emerge from poverty over the next ten years.

The Obama administration currently has Trade and Investment Framework Agreements (TIFAs) which provide strategic frameworks and principles for dialogue on trade and investment issues, with 11 countries or regional economic communities in sub-Saharan Africa, including Angola, Ghana, Liberia, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, the EAC, and the West African Economic and Monetary Union. Additionally, the Obama Administration is using bilateral investment treaties (BITs) as one of many tools to assist reform-minded African countries.

For the first time in its history, the Export-Import Bank of the United States (Ex-Im Bank approved projects totalling more than $1 billion in 2011 to support the exports of US companies to sub-Saharan Africa. Two of the nine countries in the world selected by Ex-Im Bank as priority strategic markets for US exports – South Africa and Nigeria – are in sub-Saharan Africa. In fiscal year 2011, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) supported over $1 billion in private-sector investments in Sub-Saharan Africa, representing over one-third of its total commitments for the year. This is in addition to OPIC approving $367 million for four private equity funds that could mobilize an additional $1 billion for investments made in the health, agriculture, and small and medium enterprise sectors.

Trade and investment and good governance: Millennium Challenge Accounts
The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) is a bilateral United States foreign aid agency established by Congress in 2004, applying a new philosophy toward foreign aid. It is an independent agency, separate from USAID. At the Inter-American Development Bank meeting on March 14, 2002, President George W. Bush called for a new compact for development with accountability for both rich and poor countries. He pledged to increase development assistance by 50% by fiscal year 2006 (which, by the end of 2004, had doubled,

and was to double again by 2010). Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) was authorized in 2004 on this premise of bipartisan Congressional support.[iii][53]

In the first year (2004), Cape Verde, Ghana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Mozambique, Senegal were made eligible for an MCC grant. Madagascar was among the first countries to receive funding from the MCA. On June 16, 2006, as a testament to its focus on good democratic governance, The Gambia was suspended from eligibility, citing deterioration in 8 of the 16 compliance criteria. Malawi qualified for a full compact in 2007.[54]

The Obama Administration has shown commitment to promote economic growth through the Millennium Challenge Corporation. Since taking office, President Obama has signed multi-year grant agreements, totalling over $1.3 billion in investments, with five sub-Saharan African countries. The investments seek to reduce poverty through economic growth.

A study in 2006 on the impact of the MCC estimated that potential recipient countries improved 25% more on MCA's criteria than other countries[55]. This achievement notwithstanding, Congress has consistently provided less funding for the program than the President had requested. In 2004, $650 million was provided for the programme, increasing to $1.5 billion the following year. For 2007, $2 billion was provided, a 14% increase over the previous year but still lower than the $3 billion target. Again for 2008, only $1.2 billion was provided out of the budgeted $2.225 billion. In 2009, the US Senate proposed that only half of the money needed for a compact be provided upfront, as opposed to full funding for each country in advance, which officials at the corporation insisted would be a "large step backward" causing too little aid to make an impact on recipient countries.[56] Clearly, the MCA is threatened by under-funding which could undermine dedicated presidential efforts.[57]

Challenges
1. As shown in Figure 4 above, the sub-region has only 18% of Africa's GDP. Economic productivity and national revenues for development are very low in the region.[58]

[iii] A country is considered eligible for a compact (aid grant) if its score on 17 indicators exceeds the median score of its peer group. All 17 indicators are compiled by third parties with no connection to MCC. MCC grants are made without politics which is perhaps the most innovative aspect of MCC, as previous foreign aid missions were plagued by political considerations. This is largely because the focus is to promote economic growth in the recipient countries. The Bush administration stated its belief that development aid works better in countries with good economic policies, such as free markets and low corruption.

2. West Africa is largely dependent on the export of raw materials; a structural weakness that underpins the low levels of economic development, the high levels of poverty and the abysmal level of human development in the regions.

Way Forward

1. West Africa would need to diversify its exports by adding value to its primary commodities. Furthermore, the region has low productive capacities in both agricultural and manufacturing sectors, and growth is constrained by poor economic infrastructure in the form of energy and good roads.

2. Though the West African sub-region is one of the fastest growing regions in the world with an average growth rate of 5%, this is not enough. The structural transformation of the region's economies is needed for sustainable economic and social development.[59]

3. It is important to mention that maintaining peace in the region is key for continued rapid economic growth, structural transformation and expansion of West African economies.

3.2.4 Socio-Cultural Relations

Context

The socio-cultural issues here refer to education and health care. According to the UNESCO Institute of Statistics, about 43% (30.4 million) of all children who are out of school are in Africa, as compared to 2% in Central and Eastern Europe, 3% in North America and Western Europe, 4% in Latin America, (See Figure 6 below).

Figure 6: Regional Distribution of Children out of school (2007)
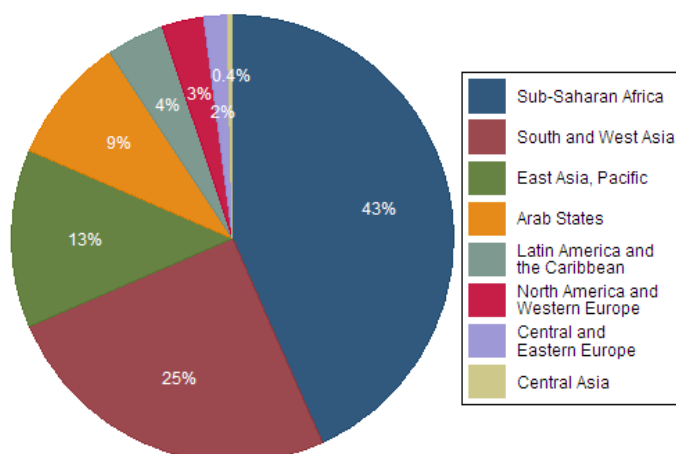
Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Data Centre

Similarly, data from UNICEF (See Table 1, below) indicates that in West (and Central) Africa a large 45% of children of secondary school age are out of the formal education system, compared to 5% in industrialised countries, 16% in Latin America and the Caribbean and 38% in Eastern and Southern Africa. The poor level of literacy and education in West Africa is a reflection of the sub-region's underdevelopment. More especially it is an indictment on governments of the region for a serious dereliction of responsibility. Education provides the desired quality of human resources for creating and harnessing opportunities for development; therefore strong political commitment and financial investments are needed to build the human resource base of West African countries for accelerated socio-economic development,

Table 1: Percentage distribution of children of Secondary school age out of school (2000 - 2006)

Regions	Percentage of Children outside formal education
West/ Central Africa	45
Eastern/Southern Africa	38
South Asia	26
Middle East/ North Africa	30
East Asia/ Pacific	24
Latin America/Caribbean	16
Central and Eastern Europe/ Commonwealth of Independent States	10
Industrialised Countries	5
World	24

Source: UNICEF[60]

As noted by Ile and Garr, the health of citizens is sine qua non to the development and prosperity of their country and vice versa.[61] Good health makes for high productivity, improved quality of life and happiness of citizens. HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis are three major leading causes of death and socio-economic decline in Africa. The alarming rate of HIV/AIDS infections and death in Africa is a major global public health concern. The continent which accounts for about 15% of the world's population is home to about 70% of

all people living with HIV/ AIDS and people dying of AIDS. (See Table 2 below). It also accounts for 88% of all HIV positive children in the world.[62]

Table 2: Regional Statistics for HIV and AIDS, 2011

Region	Adults & children living with HIV/AIDS	Adults & children newly infected	Adult prevalence*	AIDS-related deaths in adults & children
Sub-Saharan Africa	23.5 million	1.8 million	4.9%	1.2 million
North Africa & Middle East	300,000	37,000	0.2%	23,000
South and South-East Asia	4 million	280,000	0.3%	250,000
East Asia	830,000	89,000	0.1%	59,000
Oceania	53,000	2,900	0.3%	1,300
Latin America	1.4 million	83,000	0.4%	54,000
Caribbean	230,000	13,000	1.0%	10,000
Eastern Europe & Central Asia	1.4 million	140,000	0.2%	92,000
North America	1.4 million	51,000	0.6%	21,000
Western & Central Europe	900,000	30,000	0.2%	7,000
Global Total	34 million	2.5 million	0.8%	1.7 million

Source: Medeiser, AIDS in Africa[63]

Table 3: HIV/AIDS in West Africa, 2009

Country	Adult prevalence	Total HIV cases	Deaths in 2009
Benin	1.2%	60,000	2,700
Burkina Faso	1.2%	110,000	7,100
Cameroon	5.3%	610,000	37,000
Côte d'Ivoire	3.4%	450,000	36,000
Gambia	2.0%	18,000	<1000
Ghana	1.8%	260,000	18,000
Guinea	1.3%	79,000	4,700
Guinea-Bissau	2.5%	22,000	1,200
Liberia	1.5%	37,000	3,600
Mali	1.0%	76,000	4,400
Niger	0.8%	61,000	4,300
Nigeria	3.6%	3,300,000	220,000
Senegal	0.9%	59,000	2,600
Sierra Leone	1.6%	49,000	2,800
Togo	3.2%	120,000	8,700

Source: Medeiser, AIDS in Africa[64]

Studies by the World Bank indicate that the HIV epidemic in West Africa is serious.[65] Nigeria (3.6%) has the largest number of people living with HIV/AIDS (3.3million) after South Africa. As shown above, the prevalence rate is high in countries in the sub-region: Cameroon (5.3%), Cote d' Ivoire (3.4%), Togo (3.2%), Guinea-Bissau (2.5%); and moderate in Gambia (2.0%), Ghana (1.8%), Sierra Leone (1.6%) Liberia (1.5%), Guinea (1.3%), Benin and Burkina Faso (1.2%). Niger (0.8%), Senegal (0.9%), and Mali (1%) have low prevalent rates.[66] See Table 3 above.

The health and education sectors are devastated and unable to provide public goods to the citizenry. Water and sanitation and other social services either collapse or are curtailed. Governance structures are also weakened and there is fear and uncertainty about state authority and individual security.

Malaria is also a major cause of high mortality and low productivity in Africa. About 91% of global malaria mortality cases are recorded in sub-Sahara Africa where 60% of all malaria cases occur. Malaria is also the leading cause of morbidity and mortality among children under 5 in sub-Sahara Africa.[67] Tuberculosis is another health threat to West Africa and sub-Sahara Africa. Africa which had about 12% of the world population in 2006 accounts for a third of tuberculosis cases, which is the second most infectious cause of death.

Initiatives

The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR/Emergency Plan)

In 1998, George W. Bush suggested to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, that, if he won the election, "Africa should be a focus in terms of foreign policy", a thought which was also influenced by "compassionate conservatism". This prospective idea became central to the creation of the PEPFAR program[68]. President Bush's initial commitment for the programme was $15 billion over five years (2003–2008) to fight the global HIV/AIDS pandemic by providing antiretroviral treatment (ART) to 2 million HIV-infected people in resource-limited countries. This initiative, which partners with local African communities and organizations such as faith and community based organizations to provide support for people suffering from HIV/AIDs, was critical in the prevention of over 7 million new infections, and to

support care for 10 million people by 2010. Described as the largest health initiative ever by one country to address a disease, PEPFAR has increased the number of Africans receiving ART from 50,000 at the start of the initiative in 2004 to at least 1.2 million in early 2008.

Impact

The programme has made massive funding available for the provision of anti-retroviral treatment which has saved millions of lives. According to a 2009 study published in Annals of Internal Medicine, the programme has averted about 1.1 million deaths in Africa and reduced AIDS related death rate in the countries involved by 10%.[69]

The administration has also launched the Global Health Initiative (GHI) aimed at strengthening the US government's existing international health programmes, and building upon those programs to create integrated, coordinated, and sustainable health systems in the partner countries. This would complement the existing PEPFAR programme in the efforts to treat over 3.8 million people in Africa who are suffering from HIV infections. It would further improve life expectancy across the continent by supporting over 6 million people with life-saving treatment by the end of 2013.

Challenges

1. The alarming rate of HIV/AIDS infections and death in West Africa is a major global public health concern. Over the years the efforts to control the spread of HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis have been donor-led, with donors financing the treatments and public awareness programmes. Consequently, a major challenge facing sustainable reduction of HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis in the sub-region and on the continent is the fear of donor fatigue. West African leaders will have to commit more resources to funding HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis if they are to succeed in reversing the spread of these threats.

2. HIV/AIDS has devastating impact on socio-economic and sustainable development. The resulting death of adults reduces the national workforce; for example in South Africa 60% of the mining workforce aged between 30 and 44 years is projected to fall to 10% in the next 15 years.[70] The decline in the size of the national labour force and the associated long period of illness reduces productivity and national development. These reduce exports and increase the import of drugs and other health needs. The

lack of comprehensive social protection in many African countries compounds the devastating effects of the death of bread winners on families, especially children.

3. While the Bush administration had promised to increase funding for PEPFAR, the Obama Administration's January 2010 budget suggested a reduction in funding for the programme. This could cause a drought in medicines for people who need them to survive.[71]

3.3 Case Study Analysis of Selected Anglophone West African Countries

The following section presents case studies of US relations with three selected Anglophone West African Countries - Nigeria, Ghana, and Liberia. It examines whether they have benefited from these relationships.

3.3.1 The Case of Nigeria

Nigeria ranks as one of the two highest recipients of US bilateral assistance in Africa. The US supports Nigeria with about US$600 million annually in aid which is aimed at improving security, governance, education, health care, agriculture and the economy. In the 1990s when Nigeria was under military rule, the relationship between the two countries was strained. Since the restoration of civilian rule in 1999, the relations between the two countries has improved. Nigeria is also one of the six top suppliers of petroleum products to the US. As noted by Ploch, (2013), Nigeria is a country with immense potential and promise, but it also faces poverty, corruption, political instability, and security challenges that "have the potential to threaten the stability of both the state and the region, and to affect global oil prices."[72]

Beside security concerns, Nigeria's socio-economic indicators are worrying. Despite oil revenue leakages, Nigeria recorded an impressive US$52 billion in oil revenues for 2011; but she remains one of the poorest countries in the world, ranking 156 out of 187 countries on the human development index.[73] An estimated 70% of Nigerians live below the poverty line, and the country has the second highest rate of HIV/AIDS in the world after South Africa.[74] The problems of poverty and inequality in Nigeria have been attributed to pervasive and systemic corruption in the country. Over the decades, political and military leaders have siphoned

billions of dollars of state revenue. It is estimated that the country continues to lose 10% of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) through fraud.[75]

Peace and Security Relations between the US and Nigeria

Over the years ethnic and religious conflicts in Nigeria have led to the loss of thousands of lives. A US congressional report estimates that 15,000 Nigerians have died over the last decade in local clashes. Some of the violent clashes have been between Christians and Moslems while others have been election related.[76] Violent clashes during the 2011 elections for example led to 800 deaths and 65,000 people displaced. The recent surge in terrorist attacks and kidnapping, and the attempts by the Islamic extremist group - Boko Haram to impose Sharia Law in Nigeria is most destabilizing, and have raised concerns about extremist activities in Nigeria and in the sub-region generally. Though for now Boko Haram's attacks are focused on Nigeria, the group is reported to have "expanded ties" with extremist groups in Mali and the Sahel, including Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb.[77] Frequent piracy along the coast of Nigeria is another security concern. The country is noted for the highest number of piracy in the West Africa sub-region. Out of the 322 attacks that took place on the West African Coast between 2006 and 2012, 204 were in Nigeria's waters.[78]

Since the 2009 attempt at bombing a US airliner by a Nigerian citizen, and the increase in terrorist activities around the continent, the Nigerian Government has worked closely with various US government agencies to counter terrorism and improve security. For instance through the collaboration with the US Department of Homeland Security, the Federal Aviation Administration, and the International Civil Aviation Organisation, Nigeria has installed various forms of scanners at its international airports. More especially, a US Congress report intimates that, in view of the potential terrorist threat of the Boko Haram to the US, Congress has suggested that "the US government expand military and intelligence support, as well as diplomatic engagement with Nigeria, and examine whether Boko Haram should be designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organisation (FTO)."[79]

Under the new Global Security Contingency Fund (GSCF), Nigeria is the only country in sub-Sahara Africa that is eligible for counterterrorism and border security assistance. The GSCF is part of US efforts to improve the capacity of the military and security services of its partner countries to effectively counter terrorism. In 2012, the US proposed US$10 million in

assistance to Nigeria under the Global Security Contingency Fund.[80] Under the project Nigeria will receive multi-year counterterrorism and border security program support that involve developing "an information fusion capacity, civil-military operations planning expertise, counterterrorism campaign plans, and to improve counter improvised explosive devices capabilities, as well as to provide counterterrorism training for the National Police Force and enhance border Security."[81] The programme also consists of projects "to build a self-sustaining capacity to counter improvised explosive devices, promote coordination among security agencies ..."[82]

Nigeria is noted as having one of the most dangerous waters in the world. It was ranked the first in global pirate attacks until Somalia over took it in 2008.[83] Nigeria recorded 204 attacks out of the total 322 attacks in the West African sub-region between 2006 and 2012. [84]Most of the attacks were on oil vessels. In response to these threats, the US Navy increased its operations in the Nigerian waters and in the entire Gulf of Guinea and has also launched the African Partnership Station under which it visits the ports of Nigeria and conducts joint exercises with the Nigerian Navy. Furthermore, US and Nigeria work under the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP), which aim at overcoming terrorism, by "strengthening regional capabilities, enhancing and institutionalising cooperation among the region's security forces, promoting democratic governance, discrediting ideology, and reinforcing bilateral military ties with the United States."[85] Other areas of US security assistance to Nigeria include military training, peace keeping and border support. Nigeria. Under the Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) program, Nigeria undertakes security cooperation with the California National Guard. Nigeria also receives funds and various forms of military support from the US Department of Defence.

Despite the broad spectrum of security assistance that Nigeria receives from the US, Nigeria still faces a plethora of security challenges. She is unable to address the threat posed by Boko Haram. The threats and attacks on civilian groups continue unabated. On the bases of failed countries index, Nigeria has over the last 5 years consistently been classified among the 20 failed states in the world.[86] Clearly US can do more to improve security in Nigeria and along its coastal waters.

US and Nigeria relations in the area of Democracy and Leadership

US governance assistance to Nigeria is in the area of Justice, electoral systems, accountable and responsive governance, and anti-corruption. Through the USAID, the US is supporting Nigeria to undertake reforms in its electoral system with the aim of achieving credible elections. These are focused on coalition formation, domestic monitoring, civic education, political party strengthening, mandate protection, and parallel vote tabulation.[87] The US seeks to improve accountability and transparency through improved public oversight roles. USAID is building the capacity of public officials "to plan, budget, track, manage, and evaluate their fiscal and administrative responsibilities; reinforcing policies and systems to improve transparency, mobilizing civil society and the private sector to participate in community planning and budgeting, monitor financial flows, and assess the quality of services rendered; and assisting civil society to hold elected officials responsible for their actions."[88]

A major governance issue is the exclusion of the majority of the country, a few oligarch have dominated the politics and governance of the country. Civil Society activities are also receiving a lot of attention by way of capacity building and support for active engagement and advocacy on issues of good governance, credible elections, and anti-corruption reforms. Additionally, US is providing assistance to the Nigeria Federal to reform and function effectively and transparently.[89] These are part of efforts to address the challenges of pervasive exclusion, and corruption in the country; and to promote the rule of law and justice.

Elections reform is another area of US Assistance to Nigeria. US through the USAID is supporting Nigeria to undertake reforms in its electoral system with the aim of achieving credible elections. This are focused on coalition formation, domestic monitoring, civic education, political party strengthening, mandate protection, and parallel vote tabulation.[90]

Though the elections of 1999, 2003 and 2007 were characterised by flaws and other allegations of vote rigging, they marked the first time that Nigeria has had three consecutive elections and without military intervention since its independence in the 1960. Then in the 2011 elections, violent clashes led to 800 deaths and 65,000 people displaced. In the words of each election was "progressively worse than the last". The contest for national leadership between the north and south continue to be major issue that threatens peaceful, fair and violent free elections. Corruption, poor public administration and allocation of national resources continue to be a major set-back and the cause conflicts and poverty in Nigeria. As indicated earlier under economic development and shared prosperity, though Nigeria has

"unlimited" oil wealth, the country continues to be one of the poorest in world. For instance, despite recording an impressive US$52 billion in oil revenues for 2011, Nigeria ranked 156 out of 187 countries on the human development index,[91] and estimated 70% of Nigerians live below the poverty line.[92] The poverty and inequality in Nigeria is attributed to pervasive and systemic corruption in the country. Over the decades, political and military leader have siphoned billions of dollars of state revenue. It is estimated that the country continues to lose 10% of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) through fraud.[93] For instance, the AFP News reports that "Nigerian lawmakers called for a probe into an alleged $6.8 billion lost since 2009 through a graft-ridden fuel subsidy program."[94] In another case, the AFP News reports that "James Ibori, former Nigerian state governor (1997-2007), was sentenced to 13 years in prison over a fraud involving $250 million of state funds." US relations and Governance Assistance to Nigeria is in the area of Justice, electoral systems, accountable and responsive governance, and anti-corruption, may partly account for though challenged but improved resort to elections for selection of leaders, since 1999. More can be done to improve the credibility of elections, improve governance and distribution of national revenues, and reduce corruption.

Though US relations has resulted in some benefits for Nigeria, more can be done to improve peace and security, economic development and shared prosperity, health and education, and good governance in Nigeria.

Economic relations between US and Nigeria

US economic assistance to Nigeria seeks to improve the trade and investment opportunities and increase agricultural productivity in Nigeria. The US is Nigeria's largest trading partner; and Nigeria is the 6 largest supplier of oil to the US. Nigeria's oil is very attractive to the US because of its high quality and the proximity of Nigeria to the US. Nigeria is US 35th largest goods trading partner worldwide with US$18.2 billion in total traded goods in 2013 and the largest in West Africa. See Figure 7 below.

Figure 7: US Trade with Anglo West African Countries
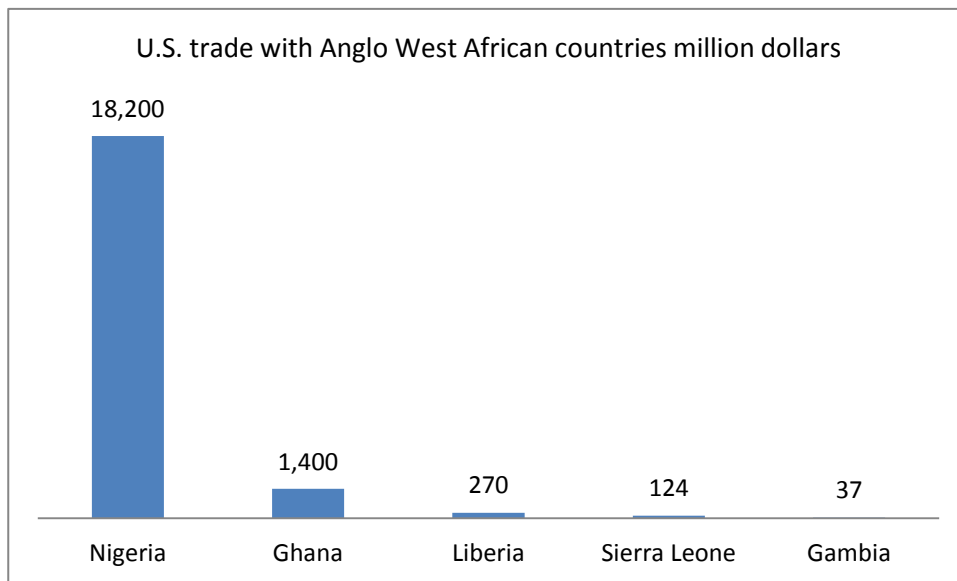
Nigeria's export to the US has fluctuated over the years. It increased from US$ 16,248.5 million in 2008 to US$ 38,068 million; then it declined to US$ 19,128.2 million, increased again to US$ 33,854.2 million in 2011 and declined again to 19,014.2 million in 2012. However, US export to Nigeria has increased steadily despite some fluctuations. It increased from US$ 1,554.3 million in 2004 to US$ 4,102.4 million, declined to US$ 3,687.1 million in 2009 and increased to US$ 5,028.6 million in 2012.[95] Nearly all of Nigeria's exports to the US is oil. Nigeria's major imports in 2013 were: oil, vehicles, cereals, machinery, and plastics.[96]

Nigeria had goods trade surplus of $5.2 billion in 2013, a 62.5% decrease from 2012. Considering the large US trade deficit with Nigeria, Obama's administration plans to double its export to Nigeria.[97] In the area of Investment, Nigeria foreign direct investment (FDI) in stocks in the US was $22 million in 2012, up by 15.8% in 2011. US FDI in Nigeria was $8.2 billion in 2012, up by 53.6% in 2011.[98]

Nigeria is ranked as the first of top five beneficiaries of AGOA.[99] Under the US African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), which provides duty free entry into the US for almost all African products, Oil accounts for 90% of Nigeria's exports to the US under AGOA. Under the Feed the Future initiative the US is promoting private sector development, supporting farmers to export, as well as creating employment opportunities. The US and Nigeria have also signed the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement.

Economic development and shared prosperity remains one of the major challenges of Nigeria. In spite of its "unlimited" oil wealth, the country continues to be one of the poorest in world. Nigeria recorded an impressive US$52 billion in oil revenues for 2011 but is uncharacteristically it ranked 156 out of 187 countries on the human development index.[100] An estimated 70% of Nigerians live below the poverty line.[101] In the area of trade, the country is largely dependent on oil exports, with very little diversification. For instance, under AGOA, which offers opportunity for beneficiary countries to export over 6000 products to the US, 90% of Nigeria's export under the trade promotion initiate is in oil. Relations with the US have not yield the expected impact, though there are immense opportunities for economic development and shared prosperity.

Socio-cultural relations between the US and Nigeria

According to USAID, Nigeria has about 30 million children of primary school going age, however, only 76% are in school, out of which less than one third would proceed to junior high school and only a few get to continue to senior high school. Furthermore, the quality of education and students performance is poor. The US aims to invest in people by providing assistance to improve the quality of basic education in Nigeria.[102] The US assistance focus on strengthening the education management systems of Nigeria at both the state and the local level. This entails "policy development and implementation; information management and data for decision-making; human resource development and management, including training, monitoring, and supervision; financial resource management, budgeting, and accountability; and demand side capacity development and participation."[103]

Similarly, the US is assisting Nigeria to reform its teacher training policies. There are also programs in place to support education services for vulnerable populations. The US is improving the capacity of institutions providing formal and non-formal education to pre-primary school children, marginalized and out of school children.

In spite of the assistance, Nigeria has performed poorly. About 50% of the country's population do not have access to improved sources of water, and less than 20% of all households have access to piped water.[104] Consequently, Diarrhoea is the second leading cause of mortality among children in the country, worldwide after India, Nigeria records the highest number of Diarrhoea related child deaths.[105] HIV/AIDS is another health concern for

Nigeria, the country has the highest number of HIV/AIDS infected persons (over 3 million), after South Africa, worldwide. With Nigeria's population expected to double by 2025, the number of HIV/AIDS cases may multiply.[106] More can be done under the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and other health initiatives to improve health care in Nigeria.

3.3.2 The Case of Ghana

Ghana is seen as a key partner of the US,[107] prompting President Barak Obama to acknowledge during his first trip to sub-Saharan Africa that "Your [Ghana's] prosperity can expand America's prosperity"[108] Ghana is seen as a model for the realization of US development aspirations in Sub-Sahara Africa (SSA). Ghana has been praised consistently as a model for other African countries. Ghana has achieved some impressive economic gains over the past two decades; achieving an average growth rate of 7.5% for the past 5 years, and reducing poverty from 52% in 1991 to 28% in 2006. Ghana started exporting oil in 2010 and this makes the country an important strategic interest for the US.[109]

Ghana continues to receive various forms of support and grants from the US government. The country is a recipient of the Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative (Feed the Future), the President's Malaria Initiative, Millennium Challenge Corporation Compact, the Global Climate Change Initiative, Global Health Initiative, and many other USAID and bilateral aids. Ghana has also played significant roles in conflict resolution on the continent contributing troops for peace-keeping missions on Africa and also in other parts of the world, prompting many to note that the US and Ghana have common interests.

Peace and Security relations between US and Ghana

Ghana and the US have a security cooperation pact, focusing on countering drug trafficking. As reported by the US 2013 Congressional report, in recent years, Ghana has received State Department International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement assistance funds.[110] Ghana has received patrol boats, ship monitoring equipment, and training services from the US Department of Defence. The two countries have also pursued marine cooperation.[111] In 2006 and 2007 the US busted a drug trafficking group based in Afghanistan that was trafficking drugs to the US through West Africa in Ghana.[112] In 2009, the US Drug Enforcement

Agency (DEA) opened a regional office in Ghana. In the same year the DEA arrested drug traffickers who claimed they were connected to Al Qaeda. In 2011 the DEA and the Ghana Narcotics Control Board "jointly dismantled a heroin trafficking ring in the US and Ghana…" leading to the arrest of many operatives, including security officers, who aid in the trafficking of drugs through the Kotoka International Airport.[113]

Ghana and the US have worked together to mediate in political and military conflicts in West-Africa and in other international peace-keeping missions.

Ghana receives military training as part of capacity building for national security and international peacekeeping missions as part of US Peace and Security assistance to Ghana.[114]

In 2013, the US proposed US$700,000 for military education and training to help Ghana's security and peacekeeping challenges, in addition to a US$350,000 foreign military financing program for the procurement of equipment and other services.[115]

The 2013 US Congressional report notes that "Ghana also acts as a base for periodic US military regional activities, such as crisis response actions and exercises.[116]It participates in the National Guard State Partnership Program, which links US states, North Dakota in the case of Ghana, with partner nations in support of US security cooperation goals. It also hosts and benefits from various Africa Command (AFRICOM)-facilitated or implemented programs, such as Africa Deployment Assistance Partnership Team (ADAPT) and the AFRICOM/US Navy Africa Partnership Station (APS) West. Ghana has long been used as a deployment base for periodic US emergency evacuations of citizens or embassy personnel in the region. It hosts a US military Exercise Reception Facility used to expedite troop deployments for exercises and crisis responses within West Africa, as well as an associated fuel hub." Ghana works with AFRICOM through key African institutions like the Africa Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping and Training Centre (KAIPTC).

In as much as Ghana is peaceful and stable, a factor which underpins strong and progressive relations between the US and Ghana, and also collaborations between the two countries have led to the arrest of drug dealers. It concluded that in the area of peace and security the relationship between Ghana and the US has been beneficial.

US and Ghana relations in the areas of Democracy and Leadership

Ghana has made significant gains in consolidating democracy, after transition to constitutional and multi-party democracy in 1992, Ghana has held peaceful elections and transitions from one government to the other. The country's institutions guarantee the rights and freedoms of its citizens. Economically, the country has achieved average growth rate of 7.5% for the past 5 years and reduce poverty from 52% in 1991 to 28% in 2006. These has been applauded by the US and has become the basis for strong US Ghana relationships and the regular visits of US presidents and continuous US assistance to Ghana. The US and Ghana have common interest in the good governance and democratic development. The US seeks to support Ghana to strengthen its democratic institutions and improve its decentralization program.

In 2011 and 2012, the US through USAID provided a total US$ 1.7 million in development assistance for public education on the electoral processes and election monitoring. The US provided similar assistance to Ghana during the 2008 elections. These are reported to have contributed to the transparency and credibility of Ghana's elections.[117]

In 2013, the US provided aid to support "more effective democratic governance." The Obama Administration seeks to "advance the decentralization process and reinforce the principles of accountability, transparency, and good governance in Ghana by strengthening social service at the local government level, combating corruption through fiscal decentralization, and building the capacity of civil society organizations and parliamentary committees in oversight functions."[118]

Another area of US support focuses on improving local governance and decentralization by increasing citizens participation in local government and strengthening citizens' ability to provide oversight of the executive and government. For example, civil society participation in governance especially at the local levels is weak, this partially attributed to the limited capacity of civil societies to engage public officials. Consequently, they are not able to mobilize citizens to demand for accountability and improve their standard of living. Through the Ghana Local Government and Decentralization Program, the US seeks to improve the capacity of civil societies to actively participate in local government (demand accountability), promote responsiveness of public officials (supply accountability), and improve public service delivery.

The US is also supporting Ghana to improve the capacity of parliament to exercise its oversight roles over the executive.

The relationship between the US and Ghana in the area of Governance can be described as very beneficial. The country has over the years practised and established a robust democracy, and it is considered as a model for US governance aspirations in sub-Saharan Africa. This has constituted the basis for frequent visits by US presidents, since the visit of President Clinton. As a result the Ghana continues to receive various forms of US assistance to improve and consolidate its gains in good governance.

Economic Relations between US and Ghana

Sustained economic growth in Ghana has been one of the bases for strong US Ghana relations. Over the last decade, trade between the US and Ghana has grown by 638%. Total bilateral trade has increased from US$309 million in 2002 to US$1.97 billion. Ghana's import from the US increased from US$ 634 million in 2009 to US$ 1.2 billion in 2011. US import from Ghana increased from US$ 135 million in 2009 to US$ 779 million in 2011.[119]

Ghana was the 91st largest goods trading partner with US$1.4 billion during 2013. Ghana's import from the US in 2013 was $1.1 billion, down 19.3% from 2012. The main imports from US in 2013 were vehicles, machinery, oil, poultry, and rice. Ghana's exports to the US in 2013 was $366 million, a 25.7% increase from 2012. The main export from Ghana to the US in 2013 were cocoa, oil, wood, rubber, vegetables and yams. The US goods trade surplus with Ghana was $701 million in 2013, a 32.0% decrease from 2012. Also, US foreign direct investment in Ghana (stock) was $3.6 billion in 2012, up 14.5% from 2011.

There are currently 3 bilateral trade and investment agreements between Ghana and the US these are Overseas Private Investment Corporation Investment Incentive Agreement, Trade and Investment Framework Agreement, and Open Skies Aviation Agreement. US foreign direct investments in Ghana have increased consistently over the years from US$ 1.6 billion in 2009 to US$ 2.1 billion in 2010 and US$ 2.3 billion in 2012. Most of these investments are in the oil and mining sectors.[120]

Ghana has not done well under AGOA, the country's export under AGOA has declined over the years from 41% in 2004 to 9% in 2011. The decline is attributed to the limited "supply

capacity" due to low level of industrialization, limited financial investment and the lack of a clear national strategy to AGOA. Also, the undiversified exports of Ghana which are mainly processed fuel and fuel products and textile and apparel products has contributed to the decline in exports under AGOA.[121]

Ghana undertakes and receives and number of US trade capacity building assistance in the areas of construction of communication, transport, and energy for related trade and agricultural services; trade facilitation; and trade related labour improvements. Between 2007 and 2011, Ghana received a total of US$312.5 million in bilateral trade assistance from the US.[122] Ghana also houses the USAID West Africa Trade Hub, which seeks to promote and increase the export of apparel, cashew, fish, seafood, shelter and other products from the region, by connecting importers and exporters, providing training to actors, organizing fairs and addressing bottlenecks in trade relations.

Ghana also houses the USAID West Africa Trade Hub, which seeks to promote and increase the export of apparel, cashew, fish, seafood, shelter and other products from the region, by connecting importers and exporters, providing training to actors, organizing fairs and addressing bottlenecks in trade relations. On a number of socio-economic scores of the US government Ghana scored very high scores. For the year 2013, Ghana scored 18 out of 20 (exceeded the minimum) Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) policy performance criteria required for eligibility for the compact.[123] These was based on the indicators: Economic Freedom, Investing People, and Ruling Justly. Ghana completed the US$ 547 million MCC in 2012 and is likely to secure a second MCC.[124]

In conclusion, relations between the US and Ghana in the area of economic development has been beneficial, however, efforts needs to be made to address the bottlenecks that has caused the decline in Ghana's export under AGOA. In addition to increase in volume of exports under AGOA, more emphasis should be on processed and semi-processed export to create the needed drive for structural and industrial transformation and economic development in Ghana.

Socio-cultural relations between US and Ghana

In Ghana, US cultural relations have focused on Health Care and Education. According to the Ghana Health Service, malaria is the leading cause of morbidity in Ghana. It accounts for

38% of outpatient illnesses, 36% of hospital admissions, and 33% of under-five related deaths.[125] The entire population of Ghana is at risk of malaria attack (2011).[126] To help Ghana overcome this health challenge, the country was selected as a beneficiary of the US Presidential Malaria Initiative (PMI) introduced by President Bush in 2005, also known as MalariaCare, which seeks to reduce the number of malaria related deaths and reduce malaria and poverty related suffering. The PMI works with the Ghana National Malaria Control Program. Since 2007, the PMI has supported malaria prevention and treatment with focus on insecticide-treated mosquito nets (ITNs), Indoor residual spraying (IRS), Intermittent preventive treatment for pregnant women (IPTp) with sulfadoxine-pyrimethamine (SP), Diagnosis with rapid diagnostic tests (RDTs) or microscopy and treatment with artemisinin-based combination therapy (ACT).[127] There has been improvement is malaria control indicators. Below in Table 4 is an illustration of the progress made in the control of malaria.

Table 4: Malaria Control Progress

Ghana Malaria Indicators	PMI Baseline	DHS 2008	MICS 2011
All-cause under-five mortality rate	111/1,000 (MICS 2006)	80/1,000	82/1,000
Proportion of households with at least one ITN	19% (MICS 2006)	33%	49%
Proportion of children under five years old who slept under an ITN the previous night	22% (MICS 2006)	28%	39%
Proportion of pregnant women who slept under an ITN the previous night	3% (DHS 2003)	20%	33%
Proportion of women who received two or more doses of IPTp during their last pregnancy in the last two years	25% (MICS 2006)	44%	65%

Source: Presidential Malaria Initiative, Ghana Profile (2013)[128]

Malaria related under-five mortality rate has reduced from 111 deaths per 1000 children in 2006 to 82 deaths per 1000 children in 2011. The proportion of household with at least one ITN has increased significantly from 19% to 49%. The proportion of children under-five whole sleep under an ITN the previous night has increased from 22% to 39%, similarly, the proportion of pregnant women who slept under an ITN the previous night has increased astronomically from 3% to 33%. Additionally, the proportion of women who received two or more doses of IPTp during their last pregnancy in the last two years increased from 25% to 65%.

There is no doubt that US-Ghana relations in the area of health care have benefited Ghana, as the interventions are yielding positive impacts.

The US support to Ghana's educational sector is aligned with Ghana's Education Strategic Plan. US seeks to increase access to basic education, improve the quality of education provided and enhance education management. As part of this, the US has provided scholarships to 7,000 girls. The US has supported the Government of Ghana in the construction and the rehabilitation of schools in 48 districts.[129] The US assistance is also aimed at reducing the education gap between urban and rural areas. Consequently, most of the projects are targeted at rural education improvement. Most rural communities in Ghana lack teachers, a factor that also accounts for the poor quality of education in rural areas. To help address the challenges, the US is providing assistance to a program that recruits and trains volunteers to teach in rural communities. There are also programs between USAID and the Ghana Education Service that seeks to improve the management of schools, and the engagement of parents and communities in the management of schools.[130] Under education, it can be concluded that US-Ghana relations has been beneficial to Ghana

3.3.3 The Case of Liberia

The relationship between the US and Liberia dates back to the early 1800s when the former provided funding for Blacks and emancipated slaves to establish a colony in the West African region. The idea of repatriating Blacks to Africa was a contentious one; there were some suspicions and misgivings about the decision of the US government regarding this decision. While some Blacks wanted to stay in the US and seek equality, others were inspired by the promise and hope of having their own land to decide their future. The first Black settlers named their place of abode Monrovia (the present Capital of Liberia) after US president James Monroe.[131]

Since the birth of Liberia, which became the first republic in Africa, the relations between the US and Liberia have been one of a US dominance and pursuit of US interest.

Liberians have tried to live like Americans where they originated from. Its system of government is modelled on the US system of government. The Liberian flag looks similar to that of the US, same colours and design, except that it has one white star while the US has fifty. The white star represents the freedom that the ex-slaves had. Economically, Liberia uses the US dollar as a legal tender, and it seeks to attract US investors to develop its natural

resources in oil and gas, diamonds, gold; iron ore; and also its agro potentials in rubber and timber production.

In 1926, following Liberia's support for the allies in World War 1, US Tire Company, Firestone, established the largest rubber plantation in the world on over one million acres of farmland. Likewise, when Liberia supported the allies in World War II, the US built Roberts International Airport and Monrovia Free Port, which became key strategic logistic basis for the allies in the World War II after Malaysia fell to the Japanese. The Firestone rubber plantation also became a main supplier base for the allies. Similarly, the voice of America had its main relay station near Monrovia, and the main CIA station in Africa was also based in Monrovia.

US-Liberia relations gained prominence in the 1980s when Samuel Doe was in power. He was opposed to communist interest in Africa, and thus became a strategic ally to the US Doe's government is reported to have received between US$500 million and US$1.3 billion from the US. However, US relations with Liberia plummeted during the government of Charles Taylor. US relations with Liberia under President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf can be described as okay.

Generally, Liberians see the US as their god father and protector like the former French colonies to France. Similarly, in a news article *the Washington Post* described US-Liberia relations as "Liberia: America's impoverished orphan in Africa."[132] There is a feeling that the US has not shown much commitment to the interest and development of Liberia as they should, given their close historical ties. The brutal civil war in Liberia between 1989 and 2003 marked a disastrous retrogression in the development trajectory of Liberia, as the war has led to a collapse of the first republic in Africa. About 150,000 lives were lost, and about one million people displaced.[133] Governance structures and the economic infrastructure were all destroyed. Recovering from the brutal civil war Liberia needs sustained peace and security, strong governance institutions and well-functioning economic institutions to attract the needed investments and revenues for national development. US relations with Liberia has focus on providing assistance to Liberia in the areas of peace and security; agriculture and food security; democracy, human rights, and governance; economic growth and trade; education; environment; and global health.

Peace and Security relations between the US and Liberia

As part of US assistance for Liberia under defence sector reforms, there is a US-Liberia military cooperation, "an Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA)", one of at least 90 worldwide, which permits "the exchange of logistics, support, supplies and services," between the US and Liberia. US EUCOM, "US-Liberia Agreement Meant to Ease Acquisition Process."[134]

The US has assisted Liberia to form a new military that is drawn from various ethnic groups as a way of building ethnic, regional balance and unity in the country. The US post war security sector assistance to Liberia as at 2009 was US$241 million. An addition US$5.2 million was made available in 2010, part of which went into the reconstruction and maintenance of operation bases.[135] Also, the US support to Liberia led to the passage of a new national security strategy for Liberia and a new National Defence Act in 2008.

The US Army Cop of Engineers intends to fund the "design, construction, upgrade and revitalization of several arms storage and ammunition storage facilities" at the Armed Forces of Liberia bases[136] and is also providing training and technical assistance to the development of the Liberian Coast Guard o help protect the coastal line of the country. Similarly, Liberia is part of the US National Guard State Partnership Program, where the program pairs the US State National Guard with Foreign contingents.

It can be concluded that US relations have benefitted Liberia by way of assistance to rebuild its security services to maintain peace and security after over a decade of civil war. In view of the fact that countries that have come out of wars can easily slip back into crises, more need to be done to consolidate the nascent peace and stability in Liberia.

US and Liberia relations in the area of Democracy and Leadership

In the area of governance, US assistance to Liberia aims at consolidating the democratic progress through the "Building Sustainable Elections Management in Liberia Program." The program seeks to enhance the capacity of the National Elections Commission "to efficiently, effectively, impartially, and sustainably manage elections" in the coming year.[137]

The US seeks to strengthen the capacity of governance institutions in Liberia. Through the Governance and Economic Management Program the US is assisting Liberia to improve

public administration, by working with various ministries and agencies to improve financial management, policy implementation. This includes equipping the Liberian Institute of Public Administration to train quality civil servants.

The US is also supporting "Liberia's Agenda for Transformation Justice and Security Pillar," which seeks to improve citizens' access to justice, information and participation in government. As part of this the US through USAID is working with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and provides support in the implementation of the Liberia's Freedom of Information Act. Relations with the US in the area of governance has benefitted Liberia, and more needs to be done to consolidate democracy and good governance in Liberia.

Economic relations between US and Liberia

Liberia was the 142nd largest goods trading partner with US$270 million during 2013. Exports from Liberia to the US totalled $97 million in 2013, a 33.0% decrease from 2012. The main exports were rubber, salt and sulphur, diamonds, gold, palm oil, and art work. Liberia's goods import from US in 2013 was $173 million, down 29.4% from 2012. The main imports in 2013 were machinery, iron and steel products, vehicles, textile products, and rice. In 2013, Liberia had goods trade deficit of $77 million, down 24.4% from 2012. As at 2012, the US foreign direct investment in Liberia in stocks totalled $1.0 billion, down 1.9% from 2011.

Liberia is a beneficiary of AGOA, which provides duty free entry into the US for almost all African products. It is aimed at increasing Liberia's export and revenue. Liberia's main export under AGOA is rubber. Liberia is also a beneficiary of the Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative (feed the future). Under the Feed the Future initiative the US is promoting private sector development, supporting farmers to export, as well as creating employment opportunities.

The US is supporting Liberia to undertake trade and regulatory reforms. The Millennium Challenge Corporation is working on a three-year Liberia Trade Policy and customs program that seeks to promote tariff harmonisation and removal of "unnecessary" non-tariff barriers. The program seeks to strengthen trade policy institutions and improve trade regulations.[138] The "Road Infrastructure to Support Enterprise" program is one area where the US is supporting Liberia to develop its roads as a catalyst for trade and economic growth. The

Energy sector is another area of interest to the US in Liberia. Through the "Liberia Energy Sector Support Program" the US is supporting the development of national energy policies to attract private investors into the sector, cover rural areas as well as include the exploitation of renewable energy sources. Also, the US and Liberia have signed a trade and investment framework agreement.

US relations with Liberia is helping to rebuild the country's economic infrastructure as well as build the necessary capacities and institutions for trade enhancement.

Socio-cultural relations between US and Liberia

Since 2008, Liberia has benefited from the US Presidential Malaria Initiative (PMI), also known as MalariaCare, introduced by President Bush in 2005, which seeks to reduce the number of malaria-related deaths and reduce malaria and poverty-related suffering. Like Ghana, the PMI works with the National Malaria Control Program. The PMI has supported malaria prevention and treatment with focus on insecticide-treated mosquito nets (ITNs), Indoor residual spraying (IRS), Intermittent preventive treatment for pregnant women (IPTp) with sulfadoxine-pyrimethamine (SP), Diagnosis with rapid diagnostic tests (RDTs) or microscopy and treatment with artemisinin-based combination therapy (ACT).[139] There has been some improvement in malaria control indicators. Below in Table 5 is an illustration of the progress made in the control of malaria.

Table 5: Malaria Control Progress

Liberia Malaria Indicators	PMI Baseline (MIS 2009)	MIS 2011
All-cause under-five mortality rate	114/1,000	-
Proportion of households with at least one ITN	47%	50%
Proportion of children under five years old who slept under an ITN the previous night	26%	37%
Proportion of pregnant women who slept under an ITN the previous night	33%	39%
Proportion of women who received two or more doses of IPTp during their last pregnancy in the last two years	45%	50%

Source: Presidential Malaria Initiative, Liberia Profile (2013)[140]

The proportion of household with at least one ITN has increased significantly from 47% in 2009 to 49% in 50% in 2011. The proportion of children under-five whole sleep under an ITN the previous night has increased from 26% to 37%, similarly, the proportion of pregnant women who slept under an ITN the previous night has increased from 33% to 39%.

Additionally, the proportion of women who received two or more doses of IPTp during their last pregnancy in the last two years increased from 45% to 50%.

In the area of Education, the US is supporting policy reforms that seek to improve the quality of education in Liberia. Through the Liberia Teacher Training Program II, US is supporting the Ministry of Education to develop its management structure and to decentralize the operations of the ministry.[141] The US is supporting partnerships between US and Liberian Universities. Projects such as the "Excellence in Higher Education for Liberia Development" and "the Centre for Excellence in Health and Life Science project" seek to improve the quality of resources and faculty of Liberian Universities to deliver quality education at the higher education level. Similarly, the US seeks to improve access to high-quality educational and health services.[142] Girls Education is another area of interest to the US in Liberia. Through the "Girls' Opportunities to Access Learning Program" US is working to increase girls' enrolment in schools in Liberia.[143]

US-Liberia relations in area of health care and education has been beneficial to Liberia, but more can be done to improve the benefits, especially given the fact that Liberia is rebuilding its infrastructure after over a decade of ruinous civil war.

3.4 Conclusion

A major point of note is the fact that the US-Anglophone West Africa relations has been largely aid driven, with the US providing aid to the African countries. As evidenced in the cases of Nigeria, Ghana, and Liberia, these countries are generally receiving assistance from the US.

US development assistance is tied to US strategic interest in oil, security and trade. Nigeria which provides over 25% of US oil, is one of largest recipients of US foreign assistance. Ghana also joined oil producing countries in 2010, and this could also explain the US's strong relationship and assistance to Ghana. Similarly, most of US's FDI in Ghana are in the oil sector. The relationship between Liberia and the US is not as strong as that of Nigeria and Ghana. This approach is not necessarily bad, it explains US's foreign policy. The US determines its policies based on its interest.

While the US determine its policies based on its interest, Anglophone West Africa countries do not seem to have clear and coherent interest based on which to determine their foreign policies. This has made them recipient of aid, instead of seeking for partnership with the US.

On the question: have the US relations been beneficial to Anglophone West Africa? Yes, as discussed earlier, there have been some significant benefits, however, there is more room for improvement. There are also new emerging areas that need attention. These and recommendations for improved and beneficial relationship between the US and Anglophone West African countries will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"What does Africa want and how can it get it?"

4.1 Conclusion

Africa has in the past been characterized by war, economic crises, bad governance, health risks, and largely dependent on humanitarian assistance and aid. However, over the years, the continent has achieved remarkable developments. The number of conflicts has reduced, it has the fastest growing economies in the world with large human and natural resource base, mortality and morbidity rates are falling astronomically, and democracy and good governance are becoming the norm in the region. As a result, the region has become a major source of interest for other countries and regions, including the US.

The relationship between the US and Africa presents striking challenges and opportunities for both regions and it is evident that West African countries have reaped some benefits in their relationship with the US. These benefits cut across collaboration in areas of peace and security, economic development, socio-cultural, and good governance.

Peace and Security is one area where there is profound cooperation between West African countries and the US. African conflict mediation and resolution techniques have been strengthened over time, thanks to the support provided by the US in training and building capacities of individual African military forces. The US government has worked directly with identifiable African mediators, governments, and sub-regional organizations and the African Union to help develop capacities and empower Africans to deal with Africa's many security challenges. In response, Africans through US partnership, has ended seven major conflicts in the past seven years including that of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire (the Democratic Republic of Congo, North-South Sudan, Ethiopia-Eritrea, and Angola). However, challenges still remain in terms of security, including the emergent Boko Haram threat and the general fragility in some sub-Saharan African countries.

The Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) and the East Africa Regional Security Initiative (EARSI) are two initiatives that seek to identify resources throughout the

United States government to support specific areas of cooperation identified by the United States in relation to Africa. The US Government has continued to work with West African countries in the area of maritime security to help fend off threats such as piracy, illegal fishing, and trafficking in persons and illicit goods. Through AFRICOM, the government of the United States in collaboration with the African Partnership Station are building capacities of West and Central African states to protect their territorial waters, respond to oil spills and other disasters, and also enable them patrol vital oil and gas platforms.

Through programs like the International Military Education and Training (IMET) and the Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) the US government is working to build the capacity of African militaries to respond to African problems. Over 100,000 African peacekeepers have been trained by ACOTA or by ACOTA-trained trainers, and eight African nations are now in the top 20 of all contributors to UN peacekeeping operations. African states are contributing peacekeepers to missions not only in Africa but also to UN operations in Lebanon and Haiti. US-Africa relations have increased in the area of collaborative defence through the AU, sub-regional organizations, and member states to realize the dream of an African Standby Force. This also includes civilian aspects of the African Peace and Security Architecture, such as the Continental Early Warning System and the African Panel of the Wise.

In the area of Governance, West African countries have been largely receptive of US policies aimed at democratization and institutional building. Since the late 1960s, the African continent has suffered epileptic leadership crisis with its attendant consequences on the developmental progress of the continent. It has not only witnessed dictatorships, personalistic rule and prebendal governance; it has also mismanaged natural resource and looted proceeds from same thereby increasing the high dependency on the continent to the mercy of foreign aid and budgetary support. Indeed, a World Bank report in early 90s notes that the developmental problem of Africa is governance and leadership. Now African countries have exhibited democratic sentiments and respect the values of freedom, rule of law and collective security. Since the 1960s when African colonies became independent till the 1990s, none of the 53 African countries that existed at that time witnessed a peaceful democratic change of government, except Mauritius in 1982.[144] Currently, African leaders spend vast amount of resources arranging elections. US Governance Assistance in the area of public education on the electoral processes and election monitoring, justice, accountable and responsive

governance, and anti-corruption has contributed significantly to promising levels of good governance and the consolidation of democracy in West Africa.

West African countries responses to US economic policies are at best receptive. The African Growth and Opportunity Act has received a lot of attention and much cooperation by West African countries that are beneficiaries of the program. AGOA as a trade preference program enable most West African countries to access US markets and for the US to expand markets for their goods and services in West Africa. By providing duty-free entry into the US markets for almost all African products, AGOA has helped expand and diversity African exports and also fostering improved business environment for eligibility requirements. For example, available data suggest that AGOA imports for 2012 totaled $34.9 billion, more than four times the amount in 2001[145] with the West African giant, Nigeria, dominating the AGOA supplier list with $19.1 billion. Indeed, the United States and Nigeria has cooperative working relations. However, aside Nigeria, AGOA has not achieved much success in other West African countries. Also in trade relations, most countries are dependent on the export of primary commodities to the US, there is the need to encourage diversification to focus on processed products. While reviewing AGOA, initiatives such as feed the future should boost agricultural growth and productivity in beneficiary countries.

In the area of health care, the various programs of the US, PEPFAR, PMI and other programs have significantly contributed to reducing HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis, which are the leading causes of mortality, morbidity, poverty and human suffering in West Africa and Africa. Similarly, in the area of education, US assistance in the form of infrastructure development, etc, has made some contribution to education, however, more can be achieved in this sector.

There have been disagreements on the socio-cultural relations between the US and West African countries. There has been a lot of cultural clash between the African continent at large, and West Africa specifically, on issues of gay and lesbian rights. African countries, in the words of Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, have "African Morality" that does not only see homosexual behaviour as "un-African" but also as alien. The issue of same sex marriage is a thorny one even in the US itself. It is therefore not strange that an issue such as gay and lesbian rights could provoke emotional debate and backlash in US-African relations. In the wake of increasing US diplomatic pressure for African countries to respect the rights of

gays and lesbians, Nigeria passed the Same Sex Marriage Prohibition Act that criminalizes same sex marriage with penalties of up to 14 years in jail. Uganda followed when its parliament passed an anti-gay bill that imposes harsher punishments for homosexual acts, including life in prison for some offenders. Countries in Africa that did not go to the extent of constitutionally banning same sex marriages, verbally outlawed them.

Active engagement is critical to the development and prosperity of the US and Africa. The US and Africa stands to benefits enormously if this relationship is encouraged and conducted in a manner that could lead to a mutual benefit. The huge trade gap between the US and Anglophone West Africa (even the whole of Africa) is a call for policy change. The focus on a new relationship helps to build a mutually beneficial partnership that makes West Africa and Africa less dependent on foreign aid; and also promotes a peaceful, stable, prosperous region - with a high living standard and less poverty.

4.2 Recommendations

Reflecting on the conclusion drawn above, the following recommendations are made. First focusing on strategic policies which when adopted could increase the mutual beneficial nature of the relationship. The second borders on the imperative capacity development issues of Africans.

4.2.1 Strategic and Beneficial Policy Directions

The first policy recommendation is drawn from the national interest concept. The need to secure the welfare of citizens should form the basis and shape the policies of West African countries towards the US. Over the years African has been reactive towards US policies instead of having independent policies to promote its interest. ECOWAS should design a coherent policy of engagement with the United States in all aspects of its relations that could guide individual members in their dealings with the United States. National policies of individual countries should fit into the regional policy. Through this, US development assistance would fit into the development policies of West African countries and would better address their challenges, instead of designing projects to suit US Assistance Programmes. It is very critical to point out that the drive for the development of the West African Sub-region should come from its citizens and governments. Perhaps, a major contributing factor to

Africa's underdevelopment lies in Africa always sitting back and expecting donors to drive her development agenda.

Peace and Security

The US should expand and increase funding for AFRICOM, AFRICAP, and ACOTA operations, ensuring the mutual security of Africa and US. There should be increased cooperation with the US in the area of mediation and conflict resolution by employing more non-military interventions and operations. Such interventions are more likely to engender broad public support from diverse groups in African countries. It is not surprising that 68% and 60% of US citizens endorse the use of non-military interventions and operations other than war respectively.[146] Additionally, efforts should be made to move away from crisis response and intervallic engagements towards long-term and sustainable partnerships. This would make for long term planning that prevents conflicts and consolidate long term security.

Democracy and Leadership

Increase assistance for deepening democracy. Many countries in the region are still grappling with issues of political stability. Deepening democracy in West Africa and Africa by way of providing assistance for election processes and decentralisation of power facilitates good governance and the development of the sub-region. Ensuring free, fair and credible elections, promoting transparency and accountability does not only consolidate democracy and good governance in the region, it also attracts investments for development and growth.

Provide more assistance to reduce corruption in the region. Corruption remains a major obstacle to social, economic and political development of the region. This will have to be reduced to the barest minimum to ensure that resources invested yield the desired results and the quality of public services is improved. The pervasiveness of corruption in Africa has over the years prevented many US companies from doing business in Africa, therefore reducing corruption would improve the business environment for more US companies to invest in Africa.

Economic Relations

The US should increase economic engagement with West Africa and Africa. This would require:

    (i)   *Help improve business climate*

The US should support Africa-led efforts to improve the business climate in the sub-region and on the African continent. This will increase trade and investment, and opportunities for growth and prosperity in the sub-region. This will also create the opportunity for US businesses to do more business in the sub-region. It would include improving and simplifying custom regulations, investing in energy and transport infrastructure.

(ii)   Support increased trade in processed products

Most US imports from West Africa are raw and unprocessed products, similarly, Anglophone West African economies are largely dependent on the export of raw and primary exports. The revised AGOA should make room for more processed and semi-processed exports from West African countries to the US. This will expand the processing and manufacturing sector and help quicken the pace for industrialization and the structural transformation of West African economies into high GDP and high income economies.

(iii)   Expand and Improve AGOA

Apart from Nigeria, the export share of most Anglophone West African countries under AGOA has declined over the years. The AGOA initiative should be reviewed to address the bottlenecks that are hindering some West African countries from exporting to the US market in order to increase exports and revenue.

(iv)   Supporting Africa-led initiatives on economic and regional integration

The US should support African countries to harmonise their trade and financial policies and regulations to facilitate regional trade. The regional trade hubs established in Africa should be strengthened to facilitate integration.

(v)   Invest in Infrastructure

The US should increase its investment in energy and transport infrastructure in the region. The poor infrastructure in the region also provides immense opportunities for US businesses to invest in the sector.

Socio-cultural
Expand and improve health initiatives in Africa. PEPFAR, PSI and other health initiatives of the US have focused on AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis which are the leading causes of high

mortality, morbidity, and poor citizens' health. They have significantly improved health care, reduced death and human suffering. More needs to be done in this direction.

Increase assistance to education. The provision of quality education remains a problem for West African countries, US assistance in this direction will build the capacity of West Africans to effectively to contribute to the development of the region.

Evolve policy for the future. The emergence of a youth bulge which is faced with challenges such as high unemployment levels, means there is the need for the development of policy for the future to adequately meet the needs of the youth.

4.2.3 Capacity Development Imperatives

Both the United States and Africa needs to capitalise on the African continent's youth bulge and also harness the influence of West African diaspora. Whilst the African youth constitute the future human capital of the continent, a sincere attempt at fostering development should build the capacity of the continent's future leaders. At the same time, the African diaspora constitute the immediate tools for investment when used and targeted properly.

West Africa and the US should expand their engagement and collaboration in regional security and in peace keeping. Collaborations in the training and capacity building for West African security services should be deepened. This should include training in the use and servicing of military equipments bought or given to African militaries. This will enable an independent operations and servicing of those equipments even in the absence of the US military personnel or engineers. These would help to build strong security institutions to maintain peace and security in the region. This is particularly important as the region is considered a volatile one.

US, relations with Africa needs to leverage the ever-increasing technological surge of most West African Anglophone countries in order to create an innovative and expansive market capable of fuelling economic growth. West Africa holds nearly 30% of Africa's total mobile market share and investing in building the capacity of the people, especially the youth and entrepreneurs could push forward this special partnership.

In conclusion, there is room for deeper and improved development cooperation that is mutually beneficial for the US and West Africa. First, African countries need to integrate and work together as a regional unit. African countries remain largely independent and full of diversities which, instead of being a source of integration for development have also become a source for disintegration and underdevelopment. The need for integration is urgent for Africa to have a comparatively competitive leverage to effectively negotiate for conditions that progressively improves Africa's competitiveness. Africa is part of the global system of globalization and it has no alternative than to integrate at the sub-regional and regional levels. Secondly, trade is good for development, in their partnership with the US, West Africa should seek an expanded market access for their goods; and more focus on processed and semi-processed exports to the US market, as this would help build the industrial capacity for the structural transformation of West African economies. The partnership should also focus on skills training and transfer of knowledge; more study opportunities for African youth and adequate training of personnel and engineers that could build and repair technological-specific products bought or donated by the US to West African countries. In order to achieve these, West African countries need to engage the US in a diplomatic manner and through constructive dialogue aimed at mutual benefits. It will be difficult achieving these objectives through extremism and confrontation. Rather, as part of an integration strategy West African countries need to come together and set common agreeable principles that will underpin their negotiations with US; instead of acting solo. The existing sub-regional economic blocs such as ECOWAS and SADC could be used at the interim and the continental organization, i.e., the African Union could be used in future negotiations.

REFERENCES

[1] Schraeder, P. (1994:2). *United States Foreign Policy Towards Africa: Incrementalism, Crisis, and Change*. Cambridge

[2] Rothchild, D. and Keller, E. (2006:25). *Africa-Us Relations: Strategic Encounters*. Lynne Rienner. London

[3] Dagnet ,T. (2011). U.S Foreign Assistance Issues. U.S Congress Research Services

[4] Peter J. Schraeder (1994). United States Foreign Policy toward Africa: Incrementatlism, Crisis and Change. London: Cambridge University Press

[5] ibid

[6] www.jfklibrary.org [Accessed on June 26, 2014]

[7] The White House, Office of National AIDS Policy. Available at: http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/hivaids/ [Accessed on June 20, 2014]

[8] Mahoney. D. Richard, *JFK: Ordeal in Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 223-243.

[9] Schraeder. J. Peter. (1994). *United States Foreign Policy Toward Africa*, Cambridge University Press, 74-80.

[10] Copson. W. Raymond. (1998). *Africa: President Clinton's 1998 Visit.* CRS Report 98-420

[11] Clinton. Bill. (1998). Address to the Parliament of South Africa, March 26, 1998.

[12] Clinton. Bill. (1998). Remarks by the President to the People of Ghana.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Schraieder (1994). (Peter J.Schraieder (1994). United States Foreign Policy Toward Africa: Incrementatlism, Crisis and Change. London: Cambridge University Press, p.11**.**

[15] Donald Rothchild and Edmond J. Keller (2006), Africa-US Relations: Strategic Encounter. Boulder London: Lynne Rienner Publisher

[16] The White House, Office of National AIDS Policy. Available at: http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/hivaids/ [Accessed on June 20, 2014]

[17] President Barack Obama, July 11, 2009, Accra, Ghana

[18] Copson W. Raymond (2001). *Africa Backgrounder: History, U.S. Policy, Principal Congressional Actions.* Congressional Research Service. The Library of Congress

[19] United States. State Department. (2012). *US Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa.* Washington

[20] For example, Susan Rice, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, "U.S. and Africa in the 21st Century," speech to the Seattle World Affairs Council, November 9, 1999.
Rosa Whitaker, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Africa, "The New Millennium and Africa: American Interests in Expanding Trade with Africa," speech to the Africa Roundtable Series, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C., January 24, 2000.

[21] Ndedi Alain A. Evaluation Of The New Partnership For Africa's Development: Approach And Methodology.

[22] Adotey Bing-Pappoe. (2010). Reviewing Africa's Peer Review Mechanism: A Seven Country Survey.

[23] Vines. Alex. A decade of African Peace and Security Architecture. International Institute for International Affairs. Available at http://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/ia/archive/view/188373#sthash.ThWYd8De.dpuf. [Accessed on July 27, 2014]

[24] Quoted in LaFeber. 1994.54

[25] Lake A. David. (1999). *Entangling Relations: American Foreign Policy in Its Century.* Princeton University Press

[26] Failed State Index for 2009, 2010, 2012 and 2013

[27] AfDB (2008). The Consequences of Conflict. Available at:
http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/African%20Developme nt%20Report%202008.2009_03_Chapter%20II.pdf [Accessed on May 25, 2014]

[28] Chatham House (2013). Maritime Security in the Gulf of Guinea. London

[29] UNODC (2013). Maritime Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. Pp 47
http://www.unodc.org/documents/toc/Reports/TOCTAWestAfrica/West_Africa_TOC_PIRA CY.pdf [Accessed on May 21, 2014]

[30] UNODC (2013). Maritime Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. Pp 51
http://www.unodc.org/documents/toc/Reports/TOCTAWestAfrica/West_Africa_TOC_PIRA CY.pdf [Accessed on May 21, 2014]

[31] Shah (2006)

[32] UNODC, "West Coast Initiative,"
2013, http://www.unodc.org/westandcentralafrica/en/west-africa-coast-initiative.html [Accessed May 18, 2014].

[33] UNODC (2008)

[34] ibid

[35] President Bush Remarks to the People of Ghana, March 23, 1998. Available at: http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/detail/4601 [Accessed on June 23, 2014]

[36] (Press Release, African Leaders Gather to Address Great Lakes Crisis, May 2, 1996. Retrieved August 4, 2008)and Running Help Us Save More People from Dying of HIV and AIDS?, NIBR International Blog 08.10.2010

[37] Bennett, Brian (12 June 2011). "Al Qaeda operative key to 1998 U.S. embassy bombings killed in Somalia". *Los Angeles Times*

[38] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Africa_Command#Geographic-cope [Accessed on June 26, 2014]

[39] ibid

[40] About Africa Partnership Station. Available at: http://www.c6f.navy.mil/about%20us.html [Accessed on June 26, 2014]

[41] UN (2004) UN (2014) http://data.un.org/Data.aspx?d=WDI&f=Indicator_Code%3ANY.GDP.MKTP.CD [Accessed on May 27 2014]

[42] ibid

[43] Schneidman, W., ca 2012. Transforming the USA-Africa Commercial Relationship. Brookings Institution

[44] Regional Strategic Analysis and Knowledge Support System website http://www.resakss.org/region/monitoring-progress/africa-wide [Accessed on May 23, 2014]

[45] Ibid

[46] Ibid

[47] The AGOA is a trade preference program that seeks to improve U.S. - African trade and investment by providing duty free entry into the United States. Eligible African countries are to take advantage of a list of 6,999 products. The purpose of this initiative is to extend preferential access for imports for eligible Sub-Saharan economies that can be sent to the U.S. duty-free.

[48] African-growth-and-opportunity-act-agoa.htm. [Accessed on June 26, 2014]

[49] African-growth-and-opportunity-act-agoa.htm. [Accessed on June 26, 2014]

[50] African-growth-and-opportunity-act-agoa.htm. [Accessed on June 26, 2014]

[51](African-growth-and-opportunity-act-agoa.htm) [Accessed on June 26, 2014]

[52] African-growth-and-opportunity-act-agoa.htm. [Accessed on June 26, 2014]

[53] About MCC" Retrieved June 27, 2014.

[54] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Millennium_Challenge_Corporation). [Accessed on June 26, 2014]

[55] Doug Johnson, Tristan Zajonc (April 11, 2006). "Can Foreign Aid Create an Incentive for Good Governance? Evidence from the Millennium Challenge Corporation"

[56] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Millennium_Challenge_Corporation [Accessed on June 26, 2014]

[57] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Millennium_Challenge_Corporation). [Accessed on June 26, 2014]

[58] Regional Strategic Analysis and Knowledge Support System website http://www.resakss.org/region/monitoring-progress/africa-wide [Accessed on May 23, 2014]

[59] UNODC, "West Coast Initiative," 2013, http://www.unodc.org/westandcentralafrica/en/west-africa-coast initiative.html [Accessed May 18, 2014]

[60] Available at http://www.google.de [Accessed on June 26, 2014]

[61] Ile, I. and Garr, E. (2012) Financing Health Care and Policy Issues in Developing Countries: Decision Making Process in Ghana's Health Insurance Policy Process, African Journal of Business Management Vol. 6(6), pp. 2375-2383.

[62] Amfar (2014) Available at: http://www.amfar.org/about-hiv-and-aids/facts-and-stats/statistics--worldwide/ [Accessed on May 25, 2014]

[63] http://www.medwiser.org/hiv-aids/around-the-world/aids-in-africa/ [Accessed on May 25, 2014]

[64] http://www.medwiser.org/hiv-aids/around-the-world/aids-in-africa/ [Accessed on May 25, 2014]

[65] World Bank (2008) West Africa HIV/AIDS Epidemiological and Response Synthesis: Implications for prevention. The Global HIV/AIDS Program. Washington, DC

[66] ibid

[67] Vitoria et al. (2009) The Global Fight Against HIV AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria: Current Status and Future Perspectives. *American Society for Clinical Pathology*, Vol. 131:844-848

[68] Varmus, Harold (12/01/13). "Making PEPFAR". *Science & Diplomacy* 2 (4).

[69] Bush's 'PEPFAR' AIDS treatment program saved a million lives in Africa, Stanford researchers say"

[70] Elias, R. (2000), cited in Dixon, S., McDonald, S., and Roberts, J. (2002) The Impact of HIV and AIDS on Africa's economic development. BMJ Vol. 324 Jan. 26

[71] (Hellevik, Siri Bjerkreim: Can Lazarus, Shopping,

[72] Ploch, L. (2013). *Nigeria: Current Issues and U.S. Policy*. Congressional Research Service

[73] Ploch, L. (2013). *Nigeria: Current Issues and U.S. Policy.* Congressional Research Service

[74] ibid

[75] ibid

[76] Ploch, L. (2013:1). Nigeria: Current Issues and U.S. Policy. Congressional Research Service

[77] ibid

[78] UNODC (2013). Maritime Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. Pp 47 http://www.unodc.org/documents/toc/Reports/TOCTAWestAfrica/West_Africa_TOC_PIRACY.pdf [Accessed on May 21, 2014].

[79] U.S. Congress, House Homeland Security Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, Boko Haram: Emerging Threat to the U.S. Homeland, committee print, 112 th Cong., November 30, 2011

[80] Ploch, L. (2013:20). Nigeria: Current Issues and U.S. Policy. Congressional Research Service.

[81] Serafino, N., 2014:12. Global Security Contigency Fund: Summary and Issue Overview. Congressional Research Service. Available at: http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42641.pdf [Accessed on June 25, 2014]

[82] Ibid

[83] Ploch, L. (2013:20). Nigeria: Current Issues and U.S. Policy. Congressional Research Service.

[84] UNODC (2013). Maritime Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. Pp 47
http://www.unodc.org/documents/toc/Reports/TOCTAWestAfrica/West_Africa_TOC_PIRA
CY.pdf [Accessed on May 21, 2014].

[85] Trans Sahara Counter Terrorism Partnership. Program Overview

[86] UNODC (2013). Maritime Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. Pp 47
http://www.unodc.org/documents/toc/Reports/TOCTAWestAfrica/West_Africa_TOC_PIRA
CY.pdf [Accessed on May 21, 2014].

[87] ibid

[88] USAID Nigeria Strategy 2010 - 2013 (undated:7)

[89] ibid

[90] ibid

[91] Ploch, L. (2013). *Nigeria: Current Issues and U.S. Policy.* Congressional Research Service

[92] ibid

[93] ibid

[94] AFP News, April 24, 2012.

[95] AGOA.info [Nigeria] Available at: http://agoa.info/profiles/nigeria.html [Accessed on May 22, 2014].

[96] Office of the United States Trade Representative, Nigeria. Available at:
http://www.ustr.gov/countries-regions/africa/west-africa/nigeria [Accessed 23 June 2014].

[97] Ploch, L. (2013:18). Nigeria: Current Issues and U.S. Policy. Congressional Research Service

[98] ibid

[99] AGOA Fact Sheet (2010). Available at:
http://www.ustr.gov/sites/default/files/AGOA%20Fact%20Sheet%202010.pdf [Accessed on June 23, 2014].

[100] Ploch, L. (2013). *Nigeria: Current Issues and U.S. Policy.* Congressional Research Service

[101] ibid

[102] USAID Nigeria Strategy 2010 - 2013 Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACP977.pdf [Accessed on May 22, 2014].

[103] USAID Nigeria Strategy 2010 - 2013 (undated:19)

[104] ibid

[105] ibid

[106] ibid

[107] Cook, N. (2009). *Ghana: Background and U.S. Relations*. Congressional Research Service

[108] Obama. Barack. Extract from speech during his visit to Ghana in 2009.

[109] Cook, N., 2013:18. *Ghana: Recent Developments and U.S. Relations*. Congress Research Services

[110] Cook, N., 2013:18. *Ghana: Recent Developments and U.S. Relations*. Congress Research Services

[111] ibid

[112] Testimony of Thomas M. Harrigan, DEA, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on African Affairs: Confronting Drug Traffic king in West Africa , June 23, 2009. Cited in Cook, N (2013:16)

[113] State Department (2012) International Narcotics Control Strategy Report (INCSR), March 7, 2012. Cited in Cook, N., 2013:15. Ghana: Recent Developments and U.S. Relations. Congress Research Services.

[114] Cook, N., 2010. Ghana, an Emergent Oil Producer: Background and U.S. Relations. Congressional Research Service.

[115] Cook, N (2013:18). *Ghana: Recent Developments and U.S. Relations*. Congress Research Services.

[116] ADAPT, a complement to the State Department's ACOTA/GPOI program, helps build deployment capacity for African militaries for peacekeeping and other operations. APS is a regional U.S. Navy-led, ship-based, interagency, multi-disciplinary effort that provides training and other capacity-building assistance focused on bolstering maritime security in the region.

[117] Cook, N. (2013:8)

[118] Cook, N. (2013:17)

[119] Cook, N (2013:19)

[120] ibid

[121] U.S. Department of Commerce. Bilateral Trade by sector: United States and United States. http://agoa.info/profiles/sierra-leone.html Accessed May 22, 2014.

[122] Cook, N. (2013:20). Ghana: Recent Developments and U.S. Relations. Congress Research Services.

[123] Cook, N. (2013:3)

[124] ibid

[125] The President Malaria Initiative, Ghana (2013). Available at: http://www.pmi.gov/where-we-work/ghana [Accessed on July 2, 2014]

[126] Presidential Malaria Initiative, Ghana Profile (2013). Available at: http://www.pmi.gov/docs/default-source/default-document-library/country-profiles/ghana_profile.pdf?sfvrsn=8 [Accessed on July 2, 2014]

[127] Ibid

[128] Available at: http://www.pmi.gov/docs/default-source/default-document-library/country-profiles/ghana_profile.pdf?sfvrsn=8 [Accessed on July 2, 2014]

[129] USAID Ghana (2014). Education Available at: http://www.usaid.gov/ghana/education [Accessed on May 23, 2014].

[130] Ibid

[131] http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/globalconnections/liberia/essays/uspolicy/ Accessed on May 23, 2014

[132] http://media.washingtonpost.com/wp-adv/specialsales/international/spotlight/liberia/article2.html [Accessed on May 23, 2014]

[133] United States Institute of Peace, Security Sector Transformation in post-Conflict Liberia, http://www.usip.org/events/security-sector-transformation-in-post-conflict-liberia [Accessed on May 23, 2014].

[134] Cook, N. (2010:23) Liberia's Post-War Development: Key Issues and U.S. Assistance, Congress Research Service

[135] Cook, N. (2010) *Liberia's Post-War Development: Key Issues and U.S. Assistance*. Congress Research Service

[136] ibid

[137] USAID Liberia Democracy, Human Rights and Governance Page http://www.usaid.gov/liberia/democracy-human-rights-and-governance [Accessed on May 23, 2014].

[138] USAID Liberia Economic Growth Page http://www.usaid.gov/liberia/economic-growth [Accessed on May 23, 2014]

[139] Ibid

[140] Liberia Country Profile: President's Malaria Initiative, 2013. Available at: http://www.pmi.gov/docs/default-source/default-document-library/country-profiles/liberia_profile.pdf?sfvrsn=6 [Accessed on July 2, 2014]

[141] USAID Liberia Education Page Available at http://www.usaid.gov/liberia/education [Accessed on May 23, 2014].

[142] ibid

[143] ibid

[144] The Economist (2011) "Democracy in sub-Saharan Africa: It's Progress, even if it's Patchy" October, Ist, accessed at www.economist.com/node/21531010 [Accessed on June 26, 2014].

[145] Office of the United States Trade Representative, www.ustr.gov/countries-regions/africa [Accessed on June 25, 2014].

[146] Rothchild and Keller (2006) Africa-US Relations: Strategic Encounters, Lynne Rienner, London.