SPECIAL REPORT

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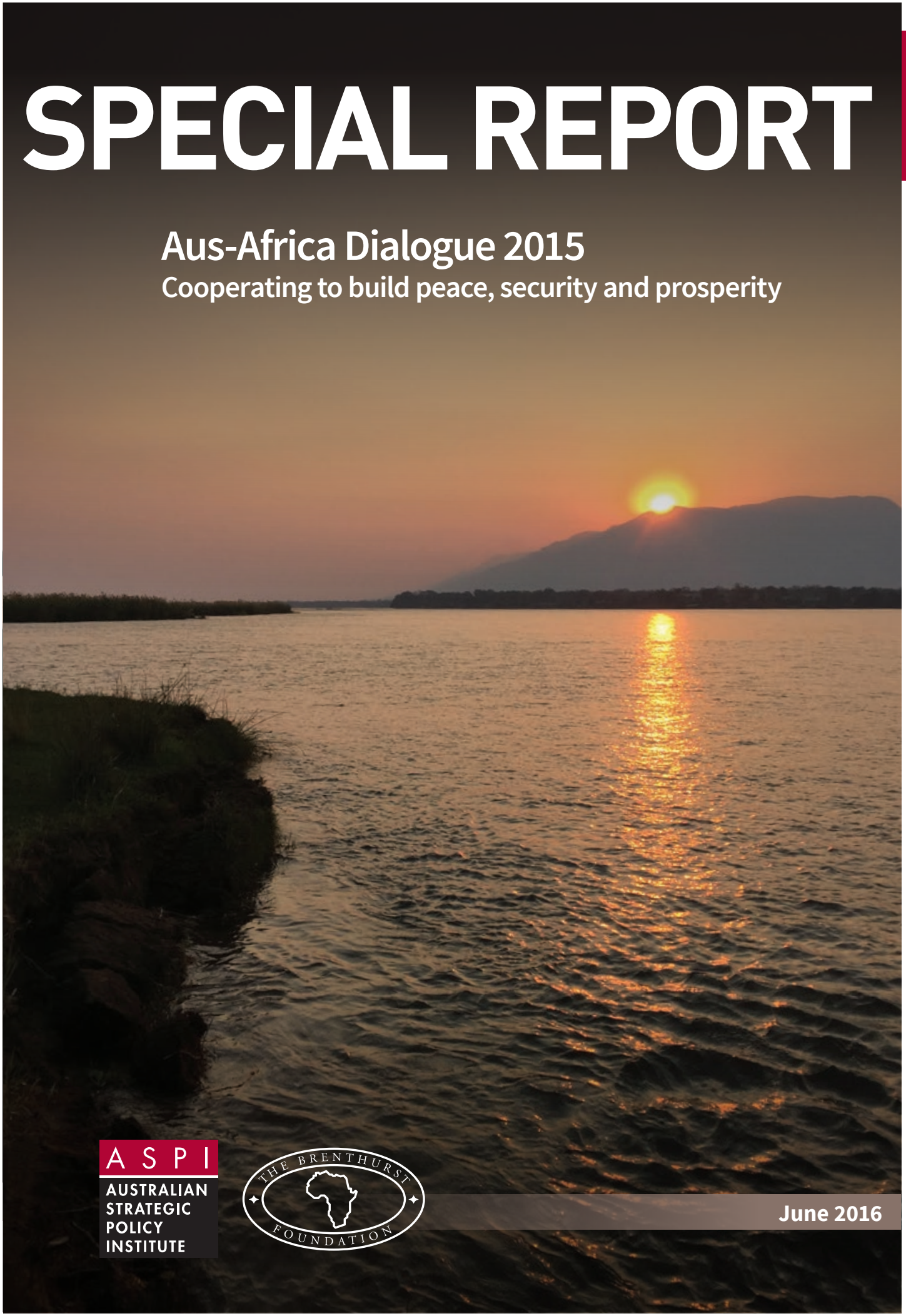
Aus-Africa Dialogue 2015

Cooperating to build peace, security and prosperity



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AUSTRALIAN STRATEGIC POLICY INSTITUTE

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June 2016

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aus-africa dialogue

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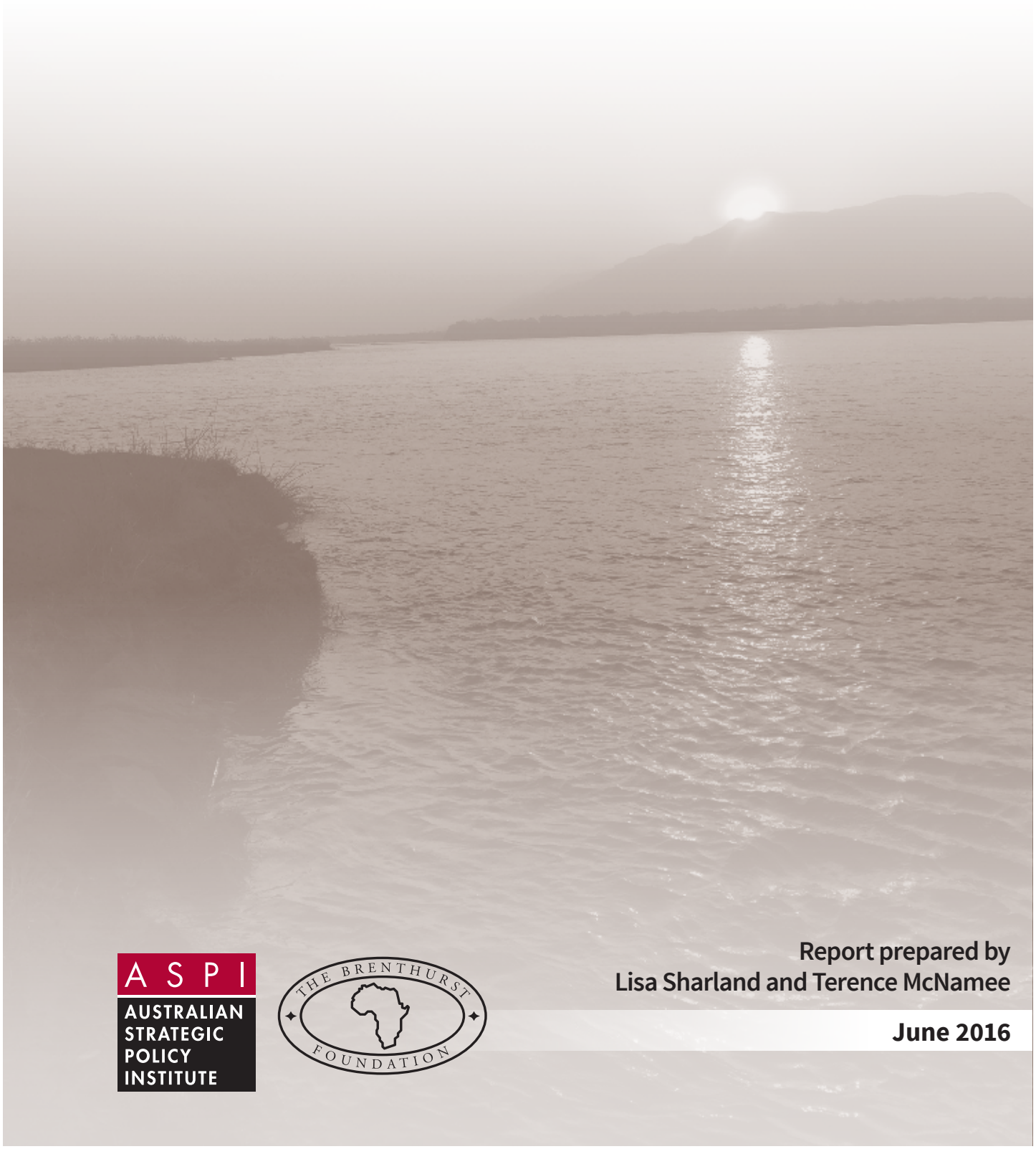

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June 2016

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Dialogue participants by the Zambezi River.

Aus-Africa Dialogue discussions underway at the Royal Zambezi Lodge.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The second Australia–Africa Dialogue was held at the Royal Zambezi Lodge in Zambia from 11 to 14 September 2015, co-hosted by the Brenthurst Foundation and ASPI. Participants included representatives from government, civil society and the private sector. Discussion focused on topics that ranged from the role of government and the private sector in combating terrorism and transnational organised crime to infrastructure development and professional services.

The dialogue is a platform for governments and the private sectors in Australia and Africa to exchange frank views on many issues, build relationships and identify recommendations for further cooperation. It provides a mechanism to support public diplomacy, create links between influential stakeholders and strengthen ties between the two continents.

Participants in the 2015 Aus-Africa Dialogue identified several areas where Australia and African regional organisations, countries, businesses and civil society could deepen engagement. They acknowledged our shared interests in strengthening peace and security, supporting the resilience of governance and justice institutions, developing infrastructure and spurring economic growth.

The following recommendations don't represent a consensus view among all the participants, but instead identify a range of ideas that emerged during discussions for further consideration by government, the private sector and civil society.

1. **Identify strategic interests.** The ability of the Australian Government to invest in Africa is limited. Rather than being reactive, the government should set out to be strategic in identifying priorities. A whole-of-government strategy for Australian engagement in Africa, which identifies regional and geographical priorities and works with the private sector, could help to target the limited available resources to invest in Africa sustainably and effectively. Similarly, African countries and regional and sub-regional organisations should seek to identify clear priorities in areas where they wish to engage with Australia.
2. **Share lessons on governance and surveys in the mining sector.** Australia has lessons to share on running surveys and establishing good governance in mining. Those lessons could be analysed, and support could be provided through organisations such as Geoscience Australia to assess resources in Africa. This could include holding a workshop with stakeholders, as well as engaging regional bodies such as the African Development Bank, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the African Union. It could also include exchanges of personnel among mining companies, as well as analyses of taxation and revenue arrangements.
3. **Share information and lessons on approaches to counterterrorism and deradicalisation.** Lessons from Sydney, Nairobi and Lagos could be shared, particularly experiences in deradicalisation, engaging youth and education, and approaches being used to combat ISIS, al-Shabaab and Boko Haram. Opportunities for improving intelligence sharing and cooperation and providing support on cybersecurity could be identified. Broader cooperation will involve identifying regional and global priorities, leveraging multilateral and regional programs and activities, exchanging ideas and supporting capacity building through training courses, strengthening military and police relationships (including further ADF and AFP liaison posts in Africa) and enhancing cooperation with the private sector.

4. **Identify opportunities to exchange lessons and provide counter-IED support.** Improvised explosive devices (IEDs) pose a threat in Northern Africa and the Horn of Africa, and the use of such weapons may spread. The ADF has developed significant institutional knowledge and capability to tackle IEDs, and the Australian Government has an interest in cooperation to overcome this threat. The threats faced by countries in Africa could be further analysed, including to identify opportunities for Australia to further its engagement and exchange lessons through research and workshops.
5. **Raise awareness about Australian commercial opportunities in Africa.** During the dialogue, participants noted several sectors for potential Australian business investment, including infrastructure (air services), professional services and the energy sector. The Australian Government could seek to engage the private sector in business and trade delegations to particular regions in Africa.
6. **Develop more comprehensive training in peace operations.** Australia's current approach to peacekeeping training in Africa is ad hoc. Opportunities exist to build on areas such as the protection of civilians, responses to sexual and gender-based violence, and women, peace and security. Australia and Africa could cooperate in developing training courses in mutual areas of interest in peacekeeping, which might include areas such as logistical, medical, counter-IED and civil–military cooperation.
7. **Support for the International Criminal Court.** Stark disagreements about the functioning of the International Criminal Court (ICC) were identified at the dialogue, suggesting that further discussion and engagement on that issue are needed. This could be an opportunity for African countries or regional organisations to work with Australia to facilitate an ongoing dialogue on areas of concern and potential reform, drawing on Australia's recent UN Security Council term and support for the ICC as an institution.
8. **Develop understanding and awareness in the media and among journalists.** It's important to raise awareness about African issues among the Australian media. This could include developing a program for journalists to tour Africa (as Australia does in the Pacific and Asia). Similarly, African journalists could benefit from a more thorough understanding of Australia, which could be assisted by supporting scholarships for them to come to Australia.
9. **Engage with and invest in young entrepreneurs and civil servants.** Identify emerging young entrepreneurs and officials in government to participate in a program in Australia (and in Africa) to engage with government, the private sector and senior political officials. This could be a fellowship program or part of a government visits program.
10. **Establish women's networks.** Australia's work to empower women in the Pacific (through the AFP) could be a model for establishing similar networks in the security sector. Such networks could be formal or informal and be between women in different security sectors, governments, the private sector, or any combination of them. The aim would be to exchange lessons and develop support.
11. **Invest in the development of strong governance and institutions to support resilience.** The recent Ebola outbreak and natural disasters have demonstrated the importance of strong institutions in Africa. Australia could identify areas to assist in strengthening regional mechanisms to support natural disaster response, perhaps through the Indian Ocean Rim Association, and health security, such as by supporting an African equivalent of the Centers for Disease Control.
12. **Strengthen maritime security.** Maritime security is an area of mutual interest, given that Africa and Australia share the Indian Ocean and support the development of the 'blue economy'. Opportunities could be identified to support regulation (such as of fisheries) and security in East Africa, in particular.

SHAPING THE FUTURE RELATIONSHIP

Africa is in the midst of massive historical shifts. Its population is predicted to double to 2.4 billion by 2050. This astonishing demographic change will place enormous demands on all African governments and institutions, which are already straining to provide jobs, education and services for the world's most youthful population. By 2030, most Africans will live in cities, rising to 56% by 2050. Africa is expected to add 800 million urban dwellers by then, including more than 200 million in Nigeria alone.

Urbanisation creates huge development opportunities, but they depend on infrastructure, investment and the quality of governance. In an environment of rapid urbanisation and the growth of megacities throughout the continent, failures in any or all of those areas will greatly amplify existing challenges to governments.

Africa continues to grow economically, but the International Monetary Fund has cut its growth forecasts for 2016 to 3% as much of the continent reels from the downturn in commodity prices and the related slowdown in Chinese demand. If Africa is still 'rising', it will do so in the near term at a slower pace than in the heady days of the late 2000s.

Part of the 'Africa rising' narrative was rooted in huge advances in political participation and elections in Africa during the past two decades, but significant challenges remain. The continent has witnessed a recent uptick in coups and backsliding in democratic reform. Competitive politics has opened the democratic space to a greater chunk of the citizenry but also heightened tensions in some societies divided sharply along ethnic lines. Overall, the continent has arguably never been more peaceful in modern times. Inter-state armed conflict has all but disappeared in Africa. Neither African civilians nor soldiers are dying in violent conflict in anywhere near the numbers seen from the 1970s through to the early 2000s. At the same time, much of the continent confronts varying levels of acute political volatility and threats to internal stability, which increasingly have a transnational dimension. Few areas of the continent do not face one or more of extremist terrorist violence, organised crime, forced migration and renascent communal conflict.

It was against this backdrop that the second Australia–Africa Dialogue was held at the Royal Zambezi Lodge in Zambia from 11 to 14 September 2015, co-hosted by the Brenthurst Foundation and ASPI. (see Appendix 1 for the agenda). Participants included representatives from government, civil society and the private sector (see Appendix 2 for a list).

The agenda for discussions over the two days included diverse topics, including the role of government and the private sector in preparing for emerging security challenges; engaging women in efforts to maintain peace and security; combating terrorism and transnational organised crime; infrastructure, human capital and professional services development; sustainable investment in the resources and commodities sectors; and enhancing defence engagement to support regional and international security.

This second dialogue built on the first, which was held in Bunker Bay in Western Australia in 2013, as well as on earlier consultations held in Zambia in 2012. Some of the recommendations emerging from the first dialogue have been taken up; for example, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade has established the Advisory Group on Australia-Africa Relations as a mechanism to facilitate engagement between government and the private sector.

At the start of the 2015 dialogue, one participant noted that they hoped the second dialogue would be a 'game-changer'. The range and breadth of issues discussed over the two days suggested that it could be, particularly if government and the private sector take up some of the recommendations that emerged from the discussions.

The purpose of the dialogue can be summarised into three main areas:

- **Support public diplomacy.** The dialogue demonstrates interest in more substantive engagement between Australia and regional organisations and countries in Africa. It provides a vehicle to promote, explain and discuss areas of mutual interest and identify opportunities for engagement between the two continents. It raises awareness of the issues affecting both among senior officials in governments and the private sector.
- **Develop relationships among influential stakeholders.** The dialogue has included the participation of senior political, government and military figures, as well as representatives from business, education and civil society. It facilitates the development of relationships between key stakeholders in government and the private sector, enabling an exchange of ideas across a range of different sectors.
- **Identify opportunities to strengthen engagement between the two continents.** The dialogue provides a forum for discussion to identify ideas and recommendations in a range of sectors for government, the private sector and civil society to take forward to strengthen their engagement.

Discussions noted several reasons why Australia and Africa should seek to strengthen their engagement. Both continents have an interest in supporting the global rules-based order and have geographical borders on the Indian Ocean. In its engagement with Africa, Australia isn't burdened by being a former colonial power. It seeks to build trust with African countries on an equal footing.

And there's scope to foster opportunity in both continents and harness the role of the private sector. Government has a role in this, but opportunities are often missed. Given global security developments in many areas, such as counterterrorism, cybersecurity and defence, the dialogue provides a means to fill some of the voids in cooperation and identify areas where it can be enhanced.

GOVERNMENT AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR

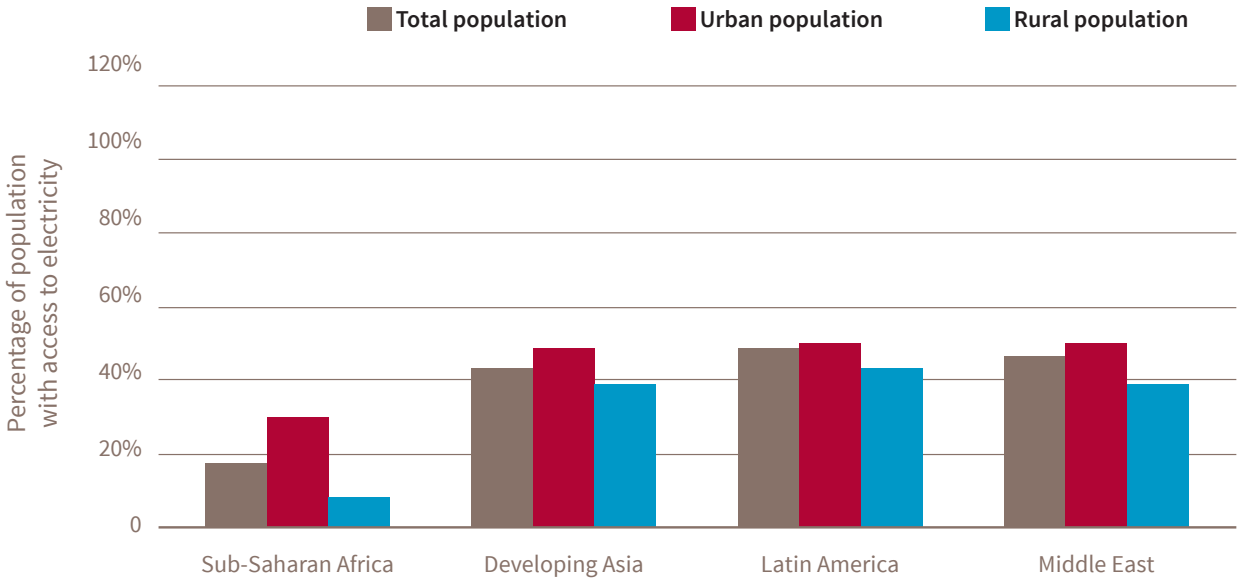
Building trust is essential for strengthening the Africa–Australia relationship. There are roles for government and the private sector in this context. There's a need to work on developing a strategy built on relationships with a shared understanding of differing needs and capabilities. This is particularly important as Australia and Africa seek to address a range of emerging security threats and challenges, including terrorism, cyberattacks, pandemics and environmental pollution. In the Australia–Africa relationship, we need to shift from a predominantly developmental focus to a market-driven commercial focus. While there are 'degrees of fragility' across the African continent, we need to move away from the labels of 'failed' or 'failing' states and recognise that African states are still in their infancy and experiencing the growing pains and volatility that have been the historical global norm.

Discussions underway on the role of government and the private sector.

One area of potential investment is the energy sector. As one participant noted, Africa is, in one critical respect, still the 'dark continent', so low are levels of access to electricity (see Figure 1). More than $23 billion in investment is needed to supply just two-thirds of Africa's estimated energy needs. One of the challenges in exploring alternative energy sources is that countries in Africa are, understandably, fixed on securing sufficient baseload power any way they can, which tends to privilege carbon-based sources. There's enormous potential for hydro, wind and solar power in all parts of the continent, but to realise it requires the private sector to be given more scope to input into nations' energy mix—and here are opportunities for Australian firms to be involved. It's notable that Africa's

economies averaged about 5% annual growth in the past decade, even with such poor access to energy. It's critical for countries to benefit from their resources, rather than merely export resource commodities. This requires greater commercial investment into a diverse range of sectors, including agriculture and professional services. In this regard, the private sector needs to drive the energy sector.

Figure 1: Electrification rates by regions (2013)



Source: IEA *World Energy Outlook 2015.*

The recent Ebola outbreak created considerable challenges across the African continent. It had significant economic costs for the continent as a whole—especially in lost tourist revenues—and in West Africa in particular, even though the consequences were in many respects disproportionate to the threat posed by the epidemic. The media had little incentive to moderate its reporting, which had a detrimental impact on the region. The outbreak wasn't so much a health crisis as a governance crisis. Where the people trusted the government, they took the health authorities' advice. The experience affirmed that it's more important to have an 'early response' system than an 'early warning' system.

The crisis also highlighted Africa's continued global marginalisation: the media tended to focus on international commentary from other international leaders, rather than the leaders and governments directly affected. At the same time, the international community was very slow to respond to the situation. Australia had no permanent diplomatic presence in the affected countries. Contrast that with an organisation such as the Australia–Africa Minerals and Energy Group, which ran a program to look at the challenges of Ebola before there was a major outbreak.

Overall, the Ebola crisis demonstrated the need for more investment in health systems and the importance of engagement between governments and businesses (many of which have been in country for several years and need to operate in non-secure environments). Ebola and natural disasters have demonstrated the importance of building strong institutions in Africa. Australia could identify areas to assist in strengthening regional mechanisms to support natural disaster response, for example, through the Indian Ocean Rim Association, and to develop health security (such as by establishing an African version of the Centers for Disease Control).

Entrepreneurship and commerce create a range of opportunities for engagement between Australian and African companies and governments. Both continents could be deepening their engagement on issues such as road safety and transport; in the film and fashion industries; and in agriculture, energy infrastructure and supply chains.

We need to shift from a predominantly developmental focus to a market-driven commercial focus.

Strengthening maritime security is another area of mutual interest, given that we both have borders on the Indian Ocean and support the 'blue economy'. Opportunities could be identified to support regulation (such as through fisheries bodies) and security in East Africa, in particular.

Similarly, we need to raise awareness about Australian commercial opportunities in Africa. Several sectors for potential Australian business investment were noted during the dialogue, including infrastructure (air services), professional services and the energy sector. The Australian Government could seek to engage the private sector in business and trade delegations to particular regions in Africa.

WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

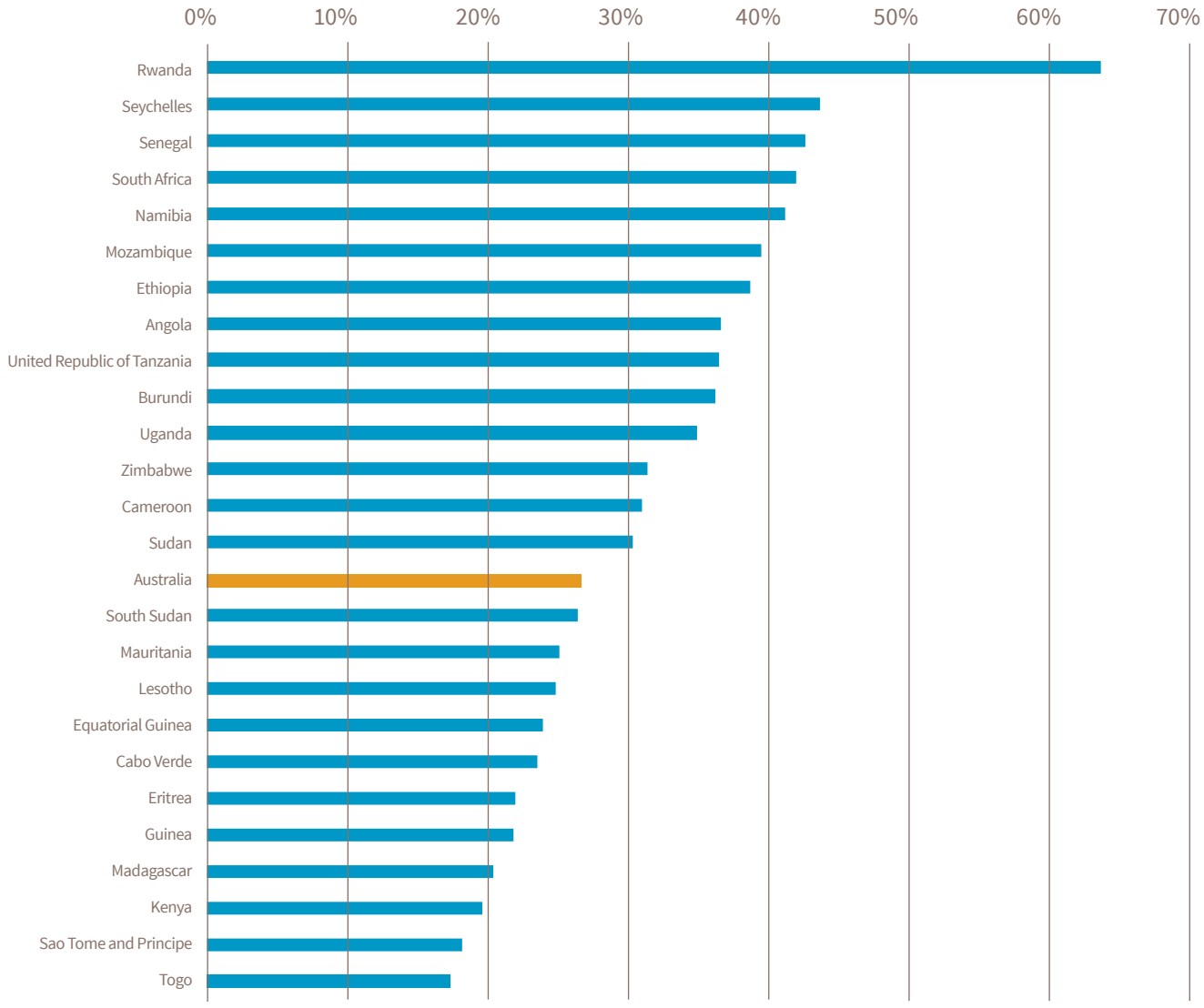
Female participants at the 2015 Aus-Africa Dialogue.

The issue of women, peace and security is an area of mutual interest and priority on both continents. Australia has learned the importance of engaging women and integrating gender perspectives in the ADF as part of overall capability and operational effectiveness in operations such as those in Afghanistan. Many countries in Africa have learned first-hand, through conflict, the value of women's participation and engagement and the important role of women as part of peace negotiations and in developing and training the security sector. Both continents have the mutual challenge of converting aspirations into reality when it comes to the implementation of that agenda. Therefore, Australia and Africa have a valuable opportunity to share lessons and experiences in implementing reforms.

Notably, the African Union declared 2015 as the 'Year of women's empowerment and development towards Africa's Agenda 2063', and that year was also the 15th anniversary of the adoption of the UN Security Council's landmark first resolution on women and peace and security, which recognised the role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and the importance of their participation and the inclusion of gender perspectives in peace and security efforts. Following on from that and other UN Security Council resolutions, Australia, along with several countries in Africa, developed national action plans on the implementation of Resolution 1325. Those strategic documents are often under ongoing review, creating an opportunity to exchange lessons on different national approaches and on what's been learned.

Many varied lessons can be exchanged between Australia and Africa on the successes and setbacks that have resulted as part of the women, peace and security agenda over the past 15 years. For example, in some post-conflict societies in Africa, the political representation ratio for women has often exceeded the ratio in Australia (female parliamentarians in Rwanda are an example – see Figure 2). Similarly, the ADF has recently been through an extensive review and is now running a cultural change program that may provide some useful lessons for reform initiatives in various African defence organisations.

Figure 2: Highest representation of women in parliament: lower or single-house, in Sub-Saharan Africa (top 25) and Australia



Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (April 2016) http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm

The international community has recognised the role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and the importance of their participation and the inclusion of gender perspectives in peace and security efforts.

The dialogue discussed women's networks as a means of exchanging views. Australia has experience in engaging women's networks through work with Pacific police chiefs. This is a model that could be replicated in Australia's engagement with countries in Africa to empower women and engage them on security issues. Similar approaches could also be fostered in the private sector and among local communities and entrepreneurs.

Another area of cooperation could be training, particularly in military or peacekeeping operations courses that have components dealing with women, peace and security, or preventing and responding to sexual and gender-based violence. Australia and Africa could cooperate in the delivery of such courses. Lessons could be shared on training and deploying gender advisers to military operations in coalition forces, peacekeeping operations or humanitarian responses. Success will require sustained political commitment on the part of the Australian Government and the Australian private sector.

TERRORISM AND TRANSNATIONAL ORGANISED CRIME

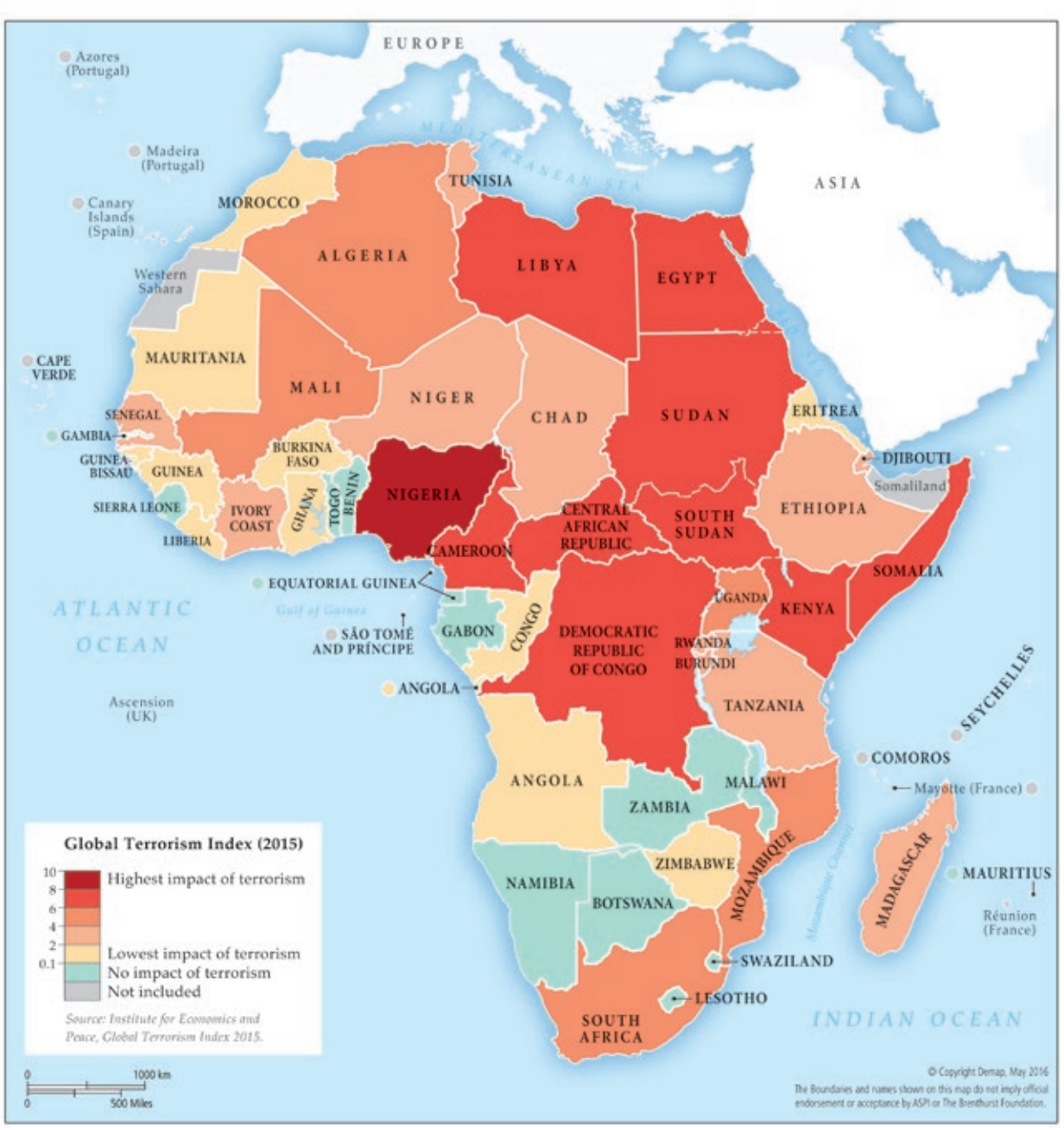
Discussions underway on terrorism and transnational organised crime.

Discussions during the dialogue examined a wide range of issues facing Australia and Africa in their efforts to address transnational organised crime and terrorism. This included the operations of al-Shabaab, Boko Haram and Islamic State, which continue to threaten African citizens on their own territory (for a map of terrorist activity in Africa, see Figure 3). For Australia, an ongoing concern is the radicalisation of citizens, who sometimes leave Australia to become foreign fighters. Africans and Australians both need to look at areas where they can cooperate, share information and lessons that they have learned from asymmetric attacks and incidents.

Dialogue participants identified Kenya as a potential partner in these efforts, given Kenya's experience of terrorist attacks by al-Shabaab. Australia could support countries such as Kenya in their fight to strengthen democracy against terrorist attacks or challenges arising from refugee camps inside Kenya's borders. It was suggested that developments in Europe and the experience of countries such as Australia demonstrated a need to examine the UN refugee convention in the context of global developments. This could be an area for cooperation.

Religious belief has great power, so we need to tackle the beliefs of terrorists who say that they are motivated by religion, including by drawing on the reservoirs of traditions and cultural strengths in African and Australian societies. We need to strengthen police, law enforcement and intelligence to detect threats, and we need much greater involvement by community leaders to understand their concerns and share information.

Figure 3: Terrorist activity in Africa



Source: Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Terrorism Index 2015*.

Lessons from Sydney, Nairobi and Lagos could be shared, particularly experiences in deradicalisation, engaging youth and education.

There's no one-size-fits-all approach to counterterrorism, but governments have an important role in articulating the values of their nations. Educators also have a role and should be engaged. Cybersecurity is an area of increasing vulnerability, given our dependence on the internet. These are avenues for cooperation. Lessons from Sydney, Nairobi and Lagos could be shared, particularly experiences in deradicalisation, engaging youth and education, and approaches to combating violent extremist groups such as ISIS, al-Shabaab and Boko Haram. We might be able to identify opportunities to improve intelligence sharing and cybersecurity.

Violent extremism in Africa—from Somalia in the east to Morocco in the west—could spread south, intersecting further with Australian interests. During the dialogue, participants pointed to several areas for better cooperation in future: identifying regional and global priorities; building multilateral and regional programs; exchanging ideas and supporting capacity building through training courses; and strengthening military and police relationships. Australia's current African security 'footprint' of only one ADF and one AFP officer makes it very hard to engage with African countries on security. This support could be further strengthened.

Dialogue participants saw cooperation with the private sector as particularly important for cybersecurity. As one noted, the wars of the 21st century will be fought in cyberspace, where information is readily available to armed groups. Cooperation with sectors such as telecommunications will be critical in efforts to address this growing threat.

INFRASTRUCTURE, HUMAN CAPITAL AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

Discussions underway on infrastructure, human capital and professional services.

Trade and investment are the bread and butter of regional organisations. There's vast potential for investment in Africa, which has a range of untapped resources and nascent economic sectors. Sub-regional organisations in Africa, such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community and the Southern African Development Community, which together cover 625 million people and an area of 17.3 million square kilometres, provide opportunities for engagement. No country produces everything it needs, so infrastructure is an essential enabler of trade, investment and entrepreneurship. However, as several participants noted, Africa remains largely under-developed in this area. Success in building infrastructure requires innovative forms of financing and effective state institutions, both of which are ongoing challenges in parts of Africa, particularly where there are differences between local and provincial or state governments.

There's vast potential for investment in Africa, which has a range of untapped resources and nascent economic sectors.

Infrastructure can also be used as a tool for development. For example, a trans-Africa highway could link capital cities and enable the quick movement of goods across the continent (rather than commerce being hampered by logistical delays or costly air movements). Building more airports could greatly enhance connectivity on the continent and drive down costs, but many African airlines are struggling to purchase new aircraft because orders, such as for the A380, are already outstripping supply. Furthermore, mobility across the continent is often hampered by the need for visas, which remain an impediment to business and travel. As one participant noted, there's a need to develop a service culture, supporting the development of infrastructure and drawing on the experience of Africa's diaspora in that effort. Otherwise, expatriates are less inclined to return home, resulting in an ongoing brain drain.

Discussing cooperation between Australia and Africa in the commercial sector, dialogue participants acknowledged that Africans and Australians need to know more about each other's challenges and opportunities. This is particularly important for companies looking to invest or develop business opportunities. The COMESA memorandum of understanding with the Western Australian Government is a good example of an opportunity that requires more analysis and discussion. This might include engaging the African diplomatic corps in Australia in more frequent discussions with Australian businesses. It's also important to raise awareness about African issues among the Australian media. This could include developing a program for journalists to tour Africa (as Australia does in the Pacific and Asia), as well as supporting scholarships for African journalists to come to Australia.

Such engagement efforts also need to be focused on youth. This could include identifying emerging young entrepreneurs and officials in government to take part in a program in Australia (and in Africa) to engage with government, the private sector and senior political officials. This could be a fellowship program or part of a government visits program.

Participants also discussed the importance of educational approaches and efforts. Some noted that religion is often sidelined as part of discussions, rather than being viewed as part of a belief system that can enhance societal interaction. There's an important opportunity for Australia and Africa to engage more broadly in the education market, as well as to invest in infrastructure systems that make education available to more people.

THE RESOURCES AND COMMODITIES SECTOR

Discussions underway on the resources and commodities sector.

Both continents are blessed with resources. The difference is that Australia has used its resources to build world-class infrastructure, whereas Africa has generally failed to derive a strong development dividend from its natural wealth. Mining in Africa is nowhere near its potential. More research and exploration are required, along with greater collaboration between government and industry, not least on developing infrastructure to support the industry.

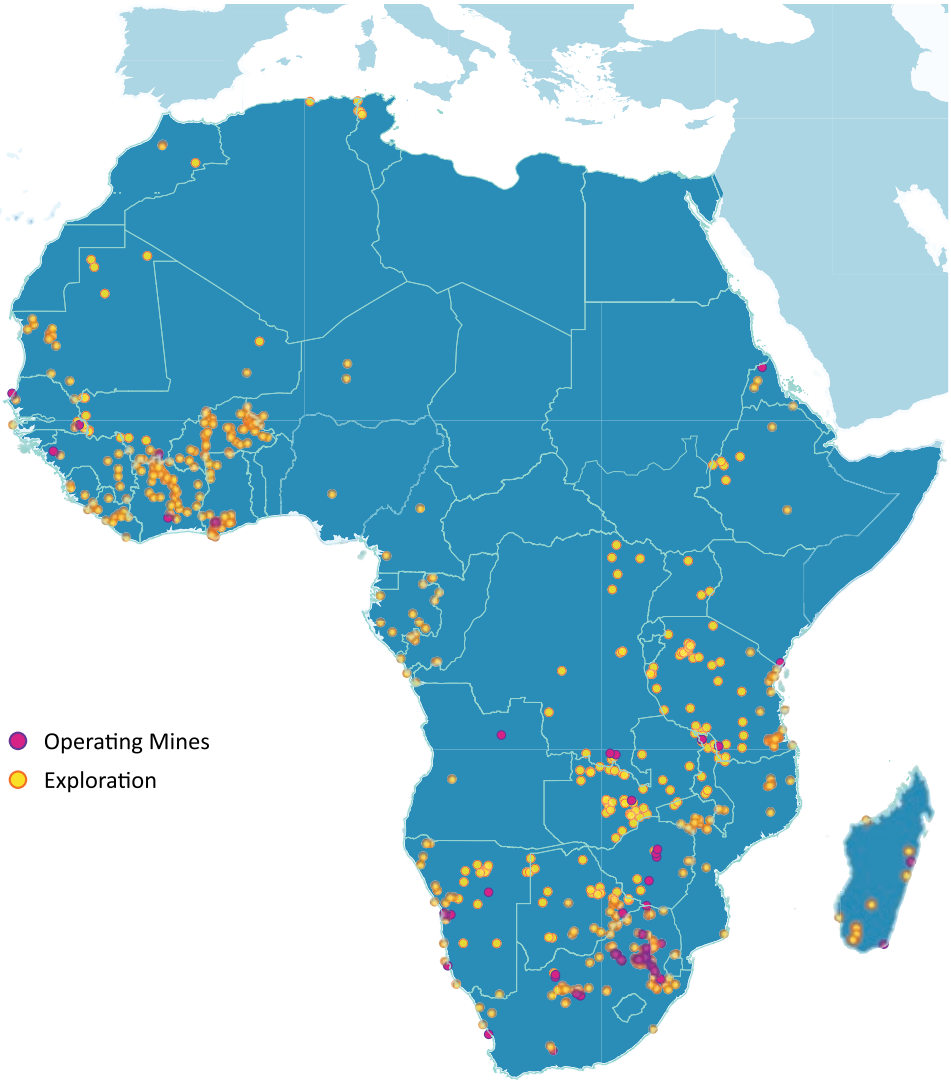
Sustainable investment in mining on the African continent is particularly challenging. Only six of the 54 African states have development legislation. This presents immense challenges in assessing risk and the financial implications of potential business investments. It's extremely difficult to obtain financing for business ventures in Africa, as it is viewed as a high-risk region. The minerals sector and governments urgently need to rehabilitate a relationship that's broken down in recent years, in order to reduce the costs of mining operations and improve trust between all stakeholders. This is particularly important after the recent downturn in commodities prices.

Investment in mining has a large multiplier effect; for example, $1 invested in a mine generates $3, and every job in a mine generates 3.5 jobs elsewhere. In many instances, mines perform a quasi-governmental role, supporting the development of community resilience and improved security. Appropriately developed corporate social responsibility programs can contribute to these efforts. Nonetheless, mining companies need to understand

governments and be more transparent with them about profits and returns. This can and should be a win–win for the mining companies and the governments. Government policies in Africa also remain an ongoing challenge for mining companies, particularly when they seek sustainable investments. There's scope for greater clarity on what mining companies would like to see from African governments, as the development of the 2016 Zambezi Protocol attests.

Negative perceptions of security can also undermine investments. We need a positive public narrative from the private sector to accurately inform and avoid inflaming sentiment. Such narratives are also drawn on by governments in their decisions about whom to do business with. Collaboration in the mining industry can be through building mining institutions, sharing knowledge and understanding taxation and revenue regimes. However, choosing the right partners is important, and the longevity of partnerships in the mining sector is crucial. The Australian model is a commercial model, based on Australian values (in contrast to, say, the Chinese Government model). Corruption has to be eliminated and replaced with good governance, and capacity building is an important part of the partnership.

Figure 4: ASX-listed mining projects in Africa



Source: Courtesy of AAMEG (Australia-Africa Minerals & Energy Group).

Australia has lessons to share on running surveys and establishing good governance in mining (for a map of ASX-listed mining projects in Africa, see Figure 4). Those lessons could be analysed and support could be provided through organisations such as Geoscience Australia to assess resources in Africa. This could include holding workshops with stakeholders and engaging regional bodies such as the African Development Bank, COMESA and the African Union. It could also include exchanges of personnel among mining companies, along with analyses of taxation and revenue arrangements.

> The minerals sector and governments urgently need to rehabilitate a relationship that's broken down in recent years, in order to reduce the costs of mining operations and improve trust between all stakeholders

Discussions underway during this session.

DEFENCE ENGAGEMENT AND REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

There has been sharper international focus on some of the security challenges in Africa since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Much of the effort has been focused on developing regional and sub-regional military capability across the continent to respond to security crises, conflict situations and the need to protect civilians. Increasing insecurity driven by terrorism and the opportunism of rebel groups has meant that the African Union and other sub-regional organisations have been forging a range of responses to address security threats. Yet those efforts have been hampered by the ability and willingness of many countries in Africa to support such activities. One of the challenges is that many African countries aren't willing to fund the necessary forces, which are often under-skilled because of a lack of investment and long-term government support.

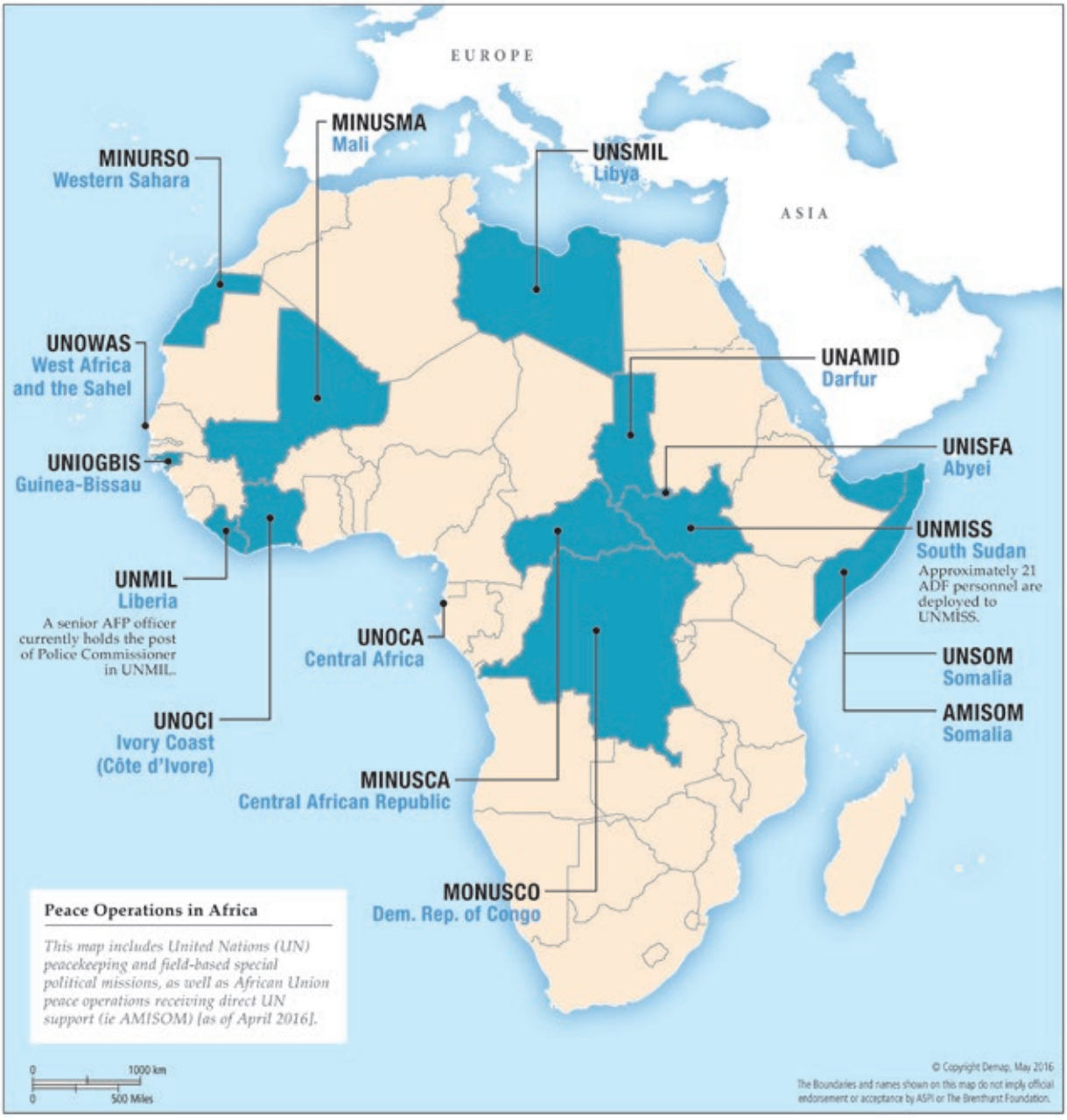
At the same time, Australia's engagement in African defence and security programs remains limited. The ADF is a comparatively small force and has been stretched in the past decade through deployments in the Asia–Pacific region, Afghanistan, and more recently Iraq and the wider Middle East. Nonetheless, the ADF continues to have some engagement in Africa, most notably through its deployment in South Sudan as part of the UN peacekeeping mission (UNMISS, see Figure 5) and other training activities targeted at contributors in East Africa (predominantly through the Peace Operations Training Centre). Some of these activities have also previously included the engagement of civilian elements, including through the Australian Civil-Military Centre.

Several participants noted that while African forces are developing combat experience (for example, in Somalia) that offers wide lessons to non-Africa troops, Australia is well positioned to assist in developing specific capabilities of African peacekeeping contributors, which could prove particularly valuable now that such operations are facing a range of increasing and varied threats. Improvised explosive devices (IEDs) pose a threat in Northern Africa and the Horn of Africa, and there are concerns that their use may spread. Australia's operational experience against opponents using asymmetric tactics and devices (such as IEDs) led to significant initiatives to ensure that the ADF is trained, prepared and equipped to respond to such evolving threats. The ADF now has advanced capabilities to tackle IEDs, and the Australian Government has an interest in cooperating to overcome the threat. The threats faced by countries in Africa could be analysed further, including through greater Australian participation in exchanges, workshops and research.

Opportunities also exist to build on areas such as the protection of civilians, responses to sexual and gender-based violence, and women, peace and security. Australia assisted the African Union in developing the guidelines on the protection of civilians for AU peace operations, but that work hasn't been taken further since 2012.

Australia and Africa could cooperate in developing training courses on mutual areas of interest in peacekeeping. This might also include areas such as logistical, medical, counter-IED and civil–military cooperation. Such initiatives would help to build capacity in a range of areas. Given Australia's limited scope to invest significantly in defence training in Africa, such activities should be scoped and priorities should be identified strategically in order to manage expectations and future requests.

Figure 5: Peace operations in Africa



Dialogue participants noted opportunities for defence cooperation beyond peacekeeping operations, such as sharing information on defence strategic review processes, engaging with the defence industry, managing veterans' affairs, curbing illegal fishing and piracy (including in the Indian Ocean and Gulf of Guinea), and engaging closely with the private sector to share information about security threats in the region. Australia is well placed to share its experiences in intelligence cooperation with countries in Southeast Asia to address terrorist threats and incidents in that region. Such lessons could help to guide African nations in their approach to dealing with terrorism on the continent. Sharing them could also enhance Australia's overall understanding of the nature of the terrorist threat beyond the Indo-Pacific region.

Australia is well positioned to assist in developing specific capabilities of African peacekeeping contributors, which could prove particularly valuable now that such operations are facing a range of increasing and varied threats.

Justice and the role of the International Criminal Court (ICC) were raised throughout the dialogue. Thirty-four countries in Africa are members of the ICC (as is Australia), but those memberships appear, on the face of it, to be under strain because of perceptions that the court is effectively biased against the continent. In particular, the ICC's indictments (now quashed) of Kenya's President and Deputy President ignited a controversy that has yet to abate. Dialogue participants disagreed about the functioning of the court, which suggests that further discussion and engagement on options for the ICC in the future is needed. This could present an opportunity for Australian engagement, following on from Australia's engagement on the issue during its recent UN Security Council term and its support for the ICC as an institution.

CONCLUSION

The 2015 Aus-Africa Dialogue held on the banks of the Zambezi River in Zambia built on the foundations established at the first dialogue in 2013. That inaugural meeting was the beginning of a conversation between two continents that, in many ways, scarcely knew one another. It wasn't a straightforward task. Indeed, it required something of a leap of faith to link key decision-makers and opinion formers from a continent of 54 states—with many different national interests and histories—with their counterparts from a single, complex federation in which national, state and private interests create competing ideas and opportunities. Yet the quality of engagement between Australians and Africans at the first 2013 dialogue suggested a vast scope for future cooperation and shared learning on many of the key challenges of our time.

The second Aus-Africa Dialogue sought to put more flesh on the bones of this emerging relationship by concentrating on critical issues that affect each continent significantly, although often in different ways. Typically, the role of women in maintaining peace and security is either not on the agenda or given scant attention at major international forums, but discussions at the 2015 Aus-Africa Dialogue made it abundantly clear that actions and policies need to catch up with the reality that women are central to the future stability of conflict-affected regions. Similarly, the meeting did not shirk difficult questions about education and religion, on which so much of the global fight against violent extremism and radicalisation turns. In other words, participants directly confronted the elephant in the room (literally).

Exchanging ideas and identifying potential solutions will remain important as Africa and Australia grapple with the evolving threats and challenges facing the international community. The Aus-Africa Dialogue is expected to continue to be an important vehicle for those discussions and to lead to further cooperation to build peace, security and prosperity in the decades ahead.

The ‘elephant in the room’ at the dialogue.

APPENDIX 1: AGENDA

Friday 11 September	
Opening dinner and official welcome	The Hon Darren Chester MP Amb Dr Pandelani Mathoma

Saturday 12 September	
0845 – 0900	**Opening session and dialogue opening** Remarks by ASPI (Anthony Bergin) and (TBF) Terence McNamee
0900 – 1100	**Session 1: Government and private sector: preparing for emerging security challenges** **Context/questions:** • What lessons can be learned from the response to the outbreak of Ebola in West Africa? Are there broader lessons for investing in health security? • The international community will agree a set of Sustainable Development goals through until 2030 this year. How can governments and the private sector support them as a means to investing in longer term security? • Sustainable agricultural investment remains critical to ongoing food security. How can these initiatives be supported on a regional and national level? • Growing populations, infrastructure needs and economies will continue to increase demands on energy across Africa. How can governments and the private sector work together to ensure energy security in the future? **Chairperson:** Ms Di Fleming **Panellists:** 1. Mr Lai Yahaya 2. Dr Anthony Bergin 3. Dr Terence McNamee 4. HE Mr Adam McCarthy 5. Dr Hesphina Rukato
1100 – 1130	Morning Tea

Saturday 12 September	
1130 – 1330	**Session 2 – Engaging women in efforts to maintain peace and security** **Context/questions:** • This year marks 15 years since the adoption of the first UNSC resolution on women and peace and security. What progress has been made? • Where are the critical gaps in engaging women in security and development and how can these be addressed? • What initiatives are underway to ensure women are represented in leadership positions in politics, government and business? • Are there lessons that can be shared on effectively engaging women in the security sector, including the defence and police forces? • What role can the private sector have in empowering women? What initiatives are underway? **Chairperson:** Mrs Sheila Khama **Panellists:** 1. Ms Gai Brodtmann MP 2. Hon Betty Mould-Iddrisu 3. Ms Lisa Sharland 4. Hon Sekai Holland
1330 – 1430	Lunch
1430 – 1630	**Session 3 – Combatting terrorism and transnational organised crime** **Context/questions:** • Is there scope to enhance the level of policing cooperation on issues related to counter-terrorism and organised crime? What should be the priorities? • Are there lessons to be shared on de-radicalisation, engaging youth and countering-violent extremism? • What developments are taking place to address cyber security? • How can we support and improve international justice mechanisms in the light of serious questions being raised about the work of ad hoc tribunals and the International Criminal Court (ICC)? • How can the private sector work with government to combat terrorism and address transnational organised crime? **Chairperson:** Commander Mark Walters **Panellists:** 1. Ms Ottilia Maunganidze 2. Mr Matthew Neuhaus 3. Amb Dr Martin Kimani 4. Mr David Irvine 5. Hon Rodger Chongwe
1630 – 1800	Afternoon break / individual discussions
1900	Short Presentation – Terence McNamee
1905	Greg Mills featured dinner address: *How South Africa Works*; plus performance of *This is how it works* by Robyn Auld

Sunday 13 September	
0900 – 1100	**Session 4 – Infrastructure development, human capital and professional services** **Context/questions:** • What are the major challenges to infrastructure development across Africa? How can Australia and Africa share lessons? • Where are the growth areas in professional services? How can we foster investment in training and developing human capital to support this growth, particularly among youth? • Can regional and sub-regional organisations support the facilitation of trade and investment? • What can we learn from engagement of government, civil society and non-governmental organisations in fostering education networks and other cultural exchanges? **Chairperson:** Mr Mark Pearson **Panellists:** 1. HE Mr Sindiso Ngwenya 2. Mr Tony George 3. Ms Di Fleming 4. Mr Aaron Munetsi
1100 – 1130	Morning Tea
1130 – 1330	**Session 5: Sustainable investment in the resources and commodities sector** **Context/questions:** • What are the opportunities for growth in the resources and commodities sector in Africa? • How do governments and the private sector ensure that investment is sustainable? What are some of the best practices? • Where are the prospects for growth in the mining sector? What are the major limitations and how can Australia and countries in Africa work to overcome them? • What about other industries including energy? • Is there a role for regional and sub-regional organisations in terms of facilitating investment? **Chairperson:** HE Mr Lazarous Kapambwe **Panellists:** 1. Mrs Sheila Khama 2. Ms Trish O'Reilly 3. Mr Thomas Nziratimana 4. Mr Ben Gargett
1330 – 1430	Lunch

Sunday 13 September	
1430 – 1630	**Session 6: Enhancing defence engagement to support regional and international security** **Context/questions:** • What is the current state of defence cooperation between Australia, the African Union and sub-regional bodies? • What forms of military and defence cooperation could enhance the work of UN, regional and sub-regional organisations in peace operations? • How can Australia and African countries work to advance international security through the United Nations? • Are there areas of civil-military cooperation that could be progressed? • Are there priorities for training, capacity building and sharing lessons learned between militaries? • Australia and the African Union have been strong advocates for the protection of civilians in peacekeeping. How can this work be progressed? **Chairperson:** Dr Anthony Bergin **Panellists:** 1. MAJ GEN Rick Burr 2. GEN Julius Karangi 3. Ms Lisa Sharland 4. Amb Dr Pandelani Mathoma
1630 – 1700	Final Reflections

APPENDIX 2: PARTICIPANTS

African Delegation

Hon Rodger Chongwe, Consultant and Lecturer in Law, Human Rights and Democracy, and former Parliamentarian and Minister of Legal Affairs, Zambia

Hon Sekai Holland, Former Zimbabwean Co-Minister for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration

HE Mr Lazarous Kapambwe, Special Advisor (Economic Affairs) to the Chairperson of the African Union Commission

GEN Julius Karangi, Former Chief of the Kenyan Defence Forces

Ms Sheila Khama, Director, African Natural Resources Center, African Development Bank

Amb Dr Martin Kimani, Kenya's Permanent Representative and Head of Mission to the United Nations (Nairobi), the UN Environment Program and the UN Human Settlements Program.

Amb Dr Pandelani Mathoma, Chief Executive Officer, Pandelani Investments Holdings (Pty) Ltd

Ms Ottilia Maunganidze, Senior Researcher, Institute for Security Studies, South Africa.

Dr Terence McNamee, Deputy Director, The Brenthurst Foundation

Dr Greg Mills, Director, The Brenthurst Foundation

Hon Betty Mound-Iddrisu, Managing Partner, BMD Global Consultancy Ltd and former Attorney-General, Minister for Justice and Minister for Education, Ghana

HE Mr Sindiso Ngwenya, Secretary-General for the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)

Mr Thomas Nziratimana, General Manager of Government and Community Relations, TransAfrica Resources Limited

Mr Mark Pearson, Associate, The Brenthurst Foundation

Dr Hesphina Rukato, Executive Director, Centre for African Development Solutions

Mr Lai Yahaya, Team Leader of President Obama's Power Africa Senior Advisors Group.

Australian Delegation

Dr Anthony Bergin, Deputy Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute

Ms Gai Brodtmann MP, Shadow Parliamentary Secretary for Defence

Major General Rick Burr, Deputy Chief of Army, Australian Defence Force

The Hon Darren Chester MP, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Defence

Ms Di Fleming, Executive Director, Ducure Foundation & President Africa Australia Business Council (Vic)

Mr Ben Gargett, Partner, Australia-Africa Practice Leader, PricewaterhouseCoopers

Mr Tony George, Principal, St Stephen's School, Western Australia

Mr David Irvine, Former Director-General of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation

HE Mr Adam McCarthy, Australian High Commissioner to South Africa

Mr Aaron Munetsi, Regional General Manager (Africa and Middle East), South African Airways

Mr Matthew Neuhaus, Assistant Secretary, Africa Branch, Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

Ms Trish O'Reilly, Chief Executive Officer, Australia African Mining Industry Group

Ms Lisa Sharland, Analyst, Australian Strategic Policy Institute & Visiting Fellow, The Stimson Center

Commander Mark Walters, Manager International Support, Australian Federal Police

Colonel Wesley Volant, Australian Defence Attaché to the African Union

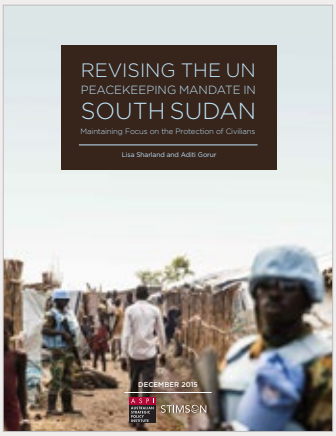
Participants at the conclusion of the dialogue.

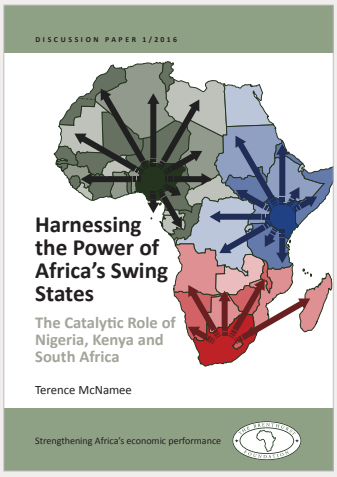
DARREN CHESTER

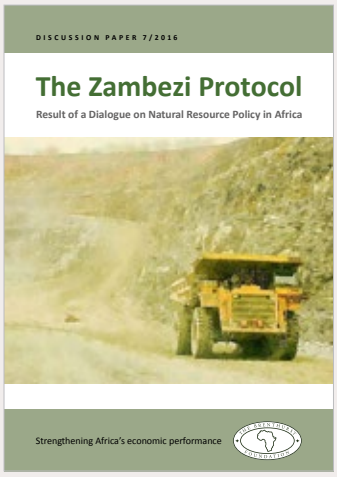
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADF	Australian Defence Force
AFP	Australian Federal Police
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
ICC	International Criminal Court
IED	improvised explosive device

Some related ASPI and the Brenthurst Foundation publications







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Cooperating to build peace, security and prosperity

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