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WHICH POLICY OF COOPERATION IN MATTERS
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WHICH POLICY OF COOPERATION IN MATTERS OF SECURITY AND DEFENCE DOES PORTUGAL NEED TO ADOPT IN AFRICA?

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Resumo: O artigo aborda as questões de política de Cooperação em matéria de defesa que Portugal deve adoptar em África.

Palavras-chave: Política de Cooperação, Defesa, Portugal, África.

Abstract: Portugal must continue to lead the process of cooperation for Defence and Military consolidation in Africa, helping to prepare the PALOP's Armed Forces, to cooperate and if necessary, participate in the "African Standby Forces" and also contribute to the implementation of the "Continental Early Warning System" working in close cooperation with African Regional Organisations and assisting them in the consolidation of the "African Ownership".

Key-words: Cooperation Policy, Defence, Portugal, Africa.

Introduction

When we receive news from the African continent, in particular from the "Portuguese-speaking African Countries" (PALOP), which we instinctively associate to the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP), a question often comes to one mind: "Which policy of cooperation in matters of security and defence does Portugal need to adopt in Africa?". With this aim of finding a coherent answer, this article considers the past, present and future of Portuguese-African relations, in an attempt to point new ways and have a glimpse of the alterna-

* Major do Exército.

tives to the current Portuguese Foreign Policy for Africa, combining and enhancing both the bilateral relations with the PALOP and the multilateral relations with the CPLP, EU and the African Regional Organizations.

Throughout the decade that the CPLP has been active, Portugal has proved to be one of its main drives and a leading nation in many of the processes of institutional growth, particularly in the field of cooperation on matters of defence. Portugal, was the founder of CPLP back in 1996 and it's most dynamic enthusiast ever since, and hosted the 2001 summit, drafting the twelve objectives of the institutionalized cooperation¹, parallel to the Technical-Military Cooperation with the PALOP. For over thirty years Portugal has played an active and uninterrupted role in the "new" Africa, contributing to a higher operational status of its Armed Forces and collaborating in the construction of the African State, supporting the Reformation of the Security and Defence Sectors (henceforth referred to as SSR and DSR respectively). In addition, since 1991 Portugal has been involved in the United Nations mandated peace operations in African soil, especially in Angola (UNAVEM II, UNAVEM III and MONUA), Mozambique (ONUMOZ), the Western Sahara (MINURSO), and, more recently, in a EU sponsored peace mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), including minor representations in other regional conflicts, mostly in the Sub-Saharan region.

This desideratum gives Portugal greater responsibility towards the PALOP and Africa, based not only on its more than five hundred year-old common past, but also on the role Portugal currently plays in the EU, UN, NATO and African Regional Organizations, in particular that regarding cooperation on security matters and support to regional development in Africa. To the extent of its capabilities, Portugal has assisted the PALOP in multiple domains of bilateral cooperation (education, health, justice, etc.), playing a significant role in security and defence. Bearing this in mind, Portugal has recently adjusted its foreign policy for Africa through the November 24th Resolution of the Council of Ministers nr. 196/2005 entitled "*A Strategic Vision for Portuguese Cooperation*"². There Portugal aimed to develop strategic multilateral cooperation of variable geometry that may enable the country to become a key player African Regional Organizations, whilst promoting itself within NATO, UN and specially the EU on account of an internationally recognized, though under explored, African affinity.

¹ In the 6th Regular Meeting of the CPLP Minister Cabinet, which took place in S. Tomé and Príncipe on July 31st 2001, a decision was made to make the Defence component a Community objective, by adding line b) to Article 3 of the CPLP Statutes and bringing this subject to the consideration of the Heads of State and Government at the Maputo Summit in July 2002.

² Published on the 22nd of December of 2005, in the Official Journal of the Portuguese Republic (Diário da República Portuguesa I Série – B/N^o 244/2005) [accessed on the Internet in: http://www.ipad.mne.gov.pt/images/stories/Publicacoes/Visao_Estrategica_editado.pdf].

The Portuguese perspective on political-strategic cooperation to Africa

The present-day legal framework of Portuguese cooperation with Africa, with the intention to promote development and security, underlines the will to reorganize and integrate this dimension as a “truly national” ambition, aiming at objectives of greater magnitude, dimension and range. In the area of security and defence, the General-Directorate of National Defence Policy (DGPDN), in accordance with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MNE)³, presented in April 2006, at the Portuguese Military Staff College (IESM), the “*Main Guiding Lines of the Cooperation Strategy on Security and Defence with Africa*”, referred to in the main “*Strategic Guidelines for Military Cooperation*”⁴.

This guiding document defines the four main strategic courses of action intended to promote military cooperation: Bilateral, CPLP, Trilateral and Multilateral. The “Bilateral” has the purpose of strengthening the individual capacities of the PALOP, mainly through the RSS and the RSD. The “CPLP” envisions the integration and stimulation of Defence as the way to achieve operational readiness and re-qualify the PALOP Armed Forces, for the benefit of African regional security and “*African Ownership*”. The “Trilateral” approach relies on the cooperation with France (the “*RECAMP*”⁵ programme) and the U.S.A. (the “*ACOTA*” programme)⁶. The “Multilateral” is intended to develop the strategic cooperation

³ In 2005, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal made public “*The Strategic Vision for Portuguese Cooperation*”, a vision partly derived from the “*XVII Constitutional Government Programme*”.

⁴ Approved in January 2006 by the Portuguese State Secretary for National Defence and Maritime Affairs.

⁵ The French Programme of Support to Peace Missions in Africa, also known as “*RECAMP*” (*Rienforcement des Capacités Africaines de Maintien de la Paix*), established in 1996, is currently developed in 40 African countries and relies on a global approach with credible partnerships in order to increase the regional conflict prevention and management capabilities of the African States. In this respect, the pursuit is the “*africanization*” of the Technical Military Cooperation, which is “... assumed as one important aspect of the new French foreign policy...” (Faria, 2004, 23). It represents a reinforcement of the multilateral cooperation to the detriment of the classical cooperation (bilateral), which gave a new dimension to the Euro-French programme. The fact that this programme is currently integrated in the “*European Security and Defence Policy*” gives it a multinational dimension and enables cooperation and Humanitarian Assistance so that Africa is more effective.

⁶ France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America co-signed in May 1997 a trilateral initiative of cooperation that became known as the “*P-3 Initiative*”. The purpose was to harmonize their support programmes to build-up African military capabilities (“*Capacity-building Programmes*”). France had the “*ReCAMP*” programme and the United Kingdom the “*UK Peacekeeping Training Support Programme*”, whereas the U.S.A. had, for example, the “*Africa Crisis Response Initiative*” (ACRI), the “*African Crisis Response Force*” (ACRF) and more recently the “*African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance*” (ACOTA) and the “*Regional African Peacekeeping Programme*” (ARP) (Berman, 2002,1-3) (OSCE, 2004, 20-21).

with ARO, the EU and other players that, given a determinate conjunction, can integrate the “*Programme of Support to Peace Missions in Africa*” (PAMPA).

That innovative program, in line with a European Strategy for Africa and mainly destined to the PALOP, is developed around four main axis, from which the cooperation with African Organisations (AU, SADC and the ECOWAS) is highlighted as one of the most ground-breaking strategies. The inclusion of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) for Africa allows for a different support and for an increased international visibility, namely through the participation in the Euro-French programme “*EURORECAMP*”. This programme is a consolidated strategy under which conjuncture partnerships and cooperation opportunities of national interest may arise. Therefore, it must become a decisive goal for the Portuguese intervention in Africa, particularly outside the “lusophone” countries.

Thanks to this programme, France has worked in benefit of African regional security and defence, contributing to the peaceful resolution of conflicts through the necessary reinforcement of African peacekeeping capabilities. This initiative, a sibling to the “*African Ownership*” in terms of prestige and amount of means involved, was a success in the past and carries on as an effective strategy for the present and a safe bet for the future. It applies not only to the EU Member-States that develop strategies of cooperation with Africa, but also to other organizations outside the European territory, possibly the CPLP via Portugal. Portugal, a member of the EU and other International Organizations (such as the CPLP) willing to commit to this goal, aspires to be an active element in the cooperation with Africa. By aligning its procedures with the *EURORECAMP* programme, Portugal could become the liaison between countries, organizations and continents, playing a central role in the strategic cooperation with the African continent. This aspiration would increase the Portuguese credibility and prestige not only in Europe and Africa, but worldwide. Thus, we believe that PAMPA is neither opposed to the Portuguese role within CPLP nor a duplication of its efforts, but rather an assertion of the Portuguese widely recognized, though dormant, capabilities. Portugal can assume, within the CPLP, some of these projects, which even if not concurrent or competitive, must at least be parallel and above all strategically convergent.

Cooperation in general and military cooperation in particular is the key-elements of the Portuguese Foreign Policy and it would not be possible to fully understand what the CPLP means to Portugal otherwise. However, the notion that cooperation among countries is the result of humanitarian and political issues or cultural and linguistic affinity has become invalid. Nowadays the focus is on the balance between interests and advantages, as well as on the harmonization of political, diplomatic, geo-strategic or geo-economic perspectives. It is therefore important that the CPLP is considered in terms of a permanent Portuguese strategy towards Africa.

The importance of Technical-Military Cooperation to Portugal

Of all kind of cooperation, the Technical-Military Cooperation has been the most relevant when referring to the PALOP and the CPLP. Evidence of this point is the findings of the April 27th- 28th 2006 international seminar held at IESM, on *“Portuguese Cooperation in Africa: Stimulation of Security and National Defence Policies”*. The so-for unpublished findings state that *“cooperation with Africa is one of the main concerns of Portuguese foreign policy and Military-Technical Cooperation is essential to the prosecution of peace, security and sustained development”*.

It is important to underline that the Military Cooperation with Africa intends to adjust the PALOP Armed Forces to the social economy and development situation of the respective countries, defining the structure and organization in accordance to the mission and ensuring the capability to defend national sovereignty, economic interests and population welfare in a context of democracy and subordination of the Armed Forces to freely elected civilian authorities. The SSR and the DSR, in line with the current ESDP for Africa, must be one of the priorities for the Portuguese-African and European-African cooperation.

The Portuguese Government sees Technical-Military Cooperation as a priority of the cooperation with the PALOP. Along with institutional cooperation, Technical-Military Cooperation is one of the basic axes for democratic consolidation, *“good governance”* and sustained development. To the beneficiary countries, Military Cooperation is simultaneously a source of development support and a key element of the democratic system consolidation, encouraging the economic and social development through training/education and rehabilitation of structures. Thus, it is a source of stability in the process of democratic transition and consolidation. In this sense, the desired end state is to give support to the Public Aid to Development and to help achieve the objectives defined in the Millennium Development Goals⁷.

We have an historical and cultural affinity – even blood bonds – with the PALOP. These ties make those countries feel that Portugal and the Portuguese have both the will and the capacity to understand and support them. Also, our common language may only facilitate our assistance and influence in areas of renewed geo-strategic interest.

The Portuguese Armed Forces, while conducting Technical-Military Cooperation, have progressively become an ever more efficient instrument of our

⁷ The *“Declaration of the Millennium”*, adopted in 2000 by all 189 State-members of the UN General Assembly, launched a decisive process of global cooperation for the 21st century. A great impulse was given to the issues of sustained development, due to the identification of the greatest challenges to Mankind in the threshold of the new millennium and to the ratification/approval of the Millennium Development Goals (eight goals broken down into eighteen quantifiable targets) to be achieved by the international Community within 25 years [<http://www.ipad.mne.gov.pt/>].

National Defence and Foreign policies, serving as a catalyst to other forms of cooperation and helping preserve Portuguese culture, language and prestige overseas. In addition, there is also the international prestige achieved by our good performance in UN, NATO and EU Peace Operations, as well as our EU Presidency in the 2nd Semester of 2007. Portugal must know how to make the most of this historical moment and unconditionally commit to an effective strategic cooperation with the PALOP and Africa in order to avoid falling behind other EU and CPLP countries.

Technical-Military Cooperation brings enormous advantages to Portugal in as much as the training of CPLP Officers and NCO's is indeed the education of the governing elites (in most cases, power lies in the hands of the military or former-military) and thus helps bring those countries closer together. Military Cooperation must be a national goal to Portugal because it dignifies the nation and contributes to its economic growth and diplomatic influence. Worthy of mention are some guidelines already established by the Ministry of National Defence as far as cooperation is concerned. Bilateral relations remain as the keystone, oriented to the SSR and the DSR of the PALOP. As for as multilateral relations are concerned, the highlight goes to the actions within CPLP designed to train their Armed Forces and prepare them to operate in UN or African Organisations Peace Support or Humanitarian Aid operations.

Portugal in the context of the African Regional Organizations

Portuguese influence within CPLP, the tradition of cooperation with the PALOP and the continued participation in Peace Operations in Africa tell us that Portugal has an important role to play with African Organisations. Portugal has promoted African security and development for, as we all know, “... *there is no development without security and without development security does not exist...*”, hence the need for these organizations to increase their influence and capacities by establishing partnerships and defining common objectives.

The Portuguese believe that Portugal can assist in the prevention and combat against the threats and risks posed to the African States (for instance, the danger of having the power in the hands of the military and not the other way around, i.e., the armed forces subordinated to the political power), contributing to a consolidated democratization and a smoother transition to the “Democracy of Globalization”. Support must be given to the creation of “*African Standby Forces*” and to the implementation of a “*Continental Early Warning System – CEWS*” and there is also room here for Portuguese collaboration with African Regional Organizations, conjugated with the ongoing multilateral EU cooperation. African Organisations have expressed their interest in a closer cooperation

with the CPLP and Portugal, particularly in matters of security and defence. This interest is due to the CPLP “successful” participation in the prevention and pacific resolution of conflicts in Africa and to its increasing importance near the African Sub-regional Organizations where African Sub-Regional Organisations members are represented⁸. In multilateral terms, the emphasis is on the actions at Community level destined to prepare their armed forces for UN or African Regional Organizations Peace Operations.

As for as EU geographical layout is concerned, Portugal finds itself in one of the apexes of the strategic triangle with Africa and can thus assume a major role in alleviating ARO economic, social and political tensions, which may have a direct and/or indirect impact on current European foreign and defence policies (especially the issue of population migration in search of prosperity, welfare and security, as well as the possibility of UN intervention for regional crisis management). We are certain that Europe will not cease cooperation with underdeveloped African countries so as to avoid the widening of the cultural, social and technological gap between North and South and the disastrous consequences therein. The ESDP, designed for the development of democracy, the RSS and the RSD of the States and the promotion of the rule of law and good governance, envisions the integration of the Armed Forces in this process as a vital step for economic development. Therefore, the participation of countries that are welcome and credible in the eyes of the African States is essential to help them achieve their full sovereignty.

It is worth emphasising that Portugal also plays a major role in establishing a link with Africa at NATO level, due to Portuguese recent history and influence in this continent. The fact that Portugal is one of NATO’s founding nations and that one of NATO’s Commands is based in Portuguese territory – symptomatically, the Joint Command Lisbon (JCL) has recently assumed an “Africa oriented” role – tells us that Portugal must play an active part in this process. Indeed, NATO can be a facilitator of regional stability in Africa, offering to assist and promote the development of effective military capabilities that allows African Nations to carry out Peace Support Missions and defend their own territories.

The influence of the CPLP on Portuguese foreign policy towards Africa

At CPLP level, Portugal has assumed, since the beginning in 1997, the leading role in terms of Defence and Military cooperation. Perhaps the biggest

⁸ The PALOP are members of the African Sub-regional Organizations that encompass their areas of influence, namely the SADC (Angola and Mozambique), the ECOWAS (Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau), the ECCAS (Angola and S. Tomé and Príncipe) and CEN-SAD (Guinea-Bissau) (Faria, 2004).

challenge for the Portuguese is to keep this preponderance since Brazil has become a direct competitor for this role. The *Permanent Secretariat for Defence Matters* (SPAD), the *CPLP Centre of Strategic Analysis* (CAE), the “*Felino*” Military Exercises and many other initiatives have always been led by the Portuguese, with Brazil following close behind. The PALOP and East-Timor consider this leadership to be natural as they have always benefited from Portuguese bilateral cooperation via Technical-Military Cooperation.

However, the extremely active and consolidated⁹ Brazilian foreign policy towards non-CPLP Africa is an enormous challenge to Portugal, particularly in terms of cooperation with “non-PALOP” African States and African Organisations. Compared to Brazil, Portugal has done very little or close to nothing in this area. Two aspects stand out from Portuguese approach to the “Luso”¹⁰ Countries: on the one hand, the development of security and defence within the CPLP via multilateral cooperation and, on the other, the bilateral relations, mainly with the PALOP but also with other African countries. In the first case it is fair to say that the CPLP is taking the first steps to consolidate the progress made so far¹¹. As far as bilateral cooperation is concerned, Portugal needs to harness its over three-decade experience and do well by it in the future.

Portuguese cooperation with African countries, namely the PALOP, has been continuous ever since the independence of the former colonies. However, it has not always been conducted for the benefit of Portugal. This is one of the findings of the aforementioned Resolution 196/2005. The document defines cooperation with the PALOP and the CPLP as one of the keystones of the Portuguese foreign policy and an essential instrument in our relation with Africa. The cooperation policy is a reflection of our foreign policy: in the first place, the intention of reinforcing cooperation with the PALOP (and East-Timor); in second, the promotion of the Portuguese language and culture as an heritage to be preserved throughout the world via the CPLP. Finally, the reinforcement of the Portuguese role and influence on the international decision-

⁹ The African Bureau of the Ministry of Exterior Relations, led by Ambassador Fernando Jacques de Magalhães Pimenta, is mainly focussed on bilateral relations with the majority of the African countries and issues related to the Economic Community of the West African States (ECOWAS), the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC), the Union of the Arab Magreb (UMA), the Zone of Peace and Cooperation of the South Atlantic (ZOPACAS/ZPCSA) and the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) and to other regional organizations in Africa. [<http://www2.mre.gov.br/deaf/daf1.htm>].

¹⁰ Luso – the countries with Portuguese as the official language.

¹¹ Owing to the “*Protocol of Cooperation of the Portuguese-speaking Countries in Matters of Defence*”, signed in Cape Verde on September 17th, 2006, during the 9th Meeting of CPLP Ministers of Defence. The protocol states that its global objective is: “[...] to promote and facilitate the cooperation between State-members in matters of Defence, through the systematization and clarification of the activities to undertake...”.

-making process, particularly, when referring to the African Agenda. To Portugal, the EU and the ARO involvement in the process are strategically decisive (Strategic Vision, 2005, 3).

The integrated Portuguese vision for the CPLP and Africa relies on government ability to bring different projects together, to set common strategies and to define financial effort priorities. The above-mentioned document states that "... *the relation with the PALOP is one of the keystones of our foreign policy, together with the European integration and the Atlantic alliance...*". Thus, and in a logic perspective of cooperation between peers, "... *the development of these countries and their integration in a global economic dynamic are important objectives of our foreign policy.*" (2005, 2-7). Cooperation with Africa must be a coherent and integrated project oriented towards "national" and "strategic" objectives.

If the Portuguese strategy for the south hemisphere is hereby defined, the fact that defence and security is attributed to the Ministry of Defence, specifically the General-Directorate of National Defence Policy, means that this particular cooperation is not integrated in the framework of other areas of cooperation. Perhaps this is the unfortunate reason why security and defence cooperation is not included in other inter-ministerial projects and therefore relies on separate funding. The Official Development Assistance (ODA) budget for the PALOP does not encompass security and defence cooperation expenses. However, they should be included in the percentage of the Gross Domestic Product allocated to ODA, as it would improve our national contribution to the Millennium Development Goals.

Portuguese politicians often refer to the CPLP as the object of multilateral cooperation, as do many national key documents, such as the Strategic Concept of National Defence and the current Government Programme. By materializing these political intentions, Portugal seems to be the CPLP member that currently gives the most importance to the community and actually considers it a distinctive trait of its national identity and strategies. As such, the CPLP State-Members should follow the example set by Portugal and assume a greater commitment to the CPLP objectives in order to consolidate the community and guarantee its success in a global world. This commitment is expressed through the reinforcement and refinement of internal cooperation, which is the drive and purpose of the community in the first place.

Never the less, the other CPLP countries do not seem to give it the same importance in terms of their external relations and internal organization. The CPLP therefore lacks the internal cohesion that would allow it to play a relevant international role. Thus far, the State-members have preferred to conduct their own foreign policies through bilateral and sometimes multilateral relations but always to the detriment of a formal multilateralism effectively supported by the Community.

Even though, all State-Members ratified and signed the CPLP Charter on July 17th 1996, there is no consensus about the community's main role and a complete harmonization of national interests and foreign policies is still to achieve. The "*Lusophone Community*" has to address several structural issues mostly derived from the fact that each one of the State-members belong to different regions with specific strategies and interests (for example, Brazil belongs to MERCOSUL, Mozambique joined the "*Commonwealth*", Guinea-Bissau, S. Tome and Principe and Cape Verde joined the "*Francophone*" Community and Portugal is a member of the EU and NATO). It is not always possible to harmonize this disparity of interests. National resources are scarce and a choice must often be made between national and CPLP priorities.

The eventual increase of CPLP influence in Africa and African Regional Organisations might change this situation in the future. The countries with greater development potential, i.e., Portugal, Brazil and Angola will play a vital role in the revitalization of the CPLP, making it possible for the community to undertake other endeavours for the construction of a "new" Africa.

Conclusion

Portugal, albeit limited in terms of material and financial resources, manages to harness the full potential of its human resources, its diplomatic aptitude, its wide experience in Technical- Military Cooperation and Peace Support Operations and the vast knowledge of the African continent and its people. Portugal is therefore in excellent conditions to lead not only the political, economic and cultural cooperation but particularly the defence cooperation with the African lusophone and non-lusophone countries and organizations, thus assuming a position of prominence in the relationship with the CPLP and African Organisations. Portugal currently lives a favourable conjuncture that will allow the nation to guide its multilateral strategies towards this reality. Current Portuguese Society of Innovation configuration points to an increasing importance of ARO and the African continent in the present process of globalization.

The CPLP which is the representative organization of the "lusophone world", rather than a mere executor of ODA cooperation programmes, must also be a forum for the discussion and debate of the problematic issues that our world faces today. The CPLP must focus on inter-state cooperation so as to increase its visibility, for the benefit of its State-Members. In this respect, Portugal must continue to lead the process of cooperation for Defence consolidation, helping prepare the PALOP Armed Forces to serve in the "*African Standby Forces*" and contributing to the implementation of the "*Continental Early Warning System*". Portugal must also work in close cooperation with ARO to assist in the consolidation of the "*African Ownership*".

EU, UN and NATO participation-wise, Portugal must make the most of its existent cooperation structures and help develop a bilateral and multilateral “African strategy” via the CPLP, a role that would increase Portuguese status within those organizations. This intention would undoubtedly rekindle the “African flame” in every Portuguese, an essential condition for the prominence of Portugal within the CPLP, Europe and Africa and even throughout the world.

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