

The Changing U.S. - Africa Relations: From Offshore Balancer to Offensive Realism?

Herman Touo¹

Abstract

The inauguration of Barack Obama as the 44th president of the United States was positively received in US and abroad as a welcome opportunity for change. Yet, whether the shift to a more critical tone will translate into a significant change to the substance of US-Africa policy remains a matter of concern. The first-ever U.S. -Africa Leaders' Summit was organized in Washington on August 4-6, 2014. This Summit marks, to a certain extent, a watershed or pivotal moment in U.S. Africa relations. The central question driving this research can be formulated simply as follow: Does the U.S.-Africa Leaders' Summit constitutes a part of global policy, a paradigmatic shift in U.S. policy towards Africa or a renewal of the American people commitment to Africa? The first hypothesis sustained by the study is that the U.S. is moving from offshore balancer or "leadership from behind" to a relative offensive realism when it comes to foreign policy framing and implementation in Africa. The second hypothesis is that the U.S.-Africa Leaders' Summit and many other elements insert Africa in general, and Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, in the U.S. "grand strategy of transformation" with the objective to maintain U.S. leadership by preventing the hegemonic domination of new great power rivals in Africa. Built on realism, liberalism and alliance theory, the study finds that contrary to high expectations within Africa that the Obama presidency would herald a new age of US-Africa relations, the reality thus far seems to suggest a smart continuity rather than revolutionary change. What is evident is a new, firmer rhetoric rather than a tremendous change from the previous administrations. However, placed within the broader historical context of US-Africa relations, there are many substantive elements characterizing America's new approach or relative offensive realism based on logistics, intelligence and mostly development and security issues.

Keywords: change, US-Africa, relations, offshore balancer, offensive realism.

Introduction:

"I do not see the countries and peoples of Africa as a world apart; I see Africa as a fundamental part of our interconnected world – partners with America on behalf of the future we want for all of our children. That partnership must be grounded in mutual responsibility and mutual respect".

President Barack Obama, statement during the first-ever U.S. -Africa Leaders' Summit, organized in Washington DC on August 4-6, 2014.

It goes without saying that change is inevitable in international relations. Daniel S. Papp (1988: vi) argues that "change and the forces that lead to change can be understood. Optimistically, change and forces for change can even be shaped in ways that lead to improvements in the human condition". Luc Sindjoun (2001: 221) notes that "the current globalization process generates a new configuration in which old categories of action and thought are in question. International relations cannot remain stable in an historical context in which the fluidity of the inside/outside distinction is intensified and the state is more and more challenged by other actors and events. The present times are those of transformation, sometimes presented in terms of 'crises'". The author is reluctant to use that notion because of its pathological connotation; and prefer the notion of "transformation," "change," which is normal, and does justice to the dynamics of international relations. As a matter of fact, we are in a heuristic period; change reminds us that relations between states are not a historical, they are bound to change. The analysis of changes affecting the international relations is articulated around the restructuring of relations between nations (Sindjoun, 2001: 225).

¹ Lecturer and researcher, Faculty of Law and Political Science, University of Ngaoundere, Cameroon, htouo@yahoo.fr

In fact, the inauguration of Barack Obama as the 44th president of the United States was positively received in US and abroad as a welcome opportunity for change. Yet, “whether the shift to a more critical tone will translate into a significant change to the substance of US-Africa policy remains to be seen” (Katito, 2009: 145-146). Nevertheless, placed within the broader historical context of US relations with Africa, there is a need to consolidate and transcend the remarkable gains made under the Bush Administration’s policy toward Africa marked by unprecedented resources flows, major diplomatic effort, and the establishment of historic initiatives in health, development and security. President George W. Bush is known for having a track record of strong advocacy around Africa’s development, giving the geo-strategic importance of the continent.

Many scholars have concluded that the events of 9/11(2001), with the emergence of the “War on Terror” (also known as the “Global War on Terrorism”), led U.S. administration to view the African continent differently, and that the US has adjusted its conception of national interests in the region. The increasing of American foreign aid to the region is significant and deserves attention. According to Nicolas Van de Walle (2009: 3), AFRICOM’s creation also suggests a policy shift or change in U.S.-Africa relations. The author argues, nonetheless, that these changes represent a partial and inconsistent adjustment due to a conjunction of quite specific circumstances, rather than a paradigmatic shift in policy towards Africa. Indeed, these circumstances provided an opportunity to redefine U.S. foreign policy towards the region”.

Furthermore, there is a growing consensus within the academic community on the fact that the United States of America has been a vital security and development partner for the African continent. On one hand, U.S. investment and assistance have played a very important role in helping Africa build a better future. On the other hand, Africa's global influence and importance, with an abundance of natural resources and dynamic young working population, has become significant to the U.S. strategic national interest. America and Africa’s economic destinies are, to a certain extent, intertwined, and the United States is leading the effort to build an inclusive, high-standard, and rules-based economic architecture that advances shared prosperity in the region. Proactive engagement with Africa in securing peace and stability and promoting sustainable economic and social development are fundamental for enduring mutual benefits and mutual respect for both Africa and the United States.

The first-ever U.S. -Africa Leaders' Summit was organized in Washington on August 4-6, 2014. This Summit marks, to a vast extent, a watershed or pivotal moment in U.S. Africa relations regarding the mobilization of officialsⁱ and companiesⁱⁱ. The theme on the Agenda of that top-level diplomatic conference, “Investing in the Next Generation”, was the most appropriate and good basis upon which to strengthen dialogue on developing a joint strategy for mutually beneficial cooperation between Africa and the United States of America. Although Barack Obama, the 44th president of the US and his country’s first African-descent Commander in Chief, always expresses pride in his African heritage, his administration, till the Summit, has not demonstrated any substantial strategic commitment to the wellbeing of the African people. The summit was "an opportunity to focus on three broad areas" where the U.S. and Africa can make progress together: expanding trade that creates jobs; strengthening governance; and deepening security cooperation against common threats, in connection with the “US grand strategy of transformation”. It has helped to mobilize some \$37 billion for Africa’s progress on top of, obviously, the substantial efforts that have been made in the past.

According to Williams (as cited in Layne, 2006: 30), the goal of U.S. grand strategy has been to create an "Open Door World", an international system, or "world order," made up of states that are open and subscribe to the United States’ liberal values and institutions and that are open to U.S. economic penetration. An open door world rests, therefore, on two pillars: the economic open door - maintaining an open international economic system - and the political open door - spreading democracy and liberalism abroad. In this perspective, Macky Sall (2013: 313) opines that, “the United States is now, and will remain, a major industrial, economic, financial, and technological power that will continue to influence the evolution of the world throughout the twenty-first century. The values of democracy and liberty, the pioneer spirit, the dynamism, and the great capacity to innovate of the American people constitute, from my point of view, the fundamentals that will preserve that status for as long as the United States remains an open society that attracts and encourages talent”.

Statement of the research problem and hypothesis:

It goes without saying that stewardship of foreign policy is primarily about strategic vision. It is also about managing the national security bureaucracy as well as the heavy structures of the national politics as, in the case of the United States of America, the Pentagon (Ministry of Defense), FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) and the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) . It is, furthermore, about diplomacy and dealing with foreign leaders as well as alliance management, and responding to unexpected crises. There is a visionary and strategic partnership between the United States and African countries, which is built upon long standing historic ties between the U.S. and countries across the African continent.

Increasing people-to-people ties with the United States present extraordinary opportunities to study the changing U.S.-Africa relations in a context dominated by the debate on the new world order. In this regard, Henry Kissinger (2014) argues that the central challenge of the twenty-first century is to construct a new international order at a time of mounting extremism, advancing technology and armed conflict. The author attempts to reconcile American universalist aspirations with the stark reality of competing powers who intent to protect and project their own visions and concepts of order.

According to Henry Kissinger, the revolution demonstrated how internal changes within societies are able to shake the international equilibrium more profoundly than aggression from abroad - a lesson that would be driven home by the upheavals of the twentieth century, many of which drew explicitly on the concepts first advanced by the French revolution. According to David C. Hendrickson (2014), the old American lexicon taught that anarchy bred tyranny, whereas the new school teaches that the revolutionary destruction of the old order will produce democracy. Certainly, violent methods have sometimes brought about good results in human affairs. In the abstract, it would be difficult to completely refuse to acknowledge a right of revolution, but we also need to be aware that, concretely, revolution can mean a human disaster so immense that nothing good can possibly come out of it. The breakages of the State in Iraq, Libya and Syria are all testaments to that danger. They have loosed anarchy upon the world. Even with a reluctant public mood, the United States remains a genuine revolutionary force, preaching a commitment to “democratic revolution” that in theory celebrates peace but in practice consists of lighting fires that it doesn’t know how to put out (p.58).

The central question driving this research can be formulated simply as follow: Does the U.S.-Africa Leaders’ Summit constitutes a part of global policy, a paradigmatic shift in U.S. policy towards Africa or a renewal of the American people commitment to Africa? The first hypothesis sustained by the study is that *the U.S.* is moving from offshore balancer or “leadership from behind” to a relative offensive realism when it comes to foreign policy framing and implementation in Africa. The second hypothesis is that the U.S.-Africa Leaders’ Summit and many other elements insert Africa in general, and Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, in the U.S. “grand strategy of transformation” with the objective to maintain U.S. leadership by preventing the hegemonic domination of new great power rivals in Africa. In this regard, U.S. policy toward Africa or U.S.-Africa relations constitute a puzzle that needs to be understood and explained given the fact that it is, sometime, difficult to determine exactly who decides in Washington.

Theoretical framework and methodology:

Foreign policy analysts and practitioners are frequently divided into “realists” and “liberals”, despite the fact that some policymakers do not fit neatly into either category of these ideal types (Mansbach et al., 2016). This study is built principally on realism, liberalism and alliance theory as theoretical framework or ‘how we know what we know’.

The concept of realism has been around since the 5th century B-C, when the Greek historian Thucydides argued in his book, *The history of the Peloponnesian War* (trans. Thomas Crowley, Auckland: Floating Library, 2008), that politics were not rooted in matter of principle, but rather in promoting a country’s own interests. According to David L. Anderson (as cited in Layne, 2006: 15), “realism has provided a behavioral paradigm of rational cost-benefit calculations of the national interest in an essentially anarchical international environment”. It is a truism, therefore, to say that realism is linked to a context and history: “The realist tradition in international relations, its principles and its orientations can fully be understood only when contextualized within the times in which it was formed: those of the failure of the interwar hopes for international peace through the League of Nations and the outbreak and conduct of world war two” (Sindjoun, 1999). The argument here is in fact deterministic: when the historical conditions of the current paradigm change, so must the paradigm (Sindjoun, 2001: 220).

Realism is based on a number of standards beliefs: - the international system is anarchic – states are the primary actors of international relations – all the states share the goal of survival – states provide for their own security. This theory also held that the power-hungry nature of humanity and self-interested calculations of countries defined global politics. Alexander Hamilton and all those who describe themselves as “realists” put emphasis on the national interest by examining the distribution of power globally, especially military power, and caution against intervention except where substantial American interests are at stake or where powerful rivals such as China and Russia are likely to profit. Realists largely ignore normative questions, denounce ideologies, and regard as foolish idealistic efforts to extend democracy or human rights (Mansbach et al., 2016). According to Joseph S. Nye Jr, “the ‘realist’ model of international relations helped us to understand and explain what is actually happening as we got into increasing interdependence. Basically, the realist assumption is that security is the dominant concern, force is the major instrument, and governments more or less maintain their coherence as they interact with each other.

In complex interdependence, security is less dominant as a concern, force is less useful as an instrument, you have many transnational actors that are going to and from across borders, making coalitions that are not always well described by national labels”ⁱⁱⁱ.

Other theories attempted to adapt neorealist for the post Cold War international scene. Among them were: 1) defensive realism, according to which the anarchic nature of the international scene caused states to concentrate on defense to the point that they behave as offshore balancer. 2) offensive realism according to which states will try to maximize their power relative to one another, to pursue hegemony gain security – rather than simply obtain just enough power to maintain security (Kohout, 2003).

The second school of thought, liberalism, should not be confused with its traditional political definition. In the realm of international relations, liberalism bases its analysis on the idea that nations are inherently good and that political institutions should be used to promote social progress. Furthermore, liberals believe that cooperation among countries is possible and likely as well as the promotion of people-to-people ties or public diplomacy. Contrary to “realists”, those who describe themselves as “liberals” focus on norms rather than power. They are more concerned than realists by threats to human security, climate change, global pandemics, and famine. Thomas Jefferson and many other “liberals” see normative objectives such as democratization and human rights as laudable foreign policy objectives and are prepared to intervene overseas for humanitarian reason (Mansbach et al., 2016). The United States hegemony in this domain is different from colonization, which denies African countries statehood. In his remarks, at the Millennium Development Goals Summit at the United Nations’ Head Quarter in New York on September 20, 2010, President Barack Obama observes that:” No one nation can do everything everywhere and still do it well. To meet our goals, we must be more selective and focus our efforts where we have the best partners and where we can have the greatest impact. And just as this work cannot be done by any one government, it can’t be the work of governments alone. In fact, foundations and private sector and NGOs are making historic commitments that have redefined what is possible. And this gives us the opportunity to forge a new division of labor for development in the 21st century”. He adds that “It’s a division of labor where, instead of so much duplication and inefficiency, governments and multilaterals and NGOs are all working together. We each do the piece that we do best (...) Together, we can deliver historic leaps in development. We can do this. But only if we move forward with the seriousness and sense of common purpose that this moment demands”.

Henceforth, in case of structural change in the international system, states will seek protection against the uncertainty of massive alterations in their future foreign policy roles and security positions by forming alliances that are productive. The first-ever U.S. -Africa Leaders' Summit, organized in Washington on August 2014, can be seen as tentative formation of an alliance between the two parties in a complex post Cold War.

According to the traditional alliance literature (Waltz, 1979; Morgenthau^{iv}, 1985: 201; Chiu, 2003), alliances are formed to balance power in an international system. Moreover, a primary prerequisite for alliance cohesion is the presence of an alliance ideology so that alliances are formed mostly “against, and only derivatively for someone or something”. The alliance goal is to balance against another power or coalition of powers in order to maintain security and stability. William H. Riker (1962: 182) posits that an equilibrium (dynamic, not static) is reached when power is balanced, and that alliances are built “economically.” Prospective members consider the “marginal utility” of joining an alliance and base their decision on the expectation of rewards versus potential costs. Similarly, the size of the alliance will be no larger than necessary to balance power, creating a “minimum winning coalition.” In other words, alliances serve the utility of countries, and that states will only form alliances if they expect the benefits of such a decision to outweigh the potential costs and risks.

Using game theory, Glenn H. Snyder (1997) proposes that states make their decision to form alliances based on what they perceive as the expected, relative payoffs. Therefore, states will form or join alliances if they expect the payoffs from this decision to be greater than the payoffs from not forming such an alliance. These latter approaches do not necessarily conflict with balance-of-power theories of alliance. Balancing behavior may well serve the utility of states and provide the best payoffs (Walt, 1987: 9–10). But there are significant limitations. Regarding the formation of minimum winning coalitions, Bruce M. Russett (1968: 286) warns that “while the theory rests upon an impressive piece of deductive reasoning, and some bits of empirical evidence as well, its limitations are severe.” When more than just a few actors are involved, it is almost impossible to determine what a minimum winning coalition would or should be. The complexities of measurement, weighting, perceptions, and levels of commitment are multiplied by both the numbers of allies and adversaries being considered. Bruce M. Russett, finally, notes that game theory models of alliances assume a zero-sum, “terminal” situation with fairly clear information on relative costs and payoffs, but international politics is not generally regarded as zero-sum and is “a continuous game, not an episodic one” (290). Moreover, communication and perceptions are usually imperfect, which makes knowledge of relative payoffs difficult, especially for individual members of an alliance.

The Biden’s Administration will certainly put a premium on diplomacy with US allies and partners to meet the great challenges of our time – like the COVID 19 pandemic, climate change, the economic crisis, threats to democracies, fights for racial justice, and the danger to security and global stability posed by their rivals and adversaries. In his remarks on “America’s place in the World”, president Joe Biden has this to say :“America leadership must meet this new moment of advancing authoritarianism, including the growing ambitions of China to rival the United States and the determination of Russia to damage and disrupt our democracy”^v. “America’s alliances are our greatest asset, and leading with diplomacy means standing shoulder-to-shoulder with our allies and key partners once again. By leading with diplomacy, we must also engaging our adversaries and our competitors diplomatically, where it’s in our interest, and advance the security of the American people. There is no longer a bright line between foreign and domestic policy. When we invest in economic development of countries, we create new markets for our products and reduce the likelihood of instability, violence, and mass migrations”. In this regard, Anthony J. Blinken^{vi} affirms that “the American people want that we are safeguarding their wellbeing, that we care about their interests, that our foreign policy is about them and their lives. We will do right by them – by pursuing a foreign policy that delivers real benefits to American families, protects their safety, advances their opportunities, honors their values, and leaves their children and grandchildren a healthier and more peaceful world. America’s leadership is needed around the world, and we will provide it, because the world is far more likely to solve problems and meet challenges when the United States is there. America at its best still has a greater capacity than any other nation on Earth to mobilize others for the better”.

Regarding the research methodology, this study uses the existing formal and informal published sources, newspapers report, direct observation as well as both qualitative and quantitative research methods. In other words, several carefully collected data sets provide the foundation for the empirical part of this study.

Discussion:

For the purpose of this discussion let us first look at some views expressed in background papers from participating countries at the first US Africa Summit:

View	Expressed by country X
The Government of Burkina Faso welcomes this meeting which gives us the opportunity to share the experience of the country of the upright people on good governance, with this august audience. Good governance is generally understood as the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority, with a view to guaranteeing popular participation, political stability, institutional development and respect of human rights.	Burkina Faso
I wish to thank President Barack Obama for his foresight and very commendable decision to invite all African Leaders to this Summit, in order to engage in a dialogue about our shared interests, opportunities and common challenges. This is a unique initiative on his part, and we are looking forward toward an open, constructive and fruitful dialogue, that would indeed enhance and further consolidate the relations between the U.S. and the African Continent. This Summit is coming at a crucial moment. It is a positive step in the right direction, where the African and American perspectives are expected to intersect on a host of issues, including peace and security and the future development of Africa. On the positive side, Africa is rising and is showing a remarkable rapid growth; making it among the world’s fastest growing regions. As has been clearly expressed elsewhere, policies need to be designed in such a way to ensure that a surge in growth can also spur structural transformation, that also address some of the most pressing problems such as the devastating conflicts in South Sudan and Central African Republic; and the ongoing Alshebab and Boko Haram violence. A halt to these massive atrocities and ethnic violence that created a huge humanitarian crisis is a top priority for the African Union.	Djibouti
South Africa welcomes the holding of the first USA-Africa Leaders’ Summit in Washington in August 2014. President Obama, a son of Africa, deserves credit for launching this initiative after his historic visit to three African countries in 2013. African nations and the USA have much to offer each other and all are striving for a more peaceful and democratic world in which justice and equity prevail and where poverty and underdevelopment are tackled in a substantial and results-oriented manner. Africa is a continent on the move with impressive economic growth and attractive investment prospects. We have seen considerable progress in promoting good governance and the rule of law across the continent and we know as well as anyone that the surest way to promote democracy , stability and good governance is to promote the prosperity and well-being of all our citizens, both young and old, and both men and women. Also Africa’s robust Africa Peer Review Mechanism assists in maintaining good governance and stability. On his 2013 Africa trip, President Obama also announced an important contribution to Africa’s ability to provide power to its people. The “Power Africa” initiative is one that we hope the US will not only support in the six countries that it has identified so far, but will continue to build on this initiative and extend the model to other countries as well. South Africa	South Africa

stands ready to partner with the USA in this regard.	
The convening of the first USA- Africa Leaders' Summit attests to the vibrant and traditional ties that link Africa to the United States. With the recent unprecedented economic growth in many of our countries, these relations gain more momentum and new horizons. Egypt appreciates the important role that the United States plays in Africa, in particular with regard to investing in Africa's future generations by contributing to conflict prevention and resolution, counterterrorism and mediation efforts in African conflicts, as well as by empowering African youth and women. Increased American private sector investment in Africa and the many examples of successful Public-Private partnerships point to commendable endeavors on both sides to achieve their common interests. Thus, "Investing in the Next Generation" is indeed a well articulated title for this Summit.	Egypt
The US-Africa Leaders Summit presents a great opportunity for US-African leaders to constructively engage in promoting mutual partnerships that will seek solutions to common challenges. Kenya fully supports this initiative and looks forward to hosting the next summit in Africa. Kenya is open for business.	Kenya
I join Their Excellencies, Heads of State and Government in expressing our sincere appreciation to President Obama for hosting this historic Summit, the first between African and USA leaders on the appropriate theme: <i>"Investing in the Next Generation"</i> . The Summit provides a platform for African Government and business leaders and those of the United States to exchange views on strategic issues that are critical to sustaining the transformation of Africa. I believe that for Africa to break the vicious cycle of under-development, we must work together to achieve the following priorities: increased mutually beneficial trade and commerce between Africa and the United States; infrastructure development, with specific focus on energy, rail and roads; and ICT connectivity.	Namibia
The US-Africa Leaders Summit, held on the initiative of President Barack Obama, is the first of its kind in the history of Africa-US relations. Senegal welcomes this meeting for its importance in the new global context, which sees Africa embarking on the growth and emergence path, but especially for the opportunities this Summit could offer to both parties. The world has changed significantly. So has Africa, and in the right direction. Despite few under performances, in a Continent of more than fifty countries, Africa has made real progress in the areas of peace, stability, democracy, good governance and economic development. There is a vast potential for partnership, largely untapped, between Africa and the United States of America. I therefore insist on partnership rather than assistance. It is not the mission of our partners, including the United States of America, to develop Africa through aid. Africans themselves are in charge of their own destiny. And Africa has sufficient human and natural resources to achieve such a goal. Instead of being merely a recipient of humanitarian actions and official development assistance, Africa seeks to be a growth area, a land of opportunities and mutually beneficial partnerships. Risks are not higher in Africa than in many other parts of the world. We stand ready to pursue such reforms as may be necessary to strengthen the rule of law, good governance and to improve the business environment. In return, we would like our partners to stand by our side, in trade and investment, for the development of projects of common interest. I hope that the Washington Summit will feature interactive and pragmatic discussions that will lead us to action oriented outcomes.	Senegal
This is, indeed, an auspicious occasion; one with special significance. We are grateful to president Obama the government and the people of the United States of America for being the host and organizer of this special Summit and we trust that this summit will bridge the gap between the USA and the African continent. It was just last year when President Obama officially met with the African Union Commission and commence preparations for this historic visit by African leaders to the United States of America. We believe that President Obama and his team will leave a powerful legacy resulting out of this historic meeting. We welcome the visionary and strategic partnership between the United States and members of the African Union, building upon long standing historic ties between the US and countries across the continent. We are gathered in our diversity to dialogue on ways to improve the lives of the present and future generations of both the African continent and the United States of America.	Swaziland
From the Horn of Africa to the Gulf of Guinea, our security is threatened today by groups who nurture extremism, radicalism, and who engage in the trafficking of arms, drugs and persons. They thrive where our populations are poorest. Their actions have implications for the whole world. In the face of this threat, Africa and the International community need to reinforce their cooperation. We need to increase the spectrum of our efforts to ensure the protection of our populations and the ability of an entire continent to seize this historic opportunity to act as a new pole of growth for the entire world.	Togo
Our themes for this Summit, Investing in Africa's Future, Regional Peace and Stability, and Governing for the Next Generation are very apt and most relevant in view of the challenges which face our world today. The themes will afford us an avenue to gauge how we can alter the future and bequeath to next generations a peaceful and prosperous world. For us, Investing in Africa's Future, entails building resilient and sustainable economies capable of unleashing Africa's full potential and creating jobs which will free millions of our peoples from the shackles of poverty. It also requires addressing the challenges posed by climate change, desertification and land degradation, drought and	

<p>loss of biodiversity. It involves harnessing the necessary technology, developing state-of-the-art infrastructure as well as developing our agricultural, industrial and services sectors. Further, for a continent so much endowed with abundant natural resources, Investing in Africa's Future, should, automatically, involve enhanced sustainable natural resource management and value addition. Most importantly, Investing in Africa's Future should be synonymous with youth development and engagement, thus we welcome and appreciate the Young African Leaders Initiative pioneered by the United States Government as a signature effort to invest in the next generation of African Leaders. The youth is indeed the hope of our future.</p>	<p>Lesotho</p>
<p>Country of freedoms and human rights, the United States is also the land of opportunity and prosperity. The United States is also par excellence the land of diversity and intermixing of people, firmly attached to a democracy built on strong institutions. Niger welcomes the three major programs of President Obama: -The first, Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI), launched in 2010 which aims to promote young people's leadership skills, and -The second, which aims to promote African women's entrepreneurship in order to reduce gender-based inequalities (WAEP); and -The third, Feed the Future, is a flagship program of President Obama, which addresses the highly vital issue of food security.</p>	<p>Niger</p>
<p>There is no doubt that this Summit is the dawn of a long awaited new era in the relationship between the United States of America and the African continent, considering that there are undeniable historical and cultural links between us, as well as states' responsibility to cooperate with each other, in the interest of creating a world of peace, wellbeing and happiness for all humanity</p>	<p>Equatorial Guinea</p>
<p>In the spirit of broadening cooperation between Africa and the United States of America, we commend the American government, and President Barack Obama, for the initiative taken to organize this 1st US-Africa Summit. The organization of this summit gives us the timely opportunity to move beyond the stale image of a relationship based on aid, crisis management and unequal trade, investment and development. We come to this Summit with a message of confidence. Confidence in our continent of Africa- where the unparalleled opportunities, and determination and will of our peoples, gives substance to the narrative of a rising and flourishing Africa. Confidence in our nation- Seychelles- Africa's smallest country whose development is anchored in people centered development, and in harnessing the vast potential of Africa's blue economy. Confidence in the United States of America, as an engaged partner in building a safer, more stable world where wealth and opportunity can be shared more evenly. And confidence in what Africa and the US can achieve together- if we join forces to work for security, freedom and prosperity in the world. Together we must strive in all sincerity to fulfill Africa's full potential by unlocking its trove of human talent- by investing in the next generation. This is the only way forward in a competitive and globalized world where dialogue lies at the heart of all actions to create the future that we want. We look forward to working with the US, and other development partners, to set ambitious but achievable sustainable development goals.</p>	<p>Seychelles</p>
<p>We see, this Summit playing a significant role in deepening US-Africa relationship and accelerating Africa's development with the United States being our partner. Since Africa's population is predominantly composed of young people, putting the interest of Africa's youth at the centre of the Summit agenda is the right thing to do. We must empower our young men and women to play their rightful role as citizens of their respective countries. African countries have a long history of cooperation with the United States in many fields. Generally, US interventions and support have made a huge difference in promoting social-economic growth and development in many African countries. This Summit provides a perfect opportunity to deepen this cooperation and explore new areas of mutual interest. The fact that there is conspicuous involvement of both the US Administration and the US private sector speaks volumes about what can be achieved at this Summit. Tanzania believes, as many African nations do, that the United States has what it takes to help Africa to overcome the overarching development and security challenges. It possesses both the capacity and capability to do so. Throughout the course of history, we have witnessed the United States government and its private sector playing a pivotal role in transforming post war Europe and Asia from devastation to prosperity. We believe, US can do the same to Africa. This is a historic duty which has been delayed in coming, but, whose time has now come. On Democracy and good governance, focus should not only be on electoral processes but on building strong institutions to support the rule of law and democratic governance. More support should be directed towards young democracies to help them deliver on people's expectations. Failure of democracy to do so is recipe for political instability as we have seen in a number of countries in Africa.</p>	<p>Tanzania</p>
<p>In fact, the longstanding historical, social and cultural ties between the United States and Africa, argue firmly in favor of a solid and fruitful partnership between the two parties that should be strengthened through our common ideals of peace, stability and shared prosperity. The U.S. Africa Leaders' Summit, which should define the outlines of a more engaged, diverse and mutually beneficial cooperation, is a real sign of hope for the continent. That is why it is necessary to strengthen our cooperation with the United States at the national, regional and continental levels with logistic and financial support, training programs and capacity building as well as with exchange of information, in</p>	

<p>order to increase our capacity to manage with our own resources conflicts which, sadly, are still too many on the continent. In this regard, we welcome the support of the United States for the African Union's African Architecture of Peace and Security (AAPS) for the prevention and fight against conflict. With a high performing human capital and the adding of value to its vast natural resources, Africa can consolidate its current position as the "new frontier of development" and lay the foundation for the emergence of the continent.</p>	Côte d'Ivoire / Ivory Coast
<p>It is a historic and significant event. Ghana believes that the Summit provides an opportunity for the United States to deepen its engagement with Africa, and work closely with African Leaders to jointly address the challenges which continue to hinder Africa's accelerated development and sustained growth. Ghana further welcomes the convening of this Summit as we believe that it affords the Obama administration the opportunity to reaffirm its commitment to Africa's security, its democratic transformation and economic development, at both the regional and sub-regional levels. Ghana shares the view that the Summit could mark a turning point in US-Africa relations, and become a credible platform for engagement, focused on enhancing the strategic partnership between the United States and Africa.</p>	Ghana
<p>Being the first Summit level dialogue of its kind, there is understandable excitement about what the Governments of the United States and African countries can achieve working together on shared goals and priorities. Indeed, this Summit is well timed, given the range of complex challenges confronting Africa at the present time. Although there are country-specific priorities, the crises facing Africa are largely similar and cut across countries. These challenges are multifaceted. At their root are poverty, security, governance, infrastructure and capacity issues. It is apparent that many African countries, including mine, are not going to meet all the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. Overcoming the various challenges on the road to meeting MDG targets and the post-2015 SDGs will require strengthened cooperation with the United States and other development partners. We believe that poor governance is a major cause of conflict in Africa. This is often exacerbated by closed political processes in several of our countries. We would therefore, do well to scale up efforts to nurture viable and capable states in our continent. We must have states that are able to provide security and ensure the equitable distribution of public goods and services. Africa must also institutionalize the principles of political pluralism, good governance and respect for human rights. Across Africa, the democratic process is on the move even though it has taken different turns and trajectories, with countries recording different levels of progress. On the whole, elections have become more regular even as we recognize that work remains to be done to deepen the democratic culture and strengthen its institutions across Africa. Democracy, stability and prosperity are essential elements of Africa's nation building process requiring the support of the international community.</p>	Nigeria
<p>The challenges Somalia faces are complex and multi-faceted. Creating political stability, delivering a relevant, timely legislative agenda, building robust public service delivery, and establishing sound governance processes supported by a transparent, trusted public financial management system and a thriving private sector are critical to delivering a peaceful, prosperous Somalia. Somalia established its first Federal Government in September 2012, following 22 years of civil strife, state collapse, violent extremism, and terrorism. Somalia is currently at a critical juncture: national reconciliation and stability are priorities for establishing peace and prosperity. At the heart of these priorities is a firm commitment to inclusivity and national dialogue in order to broker a national political settlement.</p>	Somalia
<p>As we understand it, the Summit is a concrete follow-up to President Obama's visit to Sub-Saharan Africa last year, which was intended as a prelude to launching a new vision and chapter in US African relations by advancing the administrations' focus on trade and development in Africa and to demonstrate America's commitment to Africa's security and its ongoing democratic development. We welcome the new partnership envisaged under this commitment and the likely consensus that this historic summit would produce. As the relations between Africa and the United States of America has evolved for centuries with significant impact on the economic and social wellbeing of our peoples, we believe that this Summit is appropriate and laudable because it provides the platform and opportunity to move to a higher level of mutually beneficial cooperation between the United States and the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa</p>	Gambia
<p>The United States has been a vital security and development partner for the African continent and U.S. Investment and assistance have played a very important role in helping Africa build a better future. On the hand, Africa's global influence and importance has become significant to the U.S. strategic national interests. Proactive engagement with Africa in securing peace and stability and promoting sustainable economic and social development are fundamental for enduring mutual benefits of both Africa and the United States. In this regard, Zambia is delighted to have this opportunity to participate at this first-ever U.S.-Africa Leaders' Summit. At the outset, it is important to note that Africa hosts seven of ten fastest growing economies in the world, which include Zambia. This growth is however, not sufficient to lift the masses out of poverty. More still needs to be done to ensure more sustainable broad based growth. In this regard, Zambia joins other African countries in welcoming this new partnership initiative with the United States of America. Zambia being a land-linked country has not benefited much from the African growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Despite this, Zambia still wishes to join other African countries in calling for United States of</p>	Zambia

America to extend this arrangement beyond 2015 when it is scheduled to expire.	
Achievement and maintaining peace and security remain the challenges facing many African countries. No economic and social development can be achieved or expected without peace and security neither can be reached any sustainable peace and security without development. Most conflicts in Africa are rooted in extreme poverty, related to various mistakes inherent to the learning of democratic and economic governance. Those factors generate social and political claims which have not been properly satisfied, and post election disputes which are damping down development efforts. Peace and security are also jeopardized by some new phenomenon such as intolerance and religious fanaticism. It makes sense to adhere to the realistic remarks of President Barack Obama pronounced during a press conference at the White House on June 14, 2012 when he said: “African must forge sustainable solutions to their problems and build their own model of democracy”. Therefore the United States of America should help African countries in the implementation of programs aiming to: - strengthen democratic institutions – increase inter-parliamentary exchanges between both parties – coach and train young people to the democratic culture – support organizations devoted to the fight against corruption, bribery and fraud – provide logistic support to bodies and institutions in charge of organizing elections.	Congo

Source: <http://usafricabusinessforum.bloomberg.org/#/> , consulted on August 7, 2014.

It should be recalled that in 1957, Vice-president Richard Nixon, after visiting Africa, reiterate the geostrategic importance of the continent to President Dwight Eisenhower: «the course of [Africa’s] development... could well prove to be the decisive factor in the conflict between the forces of freedom and international communism » (Clough, 1992 :6). This declaration led to the creation of African Affairs Bureau at the US State Department in 1958.

Nicolas Van De Walle (2009) argues that “one significant trend that began during the second Clinton term was the increasing emphasis on commercial links to Africa, often presented in a ‘trade not aid’ discourse. Several trade missions to the region by Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown eventually led to the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) of 2000 (...). It needs to be said that one key reason that programmes like AGOA grew in importance in the 1990s was the political support they enjoyed from the business community, which either stood to benefit directly from these programmes – this was the case notably for American oil companies with operations in the Africa region, which would gain the lion’s share of AGOA benefits – or indirectly from the increased economic activity they promoted. AGOA probably marked the entry of the business community as a significant constituency in a more active US Africa policy” (p. 6). In this regard, most African countries commend the United States of America for the enactment of this Act which has become the bedrock of trade and investment on both sides of the Atlantic. According to Motsoahae Thomas Thabane, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, “AGOA has been the pillar of Lesotho’s development in terms of contribution to Gross Domestic Product, augmenting Foreign Direct Investment and generating employment especially for women in the textiles and garments industry thus igniting hope to prosperity for our peoples. Lesotho is also in the process of developing its AGOA National Response Strategy which is focusing on strategic sectors such as Agro-products (horticulture), Leather and Leather products, Wool and Mohair, Handicrafts, Mining and others which the local Entrepreneurs can have potential and comparative advantage while also enjoying the AGOA Preference”^{vii}.

For the Nigerian government, the U.S can support Africa’s democratic rebirth, stability and creation of opportunities for millions across the continent. Africa needs to intensify its efforts on drivers for economic growth including human capital development, regional and global trade integration and its business environment. In this quest, Africa needs assistance in developing high value non-primary commodities to fully take advantage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Africa needs increased infrastructure and related services, including energy, transport, information and communication technology. In this perspective, Africans leaders also welcome President Obama’s Power Africa Initiative which was launched in 2013. In fact, it is unacceptable in the 21st century that Africa could have a 70 % energy deficit while it has unlimited but yet untapped energy resources. The Power Africa Initiative which focuses on renewable energy power projects, provides an ideal model for trust and cooperation in this area. Furthermore, Africans applaud the US Congress for passing the Electrify Africa Act which encourages US government agencies' support for the development of low-cost, base load energy resources.

Regarding the security sector, most of US military activities in Africa were transferred to the new military command established for Africa in 2007. US Africa Command (AFRICOM), which “raison d’être” was now to consolidate all of the counter-terrorism activities in the region, as well as more traditional training and technical assistance provided to African military units. AFRICOM was further developed into an independent, unified command whose sole focus would be US-Africa security engagement (Pham 2009).

While the establishment of AFRICOM would, among other things, demonstrate the strategic importance of Africa to US interests (Dickinson, 2009), its mandate and objectives are however, not entirely clear to the US's African partners. As its mission statement, AFRICOM commits to "conduct sustained engagement through military-to-military programs, military operations as directed to promote a stable and secure African environment in which to support US foreign policy". The key goal of AFRICOM is thus clearly one of "getting to know African militaries-to help train them, boost their professionalism and to generally serve as a good example to countries, many of which have never had a military that was subservient to a civilian government" as one US-Africa analyst articulates the purpose of the Africa command (Pham, 2009; Touo, 2014).

Speaking at the State Department on January 9, 2009, Condoleezza Rice, first African American Woman Secretary of State observed that "Our work has only begun. In our time we have an historic opportunity to shape a global balance of power that favors freedom and that will therefore deepen and extend peace. And I use the word power broadly, because even more important than military and indeed economic power is the power of ideas, the power of compassion, and the power of hope".

It is obvious that Obama presidency generates African's over expectations. The reality is that the architects of the US government restrained President's power in several ways. First, they established political liberties in the Bill of Rights that limited the sphere of governmental authority. Second, they dispersed power among the federal, state, and local governments. Finally, they provided for the sharing of federal powers among Congress, the President and the Judiciary. This institutional blueprint, devised more than two centuries ago, endures today and allows to conclude that "the central future of American politics is the fragmentation and dispersion of power and authority". Stephen Krasner (1978: 61) observed that "it not clear in the United States where sovereignty rests, if indeed it rests anywhere at all". Yet for all its virtues in retraining centralized power, this fragmentation creates problems in the conduct of US foreign policy, which requires a unified statement of national purpose, clear chains of command consistency, and timely presidential action (Hook, 2016). Democratic norms "undermine and weaken the power and authority of government and destruct, at time seriously from its ability to compete internationally (Huntington, 1982: 18).

Article 2 (2) of the Constitution of the United States indicates clearly that "the President shall be commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States ...". The President has responsibility for overseeing the major foreign policy bureaucracies: the Departments of state and defense, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Council (consisting of the vice president, the secretary of state, the secretary of treasury, the secretary of defense, and the national security adviser); that serve to coordinate foreign policy planning for the President. Other agencies with both domestic and foreign policy responsibilities the Treasury, the Office of Management and Budget; the Office of National Drug Control Policy; the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI); the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives; and the Departments of Homeland Security, Agriculture, Justice, and Commerce (Mansbach et al., 2016). The linkage of domestic and foreign policy is therefore evident. A nation's polarized politics can become so entrenched that solving domestic problems, and conducting foreign policy with a united front, can become impossible. However, maintaining its "predominance power" abroad has been a central goal of US foreign policy since World War II (Hook, 2016). In this regard, Americans always avoid political infighting at home. Al Gore abstained to contest the 2000 elections results despite the irregularities observed in Florida. Hilary Clinton adopted the same attitude during the 2016 elections marred by suspected Russia interference in the electoral process that would have favored Donald Trump.

Obama's doctrine of "lead from behind" leave a lot ground to US allies as France, Great Britain or Germany in Africa. According to Herbert Ekwe-Ekwe (2016), it should also be noted that 'leading-from-behind' is a cardinal feature of the overall presumed 'retrenchment' thrust or dynamics of Obama's foreign policy based on his readings of US's international relations in the past. The US President had, in 2010, one year in office, reinstated the trail of France's invasion history in Africa which president George W. Bush, his predecessor, had frozen for seven years as "punishment" for the French 2003 refusal to join the US-led coalition invasion of Iraq. Soon after the embargo was lifted, Sarkozy ordered the French military, to attack Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire (French invasion no. 49 of an African state since 1960), overthrew president Laurent Gbagbo, arrested him and his wife and dragged him to an international court in The Hague for 'trial' (Ekwe-Ekwe, 2016). This was a a presage to the following year's Sarkozy-Cameron-Obama Libya invasion (again for the French, Africa invasion no. 50). After nearly ten years in detention, for participating in mass killings during the 2010-2011 post electoral crisis and a three-year trial before the International Criminal Court (ICC), Laurent Gbagbo and his Youth minister, Charles Blé Goudé, were finally acquitted on March 31, 2021. During the past two years, there is a string of unconstitutional power grabs in Africa including Mali and Chad.

Nevertheless, it should now be evident that Africa was not figure distinctly in the frame of Obama's assumed policy of 'retrenchment' of spheres of US interventionism abroad. On the contrary, Africa very much represents the territorial zone of US's not-'retrenchment'. Despite Obama's criticism of the British and French leaderships on post-Libya invasion intra-coalition relations, he has in fact privileged the role of these dual lead-conqueror states of Africa in the pursuit of other goals of US interventionism on the continent more under the contemptuous tactical rubric of 'Africa is direct responsibility of London and Paris', a throwback particularly to the 1950s-1970 era of the Dwight Eisenhower-Lyndon Johnson presidencies, which also manifests itself in that working slogan already cited, 'leading-from-behind'. We will refer to one other goal as an example and this has profound consequences across the African history. Considering this importance, it requires a bit of background for elucidation (Ekwe-Ekwe, 2016). The 2014 summit was, therefore, the occasion to craft a balanced "smart power" approach to Africa that gives primacy to diplomatic engagement, and position Africa to be a foreign policy priority in the midst of a global economic crisis and threats to peace and security.

The republican presidential torch bearer, Donald Trump, was not certainly for this view. "In his cynical campaign to win his party nomination" (Hannahan, 2015: 11), he would have explained bitterly, on December 2015, that "African Americans are very lazy. The best they can do is gallivanting around ghettos, lamenting how they are discriminated. These are the people America doesn't need. They are the enemies of progress. Look at African countries like Kenya for instance, those people are stealing from their own government and go to invest the money in foreign countries. From the government to opposition, they only qualify to be used as a case study whenever bad examples are required. How do you trust even those who have ran away to hide here at the United States hiding behind education? I hear they abuse me in their blogs but I don't care because even the internet they are using is ours and we can decide to switch it off from this side. These are people who import everything including matchsticks. In my opinion, most of these African countries ought to be re-colonized again for another 100 years because they know nothing about leadership and self governance". "I promise to make America great again by restoring our dignity that we have since lost through Obama. The more reason why I still believe that he, and his Kenyan brothers and sisters should be deported back to Kenya to make America safe". In a testimony at the Congress on February 27, 2019; Michael Cohen, Trump's lawyer who describes the US President as a "racist, crook and cheat", declare that Donald Trump would have said that "Blacks are very stupid to vote for him".

With his rhetoric of "America First, Americanism, not globalism", Donald Trump has broken with the policies of previous Republican Party presidents on trade, immigration, and war, in favor of a more nationalist and populist platform. American grand strategy was at a crossroads during Trump presidency. His preferred trajectory hardball isolationism and nationalism, runs counter to the American tradition of global leadership and liberal interventionism (Rothwell & Pablo, 2016). No matter where one stand on Donald Trump and his presidency, it is difficult to deny that he has inaugurated a period of uncertainty, flux, and potentially revolutionary change in American and global politics. When he descended an escalator in the Trump Tower to announce his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination, few saw Trump as more than an interesting sideshow and a future footnote to the history of American politics. Yet he defeated a broad field of Republican contenders, including prominent governors and senators, and pulled out a last minute victory over Democratic candidate Hilary Clinton, despite a preponderance of polls that saw her ahead in the run-up to the vote.

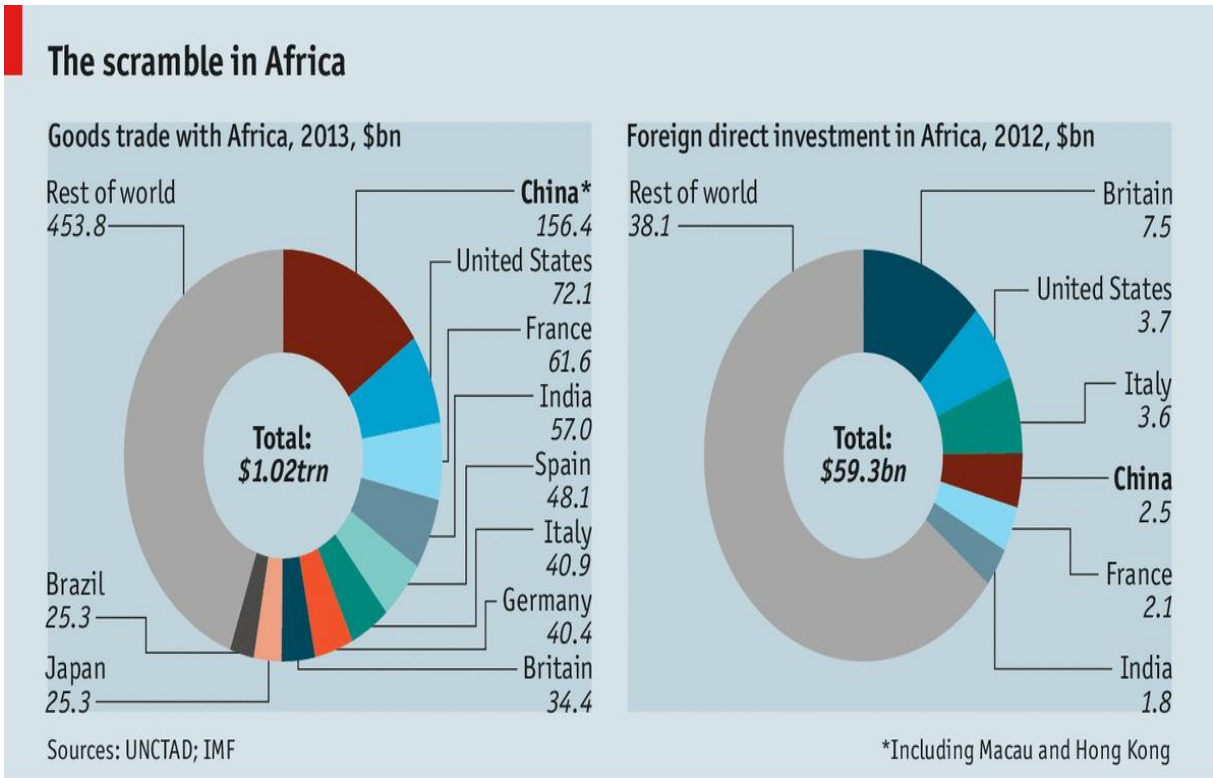
Nevertheless a new approach to US policy towards Africa is still possible. In his virtual remarks on the occasion of the 34th African Union Summit on February 5th, 2021, president Joe Biden signals a new tone on US-Africa relations. He emphasizes on US willingness to rebuild partnerships around the world and re-engage with international institutions like the African Union: "The United States stands ready now to be your partner, in solidarity, support, and mutual respect. We believe in the nations of Africa. In the continent wide spirit of entrepreneurship and innovation. And though the challenges are great, there is no doubt that our nations, our people, and the African Union are up to this task".

Stephen Metz, argues that "for the past century, the United States has had a complex, shifting relationship with dictators. On one hand, America's liberal instincts convinced the public and its elected representatives that democracy was the only stable form of government [or only game in town] over the long run. But after the U.S. became a global superpower following World War II, this was counterbalanced by a conservative quest for order, stability and a carefully modulated pace of change. These two sides of the American strategic psyche were often in conflict when it came to dealing with dictators around the world". He added that "as decolonization blended with rising Soviet power during the first three decades of the Cold War, the conservative side shaped American security policy. Friendly dictators^{viii} were tolerated, even embraced. Then the Vietnam fiasco challenged this position. The political left argued that backing dictators encouraged them to resist calls for reform, leaving violent revolution [or military takeovers / coup d'Etat] as the only locomotive for change". Support for friendly dictators, the left argued, might be penny-wise but was pound-foolish.

Then, during President Ronald Reagan’s administration, U.S. policy toward friendly dictators shifted again. While Reagan and his fellow Republicans in Congress knew that conservative dictatorships were not the preferred form of government, they were better than communist or pro-Soviet ones.

According to John J. Mearsheimer (2011: 33), before 9/11, the Bush administration realized that dealing with a rising China is the most serious challenge that the United States is likely to face in the decades ahead. If China grows economically over the next thirty years the way it has in recent decades, it is no doubt that the People’s Republic of China will translate its economic power into military power and try to dominate in some parts of the world as the United States dominates the Western Hemisphere. No American President will accept, in any case, that outcome, which means that Washington will seek to contain Beijing and prevent it from achieving regional hegemony in Asia or imperial ambition in Africa”. Through the 2014 Summit the United States seeks to balance and checks China’s rise in Africa. He also argues that “offshore balancing is committed to staying out of fights in the periphery and concentrating instead on truly serious threats. (...). Another virtue of offshore balancing is its emphasis on getting other countries to assume the burden of containing an aspiring regional power (...). Offshore balancing costs considerably less money than does global dominance, allowing America to better prepare for the true threat it faces. This is in good part because this strategy avoids occupying and governing countries in the developing world and therefore does not require large armies trained for counterinsurgency”.

The emergence of new partners that are active in the region offers significant opportunities to advance US shared vision of the Africa’s future. The United States seems to welcome the rise of a China that is peaceful, stable, prosperous, and a responsible player in international affairs. For Joseph Nye Jr, (2015) the United States still leads the world in education, technological innovation, entrepreneurship, cultural influence, and other forms of “soft power”. Therefore, “we are not entering a post America World” (p. 14). Steven W. Hook (2016) and some political analysts see US-dominated world order as advantageous not only for the United States but also for the international system as a whole. A benign “hegemon” maintains stability in the international system, discouraging conflicts among regional powers and covering most of the costs of military security and global economic development. Under these circumstances, less powerful states have incentives to align with the dominant power rather than challenge it by forming rival blocs. This favorable view, however, is hardly universal. Others fear the concentration of power in one country and believe that “unbalanced power, whoever wields it, is a potential danger to others (Waltz, 1997: 915). Multipolar systems are more conflict-prone than bipolar systems because disagreements evolve more easily into crises. American feelings of triumph after the Cold War will remain virtual, rather than liberation regarding the rise of China in Africa.



Results:
 This research finds that:

- Africa will certainly play an increasingly central role in global affairs and international commerce. Then, the opportunities for the United States and Africa to work together to achieve mutual prosperity for their countries and their people are growing. The first gathering in 2014 brought together hundreds of American and African Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of many companies^{ix} with nearly every African Head of State, demonstrating that the U.S. private sector is eager to increase its commercial connection to African economies. The Obama Administration sharpens focus on shifting the relationship between the U.S. and Africa from one based on aid to one based on trade and mutual profits. There is a growing awareness that African markets hold many untapped opportunities for U.S. investors and companies – and capitalizing on them would create jobs and improve lives on both sides of the Atlantic^x. According to many American officials, African oil “has become a national strategic interest and should be treated as a priority for US national security”.

- The United States is deeply committed to helping African countries strengthen their political institutions, address the challenges of governance, promote an active and empowered civil society, and uphold human rights. These efforts are vital to achieving Africa’s economic and security goals, because strong, accountable, and transparent institutions and a commitment to the rule of law help attract investment and generate prosperity, create trust in government, and help mitigate conflict and protect civilians from violence.

- International debate is starting to recognize that youth marginalization is a grave and gathering danger for peace and security. Young people have to play a crucial role in the realization of the promises of African Renaissance (Touo, 2010). The Mandela Washington Fellowship is the flagship program of the President’s Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI^{xi}) and embodies president Obama’s commitment to invest in the future of Africa. President Obama’s launched this initiative in 2010 to support young leaders with opportunities and resources. Through YALI, the United States is committing significant resources to enhance leadership skills, bolster entrepreneurship, and connect young African leaders with one another, with the United States, and with the American people. Investing in the next generation of African leaders is critical to ensuring the success of Africa’s development. This program brings over 500 young leaders to the United States each year for leadership training, academic coursework, and mentoring. It also creates unique opportunities in Africa, through internships and follow-up opportunities, to put those new skills to practical use in propelling economic growth and prosperity and strengthening democratic institutions.

- Scholars working on ethnic interests groups and US foreign policy acknowledge that, as the foreign policy agenda of the United States has expanded from its traditional emphasis on security concerns to encompass economic, environmental, and social issues, foreign policy interests groups have grown exponentially. As this agenda has expanded, the decision-making arena of foreign policy has as well (Cigler and Loomis, 2006; Baumgartner, Berry, Hojnacki, Kimball and Leech, 2009). Therefore and giving the multiple independent variables or sources of American foreign policy, a dependent variable, that include: external environment (International System) - societal environment - governmental structure - bureaucratic roles - personalities of individuals (Schmidt, 2012: 9), African Diaspora^{xii} should actively works to move U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Africa direction than fueling violence back home.

- Contrary to high expectations within Africa that the Obama presidency would herald a new age of US-Africa relations, the reality thus far seems to suggest a smart continuity rather than revolutionary change. What is evident is a new, firmer rhetoric rather than a tremendous change from the previous administrations. However, placed within the broader historical context of US-Africa relations, there are many substantive elements characterizing America’s new approach or relative offensive realism based on logistics, intelligence and mostly the strategic commitment for a “Development that offers a path out of poverty for that child who deserves better. Development that builds the capacity of countries to deliver the health care and education that their people need. Development that unleashes broader prosperity and builds the next generation of entrepreneurs and emerging economies. Development rooted in shared responsibility, mutual accountability and, most of all, concrete results that pull communities and countries from poverty to prosperity”.

ⁱThe US AFRICA Business Forum, the long awaited moment of the Summit, was hosted by Penny Pritzker, Secretary of Commerce and Michael R. Bloomberg, Founder of Bloomberg LP & Bloomberg Philanthropies and 108th Mayor of New York City on August 5th, 2014 alongside US Africa Summit. United States Government attendees include: - Barack Obama, President of the United States - Joseph R. Biden Jr., Vice President of the United States - John F. Kerry, Secretary of State - Jacob J. Lew, Secretary of the Treasury - Tom Vilsack, Secretary of Agriculture - Anthony Foxx, Secretary of Transportation - Ernest Moniz, Secretary of Energy - Denis McDonough, White House Chief of Staff - Michael Froman, United States Trade Representative - Susan E. Rice, Assistant to the President and National Security Advisor - Valerie Jarrett, Senior Advisor to the President - John Podesta, Counselor to the President - Jeff Zients, Director of the National Economic Council and Assistant to the President for Economic Policy - Tony Blinken, Deputy National Security Advisor - Caroline Atkinson,

Deputy National Security Advisor for International Economics - Ben Rhodes, Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communications and Speechwriting - Gayle Smith, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director, National Security Council - Grant Harris, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for African Affairs, National Security Staff - Rajiv Shah, Administrator, United States Agency for International Development - Catherine Novelli, Under Secretary of State for Economic Growth, Energy and the Environment - Stefan M. Selig, Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade - Fred Hochberg, Chairman, Export Import Bank of the United States - Lee Zak, Director, United States Trade and Development Agency - Elizabeth Littlefield, President, Overseas Private Investment Corporation - Dana Hyde, Chief Executive Officer, Millennium Challenge Corporation - Linda Thomas-Greenfield, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs - Anne Patterson, Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs - Charles Rivkin, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs - Arun Kumar, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Global Markets, Director General of the Foreign Commercial Service. African delegations include - Algeria, delegation headed by Prime Minister Abdelmalek Sellal – Angola, delegation headed by Vice President Manuel Domingos Vicente – Benin, delegation headed by President Boni Yayi – Botswana, delegation headed by Foreign Minister Phandu Tombola Chanda Skelemani - Burkina Faso, delegation headed by President Blaise Compaore – Burundi, delegation headed by President Pierre Nkurunziza - Cabo Verde, delegation headed by President Jorge Carlos de Almeida Fonseca – Cameroon, delegation headed by President Paul Biya – Chad, delegation headed by President Idriss Deby Itno – Comoros, delegation headed by President Ikililou Dhoinine - Cote d'Ivoire, delegation headed by Prime Minister Daniel Kablan Duncan - Democratic Republic of the Congo, delegation headed by President Joseph Kabila Kabange – Djibouti, delegation headed by President Ismail Omar Guelleh – Egypt, delegation headed by Prime Minister Ibrahim Mahlab - Equatorial Guinea, delegation headed by President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo – Ethiopia, delegation headed by Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn Boshe – Gabon, delegation headed by President Ali Bongo Ondimba – Ghana, delegation headed by President John Dramani Mahama – Guinea, delegation headed by President Alpha Condé - Guinea Bissau, delegation headed by President Jose Mario Vaz – Kenya, delegation headed by President Uhuru Kenyatta – Lesotho, delegation headed by Prime Minister Motsaohae Thomas Thabane – Liberia, delegation headed by Vice President Joseph Nyuma Boakai, Sr. – Libya, delegation headed by Prime Minister Abdalla Alteni – Madagascar, delegation headed by President Hery Rajaonarimampianina – Malawi, delegation headed by President Arthur Peter Mutharika – Mali, delegation headed by President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita – Mauritania, delegation headed by President Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz – Mauritius, delegation headed by Prime Minister Navinchandra Ramgoolam – Morocco, delegation headed by Prime Minister Abdel-Ilah Benkiran – Mozambique, delegation headed by President Armando Emilio Guebuza – Namibia, delegation headed by President Hifikepunye Lucas Pohamba – Niger, delegation headed by President Issoufou Mahamadou – Nigeria, delegation headed by President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan - Republic of the Congo, delegation headed by President Denis Sassou-Nguesso – Rwanda, delegation headed by President Paul Kagame - São Tomé and Príncipe, delegation headed by Prime Minister Gabriel Arcanjo Ferreira da Costa – Senegal, delegation headed by President Macky Sall – Seychelles, delegation headed by President James Alix Michel - Sierra Leone, delegation headed by Foreign Minister Samura Kamara – Somalia, delegation headed by President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud - South Africa, delegation headed by President Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma - South Sudan, delegation headed by President Salva Kiir Mayardit – Swaziland, delegation headed by King Mswati III – Tanzania, delegation headed by President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete - The Gambia, delegation headed by President Alhaji Dr. Yahya A.J.J. Jammeh – Togo, delegation headed by President Faure Essozimna Gnassingbé – Tunisia, delegation headed by President Mohamed Moncef Marzouki – Uganda, delegation headed by President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni – Zambia, delegation headed by Vice President Guy Scott.

United States and African Companies attaining the US AFRICA Business Forum on August 5th, 2014. United States Companies: 32 Advisors, AAR Corp., ABB Inc., Acrow Corporation, Advent Capital Management, AECOM, AES Company, AGCO Corporation, Aireon, Albright Stonebridge Group, Alpha Energy & Electric Inc., AM General, American Capital Energy & Infrastructure, APR Energy, Aquatech International Corporation, Atago Pacific Partners, Black & Veatch, The Blackstone Group, Bloomberg LP, Business Council for International Understanding, Carlyle Carpenter & Company Inc., Caterpillar Inc., Chevron, Citigroup Inc., Coca-Cola Company, Columbia Green Technologies, Contour Global, Corporate Council on Africa, Crane & Co., DACC Global, The Dow Chemical Company, Earth Networks, Edlow International, Electronic Knowledge Interchange, Ellicott Dredge Emerging Capital Partners, Endeavor Energy, E-Pulse, Ford Motor Company, Frankfurt Kurnit Klein & Selz PC, Freeport-McMoRan Copper & Gold Inc., General Electric, Glass Earth Enterprises & EnTech Holdings, Global Cities Inc., Global Environment Fund, HPI LLC, IBM, Implant Sciences Corporation, International Finance Corp, Jones Family Office, KKR & Co. LP, Kosmos Energy, Kupanda Capital, Kuramo Capital Management, Lazare Kaplan International, Lockheed Martin, Marriott International MasterCard, Merck & Company Inc., Mobile Accord and GeoPoll, MoneyGram International, Morgan Stanley, Mountaire Farms Inc., MWH Global, Pan African Capital Group LLC, Pan African Investment Corporation, The Parker Group LLC (formerly of KMS Software Company), Perdue Farms, Rice Financial Products Company, Sabre, SEWW Energy Incorporated, SolarReserve, Source California Energy Services, Stratfor, SunEdison, Symbion Power, Synnove, The Whitaker Group, The World Bank, Tishman, Speyer, TPG, U.S. Bridge, United States Chamber of Commerce, Varian Medical Systems Inc., Verdant Power, Vermeer, W.S. Badger Company, Wal-Mart Stores Inc., Weber Shandwick. African Companies: - Achat Service International (Niger) - Aeolus Kenya Ltd. (Kenya) - Africa Finance Corporation (Nigeria) - African Trans Services (A.T.S.) (Mali) - African Development Bank (Côte d'Ivoire) - African Rainbow Minerals (South Africa) - Air Burkina (Burkina Faso) - Air Traffic and Navigation Services (South Africa) - Amahoro Energy (Rwanda) - Amor Benamor (Algeria) - A-Post (Nigeria) - Attijari Wafa Bank (Morocco) - Banque Atlantique Niger (Niger) - Belstar Development LLC (Ghana) - Bidco Oil Refineries (Kenya) - BMCE Bank (Morocco) - Bok Group (Chad) - Burundi Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Agriculture & Handicrafts (Burundi) - Cabo Verde Shores (Cabo Verde) - Carbon Holdings (Egypt) - Casablanca Stock Exchange (Morocco) - Central

Bank of Nigeria (Nigeria)- Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Mali (Mali) - COMATRANS Group (Cameroon) - Compagnie Sahélienned'Entreprises (Senegal) - Confédération Générale des Entreprises Marocaines (Morocco) - Dangote Industries (Nigeria) - Dar es Salaam Stock Exchange (Tanzania) - Doudou Tainamor (Comoros) - EA-Power Limited (Tanzania) - East Africa Capital Partners (Kenya) - East African Business Council (Tanzania) - Econet Wireless International (South Africa) - El Sewedy Group (Egypt) - Electricity Supply Corporation of Malawi (ESCOM) (Malawi) - Equity Bank Group (Kenya) - Etablissement KAMA (Chad) – Ethiopia Commodity Exchange (Ethiopia) - Ethiopian Airlines (Ethiopia) - ETRHB (Algeria) - Fares Group (Senegal) - Farmers Union Malawi (Malawi) - Fidelity Bank Ghana Limited (Ghana) -Gaz-Com (Chad) - Ginadin Group (Kenya) - Global Infrastructure Partners (Nigeria) - Global Media Alliance (Ghana) - GLS Holding, S.A. (Angola) - Graphica Imprimerie (Comoros) - Groupe Amimer (Algeria) - Grupo AntonioMosquito (Angola) - Haco Tiger Brands Kenya Limited (Kenya) - Harith Funds (South Africa) - HazagouPastoral Farm (Niger) - HBG Holding (Tunisia) - Heirs Holdings (Nigeria) - Helvetic Group (Tanzania) - Imperial Foods Company & Hampshire Overseas Corporation(Cameroon) - Central Bank of Nigeria (Nigeria) - Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Mali (Mali)- COMATRANS Group (Cameroon) - Intelec Holdings Group (Mozambique) - Java Foods Limited (Zambia) - LetiArts (Ghana) - Lusaka Stock Exchange (Zambia) - Main One Cable Company Nigeria Limited (Nigeria) - Maison Doudou Tainamor and KOMOCASH Supermarket (Comoros) - The Mara Group (Uganda) - Massmart (South Africa) - Merinal Vapropharm (Algeria) - MIDROC Group (Ethiopia) - Mohammed Enterprises Tanzania (Tanzania) - Mo Ibrahim Foundation (Sudan) - Montigny Investments (Swaziland) - Nairobi Securities Exchange (Kenya) - Nation Media Group (Kenya) - Nigerian Sovereign Investment Authority (Nigeria) - The Nigerian Stock Exchange (Nigeria) - Office Cherifien des Phosphates (Morocco) - Orascom Telecom Media and Technology Holding (Egypt) - PKL S.A. (Côte d'Ivoire) - Portos e Caminhos de Ferro de Mozambique (Mozambique) - Press Corporation Limited (Malawi) - RedMed Group (Algeria) - Rwanda Stock Exchange (Rwanda) - SAS Finance Group (Ghana) - Sasol Limited (South Africa) - Shanduka (South Africa) - Simba Group (Uganda) - Smart Villages Co. (Egypt) - SOLO Phone (Nigeria) - South African Airways (South Africa) - Standard Bank (South Africa) - The Stock Exchange of Mauritius (Mauritius) - Swaziland Electricity Company (Swaziland) - Swaziland Investment Promotion Authority (Swaziland) - Tanseed International Ltd. (Tanzania) - TAQA Arabia (Egypt) - Telkom SA SOC Limited (South Africa) - TMI (Tunisia) - Transnet (South Africa) - Tsavo Power Company (Kenya) - Uganda Securities Exchange (Uganda) - Unique Solutions (Gambia) - United Bank of Africa (Nigeria) - UT Bank Ghana (Ghana) - VIA Aviation Ltd/Tanjet (Tanzania) - Vision Madagascar (VIMA) (Madagascar). Other Companies: - Aldwych International - Millicom International Cellular - Nubuke Investments - Petrolin Group - Prudential Plc - Reykjavik Geothermal

ⁱⁱⁱSee Conversation with Joseph S. Nye Jr <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/conversations/Nye/>, consulted on June 20, 2018.

^{iv}*Politics Among Nations* of Hans Morgenthau was part of a debate between the schools of idealism (according to which, among other things, problems between nations can be resolved by negotiation) and realism (according to which nations are interested, first and foremost, by the pursuit of power). In the book's wake, realism became the standard way of viewing international relations.

^vRemarks at the US Department of State Headquarters, Washington DC, February 4th, 2021, www.whitehouse.gov.

^{vi}71st Secretary of State, remarks to the State Department employees, Washington, DC, January 27, 2021.

^{vii} See his statement made during the US Africa Summit, August 5th, 2014, Washington DC.

^{viii}The "Maréchal of Chad", Idriss Deby Itno, until his death on April 20, 2021, was a strategic figure in the fight against Jihadists groups both in the Lake Chad Basin area and in the Sahel. He was a symbol of courage for the Chadian Army and a friend of the West in the fight against insurgency on the African Continent. According to the Chadian Military source, president Idriss Deby Itno had died of injuries sustained while leading the troops on the battle front in the North of the country against rebels. The fact that the transition is assumed by a Military Council instead of the enforcement of constitutional arrangements is a matter of concern to many observers. The United States of America called for a transition of power in accordance with the Chad constitution, but changed its position following France and the Africa Union's support for Mahamat Idriss Déby who assumed control of power following his father's death. During the funeral of Idriss Déby Itno, French president, Emmanuel Macron vowed firmly that "France will not let anybody put into question or threaten today or tomorrow Chad's stability and integrity".

^{ix} During the week of September 19, 2016, on the occasion of the 71st Session of the UN General Assembly, Bloomberg Philanthropies and the U.S. Department of Commerce co-host the second U.S.-Africa Business Forum, a day focused on increased trade and investment between the U.S. and African nations. The Forum build on the progress of the inaugural Forum, held during the 2014 U.S.-Africa Leaders Summit with the participation of nearly 50 heads of State or government and more than 150 Companies Chief Executive Officer's (CEOs) – to further develop trade and business opportunities between the United States and Africa.

^x On June 15, 2015, Ambassador Michael S. Hoza visiting the University of Yaounde II International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), as part of the U.S. Embassy's priority to conduct youth and student outreach throughout the Republic of Cameroon, defined the United States' most important foreign policy goals as peace and prosperity, including U.S. support for Cameroon's efforts to combat the threat of Boko Haram: "Boko Haram is committing crimes against humanity and must be stopped. The United States admires and respects Cameroon's dedication to defend its citizens and country against this threat which has killed hundreds of innocent people, and we remember especially those who lost their lives and their families." Expanding on the peace and prosperity theme, the Ambassador added: "When the partners of the United States are peaceful and prosperous, it creates a 'win-win' situation where both countries benefit. For that reason, the United States remains firmly committed to the peace and prosperity of Cameroon. Our partnership includes both the Government and

people of Cameroon. I have traveled extensively throughout the regions meeting people, exchanging ideas, and seeing how programs sponsored by the U.S. government in Cameroon and implemented by Cameroonians are making a tremendous difference.” The Ambassador identified other key U.S. priorities of promoting security, wildlife preservation, health sector support, and academic and cultural exchanges to promote youth leadership, entrepreneurship, and women’s empowerment to support the contributions by Cameroonians to strengthen all sectors through their own ideas and efforts. He also observed that U.S. health programs assistance to Cameroon exceed \$50 million per year, the majority through management of the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the recently launched Global Health Security Agenda by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). Ambassador Hoza explained that the United States supports greater U.S. investments and private sector growth in Cameroon in order to promote the creation of jobs for youth: “Within our goals to promote security and shared prosperity stands promoting private sector growth. This key sector creates needed jobs. We want American companies to invest here in Cameroon, where they may hire and train Cameroonians. We also support Cameroon’s efforts to encourage private sector growth. When Cameroonians open up new businesses, they hire employees who can support their families and communities. This is essential to thrust this nation into achieving the goals of ‘Vision 2035’ beginning today.”

^{xii}U S Host Institutions of Young African Leaders (YALI): - Clark-Atlanta University - Dartmouth College - Northwestern University - University of Notre Dame - University of Texas at Austin - University of Wisconsin (Stout) - Yale University - Arizona State University - Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey - Tulane University - University of California, Berkeley - University of Delaware - University of Virginia/The College of William and Mary - Wagner College - Florida International University - Howard University - Morgan State University - Syracuse University - University of Arkansas - University of Minnesota.

^{xiii}In an Open Letter to the United States Secretary of State on the ‘Anglophone Crisis’ in Cameroon, the members of Parliament of the National Assembly attempted to “provide information and clarifications on the prevailing situation in the English speaking regions of Cameroon in order to dispel the inexactitudes and misconceptions contained in an ‘Open Letter’” addressed to the US Secretary State on April 6, 2021 by a collective of organizations based in the United States of America namely: - Cameroon Humanitarian Initiative – Coalition for Dialogue and Negotiations – Consortium of Ethiopian Human Rights Organizations – Juventudes XLaPaz – Neustra Agenda /Our Dialogue – Presbyterian Church USA – Refugee Council Australia – Sam Soya Center for Democracy and Human Rights – The Global Campaign for Peace and Justice in Cameroon – Torture Abolition and Survivors Support Coalition International (TASSC International) – World Council of Churches (WCC) (see *Cameroon Tribune*, N° 12336/8535 of April 28, 2021, p. 11) .

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