



# NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE COUNCIL

## MEMORANDUM



3 February 2021

NICM 2021-01375

### (U// [REDACTED]) Africa: Increasing Weight in the Global Arena

#### (U) Key Takeaway

(U// [REDACTED]) *Africa during the past 20 years has increasingly integrated into the international community, which presents opportunities for expanded engagement in ways that advance US economic and security interests.* Africa's demographic potential, supply of natural resources, and potential collective political and economic leverage are deepening its importance in the evolving international system, despite the pandemic-related disruptions to near-term growth.




- (U// [REDACTED]) International integration measures across Sub-Saharan Africa, while low compared to other regions of the world, have steadily increased during the past 20 years, judging from a study commissioned by the NIC. The increasing globalization of Sub-Saharan Africa creates opportunities to promote greater adherence to international norms, resulting in improved governance, conflict mitigation, and market access.
- (U// [REDACTED]) African participation in internal and international multilateral institutions offers an opportunity to amplify efforts to advance US interests on the continent and beyond. The African Union is a maturing, continent-wide organization that serves as a focal point for African coordination and mediation on intra-continental issues, presenting a possible inroad into multinational cooperation on key issues. African nations represent the largest regional voting bloc at the UN and have often voted against the United States on key issues, according to a review of voting coincidence between 2016 and 2019.
- (U// [REDACTED]) African publics have welcomed the growing number of external actors that are increasing their presence and deepening ties across the continent, and they have maintained largely favorable views of the United States for at least the past 10 years, according to State Department-sponsored polling.

(U) This memorandum was prepared under the auspices of the National Intelligence Officer (NIO) for Africa. It was drafted by the National Intelligence Council [REDACTED]. Questions may be directed to the NIO [REDACTED].

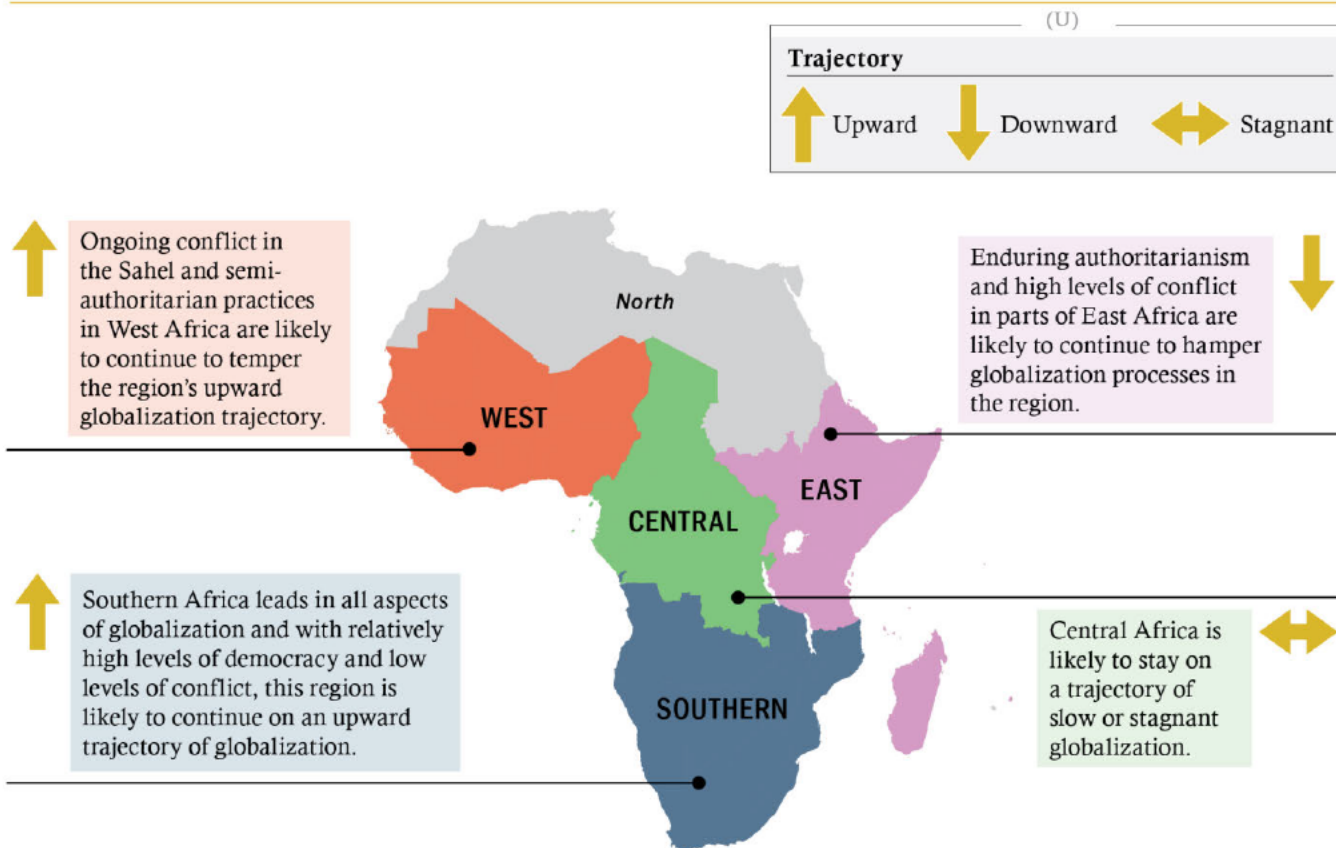
(U) GLOBALIZATION

(U) This table is U [REDACTED]

(U) Compared with other world regions between 2000–17, Sub-Saharan Africa had the second-lowest level of globalization but the second greatest increase in globalization.

GLOBALIZATION	 Social	Sub-Saharan Africa's high growth rates in informational and interpersonal globalization, compared with the rest of the world, showcase the region's increase in technology exports, migration, travel, international tourism, and access to TV and telephone. For example, African students studying abroad increased by 111 percent between 2006 and 2016.
	 Political	Compared with the rest of the world, Sub-Saharan Africa experienced greater increases in political globalization, which most likely illustrates a diversification of partnerships during the time frame.
	 Economic	Sub-Saharan Africa had especially low economic globalization scores with the second smallest increase in trade globalization and the smallest increase in financial globalization of all regions.

(U) Although the COVID-19 pandemic is likely to cause significant disruption in the next two years, **Sub-Saharan Africa's upward—if uneven—globalization trajectory probably will continue in the next five years.** The recent establishment of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) could help bolster lagging social and political globalization in the coming decades.



(U) The findings in this graphic are based on a National Intelligence Council–commissioned think tank report, "Assessing Globalization Trends in Sub-Saharan Africa, August 2020," which was based in part on the KOF Globalization Index. North Africa was not included in this assessment.

## (U) LEADERSHIP

(U) This table and photos are U

(U) The African Union (AU) is a maturing, continent-wide organization that serves as a focal point for African solutions for an integrated, prosperous, and peaceful Africa. The AU's Agenda 2063—Africa's blueprint for transforming Africa into the global

powerhouse of the future—is ambitious and was already experiencing setbacks in its first decade of implementation, which COVID-19 magnified. On security, there is one ongoing AU mission in Somalia.

## African Union Leadership

	<p><b>Cyril Ramaphosa</b> South Africa <i>AU Chairperson (until February 2021)</i></p>		<p><b>Moussa Faki Mahamat</b> Chad <i>AU Commission Chairperson</i></p>
	<p><b>Félix Antoine Tshisekedi Tshilombo</b> Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) <i>AU Vice Chairperson</i> <i>*Chairperson-elect for 2021</i></p>		<p><b>Quartey Thomas Kwesi</b> Ghana <i>AU Commission Deputy Chairperson</i></p>

## Africa's Regional Economic Communities

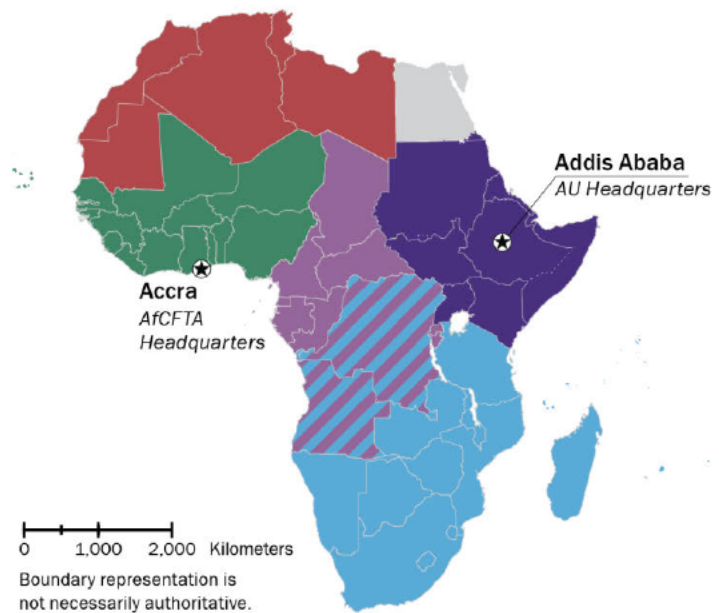
(U) Regional integration in Africa, while low compared to other regions of the world, is increasing and has the potential to expand markets and trade, foster sociocultural cooperation, and improve regional

stability. Building on Africa's Regional Economic Communities (RECs), the AU established the AfCFTA, which is expected to establish a multitrillion dollar economic block in the future.

(U)

## African Regional Economic Communities

-  Arab Maghreb Union (UMA)
-  Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)
-  Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
-  Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
-  Southern African Development Community (SADC)



(U) The other three RECs in Africa not shown on this map are the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), and the East African Community (EAC).

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(U) MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS

(U) These photos and charts are U

Africa in the United Nations



**Amina J. Mohammed**  
Nigeria  
*UN Deputy Secretary General*



**Zainab Hawa Bangura**  
Sierra Leone  
*Director General of the UN Office of Nairobi*



**Cristina Isabel Lopes da Silva Monteiro Duarte**  
Cabo Verde  
*UN Special Advisor on Africa*

Representation at the UNSC



African states have 3 of the 15 UNSC seats—known as the A3—and in 2021 the A3 are **Kenya, Niger, and Tunisia**.

UN General Assembly



African states make up the largest regional group at the UN at 28 percent.

UNSC Resolutions for Africa

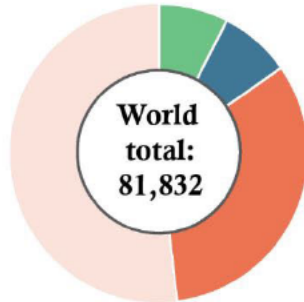


African issues made up 75 percent of the UNSC resolutions in the past year.

(U) From December 2019-November 2020

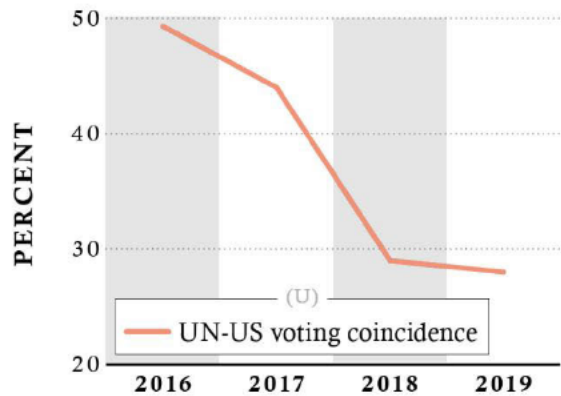
Contributions to UN Peacekeeping, 2020

African countries as a whole provide nearly 50 percent of UN peace-keepers; **Rwanda** and **Ethiopia** are the second and third largest contributing countries globally following Bangladesh.



Rwanda (6,383)	Other African states (26,638)
Ethiopia (6,307)	Rest of the world (42,504)

Africa's UN Voting Coincidence With the United States, 2016-2019



Africa in Multilateral Organizations

World Health Organization

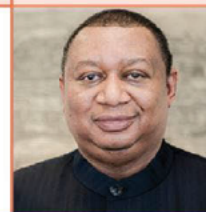


**Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus**  
Ethiopia  
*Director General*



**Dr. Matshidiso Moeti**  
Botswana  
*Regional Director for Africa*

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries



**Mohammed Barkindo**  
Nigeria  
*Secretary General*

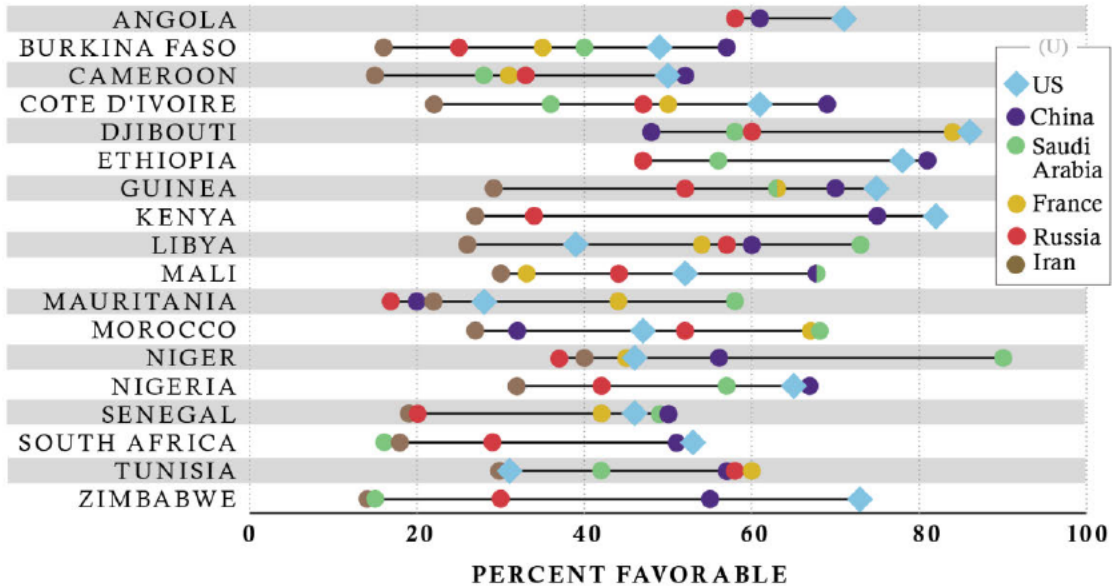
(U) PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

(U) These charts are U [REDACTED]

Public Perceptions of External Actors, 2019–20

(U) Majorities in half or more of the African publics surveyed had favorable views of the United States, China, France, Russia, and Saudi Arabia, judging from State Department sponsored polling. This polling highlights that African publics tend to prefer

a choice of partners and do not necessarily have a “partner of choice.” Polling suggests that populations are less familiar with Iran, Russia, and Saudi Arabia, based on the high number of people polled who did not offer an opinion.



Publics' Favorable Perceptions of the United States in Selected Countries, 2010–20

(U) African public perceptions towards the United States tend to be largely favorable. The following case studies show that positive perceptions of the United States have stayed somewhat steady during the past

decade in key bilateral partners such as Kenya and Nigeria; while in Morocco, positive perceptions of the United States fell to less than 50 percent for the first time in 2020.

