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## African Affairs Overview

Our office provides politico-military advice to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, and the Secretary and Deputy Secretaries of Defense. We have cognizance over the forty seven countries of sub-Saharan Africa. Like State/AF, we are responsible for all of the countries of Africa which do not touch on the Mediterranean.

In fulfilling our geographic responsibilities for sub-Saharan Africa, we have an array of functional responsibilities. These arise from the nature of the problems confronting Africa, the military and security assistance programs that we have to respond to these problems, and the threats they pose to the United States. The more important ones are: Facilities Access, Conflict Resolution/Peacekeeping/Peacemaking; Human Rights; Humanitarian Assistance; Security Assistance Policy, Planning, and Program Coordination; Wildlife Protection/Biodiversity; African Coastal Security; Health Affairs; Civic Action; and European Cooperation. Most of these are explained in some detail in our office "Blue Book," a copy of which is in the pocket at the back of this binder.

We have singled out five current top issues (Somalia, Angola, Liberia, Policy/Resources Mismatch, and Islamic Fundamentalism) to illustrate the types of problems that confront us. With regard to the first three, it is important to understand that Africa's situation is so parlous that events in numerous other countries (for example, Chad, Congo, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Togo, and Zaire) could lead to a heightened interest among E-Ring principals in the next few months, given potential threats to U.S. and other friendly third country nationals and to other U.S. interests. We highlight Islamic Fundamentalism as a threat because it has crept up on the West while we were focused on Soviet, Warsaw Pact, Cuban, and Libyan activities. Libya remains a threat as does Iraq, but we are most concerned about Iranian activities directly and through their Sudanese henchmen. We also wish to draw your attention to the inadequacy of resources of all types to implement a sensible Africa policy.

Except for occasional major crises (Liberia, Somalia) and some southern Africa issues, Africa was not the focus of very much "E Ring" attention during the Carter, Reagan, or Bush Administrations. The five Assistant Secretaries, three Under Secretaries, five Deputy Secretaries, and four Secretaries that we served came to trust the quality and thoroughness of our work as well as our objectivity. We routinely "solve" policy matters without having to take E-Ring principals away from more pressing activities.

Beyond the endless stream of crises of the moment, we focus our attention on five major areas, one of which--conflict resolution--we describe in subsequent papers. The other four are: 1) maintaining access to African facilities, 2) obtaining adequate security assistance monies for defense materiel and services and spending them wisely, 3) obtaining adequate training funds and using them constructively, and 4) promoting and supporting non-security assistance military activities

**ACCESS:** The Department of Defense has traditionally had very modest strategic interests in Africa, even at the height of the Cold War. We have no interest in establishing a major or permanent military presence. We are satisfied with the arrangements for transit and occasional facilities usage we do have. We station no troops, have no bases, and homeport no ships there. We do have formal access arrangements with Kenya as well as with Somalia and Liberia, with the latter two, of course, being currently in abeyance. The United States Air Force operates a satellite tracking station in the Seychelles. All together, there are fewer than 300 U.S. military personnel presently assigned in sub-Saharan Africa, and the majority of those are U.S. Marine Guards at our embassies. The balance are almost entirely defense attache and security assistance personnel. (Of course, this total does not include U.S. forces presently TDY as part of Operation RESTORE HOPE.)

Our office plays a role in all Africa access agreement and renewal negotiations, working with ISA's Foreign Military Rights Affairs office, the Services, the Joint Staff and the State Department. However, such negotiations are infrequent. More importantly, we also play an indirect role in obtaining and maintaining informal access arrangements. Annually, we champion security assistance funds for our two main informal access partners--Djibouti, which lies astride the mouth to the Red Sea, and Senegal, whose Dakar-Yoff Airport is on the westernmost point of Africa, thus closest to CONUS. DASD Woods has fostered a warm working relationship with Djibouti's Ambassador here in Washington and with Senegal's Chief of Staff, who is known as "the American General." Since the 1990 closure of Roberts International Airport in Liberia, Port Bouet Airport in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, has played an increasingly significant role in supporting Air Mobility Command's (AMC) Africa operations. Our West Africa Country Affairs Officer was the key mover in getting AMC to accept responsibility for damage to the military ramp at Port Bouet caused by US C-141 aircraft. AMC has agreed to repair the ramp in FY93 which should insure our continued access to that facility.

**SECURITY ASSISTANCE:** In FY82, our grants and credits to sub-Saharan Africa for the purchase of military equipment and technical services were almost \$200 million. About two thirds went to the Horn for Cold War, geostrategic purposes. In FY85, the grant program still exceeded \$150 million; however, we were able to see the handwriting on the wall and pushed to redirect security assistance away from

large country accounts (Somalia, Sudan, Zaire, and Liberia) towards non-lethal, nation building activities. Largely at our office's initiative and urging, the U.S. has been progressively refocusing military assistance for Africa.

We have increasingly geared the program to provide the most essential tools of developing armies--communications equipment for control, transport to provide mobility (and disaster relief capabilities), engineering equipment to support field deployments for basic construction (emergency repair for roads and bridges, light construction for schools and clinics, barracks and camp improvements for troop living conditions), and light weapons appropriate to defense of the state. This supports a "New World Order" where collective defense is a growing reality and super power-tolerated arms races are no longer supportable. Indeed, lethal assistance of any kind is now rare and extended as an exception to general policy.

Since fiscal year 1985, an increasing proportion of our declining resources has gone to Africa Civic Action, a regional activity with three components: African Coastal Security, focused on protection of Africa's maritime resources; Military Civic Action, which promotes small projects (such as schools, clinics, and bridge repairs) as a modest contribution to nation-building and to creating a better relationship between the troops and the populace; and Military Health Affairs, which looks to the health and medical needs of the troops themselves.

- For FY91, the Bush Administration requested only \$26 million in Foreign Military Financing (FMF). Africa received \$10.55 million in new FMF funding, plus a Congressional earmark of \$15 million FMF for biodiversity projects, for a total of \$25.55M about one half percent of the worldwide total.

- For FY92, the Administration requested \$24.5 million but received only \$8.5 million, about two tenths percent of the worldwide total. \$5.5 million of that went to support peacekeeping efforts in Liberia and Rwanda.

- For FY93, the Bush Administration requested only \$12.25 million. Africa received \$15 million (about one third percent of the worldwide total) but it was earmarked exclusively for biodiversity projects. As we did in FY91, we have been working with our country teams and military commands to develop projects in which the African military forces will be involved in protecting their marine, wildlife and forest and park resources.

This office believes that Africa should receive about \$50 million annually in FMF (about 1% of the program), the majority of which should be focused on the programs noted above. We have received only about half of that amount or less since FY88.

**TRAINING:** In addition to FMF, we are boosters of an active International Military Education and Training (IMET) program for which we have been able to obtain sufficient funds despite the overall decline in security assistance monies. The Africa IMET Program has been fairly stable since the mid 1980s, training about 500 to 600 individuals per year. We have requested \$8.9M in FY93 to provide training to personnel from forty countries.

Funds are used mainly to provide professional military training, in our own military schools, for future African military leaders. These courses reflect the American approach to the art of military science, including a heavy emphasis on respect for civil authority, respect for law, emphasis on command responsibility, and on management and logistical skills. It is our hope that the African officers will use this knowledge well as they rise to command new, more appropriately sized and equipped military organizations. We continue to believe that, dollar for dollar, IMET is our most productive program, giving African military officers and NCOS first class military education while exposing them to American beliefs in the primacy of civilian rule and the role of an apolitical military in a democracy.

We are also enthusiastic supporters of the "expanded IMET" program. This initiative, which started in the Congress, allows us to provide training to military and civil officials in two broad categories: managing and administering military establishments and budgets, and creating and maintaining effective judicial systems and military codes of conduct, including observance of internationally recognized human rights. The program is off to a good start. Last year, in addition to the African students who attended military schools in the U.S., we sent a civilian instructor team to Botswana where they taught senior students from ten Anglophone countries. The reception was overwhelmingly positive. In light of this success we are planning additional expanded IMET training in Africa.

**OTHER ACTIVITIES:** Through the years we have initiated or supported a menu of other non-security assistance activities that also support U.S. national interests in Africa. These include allowing Africans to compete for places in our military academies--where they are doing very well; the U.S. Navy's annual West African Training Cruise; the Humanitarian Assistance Program; high level visits to Africa and by African military leaders to the U.S. and to CINC Headquarters; and exercises. These initiatives have in most instances been stable or growing even as our FMF funding has been declining. We feel they demonstrate our desire to remain involved in Africa, to support national policy, and to help African forces with their professional development. Two programs in particular have recently seen substantial growth:

The first is the DOD Humanitarian Assistance Program, administered by ISA's Office of Global Affairs. You will be receiving papers and briefings from them but we find their assistance so valuable to us that we wish to alert you to their activities in Africa. Although small humanitarian shipments to Africa go back to the 1960s, since 1988 there has been a very sharp upturn. We have delivered field hospitals, medical equipment, medicine for the treatment of cholera, and very large amounts of food. In 1991 we sent 26 C-5 loads of Meals Ready to Eat (MREs) to Ethiopia; last year we delivered 200 seavans of MREs to Namibia and another 140 to Angola. This office will work to sustain the momentum of such deliveries in Africa, notwithstanding the new requirements which have arisen in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

- We have also been pleased recently to see increased exercises in Africa, including National Guard and Reserve Units, conducted under the auspices of our cognizant regional CINCs. These exercises not only provide magnificent training for our forces but provide important collateral training benefits to our African military friends who participate. Frequently African civilians also benefit through the construction of facilities, the provision of health care, etc.

We believe that, working closely with State, we have established a series of small, focused initiatives that will maintain appropriate military relationships with friendly African states in the 1990s at a very modest cost. To some extent this will compensate for the very sharp and continuing decline in available FMF resources. We believe strongly that African states have legitimate security concerns and that they will in any case maintain substantial military forces. We advocate a strategy of continued involvement to help, in concert with the many other foreign donors involved, professionalize and rationalize those forces. This is a long-term and difficult task.