PKSOI U.S. Army

The ASF and AFRICOM: Partnering for Peace in Africa

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Identifying the Need

There is a greater focus on peacekeeping in Africa than any other region in the world. There are sixteen current operational United Nations Peacekeeping missions spanning the globe, and seven of these missions are in Africa.[1] Recognizing the need to have the capacity to intervene in crises, the African Union (AU) has taken the lead in security development and established a peace and security architecture intended for continental stability.[2] The African Standby Force (ASF), the military arm of this architecture, can supply the means to this peacekeeping and stabilization effort. The United States, via US Africa Command (USAFRICOM) and particularly US Army Africa (USARAF), in concert with African member states and international partners, can do much to bolster the development of the ASF.

The AU and its regions have made significant progress over the past seven years in developing its own peacekeeping capability, however, much more needs to be done by the nations of Africa and members of the international community that are helping in this endeavor. The AU's brief history in conducting peace operations has comprised successes, albeit with significant support from the international community. The ASF, under mandate by the AU, has the significant task of maintaining peace throughout the continent and intervening on short notice in times of crisis. (See figure 1) The ASF remains ill-prepared for this task, especially in terms of intervention. The international community (United Nations, NATO, European Union), and the United States Africa Command (USAFRICOM) are in position to contribute significantly to AU efforts to develop a greater security capacity. There are a number of programs US-

ASF Response Scenarios

Scenario 1: Military advice to a political mission *(operational in 30 days)*

Scenario 2: Observer mission co-deployed with UN mission *(30 days)*

Scenario 3: Stand-alone observer mission *(30 days)*

Scenario 4: Peacekeeping force for Ch VI and preventive deployment missions and peace-building *(30 days)*

Scenario 5: Peacekeeping force for complex multidimensional peacekeeping missions, including those involving low-level spoilers *(90 days)*

Scenario 6: Intervention, e.g., in genocide situations where the international community does not act promptly *(robust military force in 14 days)*

Figure 1[3]

AFRICOM and its service components can utilize and expand that would assist in developing the ASF; enable purpose-driven centers of excellence; integrate a coherent regionally-based exercise program with combined joint exercises; enable analytical information sharing; sustain well-focused Africa Contingency Operations Training Assistance (ACOTA) missions; and provide forces for military-to-military programs which support current operations. By focusing on these programs, USAFRICOM can facilitate AU and ASF success in developing their security apparatus and attaining peace and stability throughout Africa.

The ASF Headquarters and its Regions

The continental planning element (PLANELM) for the ASF is co-located with the AU in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The ASF was envisioned to contain a "reasonable level of staffing to develop a strategic level HQ (PSOD) capacity."[4] The ASF PLANELM, under the AU Peace and Security Operations Division (PSOD), is responsible for overseeing the training and long-term development of each of the five regional forces. (See figure 2) In addition to development, the ASF PLANELM is responsible for standing up AU mandated peacekeeping missions and "managing an on-call individual reinforcement system to gain mission level (ASF) HQ capacity."[5] The PSOD is currently managing the on-going peacekeeping mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Resources and attention needed for long-term ASF development are often diverted to the political-military crisis of the day.[6]

The European Union (EU) is steadily engaged with AU and has developed the Africa-EU Joint Strategy. Through this strategy, the AU and EU co-planned the Amani Africa cycle, which is being used as vehicle to assist the AU in making the ASF operational through training and evaluating the continental decision making process.[7] The EU has expressed a desire for more US involvement in AU level exercises which enhance ASF planning capacity. Exercises like Exercise Amani, conducted in October 2010, was an opportunity for US Army Africa personnel to observe and engage with ASF staff and determine how to provide complimentary support to the Africa EU Joint Strategy.[8] USAFRICOM, Combined Joint Task Force- Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA), the British Peace Support Team (BPST) and other bilateral supporters to the East Africa Standby Force (EASF) field training exercise held in Djibouti in November 2009 demonstrated the broad spectrum of support the international community could provide to the ASF.

USAFRICOM maintains a partnership with the ASF PLANELM as well. With two senior officers, an Army Colonel and a Navy Captain in the US Mission to the AU (USAU), the US military has a small footprint and limited capacity to engage with the ASF on a sustained basis. These military officers provide military advice to the US Ambassador to the AU, the newest US diplomatic mission in Africa.[9] Additional technical advisors within the USAU, USAFRICOM or US Army Africa could assist with planning ASF exercises, operations and developing technical capacity at the continental level. NATO has engaged the ASF in this manner with positive results.[10]

US Army Africa

US Army Africa has the vision to "be America's premier Army team dedicated to achieving positive change in Africa."[11] The USARAF mission states that:

> *"As the Army Service Component Command for U.S. Africa Command, (USARAF) enables full spectrum operations while conducting sustained security engagement with African land forces to promote security, stability, and peace. As directed, deploys a contingency headquarters in support of crisis response."*[12]

With specific, deliberate engagement, US Army Africa can assist the ASF military component become the African solution to stability problems and reduce the need for US-led contingency operations in Africa. In every aspect of the US Army Africa vision and mission, a sustained partnership with the African Standby Force will certainly help achieve positive change in Africa.

There are numerous engagement opportunities between USARAF and the ASF at the continental, regional and member state levels. With potential engagements in training, joint exercises and operations and information sharing, US Army Africa can assist in developing land forces in ASF countries and assist with current operations in the continent. All of these opportunities can be realized within the guidance proscribed in the Theater Campaign Strategy (TCS).[13]

Enhancing Current Engagement

Given the EU-AU engagements at the continental level, a key method for engagement between USARAF and the ASF should be on the regional level. The AU has charged each of the five regions to develop, train, and maintain a standby force (brigade)[15] which US Army Africa is well suited to assist. Both the continental headquarters and the regional forces already have implicit support which USAFRICOM and ASF partners need to analyze and potentially further enhance. The US mission to the AU has representation from USAFRICOM and a few

African Standby Force Regional Structure

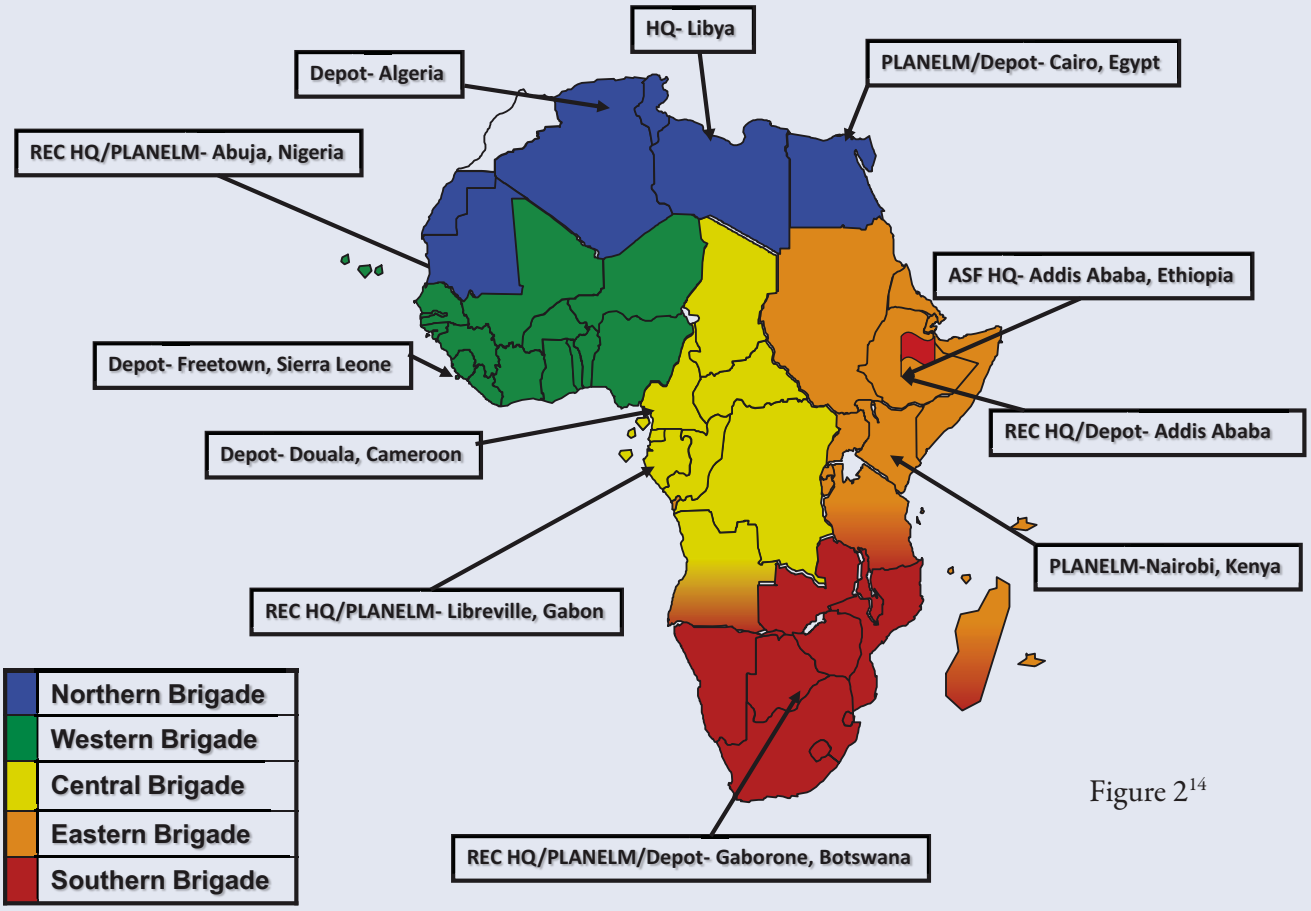


Figure 2[14]

regional training centers or Centers of Excellence (CoE) have tacit military advisor and liaison support from the US mission within the specified country. (See figure 3)

Each regional standby force is at a different level of readiness and each has different strengths and weaknesses. The AU, each regional standby force, and international partners like US-ARAF should identify the most critical areas in order to determine mutual engagement opportunities that would best benefit ASF regional capacity building. Each regional standby force has a headquarters, PLANELM and centers of excellence which could serve as starting points for engagement. (See figures 2, 3)

Military exchange programs and information sharing are the most beneficial types of engagements at the continental level. Military-to-military programs which allow US military planners to exchange with ASF counterpart's tactics, techniques and procedures (TTPs) for successful peace operations as well as enhance mutual understanding and develop intelligence relations are examples of potentially successful exchange programs. The AU Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) is untested and sharing analysis in this venue would enhance ASF early warning and analytical capabilities.

For ASF development, the AU has divided the continent into 5 regions; East, West, South, Central, and North. The regional standby forces are funded by the corresponding Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and the Coordinating Mechanisms as well as international partners. The US can partner with those RECs with which it has a Presidential Determination (PD), as well as bilaterally with a specific country's contribution to the standby forces, and multilaterally with select countries' contributions to the standby forces (i.e. Exercise Natural Fire). Each region is different; the international partners involved in each region should determine the best way to enhance each regions stability and security.

East Africa

The East African Standby Force (EASF) is improving, but would benefit from assistance from external partners. An all-encompassing Regional Economic Community (REC) does not exist in East Africa and the US does not have an internationally recognized partner in the region. Two regional entities exist in East Africa, but are not all-encompassing; the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the East Africa Community (EAC). The East African Standby Brigade

ASF Centers of Excellence

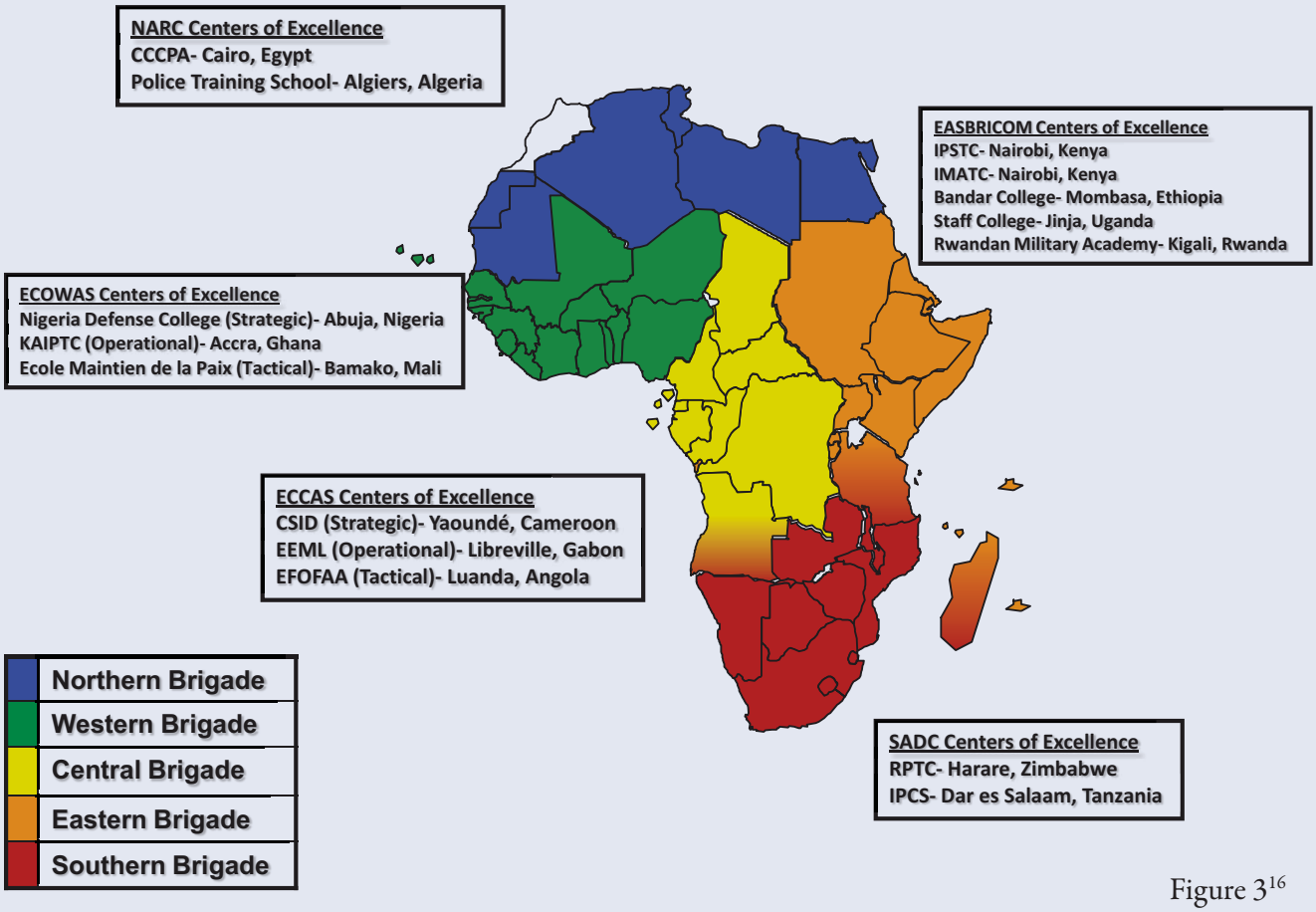


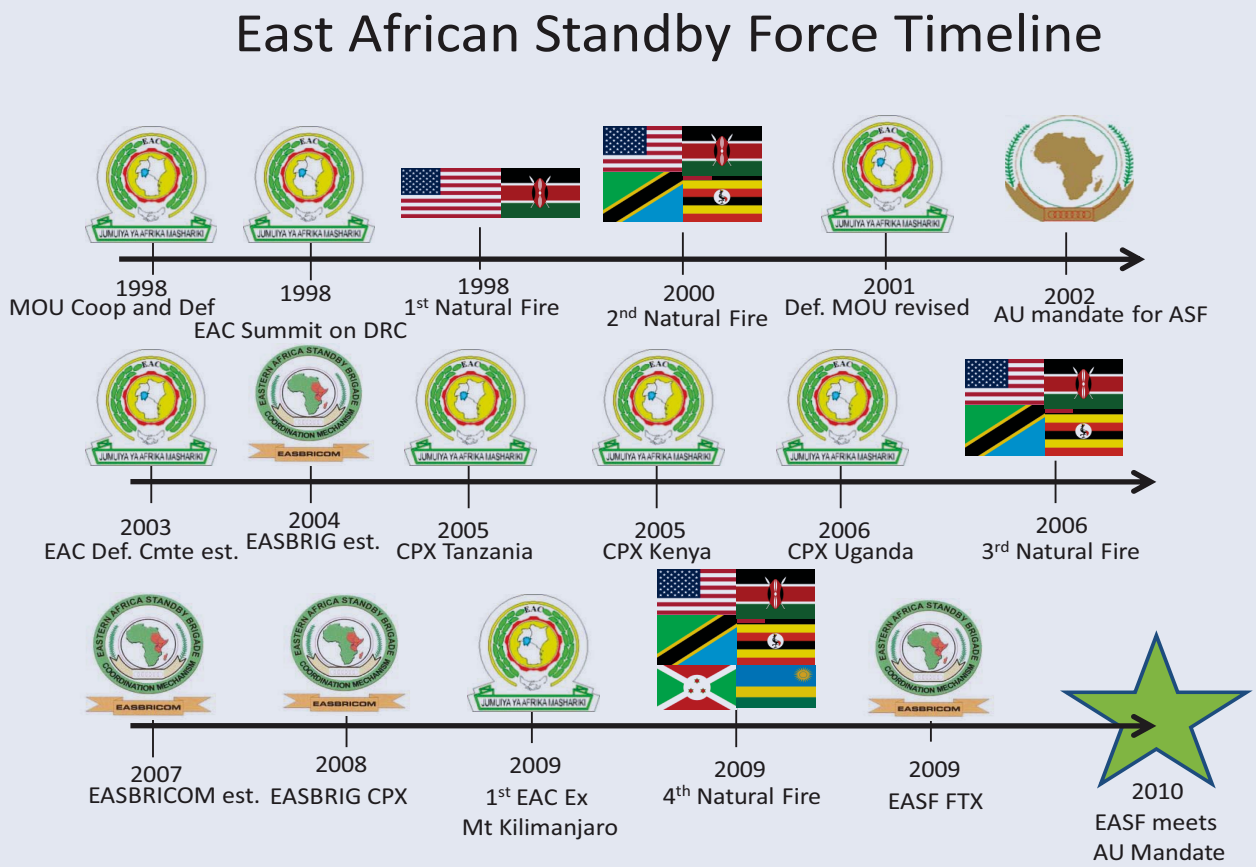
Figure 3[16]

Coordinating Mechanism (EASBRICOM) is therefore responsible for EASF development consolidating resources from both IGAD and EAC as well as East African nations who belong to neither organization. While the US lacks a Presidential Determination (PD) to engage with EASBRICOM, engagement opportunities still exist to help this force develop. CJTF-HOA is located in Djibouti, in the Eastern region (Horn) of Africa. This is a natural engagement facilitation point for USAFRICOM in East Africa. As is the case with each of the regions, bilateral military-to-military and State Department sponsored African Contingency Operations Training Assistance (ACOTA) missions assist individual member states develop capacity and capability. The EASF headquarters is located in Addis Ababa adjacent to the USAU and not far from the AU, but operates on a standby basis (only standing in times of crisis) thus engagement opportunities are limited. The EASF PLANELM is in Nairobi, Kenya and currently enjoys support from a multiplicity of other international partners. Liaison officers work in or near EASBRICOM and the PLANELM. The centers of excellence for EASF are the International Peace and Security Training Center (IPSTC) and the Humanitarian Peace Support School (HPSS) located near Nairobi, Kenya. These centers have US military support as well. Other EASF training centers include the Jinga Staff College in Uganda and the Rwandan Military Academy, dedicated to tactical soldier skills in Rwanda. Engagement with these EASF centers would support the USAFRICOM Theater Campaign Plan guidance to assist African militaries in improving training institutions.[17]

USARAF has assisted in EASF security development for over a decade. (See figure 4) Continuing well-focused ACOTA missions, meaningful participation in centers of excellence, continuing and possibly expanding Exercise Natural Fire, analytical information sharing with the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) Conflict Early Warning Mechanism (CEWARN) and continued support to current operation would enhance the East African standby force.

US Army Africa is already doing many of these things. Expanding Exercise Natural Fire and sharing analysis with CEWARN would add to the engagements already established in East Africa.

Figure 4[18]



West Africa

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has a considerable amount of experience in mounting and deploying for regional peace support operations such as the peacekeeping operations in Sierra Leone and Liberia. The ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF) headquarters and PLANELM are located in Abuja, Nigeria. The centers of excellence include the Nigeria Defense College in Abuja, the Kofi Annan International Peace Training Center (KAIPTC) in Accra, Ghana and the Ecole de Maintien de la Paix in Bamako, Mali. These centers provide military education at the strategic, operational and tactical levels respectively. The US military could seek to fill a void left by the United Kingdom in a more dedicated role in West Africa, as the British have recently reallocated military emphasis to EASF/EASBRICOM. Additionally, the logistics depot in Freetown, Sierra Leone is one of the only active logistics depots on the continent. The US is involved in this program and could apply the lessons learned in Freetown in other logistics depots as the ASF and the other regions further establish the remaining depots.

Maintaining ACOTA missions, aligning AFRICOMs' exercise program with regional ASF objectives and further supporting West Africa's centers of excellence are the best methods of engagement for further development and greater partnerships with the West African standby force. With the British withdrawal of financial and advisory support from the Kofi Annan International Peace Training Center (KAIPTC), there is opportunity for USAFRICOM to build on the great work the UK and ECOWAS accomplished. ECOWAS has extensive experience in peacekeeping operations and is enhancing one of the few logistical operations on the continent. These two areas could be the standard for training, operations, and logistics on the continent. The Unites States and West African partners could greatly benefit from further engagements.

South Africa

Just as in East Africa, the SADC standby force (or SADC Brigade, SADCBRIG) headquarters exists only during contingency operations and will stand up in a location to be determined by SADC when required. The SADCBRIG PLANELM is located at the SADC Headquarters in Gaborone, Botswana. This structure is permanent and acts as an independent organization. SADC does not receive international aid and has been successful in developing a united standby force. South Africa and Angola are the main troop contributing countries. The SADC centers of excellence include the Regional Peace Training Center (RPTC) in Harare, Zimbabwe and the International

Peace Training Center (IPTC) in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. A number of other training centers exist in Pretoria, South Africa. However, because SADC has an inclination to minimize external influence, it may be difficult for USAFRICOM to have meaningful substantive engagements with Southern Africa's standby force, except on a bilateral basis with select member nations.

Continuing ACOTA missions and inviting the SADC PLANELM to participate in an exercise with US Army Africa may be the best ways to engage with the Southern Africa standby force. Exercise Golfino, which took place in South Africa in September 2009, demonstrated SADC's capabilities including a maritime component, something other standby brigades do not have. Maintaining a partnership may be the most beneficial engagement for both parties.

Central Africa

In June 2002, Heads of State in Central Africa adopted the standing orders of the Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa (COPAX). This included the Defence and Security Commission (CDC), the Multinational Force of Central Africa (FOMAC) and the Early Warning Mechanism of Central Africa (MARAC).[19] ECCAS established its standby force headquarters and PLANELM in Libreville, Gabon. ECCAS also has centers of excellence for three levels; Cours Superieur Inter-Armees de Defense (CSID) is in Youndé, Cameroon, for strategic level training, Ecole d'Etat-Major de Libreville (EEML) is in Libreville, Gabon for operational training; and EFOFAA is in Luanda, Angola for tactical level training. Plans exist to develop a school in Cameroon into an international police training centre of excellence. In addition, the region has a number of smaller national centers, including one for medical training (Libreville) and one for engineers (Congo) that could play a future regional role.[20] CEEAC also has a noteworthy maritime security strategy. Angola recently hosted Exercise Kwanzaa, the Central African ASF brigade's field training exercise, in which US military officers were allowed to observe. Historically, France has been the principle external supporter of peace and security development in Central Africa and any continued future efforts in Central Africa by USAFRICOM should be mindful of French interests and influence.

North Africa

The North African Regional Capability (NARC) will tentatively have a headquarters located in Libya. Egypt will tentatively host the PLANELM and the center of excellence, the Cairo Regional Center for Training on Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping in Africa (CCCPA).

Most of the NARC standby force architecture is nascent and is only beginning to be implemented. Given political sensitivities to outside assistance, US military support may have to be limited to bilateral programs with traditional North African partners like Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt. These bilateral engagements could contribute to the peacekeeping force as a whole.

Conclusion

Great opportunity exists for USAFRICOM and its components to engage with both African and international partners to facilitate greater security cooperation in each region. Further establishing relations at the continental (African Union) and regional (standby forces) levels would facilitate staff capacity building and should be a high priority.

Greater priority should be placed in each center of excellence and the development of each regional headquarters and planning elements as well as existing exercises and logistics programs. Enhancing the staff within the RECs/RMs could also help to enhance engagement and build the ASF staff's capacity. Assisting the AU PLANELM in planning and coordinating exercises and operations would enhance the ASF capacity to react to potential short notice crisis situations on the continent. Sharing open source analysis and establishing these methods for analytic dialogue would benefit all parties. For example, USAFRICOM's Intelligence and Knowledge Development directorate (IKD) could assist and collaborate with regional early warning centers. Providing support to current operations could allow breathing room which the ASF and each standby force could use to further develop their own standard operating procedures and best practices. Finally, there are US Department of Defense limitations which should be reconsidered for engagement with security partners on the continent. Delineation between military and civilian forces in the US does not coincide with the security structure in most nations in Africa. The ASF construct includes a combination of military forces and civil police. USAFRICOM needs new authorities or legislative relief in order to more effectively carry out sustained security engagement in Africa.[21]

In the end, these recommendations could allow Africans to solve African problems and allow USAFRICOM personnel to build regional expertise integrated with African affairs.

[1] United Nations official website, www.un.org, accessed on 6 April 2010.
[2] African Union, "Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union," Article 3, December 2003.
[3] Author created using information from African Union Protocol, 2002
[4] African Union, "Policy Framework for the Establishment of the African Standby Force and the Military Staff Committee," May 2003.
[5] African Union, "Policy Framework for the Establishment of the African Standby Force and the Military Staff Committee," May 2003.
[6] USAU brief received June 2009.
[7] AU-AE media briefing report, www.europafrica.net, accessed on 6 April 2010.
[8]Author visit to the EUAU with guest speaker French General (retired) Henri Bentegat on 19 June 2009.
[9] Previously, the Ambassador to Ethiopia served as both the Ambassador to Ethiopia and the Ambassador to the AU.
[10] NATO, 2009. 2008 Annual Review of NATO Support to the African Union (AU). NATO Memorandum, 23 January 2009.
[11] US Army Africa official website, http://www.usaraf.army.mil accessed on 29 January 2010.
[12] Garrett, William B. Commander, US Army Africa. "Commander's Intent," 1 January 2010.
[13] USAFRICOM, Theater Campaign Plan, October 2009.
[14] Author created with information from Commission of the African Union, June 2009.
[15] The term "brigade" denotes the military component to an overall "force" which includes civilian and police components as well."Brigade" is often synonymous with "Force".
[16] Author created with information from European Union "Tentative Visit Programme", June 2009 and African Union "Report on the Status of the ASF Regional Brigades," May 2009.
[17] USAFRICOM, Theater Campaign Plan, October 2009.
[18] East African Community, official website, http://www.eac.int/, accessed on 18 OCT 2009, East African Standby Brigade, official website, http://www.easbrig.org/index.php, accessed on 18 OCT 2009, US Army, official website, www.us.army.mil, accessed on 18 OCT 2009, Rwanda Ministry of Defense, official website, http://www.mod.gov.rw/?Ex-Mlima-Kilimanjaro, accessed on 18 OCT 2009
[19] African Union official website, http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/RECs/eccas.htm, accessed on 24 March 2010.
[20]Institute for Strategic Studies website, http://www.iss.co.za, accessed on 18 July 2009.
[21] Ellington, Mark "Duke", US Army Colonel, US Embassy to the African Union.

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