AFRICOM and Australian Military Engagement in Africa

A Monograph
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Abstract

AFRICOM and Australian Military Engagement in Africa by MAJOR Matthew J. Cuttell, Australian Regular Army, 54 pages.

The Australian military has a proud history of engagement in Africa in support of Commonwealth and national interests as well as a history of peacekeeping in support of humanitarian assistance. With Australia's attention diverted to the Middle East there have been missed opportunities for military engagement within Africa. The announcement of the creation of a Geographic Component Command (GCC) for the continent of Africa (Africa Command, ARFICOM) demonstrates the increasing importance of Africa to the United States. The Global War on Terror, indigenous capacity building and the threat of failed states are some of the reasons for this increased focus and attention. Australia increasingly recognises the importance of a stable and secure Africa in the larger context of global stability and security. The Australian military may be able to use the creation of AFRICOM to improve military engagement with African nations. Australia and the United States, as coalition partners, could work together in Africa to achieve mutual interests as well as serving as a means of fostering greater civil and military cooperation between the two nations and the African nations.

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Introduction

The Australian military has a long and proud history of involvement and engagement on the continent of Africa. Australian military involvement has consisted of operations in support of Commonwealth and national interests as well as operations in support of international organisations such as the United Nations. Australia's foreign policy has traditionally focussed on South East Asia and the South West Pacific, with recent diversion towards the Middle East. In the recent past Africa has only featured in Australia's foreign and defence policies in response to crisis or pending humanitarian disaster. This narrow approach has resulted in missed opportunities for understanding and engagement within Africa.

The announcement by the United States Department of Defence of the creation of a Geographic Combatant Command (GCC) for the continent of Africa (Africa Command, ARFICOM) demonstrates the increasing importance of Africa to the United States. The Global War on Terror (GWOT), human and natural resources, armed conflict and humanitarian crisis, the spread of HIV/AIDS, international crime and the rising influence of China are some of the reasons for the increased focus and attention.[1]

Australia's security interests have become increasingly global. The range and number of events affecting Australia's strategic circumstances will continue to grow.[2] The new Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd enunciated this sentiment during a recent visit to the United States where he commented that Australia is a nation which has regional and global interests whose strategic goals are to maximize global and regional stability and ensure the global economy

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[1] Sean McFate, "U.S. Africa Command: A New Strategic Paradigm?," *Military Review*, (January/February, 2008): 12.

[2] John Howard, "Global Forces 2007", Prime Minister address to the ASPI Conference, Canberra, ACT, July 5, 2007.

remains open.[3] Australia also has "strong shared interests with Africa, and these have grown significantly over the past few years" resulting in growing Australia-Africa relations.[4]

This paper seeks to answer the question of whether the creation of AFRICOM can be used to facilitate and improve military cooperation among Australia, the United States and African nations. In answering this question, this paper will also address the questions of the national policies and the national interests of Australia and the United States within Africa. This paper will also examine how these policies are executed and how these interests are met. This will, in turn, seek to answer how Australia can leverage AFRICOM for bilateral and multi-lateral military engagement.

AFRICOM will provide opportunities for Australia to improve bilateral and multi-lateral military-to-military engagement and relations with African nations and the United States. Australia and the United States, as coalition partners, should work together in Africa to achieve mutual interests as well as serving as a means of fostering greater military-to-military cooperation with African nations and each other. Increased military-to-military engagement would supplement the diplomatic and economic elements of national power and contribute to a more comprehensive whole of government approach, in concert with the United States government agencies, towards Africa. To achieve this there needs to be a greater understanding of the nature of Africa, not only as a whole but more importantly within a regional construct and as individual distinct states.

In 2003, two prominent Africanists within Australian academia produced a seminar paper on the state of African studies in Australia. They noted that "Australia does not appear to have

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[3] Kevin Rudd, "The Australia-US alliance and emerging challenges in the Asia-Pacific Region", Prime Minister address to The Brookings Institution, Washington, 31 Mar 08, http://www.pm.gov.au/media/Speech/2008/speech_0157.cfm (accessed April 7, 2008).

[4] Greg Hunt, "Africa Day", speech by Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Canberra, ACT, May 28, 2007.

any government sponsored initiative to promote the study of Africa" and that this was a result of increased focus and attention towards engagement with Asia.[5] Their survey of African topics in Australian public universities revealed that out a total of 47 subjects which mention Africa, only 15 were specific to Africa while the remainder contained Africa within a comparative framework.[6] Since 2003, African studies in Australia have suffered two more setbacks. The first was the closure in December 2006 of the Africa Research Institute[7] which was established in 1979 and had been a prominent source of collaboration and information sharing among Australian Africanists and Africa studies students. The closure reflects the overall attitude and perception of Africa studies within Australian academia and further reflects the low priority of Australia's foreign policy towards Africa.

Second, the retirement of Dr David Dorward[8] who is a prominent Africanist and the founder and long time director of the African Research Institute as well as an executive member of the Africa Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP) has led to a double blow to African studies in Australia. Both these events reflect wider issues of Australia's policies towards Africa and have further diminished Australia's ability to gain an understanding and appreciation of the role and importance of Africa as a major actor in global affairs.

In 2003 Jolyon Ford wrote an article on Australian-African relations in which he assessed Australia's prevailing policy towards Africa. He concluded by stating that "Australia's primarily overall engagement with African countries is likely to remain one revolving around the provision

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[5] Tanya Lyons and Elizabeth Dimock, "The State of African Studies in Australia", paper presented at the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific 2003 Conference Proceedings – Africa on a Global Stage, Flinders University, Melbourne, VIC, (October 3, 2003), 1.

[6] Ibid., 4. See Appendix 2 and 3 of sited document for a list of topics and comparative topics.

[7] Peter Limb, "Closure of African Research Institute, La Trobe University", Humanities and Social Sciences Online, entry posted March 30, 2007, http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=h-africa&month=0703&week=e&msg=ZJcW%2b048Gpfl7eJS68DFfw&user=&pw= (accessed November 13, 2007).

[8] Ibid.

of narrowly targeted development assistance, in particular, technical assistance aimed at strengthening the capacity of African countries to take part in new trade negotiations".[9] Ford acknowledged the significance of Australian-African relations and offered three areas in which closer cooperation would directly benefit Australia's interests at home and within its own region.[10] However, his focus on economic factors such as trade and developmental aid does not address security and the need to build military and security capacity as precursors or in concert with building economic capacity.

Within Australia there is a lack of study and understanding on the nations' military contribution to security and stability in Africa. The Australian public needs a more tangible understanding regarding the importance of Africa to global security and stability. This understanding would reveal the potential of AFRICOM and its role in contributing to peace and stability through its mission and tasks. A greater appreciation of the mission and tasks of AFRICOM should inform Australian military planners of the opportunities for bilateral and multi-lateral military engagement and relations with African nations. This will result in a more balanced and comprehensive whole of government approach to Africa. Engagement is essential with today's networked global systems and communications connectivity which brings Africa closer to Australia than ever before. The consequence of positive and negative developments within Africa will have positive and negative impacts and be felt in Australia. Unless there is an understanding and appreciation of the importance that Africa plays to global stability and security and recognition of the role which AFRICOM will perform to help achieve this, Australia risks undermining and undervaluing its role as a medium power on the global stage.

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[9] Joylon Ford, "Australian-African Relations 2002: Another Look," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 57, no.1 (2003): 31.

[10] Ibid., 29-31. The first area is garnering African support for action on trade issues which are of concern to Australia. Second, Africa could be used as a testing ground or confirmation area for Australia's policy on development issues which may be of relevance in the South-West Pacific. The third area is related to the Commonwealth and strengthening the ties within that organization to ensure its relevance.

Section one of this paper frames the national policies and national interests of Australia towards Africa. Primary policy documents, such as various department White Papers, will reveal the current national policies and demonstrate the nature and extent of Australia's interests within Africa. This section demonstrates that Australia's interests in Africa in terms of physical security (failed states, weapons of mass destruction), human security (humanitarian assistance) and economics (trade). The examination of past defense policies highlights the evolution of Australia's concept of national security and the recognition that its interests are global and that they are not solely defined by geography.[11]

Section two examines the national policies of the United States and the execution of these policies with respect to Africa. Primary policy documents, such as the *National Security Strategy* (NSS), provide the broad goals and specific outcomes the United States desires for Africa. This will be followed by an explanation of the *Unified Command Plan* (UCP) to place into context the role and function of Geographic Combatant Commands (GCCs) in executing the military's responsibilities of the *National Security Strategy* (NSS). The paper then addresses the creation, structure and roles of AFRICOM, and examines current operations and activities within Africa which provide a model for future AFRICOM operations and activities. Examination of current operations and activities reveals the types of tasks likely to be performed with the aim of identifying common capabilities and possible areas for collaboration and cooperation.

Section three discusses the history of Australia's military involvement in Africa with the aim of identifying dominant patterns and trends. This effort reveals a long history of Australian military involvement dating back to the colonial period and extending to the present deployment in Sudan. Australia's military past in Africa reveals the types of operations undertaken and the roles the military performed as well as the composition of forces deployed. These efforts identify

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[11] Alexander Downer, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, The Sir Thomas Playford Memorial Lecture, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, SA, August 23 2007.

past norms which in section four determine compatibility with possible AFRICOM activities and tasks and measured against contemporary Australian military capabilities. This chapter also identifies the motivations for past deployments as well as discussing the underlying interests that were served by such deployments. This review determines if similar conditions exist in the contemporary environment or are likely to exist in the future. Past motivations and interests will also be used to establish accepted trends and established norms for involvement of Australian military forces in Africa. Primary and secondary sources will be used to convey historical facts, figures, quotes and observations, as well as reasons and rationale for past deployments.

Section four provides a synthesis of the information from the previous chapters to match Australian and United States policy in Africa and assess Australian military capabilities within the framework of AFRICOM. An examination of the Australian – United States alliance will be used to demonstrate the evolving nature of the alliance as an overarching framework within which cooperation within Africa can take place. This reveals that Australia's alliance with the United States remains the bedrock of Australia's security and that the relationship with the United States has never been stronger.[12] Prime Minister Kevin Rudd reaffirmed this in a recent speech in the United States. He also characterized the United States as "overwhelmingly a force for good in the world" and that he was "proud that Australia and the United States are partners and that the partnership has been supported by parties of both sides in Australia and the United States."[13] An examination of Australia's international engagement framework will determine if military-to-military engagement in Africa is compatible with extant policy. Current Australian military involvement within Pacific Command (PACOM) provides a model for future involvement of

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[12] Alexander Downer, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, speech at the Inaugural Monash Asia Public Lecture, Melbourne, VIC, August 22, 2007.

[13] Kevin Rudd, "Australia, the United States and the Global Economy", address to the American Australian Association, New York, 30 Mar 08, http://www.pm.gov.au/media/Speech/2008/speech_0153.cfm (accessed April 7, 2008).

Australian military forces with AFRICOM. Military tasks to be performed by AFRICOM will be examined to determine compatibility with contemporary Australian military capabilities. This chapter will conclude with an examination of the benefits to Australia of conducting military-to-military engagement within the framework of AFRICOM.

The monograph evaluates the relevant national policies to ensure that military actions are nested within national interests. The structure and roles of AFRICOM has been distilled into discrete military activities and tasks. These have been matched with Australian military capabilities to determine compatibility and proposed as potential tasks which the Australian military could engage.

For the purposes of this paper military engagement and cooperation is defined in the context of military-to-military connections. These include elements of theatre security cooperation, foreign internal defence and can range from senior defence visits, bilateral or multi-lateral exercises, indigenous capability training and command post exercises. Military engagement also implies that defence officials and senior military personnel will also perform diplomatic engagement with senior military leaders of African nations. The author acknowledges that military-to-military cooperation does not occur in a vacuum and that the Australian military should be nested with other government agencies. However, this paper concentrates on the military piece of the whole of government challenge. The author also acknowledges the complexity of Africa and that the concept of a monolithic Africa does not exist and that a regional framework reflects a truer vision of Africa. Any military engagement mentioned in this paper while generic and broadly applied to Africa should ultimately be determined by circumstances and requirements of these regions and their individual states.

Australian Policy and Interests in Africa

This section examins the recent themes and trends in Australian defence policy to reveal the path and evolution of defence thinking within Australia. This will be used to anticipate further

evolution and inform likely future policy regarding Africa. The changing nature of national security will be explored and reveal an expanding notion of what constitutes Australia's security. The Australian government recognizes that Australia's security is interconnected with global security.[14] This section will outline that Australia's direct interests in Africa are primarily economic in the form of expanding trade and human security through humanitarian assistance, with indirect interests through collective security. Australia's recognition of the regional nature of Africa is reflected in its provision of humanitarian assistance which will be revealed as focussed on particular issues and in a specific region. Overall policy execution (trade and aid) is conducted within the economic element of national power which provides an opportunity for Australia to expand its execution of policy through military-to-military engagement thus producing a more balanced and whole of government approach towards Africa.

Australia does not have a unifying national strategic document or overarching Prime Ministerial document which sets out the strategic policy aims and goals for Australia. Government departments issue White Papers which outline the strategic policy and direction for that particular department with no reference to unified national objectives. For example, the Defence Department produces a White Paper which deals with military defence and security and touches on strategic policy and direction. The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade also produces a White Paper which deals with non military security to include diplomatic, economic and trade aspects. To solve this situation the government should produce an overarching Australian national security strategy to provide direction and coordinate a unified nation security effort[15]. "At the higher policy level, the intellectual uncertainty with regard to Australia's defence

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[14] Michael Evans, "Security and Defence Aspects of the Special Relationship: An Australian Perspective," *That Other Special Relationship: The United States and Australia at the Start of the 21st Century*, eds. Jeffery K McCausland, Douglas T. Stuart, William Tow, Michael Wesley, Strategic Studies Institute (2007): 286.

[15] Michael Evans, "The Tyranny of Dissonance, Australia's Strategic Culture and Way of War 1901-2005", Land *Warfare Studies Centre Study Paper No. 306* (2005): 103.

posture needs to be resolved by an articulated National Security Strategy."[16] Therefore, Australia would benefit from a defence review, an updated Defence White Paper, and a more robust National Security Council structure aimed at better integrating national policy.[17] This requirement will be met by the new Australian government which has "commenced the development of a comprehensive National Security Statement to clearly articulate the strategic rationale for all our (Australia's) security, intelligence and related agencies." [18]

Australia's conceptualization of security has expanded in the years following the Second World War to include non military roles and operations outside Australia and its immediate region. Due to its large size, small population, and its isolation from its Western allies, Australia has historically feared external threats to its national security.[19] At the same time, colonial links, alliances, and international standards have seen Australian military forces deployed around the world. Thus, the tension between defending the nation everywhere and upholding national interests anywhere has dominated Australian defence strategy since colonization.[20] "Australian policy always pivots around a balancing point between global and regional commitments."[21]

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[16] Evans, "Security and Defence Aspects," 303.

[17] For a discussion and summary of Australia's structures and processes that support and produce national security policy see Gavin Keating, "The Machinery of Australian National Security Policy: Changes, Continuing Problems and Possibilities, *Australian Defence Journal*, no. 166, (2005): 20-33.

[18] Commonwealth of Australia, "First 100 Days – Achievements of the Rudd Government," Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, ACT, February 2008, http://www.pm.gov.au/docs/first_100_days.pdf (accessed April 7, 2008). On February 22, 2008, the Australian government announced that it had commissioned a new Defence White Paper to provide the blueprint for Australia's future Defence capabilities which is due to be completed by the end of 2008.

[19] Ian Wing, "Australian Defence in Transition: Responding to New Security Challenges" (PhD diss., University of New South Wales, Australian Defence Force Academy, 2002), 134.

[20] Michael Evans, "From Deakin to Dibb – The Army and the Making of Australian Strategy in the 20th Century," *Land Warfare Studies Centre Working Paper No.113* (2001): 3.

[21] Paul Kelly, "The Australian-American Alliance: Towards a Revitalization," *That Other Special Relationship: The United States and Australia at the Start of the 21st Century*, eds. Jeffery K McCausland, Douglas T. Stuart, William Tow, Michael Wesley, Strategic Studies Institute (2007): 59.

Michael Evans has classified the two opposing schools of strategic philosophy as the defender-regionalists and the reformer-globalists.[22]

Defender-regionalists herald from the continental school of strategy who believe that Australian defence policy should be aimed at protecting against an attack on the Australian territory through the "sea-air gap" along Australia's north.[23] Reformer-globalists on the other hand believe "Australia's destiny lies in its history as a liberal democracy and in the web of cultural and trading links that give Australia both its national identity and international purpose."[24]

Following World War Two, Australia adopted a strategy of 'forward defence' in concert with her allies to stop the spread of communism. Forward Defence was aimed at providing a security framework which kept military operations as far away as possible from Australia.[25] Australia's defence policy was dominated by realist perceptions of the threat posed by communism and the regional balance of power.[26] The results of this policy saw Australian military deployments to Korea, Malaya, Borneo, Indonesia and Vietnam. This period also saw a number of United Nations deployments including those mentioned in section three of this paper.

The withdrawal from Vietnam saw a redefining of Australian defence policy from 'forward defence' to 'continental defence' and was articulated in the 1976 Defence White

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[22] Evans, "Security and Defence Aspects," 281.

[23] More information on the defender-regionalists see, Hugh White, "Old, New or Both? Australia's Security Agendas at the Start of the New Century," in Derek McDougall and Peter Shearman, eds., *Australian Security After 9/11: New and Old Agendas*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006, pp13-23; and Paul Dibb, "Is Strategic Geography Relevant to Australia's Current Defence Policy?," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, June 2006, Vol. 60, No. 2, pp. 247-264.

[24] Evans, "Security and Defence Aspects", 282. For more information on the reformer-globalist position see Robert Hill, "Australia's Defence and Security: Challenges and Opportunities at the Start of the 21st Century," in *Global Forces 2005: Proceedings of the ASPI Conference, Day 1 – Global Strategy*, Canberra: Australian Strategic Policy Institute, April 2006, pp. 7-11.

[25] Wing, *Australian Defence in Transition*, 20.

[26] Wing, *Australian Defence in Transition,* 135.

Paper.[27] The paper concluded that Australia required increased defence self-reliance to be achieved through intelligence, adequate warning time, and the use of technology.[28] "The conceptual approach that came to underpin the notion of a geographical and self-reliant defence of Australia was not fully refined or properly formalized until the mid-1980's."[29] Australia's security policy from the mid 1980's was shaped by Paul Dibb and the publication of his *Review of Australia's Defence Capabilities* in 1986. Dibb adopted a geostrategic approach to Australia's defence supplemented by the notions of warning times, credible levels of threat and defending 'the sea and air gap'.[30] The geostrategic approach to defence policy was further reflected and symbolised by the 1987 and 1994 Defence White Papers.[31]

The first realization that Australia's security was multidimensional came in 1989 with the release of a ministerial statement from the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade titled *Australia's Regional Security* (ARS 89).[32] The statement sought to expand Australia's concept of security out of the purely military domain and into other areas such as diplomacy, economic and trade relations, and development assistance.[33] This policy had changed the language of Australian security to incorporate the broadening concept of security and the realization of the non military factors which contribute to Australia's security.[34] Australian security defined in terms of other non military factors saw in a new era of security thinking.

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[27] Ibid., 136.

[28] Commonwealth of Australia, *Australian Defence*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, November 1976, pp 10-14.

[29] Evans, "From Deakin to Dibb," 27.

[30] Paul Dibb, *Review of Australia's Defence Capabilities*, Australian Government Press Service, Canberra, 1986, parts 1-4, 7.

[31] Evans, "The Tyranny of Dissonance," 62.

[32] Wing, *Australian Defence in Transition*, 142.

[33] Gareth Evans, *Australia's Regional Security*, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Ministerial Statement, Canberra, December 1989, 2.

[34] Wing, *Australian Defence in Transition*, 142.

This new thinking had a major affect on defence policy as more regional and global considerations were incorporated into defence policy. The 1994 Defence White Paper, *Defending Australia* (DA94), noted Australia's expanding roles in peace operations; however, the theme of defence of the nation dominated the document. The document acknowledged the notion that Australia's security was beginning to expand and recognised that Australia's security was linked to the security of Asia.[35] DA94 also expanded security in terms of international non-proliferation and arms control, the importance of defence to the national economy and requirement of the Australian Defence Force (ADF) to engage in environmentally responsible practises.[36]

Changes in the international environment and a change to Australia's government saw a change to security thinking and policy within Australia. The release of *Australia's Strategic Policy* in 1997 (ASP 97) expanded the ADF's role in providing security for Australia to include: defending attacks against Australia's territory'; defending our regional interests; and supporting global interests.[37] *ASP 97* expanded the view of national security to include a broader security agenda. The release of the1997 DFAT White Paper and the *ASP 97* confirmed that Australia's security commenced off the coastline and was linked to its region. Australia's concept of security was further expanded at the end of the 1990's with the release of the Defence Annual Report 1998-1999. This report further expanded the role of the ADF to include the roles of protection of the national interests and shaping the strategic environment.[38] The rapid re-definition of Australia's security and interests during the middle to late 1990's was due to a change in government with the Liberal Party taking power in 1995 under the leadership of John Howard.

[35] Commonwealth of Australia, *Defending Australia - Defence White Paper 1994*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra 1994, 3.

[36] Ibid., 140-142.

[37] Commonwealth of Australia, *Australia's Strategic Policy*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, December 1997, 29.

[38] Australian Department of Defence, *Defence Annual Report 1998-1999*, AusInfo, Canberra, October 19, 1999, 183.

The 2000 *Defence White Paper* (DA2000) outlined the expanded role of the military and noted non-military security issues and non military threats. The White Paper specifically outlined the broadening security agenda to include globalization, humanitarian intervention and the importance of regional and global security.[39] The paper states that one of the major tasks of the ADF is to support Australia's wider interests, principally through coalition peacekeeping and humanitarian operations.[40] *DA2000* expanded the notion of Australia's security to include interests and objectives at the regional and global levels and while still grounded in the defence of Australia mindset; it represented an attempt to bridge the gap between Australia's strategic doctrine and operational reality.

The *Defence Update* issued in 2003 (DU03) made further inroads towards the globalisation of Australia's security. It acknowledged that some rebalancing of capability and expenditure was required to take account of the changes in Australia's strategic environment.[41] This document was in response to the events of September 11, 2001 and represented the Liberal governments continuing agenda of expanding the definition of Australia's security and interests. The update noted that Australia's military is more likely to conduct operations as part of a United States coalition in the global war on terrorism and to contribute to the enhancement of global stability.[42] The update also discusses the global nature of threats and that "Australia's security is affected if there are any regions in the world from which terrorists…can operate internationally with impunity."[43] *DU03* places the developments of the contemporary strategic environment in the context of Australia's security and expands the concept of Australian security and interests.

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[39] Commonwealth of Australia, *Defence 2000 – Our Future Defence Force*, Defence Publishing Service, Canberra, October 2000, 29-32.

[40] Ibid., 69-70.

[41] Commonwealth of Australia, *Australia's National Security – A Defence Update 2003*, Defence Publishing Service, Canberra, 2003, 5-6.

[42] Commonwealth of Australia, *A Defence Update 2003*, 25.

[43] Ibid., 11.

The 2005 *Defence Update* (DU05) stated "the risk of convergence between failing states, terrorism, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD's) remains a major and continuing threat to international security."[44] Defence of interests and values, rather than territory presents Australian policy makers new security challenges. Australia is witnessing a redefinition of its interests and a transition of the role of the military from national defence to national security.

Australia is in a position, therefore, to expand its military influence outside its immediate region and adopt a global approach to peace, stability and security. An analysis of the expanding nature of Australian defence policy and the broadening concept of security paves the way for involvement in countries outside the immediate region. Military involvement in Africa can be incorporated into this expanded view and policy and should be considered to supplement other Australian elements of national power. The past tension between 'forward defence' and 'continental defence' has been resolved by the security agenda of the Liberal government under John Howard and the contemporary international security environment which compels Australia to take proactive steps in consultation with allies to provide a framework of peace and stability. "If current trends and the events of the past decade provide a model of military deployment, the ADF deployments beyond our region will increase rather than diminish."[45]

Australia's National Interests in Africa

Australia's interests and policy execution in Africa have traditionally been based on trade and humanitarian aid. Australia's economic activity with Africa in the form of trade has been steadily increasing in the past five years. The major sector responsible for this growth has been

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[44] Commonwealth of Australia, *Australia's National Security: A Defence Update* 2005, Defence Publishing Service, Canberra, 2005, 4.

[45] Alan Dupont, *Transformation or Stagnation?: Rethinking Australia's Defence*, Working Paper No. 374, Strategic and Defence Studies Center, Canberra, 2003, 4.

the resource sector with many Australian mining and resource companies expanding their operations throughout African countries. Humanitarian aid to Africa has also witnessed an increase and become more focused on specific areas of concern as well as more focussed on regional orientation.

An important aspect of Australia's foreign policy and a means to exert influence on the international stage is through its aid policy. The strategic framework of Australia's Overseas Aid Program is centred on its sole objective "to assist developing countries to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development, in line with Australia's national interests".[46] In essence, the program aims to advance the national interests of Australia by assisting developing nations to reduce poverty, promote economic growth and build sound governance and stability.

In 2006 Australia released a White Paper on overseas aid titled '*Australian Aid: Promoting Growth and Stability*'. The paper sets the direction for Australia's overseas aid program for the next ten years. The White Paper outlined four guiding themes for the aid program: accelerating economic growth; fostering functioning and effective states; investing in people; and promoting regional stability and cooperation.[47] The aid program seeks to reduce poverty and promote sustainable development and is an integral part of Australia's foreign policy and security agenda.

The Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) released a paper in 2006 focusing on aid to Africa which stated that the "overarching objective of the Africa program is to advance Australia's national interests by assisting to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development, particularly in targeted countries in southern and eastern Africa."[48] The specific

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[46] Commonwealth of Australia, *Australian Aid: Promoting Growth and Stability: A White Paper on the Australian Government's Overseas Aid Program*, Australian Agency for International Development, Canberra, April 2006, 2.

[47] Commonwealth of Australia, *Australian Aid: Promoting Growth and Stability*, 21.

[48] Commonwealth of Australia, *Australia and Africa: Facing the Challenges as Partners 2003-07*, Australian Agency for International Development, Canberra, March 2005, 6.

objectives of the program are to: promote good governance at both national and community levels; improve the delivery of basic services, with a focus on health and food security; respond, in line with Australia's capacity, to humanitarian needs; and respond to emerging issues of mutual concern to the governments of Australia and Africa.[49]

Within Africa, Australia primarily works through international organisations and non-government organization such as the World Food Program, World Health Organization, United Nations Children's Fund, and the World Bank for the delivery of aid. Australia's aid contribution to Africa is relatively small and as such it is very targeted and aimed at preventing HIV/AIDS and providing care to its sufferers, providing water, food, medical care and education for vulnerable children, improving water and sanitation, and enhancing food security. Australia's aid is also focused on promoting good governance. [50]

Australia's aid to Africa is viewed by the government as complementing other donors.[51] Australia's official development assistance to Africa during 2006-07 was AUD$82.1m which represented 2.78% of Australia's total for global aid (AUD$2.9b).[52] While this represented a reduction in the percentage of aid for the previous two years (3.09% in 2005-06 and 3.16% in 2004-05), it did amount to an increase in dollar terms. (AUD$77m in 2005-06 and AUD$76.5 in 2004-05).[53] Similar to targeting and narrowing the focus of aid programs, the geographic distribution and dispersion of the majority of Australia's aid support is targeted at countries in

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[49] Ibid., 7.

[50] Ibid., 8-10.

[51] Commonwealth of Australia, *Australian Aid: Promoting Growth and Stability*, 26.

[52] Australian Bureau of Statistics, Australian Overseas Aid Program, http://www.abs.gov.au (accessed November 29 2007).

[53] Ibid.

southern and eastern Africa. Again, this is in line with Australia's national interests and where the government believes the aid will have the most strategic impact.[54]

Trade with foreign countries and regions is the other major method through which Australia executes its foreign policy to achieving national interest. International trade builds relationships across a broad spectrum and is not confined to economic or financial relationships. Trade relationships strengthen diplomatic and security ties between nations. Coupled with globalization this brings nations closer together with more shared interests. Since 2001, trade with Africa has grown 10.5% and Australia's exports to Africa have grown by 54% in the same time frame.[55]

An area of increased interest and growth in Australian engagement with Africa is the resources industry and in particular the mining sector. "Australian mining and resource investment in Africa is worth more than $US15 billion."[56] There are 124 Australian mining companies operating in Africa with major mining projects in South Africa, Namibia, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Mozambique, Tanzania and Madagascar. Some of the minerals being mined include gold, copper, nickel, coal, and uranium. "Australian mining companies are making a substantial contribution to the development of Africa's resource sector – a role that is important for Africa's future."[57] An example of the interest in Australian mining in Africa was recently demonstrated when Perth hosted the 2007 Africa Downunder Conference which was attracted 617 delegates, 64 promotion booths, and 44 presentations.[58] The increased cooperation,

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[54] Commonwealth of Australia, *Australia and Africa: Facing the Challenges as Partners*, 10.

[55] Stuff, *Strengthened Australia-Africa relations Underpinned by Mining*, http://www.stuff.co.nz/stuff/4202285a6026.html, 12 Sep 07, (accessed November 30, 2007).

[56] Austrade, *Australia Digs in to African Mining Boom*, http://www.austrade.gov.au/Australia-digs-in-to-African-mining-boom/default.aspx, (accessed November 30, 2007).

[57] Austrade, *Australia Digs in to African Mining Boom*, (accessed November 30, 2007).

[58] Africa Downunder Conference, http://www.africadownunderconference.com, (accessed November 23, 2007).

interaction, engagement by Australian companies in Africa is reinvigorating bilateral

relationships between the two continents and is opening up new opportunities for further

engagement in other areas. Therefore, Australia has a vested interest in Africa due to mining and

economic interests.

Australia's total merchandise trade for Africa increased from AUD$3.3b in 2001to

AUD$5b in 2005 amounting to 10.5% yearly growth over five years which represented the

highest percentage increase for any geographic region.[59] Australia's merchandise exports and

imports to Africa also achieved the highest yearly growth over five years.[60] This result was also

replicated by the service industry within Australia which experienced increased growth with

respect to trade with Africa and again outpaced growth for all other regions.[61] While the overall

trade amounts are relatively low, they represent an acknowledgement of the increasing interests

within Africa and the value of Africa to Australia's economic security.

This section detailed the expanding nature of Australia's concept of security and the

expanding role that the military will perform in securing national interests. An analysis of the

evolution of Australia's defence policy reveals a transition of the role of the military from

national defence (based on geography) to national security (based on interests and values).

Australia's interests in Africa revolve around the economic areas of trade and aid, both of which

are increasing in importance to Australia's security. The focus of this aid and trade is primarily

regionally based around the south and east of Africa in recognition of regional complexities,

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[59] Commonwealth of Australia, *Composition of Trade 2006*, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canberra, 2006, 65.

[60] Commonwealth of Australia, *Composition of Trade 2006*, 67-69. Australia's merchandise exports to Africa were AUD$3.6b in 2006-07, an increase from AUD$2.3b in 2001, representing 9.2% yearly growth over 5 years. Australia's merchandise imports were AUD$ 1.8b in 2006-07 which represented 13% yearly growth over 5 years.

[61] Commonwealth of Australia, *Composition of Trade 2006*, 76. Australia's services exports to Africa in 2006 totalled AUD$777m which represented 1.7% of the total and a 9.3% yearly growth over 5 years. Australia's services imports for 2006 were AUD$527m which represented 1.2% of the total service imports and 8.7% yearly growth over 5 years.

historical ties and geographical reality of access and proximity to Australia. Yet, Australian policy execution regarding Africa is narrow in focus with regards to the elements of national power and in regards to regional focus. This presents Australia with an opportunity to expand its involvement in Africa to include the military element of national power.

United States Security Policy and AFRICOM

This section outlines the key policies and goals of the United States as promulgated in the2006 *National Security Strategy*. Broad themes will be highlighted as well as the key policies towards Africa to confirm the importance of Africa to the United States. An examination of the 2006 *Quadrennial Defense Review* (QDR) will be used to emphasis the key elements of working through partners and building indigenous capacity in achieving national goals. A vital tool in executing the *National Security Strategy* is the *Unified Command Plan* through the use of Geographic Combatant Commands which form the bridge between the *National Security Strategy* and AFRICOM. The background and formation of AFRICOM will include the philosophy behind its creation and detail its broad mission and roles. The section will conclude with an examination of the current operations and initiatives being conducted by the United States in Africa as a model for the types of missions and tasks that AFRICOM is likely to conduct.

The *National Security Strategy* is a presidential document and the primary policy and strategy document for the United States. The current *National Security Strategy* is based upon two pillars.

> "The first pillar is promoting freedom, justice and human dignity – working to end tyranny, to promote effective democracies, and to extend prosperity through free and fair trade and wise development policies Free governments are accountable to their people, govern their territory effectively, and pursue economic and political policies that benefit their citizens."
>
> "The second pillar of our strategy is confronting challenges of our time by leading a growing community of democracies."[62]

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[62] The White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, Washington, DC, March 2006, President's foreword.

To achieve these goals the *National Security Strategy* sets a number of 'essential' tasks which the United States must complete. These are:

1. Champion aspirations for human dignity;

2. Strengthen alliances to defeat global terrorism and work to prevent attacks against us and our friends;

3. Work with others to defuse regional conflicts;

4. Prevent our enemies from threatening us, our allies, and our friends with weapons of mass destruction (WMD);

5. Ignite a new era of global economic growth through free markets and free trade;

6. Expand the circle of development by opening societies and building the infrastructure of democracy;

7. Develop agendas for cooperative action with other main centers of global power;

8. Transform America's national security institutions to meet the challenges and opportunities of the 21st century; and

9. Engage the opportunities and confront the challenges of globalization.[63]

The United States policy and strategy towards Africa is addressed in the *National Security Strategy* which outlines ten initiatives and concepts for the continent.[64] The *National Security Strategy* states that "Africa holds growing geo-strategic importance and is a high priority of this Administration."[65] The document recognizes that the security of the United States "depends upon partnering with Africans to strengthen fragile and failing states and bring

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[63] The White House, *National Security Strategy*, 1.

[64] United States Initiatives or goals for Africa are mentioned in *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* on pages 6, 16, 26, 28, 31, 32, 37, 38, and 46.

ungoverned areas under the control of effective democracies."[66] This theme is adapted from the 2002 *National Security Strategy* which stated that "America is now threatened less by conquering states than we are by failing ones."[67]

Key elements of the strategic framework include the promotion of economic development, the expansion of democratic governance, reducing corruption and promoting market reforms. The strengthening of domestic and regional capabilities are also seen as vital to support post-conflict transformations, consolidate democratic transitions, and improve peacekeeping and disaster responses.[68] The focus Africa receives in the *National Security Strategy* attests to the importance placed by the United States on security within Africa and recognition of the flow on effects to United States national security.

The 2006 *Quadrennial Defense Review* (QDR) is primary policy document which builds on previous QDR's and other national security documents. The 2006 *Quadrennial Defense Review* recognises that military force alone can not win the struggle against terrorism and that the United States must focus on a strategy of improving the indigenous capacity of partner states and reducing their vulnerabilities.[69] The goal of this policy is to "decrease the possibility of failed states or ungoverned spaces in which terrorists extremists can more easily operate or take shelter.[70] Therefore the *Quadrennial Defense Review* recognises the importance of partnership and capability building so that partners are able to do more for themselves. It also recognises that

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[65] The White House, *National Security Strategy*, 37.

[66] Ibid,.

[67] Ibid., 1.

[68] The White House, *National Security Strategy*, 37.

[69] US Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review*, Washington, DC, February 2006, 30.

[70] Ibid., 12.

building partnership capacity and strengthening alliances to defeat terrorist networks is a means of strengthening the strategic freedom of action of the United States.[71]

One of the means used by the United States in achieving its strategic goals around the globe is the *Unified Command Plan* through the system of Geographic Combatant Command's (GCC's). "The plan has been crucial to decision making and global command and control, especially since the Geographic Combatant Commands were greatly empowered by the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986."[72] As a global superpower with global interests', the United States has divided the world into geographic regions and assigns responsibility to a designated military command for protecting United States security interests in each region.[73] The *Unified Command Plan* also provides guidance to all Geographic Combatant Commands by detailing their missions and responsibilities as well as detailing their geographic area of responsibility.[74] Geographic Combatant Commanders are responsible for the preparedness of their commands and "prepare strategic estimates, strategies, and plans to accomplish assigned missions".[75] The Joint Chiefs of Staff reviews the document every two years and makes recommendations regarding changes to the missions and responsibilities (including geographic boundaries) of each combatant command."[76]

There are currently five Geographic Combatant Command's which include Central Command (CENTCOM), Pacific Command (PACOM), Europe Command (EUCOM), US Northern Command (NORTHCOM) and US Southern Command (SOUTHCOM). As well as the

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[71] Ibid., 18.

[72] Kelly Houlgate, "A Unified Command Plan for a New Era," *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings* 131, no. 9 (September 2005): 30.

[73] Richard G. Catoire, "A CINC for Sub-Saharan Africa? Rethinking the Unified Command Plan," *Parameters* 30, no. 4 (Winter 2000-01): 102.

[74] US Department of Defence, "Unified Command Plan," DOD News Release, No. 188-02, April 17, 2002.

[75] US Department of Defence, Joint Publication 3-0, *Joint Operations*, 17 September 2006, I-8.

geographic commands there are also four Functional Combatant Commands which support the Geographic Combatant Commanders or may conduct operations in direct support of the President and Secretary of Defence.[77] The four Functional Combatant Command's are Transportation Command (TRANSCOM), Special Operations Command (SOCOM), and US Joint Force Command (JFCOM), and Strategic Command (STRATCOM).

The creation of a separate command for Africa or a sub-unified command within Africa is not a new topic of debate. "The idea of creating an African command has been around for a number of years."[78] In the 2000/2001 Winter edition of *Parameters*, Richard Catoire wrote that "the time has come to rethink the UCP as it regards Africa". He further stated that "the current plan cannot effectively protect America's security interests on that continent" and that the *Unified Command Plan* should be revised to realize the policy objectives of the United States.[79] While his focus was on Sub-Saharan Africa, he recommended that a unified or sub-unified command be created on the continent of Africa.[80] John Campbell wrote in 2001-02 that "the United States is in a position to play a key role improving the security environment in Africa" and that this could be realized through the establishment of a regional command for the continent.[81] Although some military officials have advocated the creation of an Africa Command for over a decade, "recent crises have highlighted the challenges created by "seams" between the COCOMs' boundaries."[82]

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[76] Department of Defence, "Unified Command Plan," April 17, 2002.

[77] Department of Defence, *Joint Operations*, I-8

[78] Ambassador Robert Loftis, Senior Advisor In The Bureau Of Political And Military Affairs, Department of State**,** Transcript: "U.S. To Establish New U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM), The Washington Foreign Press Center, Washington, DC, February 9th, 2007

[79] Richard G. Catoire, "A CINC for Sub-Saharan Africa? Rethinking the Unified Command Plan," *Parameters*, vol. 30, issue 4 (Winter 2000-01): 103.

[80] Ibid., 110.

[81] John E. Campbell, "Sub-Saharan Africa and the Unified Command Plan," *Joint Force Quarterly*, no. 29 (Autumn/Winter 2001-02): 72.

[82] Lauren Ploch, "Africa Command: U.S. Strategic Interests and the Role of the U.S. Military in Africa," Congressional Research Service, Report for Congress, December 7, 2007, 2.

The responsibility for Africa under the *Unified Command Plan* is currently shared between the three Geographic Combatant Command's of EUCOM, CENTCOM and PACOM. CENTCOM maintains responsibility for the Horn of Africa; PACOM is responsible for Madagascar; and EUCOM is responsible for the bulk and the remainder of the continent.[83]

On February 6 2007, President Bush announced the creation of a Geographic Combatant Command for the continent of Africa. President Bush stated:

> "This new command will strengthen our security cooperation with Africa and create new opportunities to bolster the capabilities of our partners in Africa. Africa Command will enhance our efforts to bring peace and security to the people of Africa and promote our common goals of development, health, education, democracy, and economic growth in Africa."[84]

AFRICOM represents a realignment of the organizational construct on how the United States will deal with Africa. "Instead of having three commanders that deal with Africa as a third or fourth priority, we will have a single commander that deals with it day in and day out as his first and only priority."[85] AFRICOM will be responsible for the entire continent, less Egypt who will remain within the boundaries of the CENTCOM AO.[86]

The creation of AFRICOM has involved close collaboration between the Department of Defence and the Department of State. Many State Department bureaus provided functional expertise including the Bureau of African Affairs and the Bureau of Political Military Affairs who both had officers assigned to planning teams working with the Department of Defence.[87] The

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[83] Ibid.

[84] The White House, "President Bush Creates a Department of Defense Unified Combatant Command for Africa," Office of the Press Secretary, February 6, 2007.

[85] Ryan Henry, Principal Deputy Under Secretary, of Defense For Policy, State Department "Update on U.S. Africa Command," The Foreign Press Center, Washington, D.C., June 22, 2007.

[86] RADM Moeller, Transcript: "U.S. To Establish New U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM)," The Washington Foreign Press Center, Washington, DC, February 9, 2007.

[87] Jendayi Frazer, State Department's assistant secretary for African Affairs, Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on African Affairs, August 1, 2007.

United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has also been heavily involved in the creation of AFRICOM. USAID staff participated on the implementation and planning teams which developed the initial conceptual framework for AFRICOM. USAID staff also participated in the AFRICOM transition team.[88]

AFRICOM will include a significant number of representatives from these and other United States agencies within its staff, including officers from the Department of State and USAID. The new command will seek greater interagency coordination with the Department of State, USAID, and other government agencies and will have a larger civilian staff than existing Geographic Combatant Commands.[89] A senior Department of State officer will be the deputy to the commander and will be in charge of civil-military affairs and coordinating activities in AFRICOM with policymakers in Washington and embassies in Africa. The Department of State will also provide another senior officer who will serve as a political advisor to the combatant commander.[90] The Department of State and other civilian agencies will also provide a number of other offices to work in leadership, management and functional positions as AFRICOM staff, in addition to traditional advisors.[91]

USAID will also be involved on the staff with a Senior Development Advisor (SDA) to AFRICOM who will help the commander make strategic choices with regard to development issues. The SDA will be a senior foreign-service officer with extensive experience in USAID developmental work. There are also opportunities for USAID to participate in the structure in a

[88] Michael Hess, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, And Humanitarian Assistance, U.S. Agency For International Development, Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on African Affairs, August 1, 2007.

[89] Ploch, "Africa Command". 7.

[90] Frazer, Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, August 1, 2007.

[91] Ibid.

number of leadership positions within the proposed organizational structure, which are currently under development.[92]

The missions that AFRICOM will emphasize are those of humanitarian assistance, civic action, the professionalism of militaries, assistance in border security and maritime security and again the area of security cooperation and response to natural disasters.[93] AFRICOM will emphasis African leadership in addressing their security challenges with the United States playing a supporting role through capacity- building programs.[94] Essentially, AFRICOMs focus is on war-prevention rather than war- fighting.[95]

AFRICOM will not alter the nature of United States military engagement in Africa. Current engagement through theatre security cooperation will continue to "build partnership capacities in areas such as peacekeeping, maritime security, border security, counterterrorism skills, and, as appropriate, supporting U.S. government agencies and implementing other programs that promote regional stability."[96] The conduct of peacekeeping-training programs, security capacity development programs, logistics and airlift support to peacekeeping operations and joint training exercises will remain within the framework of AFRICOM.[97]

The Department of State has strongly supported the creation of AFRICOM and believes its creation will be an important asset regarding United States policy towards Africa.[98] By consolidating three commands into one solely focused on the continent, the United States will be

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[92] Hess, Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, August 1, 2007.

[93] Henry, Foreign Press Center Briefing, June 22, 2007.

[94] Ryan Henry, "U.S. Africa Command," House Armed Services Committee hearing on AFRICOM, Principle Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Washington, DC, November 14, 2007.

[95] Theresa Whelan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for African Affairs, testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on African Affairs, August 1, 2007.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Frazer, testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, August 1, 2007.

able to carry out its activities more effectively and bring more capacity.[99] AFRICOM will allow

better coordination of Department of Defense and Department of State activities in Africa in

support of Department of State leadership to better build security capacity in Africa.[100]

Collaboration will lead to an improvement in the effectiveness of the Department of Defense and

Department of State to respond to Africa's unique challenges and create an atmosphere that is

favorable to America's interests.[101] AFRICOM also provides the important opportunity to

experiment and do things differently. It is a command that can "place capacity-building in Africa

at the center of its mandate, that holds the promise of creating innovative, integrated civilian-

military approaches, and that can try out new structural arrangements that feature regional

centers."[102]

Current United States Operations and Activities in Africa

As part of the Department of Defense policy for executing the *National Security Strategy*,

EUCOM and CENTCOM are currently undertaking a number of operations and missions within

Africa. The Department of Defense also supports the Department of State in the implementation

of theatre security cooperation and security assistance programs which are designed to increase

indigenous capacity through training and exercises. The two major Department of Defense

operations are Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA), conducted by

CENTCOM and Operation Enduring Freedom – Trans Sahara (OEF-TS), conducted under the

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[99] RADM Moeller, Special Assistant To The Commander, U.S. Central Command transcript: "U.S. To Establish New U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM)", The Washington Foreign Press Center, Washington, DC, February 9, 2007.

[100] Whelan, testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, August 1, 2007.

[101] Ambassador Stephen Mull, Acting Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, Congressional transcripts, Congressional Hearings, House Armed Services Committee holds Hearing on AFRICOM, November 14, 2007.

[102] J. Stephen Morrison, Director Africa Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on African Affairs, August 1, 2007.

authority of EUCOM. The major Department of State security cooperation programs are the Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI) and the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Program (ACOTA). While CJTF-HOA and OEF-TS are only a small part of what is likely to be part of AFRICOMs activities, this paper will use these as models due to their military nature and higher likelihood of being compatible with Australian military capabilities. [103]

CJTF-HOA was established in October 2002 and is based in Djibouti. The mission of JTF-HOA is to conduct unified action to prevent conflict, promote regional stability, and protect coalition interests in order to prevail against extremism.[104] To achieve this mission, the Task Force conducts military-to-military training, civil military operations, and security training to build capacity for partner nations to secure themselves. Humanitarian activities include the provision of clean water and the conduct of medical, dental and veterinarian civil action programs. CJTF-HOA has been responsible for the building of numerous schools, clinics and hospitals as well as drilling and refurbishing over 113 wells. Also, the task force has assisted with 11 humanitarian assistance missions including collapsed building, capsized passenger ship and flooding.[105] The command authority for CJTF-HOA, currently under CENTCOM, is likely to be transferred to AFRICOM in 2008.[106]

OEF-TS is the military component of the TSCTI and involves a number of military-to-military exercises designed to strengthen the ability of regional governments to police the large

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[103] For a critique of CJTF-HOA and OEF-TS as part of the AFRICOM framework see Robert G. Berschinski**,** *Africom's Dilemma: The "Global War On Terrorism," "Capacity Building," Humanitarianism, And The Future Of U.S. Security Policy In Africa*, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, November 2007.

[104] Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa, Factsheet, http://www.hoa.centcom.mil/factsheet, (accessed January 17, 2008).

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ploch, "Africa Command", 8.

expanses of remote terrain in the Trans-Sahara.[107] US forces work with partner nations to improve intelligence, command and control, logistics, and border control, and to execute joint operations against terrorist groups.[108]

AFRICOM will support the State Department in training African peacekeepers under the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Program, (ACOTA). ACOTA aims to upgrade the peace enforcement capabilities of African militaries. ACOTA provides Peace Support Operations training, including light infantry and small unit tactics, and focuses on training African troops who can in turn, train other African units. [109]

This section examined the national security policy of the United States and outlined the pillars and essential tasks which underlie global policy. Specific references to Africa within the *National Security Strategy* reveal the importance of Africa within the framework of global security and stability. In order to execute the policies contained within the *National Security Strategy*, the United States has divided the globe into Geographic Combatant Command's which execute the strategic policies within their regions. The creation of AFRICOM is the Department of Defense implementation of the priority placed on Africa in the *National Security Strategy*. AFRICOM consolidates the continent under one Geographic Combatant Command as well as offering an organization to coordinate government activities. AFRICOM will continue theater security and assistance programs and work through partner nations to build their capacity. Current operations including CJTF-HOA and OEF-TS offer models for the type of missions and tasks that AFRICOM may conduct. Military tasks being conducted include the training and monitoring of security forces, joint exercises as well as humanitarian activities such as health clinics. These

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[107] European Command, Current and Continuing Operations, http://www.eucom.mil/english/Operations, (accessed January 17, 2008).

[108] Ploch, "Africa Command", 20.

[109] Gen. William K. Ward, Congressional transcripts, Congressional Hearings, House Armed Services Committee hearing on AFRICOM, Washington, DC, November 14, 2007.

military tasks will be measured against Australian military capabilities in the following section to highlight areas for military-to-military cooperation with African militaries and the United States.

Australian Military Involvement in Africa

Australia's military involvement on the continent of Africa extends from the colonial period at the end of the nineteenth century when the various British colonies sent volunteer forces to the Sudan and South Africa, to modern day United Nations peacekeeping missions. This section will explore the nature of the conflicts and Australia's commitment in terms of motivation, interests, force composition and roles. An analysis of previous military involvement will reveal the types of military operations that Australia has conducted and types of commitments Australia has made in terms of forces deployed to determine patterns and trends which may serve as a predictive tool for future deployments. Analysis of previous Australian military involvement will also be used to build a predictive model for future involvement in Africa which will be used against a model of the AFRICOM framework to determine compatibility.

Colonial Military Involvement in Africa

It is fortuitous that Australia's first military involvement overseas was in Africa. On January 26, 1885, the fall of Khartoum to the Mahdi's forces was coupled with the death of General Sir Charles Gordon which caused public grief and outrage to spread throughout the colonies[110]. Offers of support from the colonies were proposed to the British government; however, only the offer from New South Wales was accepted.[111] On 3 March 1885, a contingent

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[110] Peter Dennis, Jeffrey Grey, Ewan Morris, Robin Prior and John Connor, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History* (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1995) 575.

[111] Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia* (Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2000), 46. Offers of support were made by other Australian colonies such as Victoria and South Australia as well as offers from New Zealand and Canada.

of 750 men was dispatched consisting of two batteries of artillery and an infantry battalion.[112] By the time the contingent reached Sudan most of the fighting had been completed. The only action seen by the contingent was shortly after their arrival at the Battle of Tamai were the Australian's came under fire for the first time and three men were slightly wounded.[113] The contingent conducted operations for two months which mainly consisted of guard detail for railway construction. The contingent returned to New South Wales on June 23, 1885.

This deployment is significant in that a colony "had rallied of its own accord to the imperial cause".[114] It was the first occasion in which forces in the pay of a self governing colony had served in an imperial war.[115] Analysis of Australia's first military involvement in Africa reveals that it was motivated by revenge and in the interests of upholding British prestige. The protection of British prestige was indirectly seen as protecting the interests of the colony. The nature of the deployment revealed that the Australian colonies were prepared to send units for high intensity fighting as part of a larger force. Both the motivation and the composition of forces deployed during the Sudan conflict commenced a tradition and set a precedent which have been characteristic of Australian deployments to Africa.

The British declaration of war in South Africa in 1899 marked the second involvement of Australian military forces overseas, again in Africa. In response to the Boer uprisings in South Africa, Australia deployed a total of eight contingents for service in South Africa totalling 16175 men. While the contingents were serving in South Africa, the colonies achieved Federation on 1 January 1901 and the last units to leave for South Africa departed as Australian Commonwealth forces. The Boer War signified the birth of an Australian military reputation for dash and

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[112] Peter Firkins, *The Australians in Nine Wars* (USA, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972), 5.

[113] Ibid., 6.

[114] Dennis, Grey, Morris, and Prior, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, 575.

[115] Grey, *A Military History of Australia*, 46.

courage[116], as well as building a fine reputation for horsemanship, scouting, reconnaissance and sniper abilities[117]. These skills and the qualities of ingenuity and initiative were the precursors to the Australia, New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) legend of the First World War.

This deployment was significant to the military forces as they learned vital lessons in counter guerrilla warfare as well as how to operate in small unit and independent actions. Australia's involvement in South Africa stems from the fact that the colonies recognised that they belonged to a large and expanding empire and that they would be required to assist in its protection as they sought to share the costs as well as bear the fruits of empire.[118] Australia's involvement was drawn from the major arms of the military as will as specialist elements which were able to compensate for the relatively small numbers. As with Sudan, an analysis of Australia's involvement reveals that it was not the result of a direct threat, rather an indirect threat to the Empire and within the interests of Australia. Australia's military involvement in the Boer War continued the theme set in Sudan of collective interest tied to Britain and a willingness to send forces for major combat. This conflict displayed a willingness to send large numbers of forces in rotations and the deployment of niche capabilities. These last two areas also form part of the pattern and trend for future deployments and are useful when prescribing a predictive model for future military involvement in Africa.

Involvement in Africa during the World Wars

On August 5, 1914, Australia declared war on Germany and decided to deploy a force of 20,000 men to serve at the disposal of the British and to wherever the British desired.[119] During World War One, Australian involvement on the continent of Africa was minor and restricted to

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[116] Dennis, Grey, Morris, and Prior, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, 108.

[117] Firkins, *The Australians in Nine Wars*, 15.

[118] Grey, *A Military History of Australia*, 60.

[119] Firkins, *The Australians in Nine Wars*, 15.

Egypt. Australian military forces in the form of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) were bound for England for training prior to deployment to the Wester Front. The AIF received orders to disembark in Egypt to assist in the defence of the Suez Canal against the Turks. The Australians and New Zealanders were formed into the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) while in Egypt where they reorganized and trained. This period is significant in Australian military history as it was the launch pad for the ANZAC campaign at Gallipoli. Egypt was also the staging area for the Australian support to the securing of the Canal Zone, the Sinai and operations into southern Palestine against the Turks at the end of 1916.[120] The Light Horse was also used at the end of the war in 1919 to help the British and Egyptians to put down the Egyptian revolt.[121]

Australia's involvement in Africa during the First World War followed the model of the colonial period. The motivation stemmed not from a direct threat to Australia's sovereignty, rather from the defence of a larger cause in the form of the Commonwealth. Australia deployed major military formations to Africa (Egypt) prepared for high intensity conflict. Australia's commitment consisting of numerous contingents and included a niche capability in the form of mounted infantry, the Light Horse.

Australia's military involvement in North Africa was repeated in the Second World War with the deployment of three divisions (6th, 7th, and 9th) during the first two years of the war. The Australian divisions were placed under the command of the British XIII Corps. Australian forces were sent to North Africa at the outbreak of war in Europe and at Britain's request. Following the raising of the 6th Division, the British government was keen that the Australian government deploy those forces as soon as possible[122]. The Australian Prime Minister justified the

[120] Grey, *A Military History of Australia.*, 112.

[121] Dennis, Grey, Morris, and Prior, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, 222.

[122] Grey, *A Military History of Australia*, 144.

deployment of Australian troops to Africa by publicly stating that "Britain's 'Far East' was Australia's 'near North' with all that implied."[123] Egypt was again the initial focus where Australian forces were to stage and train prior to heading to Europe. The fall of France and Italy's entrance into the war meant that the Australian's remained in North Africa.

Australia's military involvement in Africa during World War Two followed the pattern and trends of colonial and World War One involvement. Initially, Australia was not directly threatened and the motivation for involvement was again driven by the defence of the Commonwealth. Again, Australian forces consisted of combat and non combat arms and were engaged in high intensity conflict.

1960 -1990

Australian military forces were absent from the continent of Africa following the end of the second world war until December 1960. From 1960 -1990, Australia participated in four missions in Africa. The first of these was the deployment of a three person medical team as part of the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) [124]. The role of ONUC was to assist the Congolese government to restore law and order, ensure withdrawal of Belgian forces, maintain Congo's territorial integrity and provide technical assistance.[125]

Australia's next military involvement in Africa was the deployment of two Australian Army contingents of 152 personnel from December 1979 as part of the Commonwealth Monitoring Force, Rhodesia (CMFR). The tasks of the two rotations were to monitor the Rhodesian security forces, monitor the cantonment of the guerrillas and monitor the return of

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[123] Grey, *A Military History of Australia*, 141.

[124] Australian Peacekeepers and Peacemakers Veteran's Association, "UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC): 1960-1964," http://www.peacekeepers.asn.au/missions/onuc.htm (accessed November 15, 2007).

[125] United Nations, "Republic of the Congo – ONUC Background," http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/onucB.htm (accessed November 15, 2007).

civilian refugees from neighboring countries. Australia's military personnel were spread throughout the force, which consisted of a headquarters and three groups. [126]

Australia's third military involvement in Africa during this period occurred in 1982 with the deployment of four Australian Army training teams as part of the Commonwealth Military Training Team Uganda (CMTTU). "The role of the CMTTU was to train and discipline the Uganda National Liberation Army, which was formed after the overthrow of Idi Amin."[127] The teams consisted of five personnel for six month tours over a period of two years ending in 1984.

The final Australian military involvement in Africa during this period occurred in 1989 with the deployment of forces to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia. Australia deployed 613 military personnel in two rotations between February 18, 1989 and April 10, 1990.[128] The bulk of the forces were engineers who were supplemented with military police and signals personnel. The role of UNTAG was to supervise the return of refugees, hold a general election, oversee the withdrawal of South African forces and Namibia's transition to independence.[129] Australia also deployed one electoral official and 27 electoral supervisor's from the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) and a member of the Australian Federal Police who assisted in the conduct of the general election.[130]

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[126] Department of Veterans' Affairs, "Summary of Australian Participation in Peacekeeping Missions," http://www.dva.gov.au/commem/commac/studies/anzacsk/res2.htm (accessed November 15, 2007).

[127] Australian Peacekeepers and Peacemakers Veteran's Association, "Australian Army Contingent – The Commonwealth Military Training Team – (Uganda) 1982-1984," http://www.peacekeepers.asn.au/missions/unganda.htm (accessed November 15, 2007).

[128] Department of Veterans' Affairs, "Summary of Australian Participation in Peacekeeping Missions," http://www.dva.gov.au/commem/commac/studies/anzacsk/res2.htm (accessed November 15, 2007).

[129] United Nations, "Namibia – UNTAG Mandate," http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/untagM.htm (accessed November 15, 2007).

[130] Australian Peacekeepers and Peacemakers Veteran's Association, "UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG): 1989-1990," http://www.peacekeepers.asn.au/missions/untag.htm (accessed November 15, 2007).

An analysis of Australian military involvements in Africa during the period 1960-1990 reveals that they were motivated by support to higher collective ideals, such as those represented by the Commonwealth and the United Nations, rather than national sovereignty. Australian forces served under the command and authority of Great Britain and the United Nations. Contingent sizes varied from three to 613 in the form of specific teams of formed units. The roles of the Australian's included monitoring, training and the provision of niche capabilities such as medical and engineering support. This period also involved the deployment of relatively small numbers of forces in high visibility and high impact roles to achieve a disproportionate impact. Military forces were also involved in indigenous capacity building through the training of local security forces which gave birth and recognition of the importance of such a role.

1990 - 2000

The 1990's witnessed a further four occasions of Australian military involvement in Africa. The first involvement of Australian military forces was in 1991 with the deployment to support the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO). Australia deployed 225 military personnel to the Western Sahara during the period September 5, 1991 – 1994. The contribution consisted of five contingents of 45 personnel who were dispersed over four areas and operated to provide the Force Communications Unit[131].

The second deployment of Australia's military forces during this period was from 1992-1994 and consisted of the largest deployment to Africa since World War Two. The deployment was in support of the various United Nations resolutions and missions involving Somalia including the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I), the Unified Task Force in Somalia (UNITAF), and UNOSOM II. This deployment included movement controllers, air

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[131] Australian Peacekeepers and Peacemakers Veteran's Association, "UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara 1991-1994," http://www.peacekeepers.asn.au/missions/MINURSO.htm (accessed November 15, 2007).

traffic controllers and a combined arms battalion group consisting of an infantry battalion, a squadron of armored personnel carriers, HQ staff, engineers and, communications and electronic warfare personnel.[132] The Contingent's operations contributed to the protection of humanitarian relief efforts as well as restoring law and order and re-establishing legal, social and economic systems.

Australia's third military involvement in Africa during this period commenced in 1994 with the deployment of forces to the United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR II). Australia deployed a Medical Support Force of two contingents totaling 638 personnel. The force consisted of medical and surgical personnel, an infantry rifle company, an Armored Personnel Carrier section, engineers, signals and supporting elements. The contingents performed the role of the Medical Support Force (MSF) for the United Nations force with the provision of medical aid to the United Nations force and to the Rwandan people[133].

The final Australian military involvement in Africa during this period also commenced in 1994 with the deployment of forces as part of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). Australia committed to the mission in July 1994 with the provision of engineer instructional support for the ONUMOZ de-mining program. Tasks for the engineers included teaching mine awareness, mine detection and mine destruction.[134] Australia deployed 16 personnel over an eight year period to 2002 with each contingent consisting of two engineers serving six month rotations.

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[132] Department of Veterans' Affairs, "Summary of Australian Participation in Peacekeeping Missions," http://www.dva.gov.au/commem/commac/studies/anzacsk/res2.htm (accessed November 15, 2007).

[133] Australian Peacekeepers and Peacemakers Veteran's Association, "The United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR II)," http://www.peacekeepers.asn.au/missions/UNAMIR.htm (accessed November 15, 2007).

[134] Australian Peacekeepers and Peacemakers Veteran's Association, "United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)," http://www.peacekeepers.asn.au/missions/OUMOZ.htm (accessed November 15, 2007).

An analysis of Australia's motivation for military involvement in Africa during the 1990's reveals a desire to contribute to the collective interests of the global community through the United Nations. In particular, the desire to respond to humanitarian concerns prevailed in all four deployments during this period. Australian forces served under the authority of the United States and the United Nations which continued the pattern of subordinating authority (not command) of Australian forces. The deployments were again a mix of formed units and specialist teams specifically formed for the contributions. Niche capabilities in the form of communications, medical and engineer support were again designed to provide high profile roles, with moderate risk, which were designed to yield high impact and disproportionate strategic return for Australia.

2000 - Present

Since the turn of the century, Australia has maintained military forces on the continent of Africa in observer and advisory roles. In January 2001, Australia deployed a two man observer team to the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE). During this period, Australia also responded to a British request to deploy personnel to Sierra Leone as part or the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). The Australian contingent to UNAMISIL deployed to support the British International Military Assistance Training Team (IMATT) in Sierra Leone. Australia's commitments to UNMEE and UNAMSIL were withdrawn during March 2003. Both contingents were responsible for the training of local indigenous security forces. Captain G. Chisnall was deployed with IMATT and he made the observation that the "use of advisory teams offers an excellent medium for international engagement at relatively little cost and can contribute to the process of conflict management."[135] Both deployments were significant

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[135] Grant Chisnall, "The Value of Military Advisory Teams: Lessons from the Australian Experience in Sierra Leone," *Australian Army Journal* 1, no. 2 (December 2003): 111.

as they were conducted when Australia had other significant military commitments in East Timor, Solomon Islands, Bougainville, Afghanistan and Iraq. These deployments reflect the previous patterns and trends of deploying small numbers of forces to achieve a disproportionate impact. These deployments also recognize the importance of indigenous capacity building and also build on the provision of niche capabilities and a commitment to provide multiple rotations.

Australia's most recent deployment of military personnel to Africa has been in response to the situation in Sudan. The ADF deployed a contingent of 15 personnel in 2005 to support the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS). Their roles are to provide military observers, air movements and logistic support. Australia's Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer commented that the contribution "demonstrates Australia's continuing concern to ensure that the resolution of the Sudan and Darfur conflicts remain high priorities on the international agenda"[136]. Again, Australia's involvement in Africa is tied to maintaining international peace and stability as well as continuing the theme of wishing to respond to humanitarian crisis.

In a visit to the United Nations on March 30, 2008, the Australian Prime Minister announced that Australia would contribute nine military observers to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Darfur. The Prime Minister also announced that Australia would provide a further $5 million in humanitarian assistance to the people of Darfur.[137] At the time of the writing of this paper there were no details on the mission and tasks of the Australian military observers. The commitment of Australian forces to Africa is in support of the United Nations which represents one of the three pillars of Australia's foreign policy.[138]

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[136] Robert Hill and Alexander Downer, "ADF Contribution to Sudan," Minister for Defence, Minister For Foreign Affairs, Media Release 059/2005, Canberra, ACT, April 20, 2005.

[137] Kevin Rudd, Press Conference at the United Nations, New York, March 30, 2008, http://www.pm.gov.au/media/Interview/2008/interview_0154.cfm, (accessed April 7, 2008).

[138] In a speech to The Brookings Institution in Washington on March 31, 2008, the Prime Minister noted that in the prosecution of national interests, Australia's foreign policy has three pillars: Australia's alliance with the United States; Australia's membership of the United Nations; and comprehensive engagement with the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

An overall analysis of Australia's reasons for military involvement in Africa highlight that they range from the defence of the Commonwealth, to supporting the international community, and for moral reasons of protecting human rights and preventing human suffering. The nature of deployments demonstrates the willingness to send forces to operate across the full spectrum of conflict from major conventional war, guerrilla warfare, peacekeeping, military observers and training and humanitarian intervention. These deployments represent a wide range of force options from large self contained formations to two man contingents of specialists and a willingness to send multiple rotations. The prevailing contemporary trend has seen Australia providing smaller contingents of niche capabilities to perform high profile tasks providing maximum strategic return for a relatively small investment. Australian military deployments beyond its shores and region have for the last decade been the norm rather than the exception. All the elements listed in this paragraph form the basis of a model which will be used to predict future Australian military involvement in Africa.

Australia, the United States and AFRICOM

This section explores the converging interests and policies of Australia and the United States with respect to Africa. Common interests and goals outlined in national policy documents will be used as a basis for cooperation between the two countries in Africa. An examination of the Australian and United States relationship through the lens of the Australia, New Zealand, United States (ANZUS) Treaty will provide the overarching framework within which cooperation in Africa could occur. PACOM will be used as a model to examine an existing regional relationship and cooperation framework between Australia and the United States. Australia's defence cooperation program will be examined and measured against likely tasks of AFRICOM and Australian military capabilities. The types of tasks likely to be performed by AFRICOM will be measured against Australia's military capability and historical trends to assess compatibility of

Australian military cooperation. Finally, the benefits of cooperating with the United States in Africa within the framework of AFRICOM will be outlined.

An examination of national policy documents reveals that Australia and the United States have converging interests within Africa which warrant closer ties and cooperation. In particular, both countries view the threats of terrorism, weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and failed states as being threats to national security and therefore within their national interests. Australia's economic interests are particularly vulnerable to these threats which are particularly prevalent in Africa. Australia's *Defence Update* of 2005 emphasised the "challenges to Australia's security presented by global terrorism, the proliferation of WMD and the risks posed by failed or failing states". The *Defence Update* also expands this by stating that the "risk of convergence between failing states, terrorism, and the proliferation of WMD remains a major and continuing threat to international security."[139] The threats to security posed by terrorism, WMD and failed states also feature in the *National Security Strategy*. The goals in mitigating or defeating the threats are articulated as preventing attacks by terrorists, denying WMD to rogue states and terrorists, and partnering with Africans to strengthen fragile and failing states.[140] The converging economic and security interests of Australia and the United States in Africa form the basis for which cooperation through AFRICOM can be used to achieve national goals.

The converging policies with respect to economic and security interests of Australia and the United States in Africa could be managed within the framework of the ANZUS alliance. Both the United States *National Security Strategy* and the *Quadrennial Defense Review* of 2006

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[139] Commonwealth of Australia, *A Defence Update 2005*, 2-4. Also see Alexander Downer, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, speech at the Inaugural Monash Asia Public Lecture, Melbourne, 22 Aug 2007. Phrases in the Minister's speech include "Failing or fragile states run the risk of becoming safe havens for those seeking to avoid international scrutiny and attention." "In a globalized world, Australia's security interests are increasingly affected by lawlessness and disorder in other states. So assistance to fragile states is of crucial importance." "Fragile states highlight the need for us to have a global foreign policy – a foreign policy that reflects the breadth of our interests."

[140] The White House, *National Security Strategy*, 12,37.

recognise Australia as a global ally and one of America's strongest allies in the Asia-Pacific region.[141] From an Australian perspective the alliance remains the cornerstone of national security and it is as relevant and important today as it has ever been.[142] Australia's Prime Minister reaffirmed this position in a speech where he noted the "ANZUS Treaty remains the bedrock of Australia's strategic policy based on our common values, common strategic interests and part of Australia's framework for meeting the challenges of the future."[143] The relationship between Australia and the United States has strengthened into what Paul Kelly calls a 'New Intimacy'.[144]

The Australian-American relationship is not static, but dynamic, and has evolved to encompass cooperation in upholding regional and global order.[145] Evidence of the changing nature of the Treaty is reflected in Australia's decision to invoke ANZUS following the events of September 11, 2001 (9/11). This move represented a departure from the previous notions and interpretations of the alliance which was traditionally limited to the Pacific region.[146] The United States also regards the treaty in broader terms evidenced by a statement made by Richard Haass, the Director of Policy Planning in the State Department in which he classified the alliance as "two countries joined in a global partnership."[147] The result of this evolution is that the "relationship

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[141] The White House, *National Security Strategy*, 40,26. United States Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review*, 88.

[142] Commonwealth of Australia, *A Defence Update 2005*, 13.

[143] Kevin Rudd, "The Australia-US alliance and emerging challenges in the Asia-Pacific Region", Prime Minister address to The Brookings Institution, Washington, 31 Mar 08, http://www.pm.gov.au/media/Speech/2008/speech_0157.cfm (accessed April 7, 2008).

[144] Paul Kelly, "The Australian-American Alliance: Towards a Revitalization," *That Other Special Relationship: The United States and Australia at the Start of the 21st Century*, Edited by Jeffery K McCausland, Douglas T. Stuart, William Tow, Michael Wesley, Strategic Studies Institute, 2007,40. For more detailed background on the U.S.-Australian special relationship, see Peter Edwards, *Permanent Friends?: Historical Reflections on the Australian-American Alliance*, Lowy Institute Paper 08, 2005.

[145] Evans, "Security and Defence Aspects of the Special Relationship," 290-291.

[146] Kelly, "The Australian-American Alliance", 46.

[147] Richard N. Haass, "The US-Australia Alliance in an East Asia Context," in Henry Albinski and Rawdon Dalrymple, eds., *The United States-Australia Alliance in an East Asia Context*, Conference Proceedings, The University of Sydney, June 29-30, 2001.

has been institutionalised and globalised to an unprecedented degree."[148] Prime Minister Kevin

Rudd commented that the alliance is defined by our common aspirations for the future and that

the partnership was more than the formal agreements that have been signed and extended to a

shared vision of the future.[149] The changing nature and evolving status of the ANZUS Treaty

presents opportunities for increased cooperation beyond the Pacific and provides a framework for

cooperation within the AFRICOM context.

Australian military forces working within the framework of the ANZUS alliance and

through AFRICOM could form part of the whole of government approach to achieving national

goals and securing economic interests in Africa. "Military cooperation, both bilateral and

multilateral, can foster cooperation, develop trust, and provide basic building blocks for regional

stability and security architecture."[150] The Australian military manages its international

engagement through the *Defence International Engagement Plan* (DIEP). The DIEP provides

strategic level prioritization of international relationships and "ensures that Defence engagement

and shaping operations are linked to and aligned with national objectives."[151]

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[148] John Higley, "The Relationships Political Aspects: An American Perspective," *That Other Special Relationship: The United States and Australia at the Start of the 21st Century*, Edited by Jeffery K McCausland, Douglas T. Stuart, William Tow, Michael Wesley, Strategic Studies Institute, (2007), 145. For further analysis of the Australia – US alliance, see Ron Lyon and William T. Tow, *The Future of the Australian-US Security Relationship*, Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, December, 2003; Paul Dibb, "US-Australian Alliance Relations: An Australian View," *Strategic Forum*, no. 216, Washington, DC: Institute of National Strategic Studies, National Defence University, August 2005, pp. 1-6; and Greg Sheridan, *The Partnership: The Inside Story of the US-Australian Alliance under Bush and Howard*, Sydney: New South, 2006.

[149] Kevin Rudd, "Australia, the United States and the Global Economy," address to the American Australian Association, New York, 30 Mar 08, http://www.pm.gov.au/media/Speech/2008/speech_0153.cfm, (accessed April 7, 2008).

[150] Andrew Scobell, "The Alliance and the Asia Pacific Region: An American Perspective," *That Other Special Relationship: The United States and Australia at the Start of the 21st Century*, Edited by Jeffery K McCausland, Douglas T. Stuart, William Tow, Michael Wesley, Strategic Studies Institute, 2007, 101.

[151] Australian Department of Defence, *Strategic Planning Framework Handbook*, Defence Publishing Service, Canberra, May 2006, 24

The Defence Cooperation Program (DCP) is one means of executing the policies contained within the DIEP. Current DCP programs provide support to regional countries as a means for Australia to contribute to regional security and a means of assisting neighboring countries to professionally develop their defence forces. The DCP includes assistance to regional security forces in the areas of strategic planning, education and training, technical advice, command and control, infrastructure, communications and logistics support.[152] The Australian Defence Force (ADF) recognizes that Australia's security is in some manner dependent on international relationships and the significant role it plays in developing and maintaining these strategically important relationships.[153] The DCP as applied to Africa in accordance with Australia's interests could be supplemented through military-to-military engagement within the framework of AFRICOM.

The concept of Australian military officers working for and working with a Geographic Combatant Command is not new. The Australian Army currently has two officers serving at the headquarters of PACOM in Hawaii. Australia maintains a close relationship with PACOM and the command's interest in the Pacific region are highly valued by Australia, including regular exercises, exchanges involving Australian military along side forces from the United States and other Pacific nations.[154] Australia and the United States conduct a number of joint exchanges and exercises in the PACOM region. These include Exercise Gold Eagle which is a reciprocal exchange between the Marines based in Hawaii and Australian Army units. PACOM forces also participated in Exercise Talisman Sabre in 2007, which was a major exercise for the Australian Defence Force.

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[152] Australian Department of Defence, *Winning in Peace, Winning in War: The Australian Defence Forces Contribution to the Global Security Environment*, Defence Publishing Service, Canberra, 2004, 20-21.

[153] Australian Department of Defence, *Joint Operations for the 21ˢᵗ Century*, Defence Publishing Services, Canberra, May 2007, 8.

[154] Scobell, "The Alliance and the Asia Pacific Region," 121.

Australia's international engagement policy and links with PACOM are evident in Australia's contribution to the Global War on Terror in the Philippines. Australia recently provided 30 watercraft to the Philippine Army as part of a joint project to improve the Philippine Army's ability to patrol the riverine areas of the southern Philippines.[155] This project will provide training in small boat handling, surveillance and reconnaissance, and maintenance to supplement other Defence Cooperation Programs which include hostage recovery, intelligence training and maritime surveillance and response.[156] Section three revealed that Australia has trained military forces in Africa in the past which is compatible to contemporary capabilities of the Australian Defence Force. Therefore, military-to-military engagement in the Philippines' in cooperation and consultation with a United States Geographic Combatant Command can serve as a model for future Australian military engagement in Africa within the framework of AFRICOM.

Australia's past operations in Africa, the convergence of national interests and policies (including international engagement), and the links between Australia and the United States reveal that Australia's military capabilities are compatible with likely AFRICOM tasks. Section three revealed that Australian military forces have conducted operations in Africa across the spectrum of conflict. Small contributions of niche capabilities have fulfilled national interests and provided disproportionate strategic benefit. In particular, missions suited to military-to-military engagement such as the provision of training, communications and medical support have been common themes throughout the majority of Australia's involvement in Africa. Australian military engagement under the framework of AFRICOM would build on past training experiences in Africa as well as contemporary training missions in Afghanistan, Iraq, East Timor and the Philippines. Australian military forces have also shown an ability to perform humanitarian tasks

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[155] Australian Embassy The Philippines, *Australian Army Chief Visits the Philippines*, http://www.philippines.embassy.gov.au/mnla/medrell1509.html, (accessed January 29, 2008).

[156] Australian Embassy, *Australian Army Chief Visits the Philippines*, (accessed January 29, 2008).

such as medical support and engineering de-mining. Australia has demonstrated the ability to perform these tasks in Africa and other regions, making them compatible with the model presented in section two as likely tasks to be conducted by AFRICOM.

Australian military involvement in Africa through AFRICOM using military-to-military engagement will build relationships with United States and African military personnel. *Defence Update 2005* states that Australia's Defence policy response to the contemporary environment is to "build strong security relationships both regionally and globally."[157] This will fulfil one of the requirements of the Chief of the Defence Force who stated that the Australian Defence Force "requires the ability to operate effectively alongside forces whose military capabilities, doctrine, and cultural backgrounds differ from our own."[158] Australian engagement through AFRICOM will develop contacts within the same organizations and develop a network of human infrastructure within Africa. By working within the United States framework of AFRICOM, Australian military personnel will meet and become exposed to soldiers from African nations which will build cultural understanding and build relationships for the future.

Military-to-military engagement through AFRICOM will improve intelligence and information sharing between Australian and the United States as well as Australia and African nations. Intelligence and information sharing among the three entities will provide a better understanding of the underlying issues facing African nations as well as a better understanding of managing these issues. Our advantage will continue to come from military-to-military international links which are the key to enhancing mutual understanding.[159] Working through AFRICOM will also provide current and future Australian operations in Africa with a repository of intelligence and information. This source of intelligence and information could be accessed for

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[157] Commonwealth of Australia, *Defence Update 2005*, 12.

[158] Australian Department of Defence, *Force 2020*, National Capital Printing, Canberra, June 2002, 15.

pre-deployment preparation as well as in theatre real time intelligence for the conduct of operations.

Current and future Australian military operations in Africa would also benefit from the infrastructure provided by AFRICOM. The prospect of deploying Australian troops to Africa is daunting considering the limited nature of the infrastructure present in many of the conflict zones. Australia could leverage the infrastructure in place supporting AFRICOM missions. Infrastructure such as logistics basing and transportation, communications and medical facilities would be available thereby reducing the burden and complexity of deploying Australian forces to Africa. The knowledge that an ally has a permanent military framework within Africa could allow for increased military-to-military engagement to supplement other diplomatic and economic engagements.

Military-to-military engagement in Africa via AFRICOM will provide skills and knowledge that are transferable to Australia's own region. The challenges faced by African nations are similar to those faced in the Southwest Pacific and South East Asia. Similarities in the challenges faced include agricultural and tribal societies with weak government and institutions plagued by corruption. Therefore the skill sets and knowledge gained in Africa will be of relevance to operations in Australia's region. The reverse is also true as the skills gained by extensive operations in Australia's region can be used as a basis for operating in Africa.

This section outlined the converging interests and policies of Australia and the United States within Africa. The threats of terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and failed states prominently feature in both countries security policy documentation. The ANZUS alliance and its evolving nature could be used as the overarching framework within which Australia and the United States could cooperate to meet these common threats and secure economic and security interests. The outcomes sought by Australia's military engagement policies can be met by

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[159] Ibid., 7.

military-to-military engagement with the United States and African military forces through AFRICOM. Australia currently works within the construct of a Geographic Combatant Command in the form of PACOM which serves as a model for future Australian incorporation into AFRICOM. The likely military tasks to be conducted by AFRICOM are comparable to past tasks performed by Australian military forces in Africa and are compatible with contemporary capabilities. Finally, Australia gains strategic, operational and tactical benefits from operating within the framework of AFRICOM which improves Australia's standing in the international community, provides skills and understanding which can be applied to Australia's own region and develops a network of contacts with other militaries.

Conclusion

This paper sought to answer the question of whether Australia can and should use the creation of AFRICOM to facilitate and improve military cooperation with the United States and African nations as well as improve engagement and opportunities within Africa. Answers to the questions regarding the national policies and the national interests of Australia and the United States within Africa have been posited. The means through which Australia and the United States execute these policies and meet their interests provide further elaboration on how AFRICOM can be leveraged by Australia and the United States for bilateral and multi-lateral benefit.

AFRICOM will provide opportunities for Australia to improve bilateral and multi-lateral military-to-military engagement and relations with African nations and the United States. Australia and the United States, as coalition partners, should work together in Africa to achieve mutual interests as well as serving as a means of fostering greater military-to-military cooperation with African nations and each other. Increased military-to-military engagement will supplement the diplomatic and economic elements of national power and contribute to more comprehensive whole of government approach towards Africa.

Australia's concept of security has evolved to include a more global and expansive view with a realization of the expanding role that the military will perform in securing national interests. Australia's defence and foreign policy have witnessed a transition of the role of the military from national defence (based on geography) to national security (based on interests and values). Australia's interests in Africa are framed in terms of physical security (failed states, weapons of mass destruction), human security (humanitarian assistance) and economics (trade). All three areas are experiencing increasing growth and importance due to the recognition of their importance to Australia's security. However, Australia's policy execution regarding Africa is narrowly focused with respect to the various regions and only in the fields of economic trade and humanitarian aid. This presents Australia with an opportunity to expand its involvement in Africa to include the military element of national power.

Specific references to Africa within the *National Security Strategy* reveal the importance of Africa within the framework of global security and stability. In order to execute the policies contained within the *National Security Strategy*, the United States has divided the globe into Geographic Combatant Command's which execute the strategic policies within their regions. The creation of AFRICOM is the Department of Defense implementation of the priority placed on Africa in the *National Security Strategy*. AFRICOM consolidates the continent under one Geographic Combatant Command as well as offering an organization to coordinate other government agency activities. AFRICOM will continue theater security and assistance programs and work through partner nations to build their security capacity. Current operations including CJTF-HOA and OEF-TS offer models for the type of missions and tasks that AFRICOM may conduct. These tasks being conducted include the training and monitoring of security forces, joint exercises as well as humanitarian activities such as health clinics. These military tasks are compatible with past Australian military activities in Africa and are compatible with contemporary Australian military capabilities and therefore provide areas for military-to-military cooperation with the United States and African militaries.

Australia's reasons for military involvement in Africa range from the defence of the Commonwealth, supporting the international community, and moral reasons of protecting human rights and preventing human suffering. The nature of past deployments demonstrates Australia's willingness to send forces to operate across the full spectrum of conflict. Past deployments have included a wide range of force options from large self contained formations to two man contingents of specialists as well as a willingness to send multiple rotations. The prevailing contemporary trend has seen Australia providing smaller contingents of niche capabilities to perform high profile tasks providing maximum strategic return for a relatively small investment. Australian military deployments beyond its shores and region have for the last decade been the norm rather than the exception. These elements form the basis of a model which can be used by government and Defence planners when considering future Australian military deployments or contingents for Africa.

Australia and the United States have converging interests and policies within Africa. Both seek to curb the threats of terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and failed states, which feature in both countries security policy documentation. The ANZUS alliance and its evolving nature could be used as the overarching framework within which Australia and the United States could cooperate to meet these common threats and protect economic and security interests. The outcomes sought by Australia's military engagement policies can be met by military-to-military engagement with the United States and African military forces through AFRICOM. Australia currently works within the construct of a Geographic Combatant Command in the form of PACOM which serves as a model for future Australian incorporation into AFRICOM. The likely military tasks to be conducted by AFRICOM are comparable to past tasks performed by Australian military forces in Africa and are compatible with contemporary capabilities. Finally, Australia gains strategic, operational and tactical benefits from operating within the framework of AFRICOM which improve Australia's standing in the international community, provide skills

and understanding which can be applied to Australia's own region and develop a network of contacts with other militaries.

There are many opportunities for further study in this area which will lead to a greater understanding of the relationship between Australia and Africa. A topic for further study includes the possibility of other Australian government agencies also leveraging off AFRICOM to gain greater efficiencies in terms of missions, tasks and logistics. Australia's whole of government approach to Africa is another area which could be used to provide greater understanding. A more detailed analysis of Australia's interests by region could be used to inform specific military-to-military engagement as well as engagement by other government agencies to provide synchronized and comprehensive policy tailored to that specific region. However, the level of interest in the study of this topic will to a large degree be dependent on the attitude, priority and policies of the Australian government which will set the tone for the nations desire to gain a better understanding of Africa and its relationship to Australia.

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