

THE ROLE OF AFRICOM IN PROMOTING PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

The establishment of AFRICOM has triggered a discourse in the US and abroad and at the centre of the argument were the planned capacity and the potential advantages and dis-advantages of an enlarged and more enduring US military presence in Africa. Although, there has been an emerging partnership between the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) and various African states and regional economic communities, it is not clear in what way AFRICOM has contributed in promoting peace and security on the African continent by cooperating with the African Union (AU) and its organs since its inauguration in 2007. To address this issue the purpose of this study is to explore to what extent AFRICOM support to the African Union Peace and Security Council strengthen peace and security on the African continent. To gather data, a literature review, interviews with officials and subject specialised will be conducted. Data collected from a condensed questionnaire will also be used to gather data. The data collected led to the following themes: US Strategic interest and support to strengthen African peace and security initiatives, the purpose and role of AFRICOM in Africa, the relationship between the US Africa Command and the African Union Peace and Security Council and in particular the African Union Peace and Security Architecture, the impact of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security on the African continent according to a South African perspective. These themes will be useful for understanding the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security in Africa.

THE ROLE OF AFRICOM IN PROMOTING PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA**DECLARATION**

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Masters in Management (in the field of Security) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Willem Petrus Prins

28 November 2014

THE ROLE OF AFRICOM IN PROMOTING PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA**DEDICATION**

I dedicate this research study to Rentia Prins. She is the inspiration and reason for this research study. Because of her, as partner, friend, supporter, and meticulous editor, I am able to wake up early during the cold winter mornings, work long hours during the day and be a scholar at night. Thank you Rentia for being there for me through this very busy period.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ACOTA	African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance
AFRICOM	Africa Command
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AHSG	Assembly of Heads of State and Governments
AMIB	African Mission in Burundi
AMIS	African Mission in Sudan
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
CASDP	Common African Defence and Security Policy
CENTCOM	Central Command
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
CJTF-HOA	Combined Joint Force–Horn of Africa (US)
COMCOM	Combatant Command
DOD	Department of Defence
DSCA	Defence Security Cooperation Agency

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EUCOM	European Command
FMS	Foreign Military Sales
GFS	Global Fleet Stations
GWOT	Global War on Terrorism
IMET	International Military Education and Training
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
MSC	Military Staff Committee
NSS	National Security Strategy
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PACOM	Pacific Command
PAP	Pan African Parliament
PAP	Pan-African Parliament
PoW	Panel of the Wise
PSC	Peace and Security Council
REC	Regional Economic Communities
SRO	Sub-regional Organisation
SSI	Strategic Studies Institute
UCC	Unified Combatant Command
UCP	Unified Command Plan
UN	United Nations

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US	United States
VSAT	Very Small Aperture Terminal
UNDPKO	UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations

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CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

1.1 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this research study is to explore to what extent the United States Africa Command support to the African Union Peace and Security Council promote and strengthen peace and security on the African continent.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The initial statement about the creation of a separate US Africa Command (AFRICOM) made by George W. Bush, and its apparent multidimensional mission¹, evoked a range of responses from mere surprise to outright alarm, both in Africa and among some observers in the US (Lanier, 2011). Lanier (2011) already raises the issue of allegations made about the militarisation of US Foreign policy and neo-colonialism in Africa. Lanier (2011) argued that numerous early statements about the command locating itself in Africa complicated these allegations.

Lanier (2011) agrees with Cooke and Hicks (2007) and argued that the announcement for the establishment of AFRICOM has generated considerable debate both in the US and abroad, but also stated that at the centre of the argument was the planned capacity and the potential advantages and dis-advantages of an enlarged and more enduring US military presence in Africa.

Neethling (2008, p.32) also argued that the US never saw Africa as an important strategic priority and as such was not very interested in what was going on, on the African continent.

Neethling (2008, p.32) stated that in 1998, the National Security Strategy of the US confirmed that America's security interests with regard to Africa were limited.

Understanding the security issues of Africa requires a broad approach to the African security environment, after all security is not only about military

¹ Security and development was seen as the two primary missions for AFRICOM.

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affairs, but also includes human security and is therefore ultimately linked to economic and social development, democracy and governance (Feleke, Picard & Buss, 2011).

Feleke et al. (2011) argued that instability across Africa and matters such as violence, civil war, regional conflict, global terrorism, extreme poverty, famine population displacement and disease presents a major security challenge within African states, regions, and the African continent as a whole. For this reason the international community and the United States has renewed interest in in Africa.

Feleke et al. (2011) also argued that because Africa is such a huge and diverse continent it presents unprecedented defence, development and diplomatic challenges.

Feleke et al. (2011, p. 9) stated that African Security in all of its complexity and the importance of Africa to US interest prompted the George W. Bush administration to create a new military presence in Africa – the Africa Command or AFRICOM, said not to be based on occupying forces of fixed bases, but rather one that combines security and diplomacy in new ways.

In order to understand the complexity of the African security situation Feleke suggested that the impact of colonialism and the Cold War that provides the context for security concerns and challenges as well as the initiatives taken by Africa in response to their own security be assessed (Feleke et al., 2011).

When considering the African security environment it becomes evident that human security is the fundamental challenge facing Africa and is a vital factor in defining Africa's overall security environment (Feleke et al., 2011). With human security as a primary challenge to the African security environment other issues such as social and economic development are linked to human security.

The African security environment therefore remains a complex issue. When

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adding other issues such as war², violence³, armed conflict⁴ and international terrorism to the situation it becomes even more complex (Feleke et al., 2011).

International terrorism and the escalation of these terrorist actions has become a major concern for the US. Feleke, et al (2011, p. 19) argued that terrorism was already a major issue in Africa prior to 9/11 with incidents in Kenya, Tanzania, Tunisia and Egypt. International efforts to defeat al-Qaeda are currently underway, and the establishment of al-Qaeda networks in the Horn of Africa, and the Sahel is a big concern for the US.

Given the history of violence, civil war and conflict in Africa, the international community by means of the United Nations has responded with comprehensive peacekeeping missions that includes armed forces, civilian police, humanitarian aid, and reconstruction and development assistance with some support for democracy and governance programs. Feleke, et al (2011, p. 21) argued that these UN peace missions have become more complex over time.

Metz (2000, p.2) stated that such a narrow security approach followed by the US is not practical and that Africa must be of some strategic importance to the US, Metz (2000, p.2) also argued that what was happening on the African continent must have an impact on the national security and national interest of the US.

Neethling (2008) agreed with Metz (2000) and stated that evidence of serious international threats that originate from the region, including: "state-sponsored terrorism, narcotics trafficking, weapons proliferation, international

² Until recently Africa had relatively few inter-state conflicts, though the collapse of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the intervention of several eastern and southern African states on different sides of the conflict was an important exception.

³ According to a UN survey, three of four Africans living in cities have been victims of violence.

⁴ State-based armed conflicts, which include interstate, intrastate, internationalised intrastate and extra-state armed conflict, involve a government as one of the warring parties. Intrastate-armed conflict includes civil wars and state-formation/secessionist conflicts. Non-state armed conflict occurs when a recognised government is not one of the parties.

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crime, environmental damage, and pandemic disease” must have an impact on US security (Neethling, 2008, p.32).

When reviewing the 2006 US National Security Strategy it becomes clear that the US security approach towards Africa is changing and that Africa holds a growing geo-strategic importance and has become a high priority because of this strategic importance to the US Government (NSS, 2006, p.37).

Neethling (2008) claimed that these changes in the US National Security Strategy led to the establishment of a new unified combatant command AFRICOM, and also argued that the primary objective of AFRICOM was to protect US interest on the African continent and its surrounding waters.

When considering the opinion and viewpoints of the US and the international community on the security situation in Africa, African states has undertaken a number of initiatives across a broad spectrum of economic, political and military initiatives to address security challenges at the national, regional and collective levels (Feleke et al., 2011, p. 25).

At national level some of these initiatives includes socio-economic upliftment, open–market strategies for economic development and measures affecting good governance (Feleke et al., 2011, p. 26).

At regional level a number of Regional Economic Communities operate. While the purpose for creating Regional Economic Communities was to serve the economic goals of a region, these goals changed overtime and began to assume more responsibilities related to regional peace, conflict mediation, and security (Feleke et al., 2011, p. 27).

At the collective level the African Union succeeded the Organisation of African Unity in 2002. African Union objectives include unity and solidarity in Africa, peace and security, political and socioeconomic integration, respect for territorial integrity, democracy and good governance, etc. (Feleke et al., 2011, p. 29).

With the announcement of the establishment of AFRICOM in 2007, the

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following strategic objectives were allocated to AFRICOM, i.e.:

“To bolster security on the continent; To prevent and respond to humanitarian crises; To improve cooperative efforts between the US and African nations in order to stem trans-national terrorism; To sustain enduring efforts that contribute to African unity, with a central focus on preventing wars rather than fighting wars” (Isike, Okeke-Uzodike & Gilbert, 2008, p.21).

When considering the current African security environment, the role of the international community, the reasons for the establishment of AFRICOM and its assigned objectives by the United States, and also initiatives taken by the African continent the reason for establishing AFRICOM has become unclear.

However, the commander of AFRICOM in its proposed Posture Statement reaffirms the fundamental significance of regional challenges to institute security measures, such as the African Peace and Security Architecture. AFRICOM has only in 2010 indicated its eagerness to provide assistance and support the AU's peace and security suggestions.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The establishment of AFRICOM has triggered a discourse in the US and abroad and at the centre of the argument were the planned capacity and the potential advantages and dis-advantages of an enlarged and more enduring US military presence in Africa.

Although, an emerging relationship between AFRICOM and various African states and Regional Economic Communities was acknowledged, it is not clear in what way AFRICOM has contributed in promoting peace and security on the African continent by cooperating with the African Union and its organs since its inauguration in 2007.

This study intends to explore how AFRICOM has in terms of its stated mandate contributed in promoting peace and security by cooperating with the AU Peace and Security Council and the African Peace and Security Architecture.

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1.4 PURPOSE STATEMENT

The purpose of this research is to explore to what extend AFRICOM's support to the African Union Peace and Security Council, strengthen peace and security on the African continent.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the purpose of this research is to explore the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security on the African continent by cooperating with the African Union Peace and Security Council and in particular the African Peace and Security Architecture.

Therefore, in order to achieve these objectives, the primary question to be answered by this research, will be:

In what way and to what extend does AFRICOM's support to the African Union Peace and Security Council and in particular the African Peace and Security Architecture strengthen African peace and security?

In order to provide an answer to the primary research question the following secondary research questions must also be addressed:

What is the purpose and role of AFRICOM in Africa?

What is the relationship between AFRICOM and the African Union Peace and Security Council and in particular the African Peace and Security Architecture?

What is the impact of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security on the African continent according to a South African perspective?

1.6 OUTLINE OF RESEARCH REPORT

The report has been divided into five chapters followed by appendices that clarify some of the research provided and providing the background of the research output.

Chapter 1 consists of the introduction and the research study's academic background, the problem statement, the purpose statement and the

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formulated research questions.

Chapter 2 consists of the detail literature review, all primary and secondary sources, including individuals with specialist knowledge considered and consulted during the compilation of this study. This chapter also includes concept clarification to ensure common understanding of specific concepts referred to in the paper.

Chapter 3 describes the methodological approach followed by the researcher during the compilation of this report and includes aspects such as research methodology, approach and design, data collection, the significance of the study, limitations, ethical conduct and research management with regards to time management and the outlay of the research report.

Chapter 4 consists of the findings and analysis and sheds light on the role of Africom in promoting peace and stability on the African continent.

Chapter 5 contains final observations relevant to this research paper, which have been addressed under the headings conclusions and recommendations.

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CHAPTER 2 : LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

A literature review is a written argument that supports a research position by building a case from reliable evidence based on previous research. A literature review therefore, provides the framework and the background about the existing knowledge of the research topic and lays out a logical case to defend. The literature review can therefore be defined as “a written document that presents a logically argued case founded on a comprehensive understanding of the current state of knowledge about a topic of study. This case establishes a convincing research paper to answer the research questions asked” (Machi and McEvoy, 2012, p. 3).

Literature reviews have a different purpose depending on the nature of the research study undertaken by the researcher. The purpose of this literature review as formulated in the previous chapter is therefore, to summarise existing knowledge, to evaluate this existing knowledge and then to generate a position on the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security in Africa by exploring to what extent AFRICOM’s support to the African Union Peace and Security Council strengthen peace and security on the African continent. This literature review will then also serve as the basis for the rest of the research study.

The purpose of this research as formulated in the previous chapter is to explore to what extent AFRICOM’s support to the African Union Peace and Security Council strengthen peace and security on the African continent. The literature review has been conducted by following the literature review process as described by Machi and McEvoy (2012).

The research has been carried out by studying mainly available primary sources, such as initial influential academic and other publications by interest groups as well as statements made by academics and government spokespersons and other government officials. This allowed the researcher to give a fair opinion of existing accounts.

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The researcher has also studied secondary sources and information as well as various other sources encompassing of worldwide as well as local sources which disclosed that certain facets around the creation of AFRICOM. The creation of AFRICOM has been previously researched and this research report may comprise of opinions and conclusions earlier researched. Other secondary sources such as papers compiled by well-known academic establishments, intellectuals and scholars, have been studied to obtain different views in the literature study process.

This literature review was conducted with the focus on primary research methods such as the thorough analysis of acts, books, journals and other publications by authoritative powers.

A thorough, unstructured, and in depth communication with experienced people in the academic setting and other government and non-government organisations and private organisations were followed up with specific requests, this was done to acquire additional understanding into and to explore the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security in Africa. The reply, specific answers and personal views of respondents clarified questions and also helped to obtain the experts' opinions on the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security in Africa.

Numerous local academics familiar with political science, security studies and strategy subjects at various institutions were consulted, in order to finalise this research study.

Methodical analysis and cross-referencing of data helped the researcher to acquire a broad understanding of the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security on the African continent.

The literature review leads with a broad historical review of previous research and studies done that examined the establishment and the challenges in US Security Strategy that led to the establishment of AFRICOM, The second part will provide a broad historical review on the establishment of the African Union, the African Union Peace and Security Council and in particular the

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African Peace and Security Architecture of the African Union Peace and Security Council. The third part will explore the relationship between AFRICOM and the African Union Peace and Security Council and its peace and security architecture. The fourth part of the review will explore the support provided by AFRICOM to the African Union to strengthen African peace and security on the African continent. Finally the section concludes with an overview of the key aspects of the literature review.

It has become clear during the literature review that there are numerous positions on the establishment, the role and functions of AFRICOM. Many of the studied literature although from the United States are very pro AFRICOM and argued the case for AFRICOM; European works however take a more neutral position to the establishment of AFRICOM, where works from African tend to be more sceptical towards the establishment of AFRICOM.

2.2 DEFINITIONS, TERMINOLOGY AND CONCEPTS

In order to guarantee continuous clearness of definitions, terms and concepts, it is regarded as important to clarify important definitions, terms and concepts in order to confirm mutual understanding prior to reading the rest of the literature review. This definitions, terms and concepts will also serve as a point of reference for the research:

AFRICOM: President George W. Bush and Secretary of Defence Robert Gates announced the establishment of AFRICOM, the US Africa Command, on February 6, 2007. Previously, military responsibility for Africa had been divided between the Central, Southern, and European Commands, with the result that African matters rarely received high priority or specialised attention. The command was formally activated October 1, 2008.

Peace. Peace refers to the efforts made by third parties such as the UN to intervene in civil wars and/or interstate wars to avoid hostilities between potential belligerents from intensifying in order for a negotiated settlement of a dispute to be reached.

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Peace also refers to the process of diplomacy (mediation, negotiation) or other forms of peaceful settlement to end a dispute, and resolves issues that lead to conflict.

Peace also refers to the employment of force for the purpose of conflict management or settlement; usually by way of separating warring parties and creating conditions for negotiation.

Peace also refers to the deployment of a UN capability with the approval of all parties involved and is intended to bring hostile parties to an agreement, essentially through peaceful means. However, when all peaceful means have failed, peace enforcement authorised under Chapter VI of the UN Charter may be necessary (Baylis, Smith & Owens, 2011; Williams, 2008).

Security. Security can be defined as the state of being free from danger or threat; the safety of a state or organisation against criminal activity such as terrorism, theft, or espionage; the state of feeling safe, stable, and free from fear or anxiety (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

Human Security. Human security as a broad concept of security includes security against violence, the provision of basic human needs and the protection of human rights. Human security therefore, refers to the security of people, including their physical safety, their economic and social wellbeing, respect for their dignity and the protection of their human rights.

The emphasis of human security, in contrast to state security, is to achieve freedom from want, and freedom from fear (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

National Security. State security, or national security, refers to the protection of the state, its institutions such as its Constitution and Parliament, citizens and its sovereignty.

The policies employed and the actions undertaken by a state to counter real or potential internal and external threats, and to ensure the safety of its citizens. This is one of the fundamental responsibilities of the state to its people, and the fundamental state responsibility according to the realist view

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of international relations. Before the advent of the state and the state system, security was provided by family, clan, warlord or other locally based entity; this responsibility amongst others, was gradually transferred to the state (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

National Interests. National interests refer to the objectives of a state's foreign policy. A set of enduring concerns that a state wants to protect or achieve, including economic and political power, international status and prestige, and domestic welfare. These are the protection of internal and external sovereignty of the state, improving the welfare of its citizens, and the improvement of its status and prestige. Invoked by Realists and state leaders to signify that which is most important to the state – survival being at the top of the list (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

International/Regional/Global Security. This term is used to denote high levels of international interaction and interdependence, most commonly with the regard to the world-economy. In this context, it refers to the volume of international trade and investment and to the organisation of production. The term is often used to distinguish this condition from globalisation as the latter implies that there are no longer distinct national economies in a position to interact. It also describes the increase in transaction among states reflected in flows of trade, investment and capital. The process of internationalisation has been facilitated and shaped by inter-state agreements on trade, investment, and capital as well as by domestic policies permitting the private sector to transact abroad (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

Collective Security. Collective security refers to a security regime created by the great powers that sets rules for keeping peace, guided by the principle that an act of aggression by any state will be met by a collective response by the rest.

Collective security also refers to an arrangement by which a number of actors agree to collectively oppose a security threat to any subscriber to the arrangement.

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Collective security also refers to an arrangement where each state in the system accepts that the security of one is the concern of all, and agrees to join in a collective response to aggression. It is also the foundational principle of the League of Nations (the predecessor of the UN), namely that the member states would take a threat or attack on one member as an assault on them all (and on international norms more generally). The League would accordingly respond in unison against such violations of International Law. Appreciation that such concerted action would ensue; putative violators - the League's framers hoped - would be duly deterred from launching aggressive strikes in the first place. As the 1920s and 1930s showed, however, theory and practice diverged wildly, with League members failing to take concerted action against Japanese imperialism in Asia and German and Italian expansion in Europe and Africa.

The original theory behind UN peacekeeping, the notion of collective security holds that aggression against one state is aggression against every member and should be defeated by the collective action of all (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

Security Complex. Security complex involves a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely to their national security cannot realistically be considered apart from one another (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

National Strategy. National strategy refers to the art and science of developing and using the diplomatic, economic, and informational powers of a nation, together with its armed forces, during peace and war to secure national objectives (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

National Security Strategy. National security strategy can be defined as national security or grand strategies and plans that use appropriate forms of national power during peacetime as well as war to achieve national security objectives despite foreign and domestic threats. Such strategies employ diplomatic, economic, psychological, cybernetic, technological and other

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instruments, of which the armed forces may be the most or least useful (Collins, 2008, p. 4).

National Security Interests. National security interest can be defined as a highly generalised expressions of a nation's wants and needs, especially those that concern protection for its people, territory, traditional lifestyle, institutions, and values (Collins, 2008, p. 13).

Irregular Warfare. Irregular warfare is different in form and describes type of violence conducted by substate actors including terrorism and insurgency (Baylis, Wirtz & Gray, 2013).

Terrorism. Terrorism is the most contentious and elusive type of violence to define for the purpose of this paper terrorism is defined as the substantial use of violence against symbolic or civilian targets by small groups for political purposes, such as inspiring fear, drawing wide spread attention to a political grievance, and/or provoking a draconian or unsustainable response (Baylis, Wirtz & Gray, 2013).

Terrorism has probably existed ever since human societies began to regulate the use of violence. It is the unusual scale and intensity of the 11 September 2001 attacks in New York and Washington and later attacks in Ankara, Madrid, London and elsewhere that have put the issue of international terrorism high on the agenda.

Terrorism also includes criminal acts and threats against a targeted actor for the purpose of arousing fear in order to get the target to accept the terrorists' demand.

Shocking acts of violence in which the principal purpose is not destruction itself but the dramatic and psychological effects on populations and governments.

Terrorism also includes the use of illegitimate violence by states and sub-state groups to inspire fear, by attacking civilians and/or symbolic targets. This is done for purposes such as drawing widespread attention to a grievance, provoking severe response, or wearing down their opponents'

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moral resolve to effect political change. Determining when the use of violence is legitimate, which is based on contextual morality of the act as opposed to its effects, is the source of disagreement over what constitutes acts of terrorism.

Terrorism also refers to a form of political violence conducted by individuals, groups or clandestine government agents that attempts to manipulate politics by attacking non-combatants and non-military targets in order to create a climate of fear.

Terrorism also refers to the unlawful use or threatened use of violence against civilians to achieve political, religious or similar objectives. International terrorism involves the territory and citizens of more than one country (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

Post conflict reconstruction. Post conflict reconstruction to develop the social, political, and economic infrastructure of a state emerging from conflict to prevent further violence and consolidate peace (Baylis et al., 2011).

Diplomacy. Diplomacy is an instrument employed by a state possibly in association with other instruments such economic or military force to enable an internal actor to achieve policy objectives. Diplomacy in world politics refers to communication processes applied by international actors to resolve conflict short of war through negotiations. This process has been refined, institutionalised and professionalised over many centuries resulting in a legal doctrine that gives ambassadors immunity from the domestic laws of their countries where their embassies are located (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

Intervention. Usually involves the use of force to establish a secure environment in which others can act to achieve the campaign objectives. A legal intervention is an intervention, which has been sanctioned by the United Nations (UN) Security Council in terms of Chapter VII of the UN Charter (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

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Regionalisation/Regionalism. Regionalisation/Regionalism refers to the development of institutionalised cooperation among states and other actors on the basis of regional contiguity and proximity. Growing interdependence between geographically contiguous states such as in the European Union. This includes the concentration of economic transactions, as well as the coordination of foreign economic policies, among group countries within a geographic region (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

Peacebuilding. Peacebuilding refers to a wide array of political, economic, humanitarian, diplomatic and socio-cultural activities that international actors undertake to address a conflict (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

Peacekeeping. Peacekeeping refers to the deployment of an international organisation such as the UN to prevent fighting, usually by acting as a buffer between combatants. The international organisation's force is neutral between the combatants and must have been invited to be present by at least one of the combatants (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

Peacemaking. Peacemaking refers to the restoration of peace through, if necessary, the use of offensive military force to make one or all sides involved in a conflict cease their violent behaviour (Baylis et al., 2011; Williams, 2008).

2.3 AFRICOM

2.3.1 Introduction

President George Bush when announcing the establishment of a new unified command for Africa stated that this new unified military command will bolster United States security assistance with Africa and that the command will advance US endeavours to create conditions for peace and security in Africa and by doing so it will also support the United States objectives of growth, well-being, education, and economic progress in Africa (Whelan, 2007, p.1). Robert Gates the Secretary for Defence stated that by creating AFRICOM it would empower the United States to have a more successful and integrated approach (Whelan, 2007, p.1).

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AFRICOM therefore, without uncertainty poses a better and more unified framework for pursuing US interests in Africa in the light of the rapid changes created by the end of the 'Cold War' and the September 2001 terrorist attacks (Mesfin, 2009). The outcome of the conflict between the world's super powers (the end of the cold war) and the termination of the Iraqi wars has been characterised by a change in United States foreign and security policy towards Africa in such a way that it led to changes in how the US sees Africa today. The US has now acknowledged the strategic importance of Africa by changing its view of Africa from basically observing to one of importance.

The involvement of the United States in Africa increased to a wide range of endeavours such as humanitarian relief and assistance, support to African Union and United Nations peacekeeping operations, training support and other specific military operations in support of United States national interests and objectives.

2.3.2 Historical Background Unified Commands

Juergens (2008) stated that Africa, before the establishment of AFRICOM, allocated various military commands. This however, changed with the establishment of AFRICOM.

Juergens (2008) stated that the concept of 'unified command' has already surfaced during the Second World War when there was a requirement and need to put all military capabilities in a geographical region under the command of a single military commander. Under this command and control model, a single appointed military commander would be responsible for the exercising of command and control of all the forces allocated to him for the specific mission.

Juergens (2008) also argued that the creation of AFRICOM would provide a geographic combatant commander who would be able to concentrate on Africa and the challenges of the continent.

The assigned United States military responsibility for Africa has transformed

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over the last decade and less as the US unified command plan has developed and undergone change to compensate for changing conditions and US interests.

2.3.3 US National Security Strategy Towards Africa

Pham (2011) argued that while some of the controversy surrounding the establishment of AFRICOM can be accredited to the US government for not sufficiently communicate its motivations, capabilities, and intensions with regards to the establishment of AFRICOM, he also argued that senior administration members argued that AFRICOM is “primarily an internal bureaucratic shift, a more efficient and sensible way of organising the US military relations with Africa” (Mills, McNamee & Lorentzo, 2007 as cited in Pham, 2011, p. 57).

Pham (2011) further argued that in order to understand the strategic reason behind the establishment of AFRICOM aspects such as the US interest in Africa must be investigated.

Various other authors (Mesfin, 2009; Pham, 2011; Mangala, 2013) argued that the lack of clear US interests has left Africa at the end of US foreign policy concerns; therefore, at that stage Africa has not been viewed as a continent of strategic importance. However, in the 2006 US National Security Strategy, Africa has been identified for the first time by the US security institutions as a high priority, the US therefore also acknowledged the importance of Africa in US security issues and furthermore also recognised that by bolstering African security will also bolster US security (Executive Office, 2006, p. 37).

Pham (2011) on the other hand argued that the only reason for the existence of AFRICOM is the fact that the US admitted that the US has substantial national interest in Africa, which require that it get involved on the African continent. This involvement in Africa in order to protect US national interests requires a long lasting commitment from the US government as well as AFRICOM.

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It is further argued that President George Bush when responded to a question asked during an interview whether Africa fit into the strategic interest of the US his reply was “At some point in time the president’s got to clearly define what the national strategic interests are, and while Africa may be important, it did not fit into the national strategic interests, as far as I can see them” (Pham, 2011, p. 58).

Pham (2011, p. 59) also argued that US national interests in Africa have formerly been based on issues such as poverty, conflict, and regular natural disasters such as drought, rather than strategic considerations (Pham, 2011, p. 59). It was for this reason that the Pentagon argued that the US should not engage on the African continent.

Why is it then that in less that a decade the US Department of State and the Department of Defence changed from a total rejection of any national interest in Africa to the establishment of a new Africa Command?

Collins (2008) argued that world powers attach particular importance to geostrategic position when they deploy armed forces abroad for offensive, defensive or deterrent purposes. The changes in the strategic importance of Africa to the US lead to discourse in the reasons why the sudden change in US security policy, Mangala (2013) and Mesfin (2009) argued that the strategic importance of Africa is based on Africa’s geographical importance because Africa is near important and strategic world sea-lanes, such as the Straits of Gibraltar, the Red Sea and the Cape route, through which oil and vital minerals are shipped, and which could be possible targets of terrorism and piracy.

Mesfin (2009) further argued that Africa is of strategic importance to the US military because it provides useful communications, and air and naval facilities through which US troops could be transported and a variety of combat and covert operations launched. However, the notion of military deployments from African soil lead to the concerns of African leaders and other international organisations of the re-colonisation of Africa by the US (Isike et al., 2008).

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Wright (2010) on the other hand argued that the reasoning for the establishment of AFRICOM as a combatant command is grounded on Africa's growing strategic importance to the US mainly because of its natural resource wealth.

In order to analyse why the importance of Africa has changed in terms of US relations, Mangala (2013) and Mesfin (2009) suggested that three areas must be investigated; these areas are the political, economical and strategic areas.

Mangala (2013) and Mesfin (2009) argued that in the international political arena the strategic importance of Africa is based on Africa's role in international forums and the fact that Africa has a significant voting strength in the United Nations and other international organisations. It is, therefore, that the political instability of African states is a major concern to the US interest and security and that this instability has the potential to invite external intervention. The 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, the 2002 attacks in Kenya, and particularly after the September 2001 attacks on US soil, US interests almost exclusively related to the prevention of terrorism of Africa. Further more, the potential of Africa as a shelter for international terrorist organisations is also of a major concern to the US (Mangala, 2013).

Africa's economical importance to the US is minimal. However, although Africa's economical importance is minimal Mesfin (2009) continued to argue that the US has a significant interest in Africa, which continues to be a source of oil, which has become a vital national security interest of the US. North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa accounted for an estimated of 18.6% in 2005 and an estimated 20% in 2012 of world oil (Mesfin, 2009). Wright (2010) also agreed with Mesfin (2010) and stated that African leaders were aware of US interests in their oil and gas fields, as well as other raw materials long before most Americans had any idea that renewed intervention in Africa was being planned. Vice Admiral Moeller an important role player in the establishment of AFRICOM has stated that "oil disruption," "terrorism," and the "growing

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influence” of China as major “challenges” to US interests in Africa (Africa Action, 2008, p.1).

In the international arena the role of China in establishing itself as a major external power in Africa has become of great concern to the US as Africa’s trade has grown with an impressive degree and China has gained unique access to African markets for its economy (Mesfin, 2009).

With changes in the US political arena the Obama administration has confirmed their position on Africa’s strategic importance, however, the new administration’s concept of strategic importance must still be clarified because currently the US only engaged in bi-lateral agreements with African countries and no formal framework for cooperation between AFRICOM and the AU exist (Ploch, 2013).

Pham (2011) on the other hand argued that the change in the strategic national interest in Africa is based on the following aspects: The first important strategic national interest issue identified by Pham (2011) is that of the US global war on terror and specific counter terrorism efforts in Africa. Pham (2011) argued that in the context of US counter terrorism efforts, it has become critical important to deny terrorist access to the use of Africa in order to prevent the use of territory and to prevent recruiting from African countries.

Pham (2011, p. 60) also argued that the second most important national interest matter is access to oil as well as access to other strategic minerals and resources in Africa. Pham (2011, p. 60) stated that the current administration indicated that they want to end the US dependence on oil from the Middle East and South America. Pham (2011) argued that in 2008 the US imports of petroleum products from African countries were more than what was imported from the Persian Gulf countries. The importance of access to African resources especially energy resources can therefore not be underestimated. The role of China, Russia and India and their interest in the African continent’s natural wealth also led to an increase in their activities in Africa.

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Pham (2011, p. 60) stated that another significance of US foreign policy is the enabling of Africans and other allies to cope with a wide range of humanitarian challenges.

The impact of HIV/AIDS is according to Pham (2011) another important humanitarian challenge that must be addressed; it is argued that Sub-Sahara Africa is home for almost a tenth of the world's populace and that nearly two thirds of the people living there is infested with HIV/AIDS.

What has motivated the official interest of the US interaction in Africa? What strategic assumptions has been made in order to establish AFRICOM as the governmental component charged with the responsibility to ensure and sustain a security relationship with Africa and African countries (AFRICOM, 2013).

Carmody (2011) also argued that US interests in Africa is based on oil (security) and security in general. While Kennan (2009) argued that US interest is based on the fact that by 2020 US domestic oil production would supply less than 30% of the country's domestic needs and although the US is currently heavily dependant on oil from the Persian Gulf it is foreseen that the import of oil will shift from the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa, due to a lower oil production by Persian Gulf countries. It is therefore argued by Carmody (2011) that US interest in Africa are increasingly structured by interlinked concerns over energy and security.

Carmody (2011) further argued that the US brings substantial hard-power advantages to its negotiations with Africa as the worlds single largest economy and further stated that the US is not shy in using its power.

Carmody (2011) further argued that US interest in Africa was evident during the latter years of the Clinton Administration; this he argued was driven by various imperatives and increased US strategic interests in accessing African markets and resources. Carmody stated that these US interests found "expression in the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA)" (Carmody, 2011, p. 48).

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Carmody (2011, p. 48) also argued that the Clinton Administration also stepped up security cooperation with African states after the bombing of American embassies in East Africa. This envisioned escalation in security cooperation led to the creation and implementation of the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Programme (ACOTA).

When the Bush Administration came to power they declared that Africa did not fit into the US national strategic interests (Carmody, 2011). Carmody (2011) also argued that this position of the Bush Administration changed with the events of 11 September.

Soon after the 9/11 incidents and in their preparations for the invasion of Iraq in 2003, the Bush Administration declared that African oil is now of strategic interest to the US (Servant, 2003 as cited in Carmody, 2011). Carmody (2011) stated that at this stage the US also established their first military base on African soil, in Djibouti, and funded counter terrorism cooperation with African militaries.

Carmody (2011) also stated that the Bush Administration went further as far as setting up a new Africa Command in the Pentagon, which has been according to Carmody highly controversial as no African country was willing to host it.

It is also argued by Carmody (2011) that AFRICOM serves a number of US interests: combatting terrorism, securing natural resource supplies, containing armed conflict, reducing crime and responding to growing Chinese influence.

Carmody stated that “US interest in Africa will continue to be dictated by the twin and interlinked concerns of oil and security and the continent will also play an increasingly important role in the global struggle for political influence between the US and China” (Carmody, 2011, p. 55).

The establishment of AFRICOM and the establishment of the AU in 2000 and the AU Peace and Security Council in 2002 created the conditions for a partnership between the US and African regional organisations such as the

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AU, the AU Peace and Security Council and the peace and security architecture and specific states on the African continent to strengthen peace and security on the African continent.

Ploch (2011, p.15) on the other hand also argued that the creation of AFRICOM reveals a change in decision makers' opinions of the African security environment and its challenges.

Ploch (2011) agreed with Pham (2011) about the US strategic interest in Africa and argued that according to her that oil, global trade, armed conflicts, terror, and HIV/AIDS has created increased US interest in Africa and also proposed that these matters had led to a "conceptual shift to a strategic view of Africa" Ploch (2011, p.15).

Oil and Global Trade

Ploch (2011) stated that the US has wanted to expand its trade and investment with Sub-Saharan Africa, and because of this growth in trade between the US and Africa has increased threefold since 1990.

In 2000, the Clinton Administration revealed an all-inclusive US commerce and development policy for Africa, the so-called African Growth and Opportunity Act (Ploch, 2011). This trade agreement makes provision for natural resources, in particular energy resources to be imported from Africa under this AGOA. Since the implementation of the African Growth and Opportunity Act, Africa provides the US with nearly the same quantity of crude oil as the Middle East (Ploch, 2011).

Maritime Security

Ploch (2011) also argued that Africa's shorelines, predominantly those near the Gulf of Guinea, the Gulf of Aden, and the West Indian Ocean, have been exposed to unlawful trawling, unlawful human and drug trafficking as well as various acts of piracy. Ploch (2011) therefore reasoned that the helplessness of various African governments to successfully patrolling the region's seawaters has permitted illegal actions such as human trafficking, smuggling of illegal drugs, and weapons. It is for these reasons that the Bush

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Administration in 2005 introduced its National Strategy for Maritime Security (Ploch, 2011).

Armed Conflicts

Ploch (2011) acknowledged that insecurity in various parts of Africa is a major concern for the US and argued that these human suffering has destabilised economic, social, and political development.

Ploch (2011) further argued that although the amount of engagements in Africa has declined during the last few years, Africa has the bulk of UN peacekeeping missions.

Instability and insecurity in Africa has therefore, necessitated extensive humanitarian, defence resources and other military capabilities from donor countries in order to provide for UN and AU peacekeeping missions.

Violent Extremism

Ploch (2011) also argued that the US security strategy has been largely driven by the global war on terror and other worldwide counter terrorism missions. Both the Bush and Obama Administrations have identified counter terrorism as a top national security priority.

Ploch (2011) also argued that the strategy for opposing terrorism in Africa emphasised the demolishing of Al Qaeda factions and on the empowerment of African countries.

2.3.4 Establishment of Africom

AFRICOM is seen to replace an out-dated structural framework inherited from times where Africa was hardly important to the US strategic environment. It is argued that the new Africa Command would unite most of the Africa countries, which has fallen under the protection of Stuttgart, Germany based European Command (EUCOM) with the rest of Africa which fell under the responsibility of Central Command (CENCOM) based in the US or for certain Indian Ocean islands, the Pacific Command (PACOM) based in Hawaii by (Pham, 2011, p. 62).

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As a result of the establishment of AFRICOM, and the numerous bilateral and multilateral agreements between the US and African countries it's foreseen that the control over African militaries would become more effective, and both Africa and the US will therefore benefit from the various assistance and training programs already in place (Pham, 2011, p. 62).

Pham (2011) also argued that AFRICOM would cooperate with African nations in order to improve regional security cooperation and by doing so enhance the emergency reaction capability of African nations. This according to Pham (2011) includes aspects such as reinforcing regional collaboration against terrorism in various African regions and also to assist in the training of peacekeeping forces and the establishment of regional standby forces.

Crawley (2007) argued that AFRICOM would indeed strengthen US security collaboration with Africa and by doing so it will also generate new chances to support African partners (Crawley, 2007, p.1). Crawley further argued that AFRICOM will increase US endeavours to create peace and security in the African environment and thereby, also support the people of Africa and by doing so also support mutual goals such as, good governance and economic development and growth in Africa (Crawley, 2007, p.1). This according to Crawley, 2007, p. 1) is suppose to bring peace and security to Africa, the concern now is who will be responsible for bringing peace and security to Africa, will it be AFRICOM or the AU or does the US view Africa as not serious enough to carry out is responsibilities.

The primary mission allocated to AFRICOM's is to "enhance a mutually supporting stable, secure, and prosperous African environment through sustained United States government engagement with African, national, and international partners. The United States Africa Command conducts military operations as directed" (Martin 2007, p.5).

At this stage it is important to note that the mission statement of AFRICOM does not include specific war fighting tasks, although it is presently involved in several activities in Africa, i.e. Somalia, Central African Republic (CAR) and other African countries.

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The above statement by Martin (2007) also cited the importance of African, national, and international partners. Current US activities are based on multiple bilateral agreements between the US and individual African countries. Although the US indicated that their engagement with International partners is important to take note of the fact that at this stage there is no multi-lateral agreement between the US, Africa and other international stakeholders with regards to the establishment and role of AFRICOM, this by itself doubted the intent of the US because of its announcement of the establishment of AFRICOM without consulting the international community.

Wright (2010) differs from Crawley (2007) and Martin (2007), and argued that the establishment of AFRICOM was done under the awareness of bringing peace, security, democracy, and economic growth to the African continent. They also argued that the establishment of AFRICOM as a combatant command is to show to Africa its increasing strategic significance to the US.

Although the argument that AFRICOM was established without notifying the UN or the AU (both of which share development and security as their reason for existence) has already been raised, it is evident that this approach followed by the US indicates that it does not want to function in a multilateral environment and because of this approach the presence of the US in Africa is questioned by Africans and the international community Kaldor (2007), therefore AFRICOM is only a form of the re-colonisation of Africa or can be seen as a US intervention in Africa (Wright, 2010).

Although, the initial idea of AFRICOM was acknowledged with a mixed response in the US, it was implied by Mangala (2013) that by not distinguishing clearly amongst military operations and civilian missions AFRICOM's conceptual context would lead to the militarisation of development and diplomacy.

2.3.5 Role and Purpose of Africom

The purpose of the research is to explore to what extend AFRICOM's

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support to the AU Peace and Security Council strengthen peace and security on the African continent. This section deals with the role and purpose of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security on the African continent and will therefore look closely at the purpose, role and responsibilities of AFRICOM.

As already discussed in the previous chapter the purpose of AFRICOM as stated by the US is that AFRICOM is intended to strengthen US security assistance with the African continent and also to strengthen the capability of African states to deal with threats to their stability and security (Isike et al, 2008, p. 21). It is therefore important to understand the purpose of AFRICOM by addressing its assigned objectives.

Juergens (2008) argued that the mission of AFRICOM in relation to those of other combatant command; European Command, Central Command and Pacific Command reveals the key dissimilarities among the various combatant commands. Juergens, (2008, p. 8) argued that AFRICOM's assigned mission includes aspects that will increase a steady, safe, and flourishing African continent. Juergens (2008) argued that this could only be established through continuous US commitment and involvement with African countries and the involvement of the international community.

This reveals according to Juergens (2008) a different approach from that of the other unified commands. The main theme in President Bush's statement was that the central objective of AFRICOM is to improve US efforts in Africa to ensure peace and security to Africans and also to promote US and African goals of growth, well-being etc.

Juergens (2008) argued that when you consider the list of tasks in the 2006 NSS there are specific tasks identified that demands military support. The only tasks that form part of a strict military importance are the provisioning of support and preparation to military forces and also to provide support in civil-military relations and civic education in terms of civilian control of the military.

Catoire (2001) argued that inter-departmental and interagency cooperation is essential when AFRICOM's regional responsibility is considered. Juergens

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(2008) agreed with him and also argued that one of the major challenges that AFRICOM would experience is the multitude of other assignments and responsibilities it must accept in support of other government agencies and departments.

Juergens (2008) argued that AFRICOM would also be responsible for avoiding possible attacks against the US and its states. AFRICOM must therefore also be responsible for evaluating security assistance actions with African countries. Juergens (2008) further argued that these assigned responsibilities and tasks also underline various roles and responsibilities that AFRICOM must fulfil.

It is argued that the AFRICOM objective relevant to this research is AFRICOM's intent to strengthen security on the African continent; the prevention and response to humanitarian emergencies; to improve cooperative efforts between the US and African nations in order to stem trans-national terrorism and to sustain long-term efforts that contribute to African unity, with a central focus on preventing wars rather than fighting wars (Isike et al, 2008).

Martin (2007) stated that AFRICOM is created in order to enhance the creation of a commonly supported, steady, safe, and flourishing African continent. Although it is generally accepted that AFRICOM will go beyond traditional security matters by concentrating on non-traditional security issues such as good governance, humanitarian assistance, disaster relief and economic development, it is important to acknowledge that in principle AFRICOM will conduct military operations as directed because it remains a formidable military organisation (Kruzel, 2007) and (Wood, 2007).

2.3.6 AFRICOM Location

Is the location of AFRICOM on African soil important? Whelan (2007) stated that some people believe that the US will be establishing military bases on the African continent, which is not true and stated that AFRICOM will be a staff headquarters not a troop headquarters because the forces required by

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AFRICOM will come from already established formations in the US or Europe. Therefore, the intent is to create personnel presence in locations on the African continent that best enable cooperation with African nations and institutions based on engagements and consultations with those nations and institutions.

Whelan (2007) argued that AFRICOM will not be achieving its mission if the physical presence of the command itself becomes a problem to host nations. For that reason, as well as for force protection concerns, the command will likely be relatively small. As is the case currently, US military personnel involved in training or exercises in Africa would deploy to the continent from their home bases in the US for the duration of their training mission. Such mission lengths are usually measured in terms of weeks. AFRICOM is currently situated at Stuttgart, Germany and it seems that it will remain there for the short term.

Brown (2013) argued that the issue of the location of AFRICOM's headquarters has become a sensitive issue with African audiences and the African press, and that the current debate on the issue of the location of AFRICOM's headquarters remains a regular discussion point.

Brown (2013) agrees with Whelan (2007) and argued that since its inception of AFRICOM, the question of AFRICOM's headquarters has been a controversial issue. Brown (2013) further argued that AFRICOM was not acceptable to many Africans, who rejected the idea of having the US Command on African soil. Brown (2013) also argued that, members of the US Congress wants the prestige, revenue and jobs that military establishing brings.

Brown (2013) stated that in order to manage African questions and Congressional pressure, then Secretary of Defence Robert Gates indicated in 2007 that the decision on AFRICOM's location would be postponed for 5 years, until 2012.

During September 2012, the appointed AFRICOM commander announced

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that the United States would not, for the foreseeable future, establish the headquarters of AFRICOM in any part of the African continent due to the enormous financial cost of doing so (Brown, 2013).

Brown (2013) argued the decision made by asking if AFRICOM will move back to the US. It is argued in the new debate on the location of AFRICOM that for the short to medium term AFRICOM is destined to remain in the northern European city of Stuttgart, Germany.

What are the benefits for remaining in Stuttgart, Germany, Brown (2013) argued that Stuttgart, where the US European Command is located, is a logical place to keep AFRICOM.

Brown (2013) also argued that the costs of operating a combatant command in Europe are huge, and that the existing infrastructure for the Command is already there, and millions of dollars have already been spent to refurbish and improve Kelley Barracks, where AFRICOM is located.

Based on the current debate it may be worthwhile to shift AFRICOM's headquarters back to the United States in the medium to long term.

2.4 THE AFRICAN UNION

2.4.1 The Establishment of the African Union

The establishment of the African Union (AU) has been communicated as an event of great importance in the institutional progress of the African continent. In 1999, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) issued a Declaration (the Sirte Declaration) calling for the establishing of an African Union, with an understanding to quicken the process of African integration.

The main objectives of the Organisation of African Unity were, among others, to rid the continent of the remaining traces of colonisation and apartheid; to foster unity and solidarity among African States; to synchronise and intensify cooperation for development; to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States and to promote international cooperation within the framework of the United Nations. The Organisation of African Unity thus provided an effective forum that enabled member states to adopt coordinated

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positions on matters of common concern to the continent and to defend the interests of the continent effectively.

It has become more and more evident that economic progress and economic growth would not be attained if the existing wide spread insecurity in Africa are not prevented or stopped.

2.4.2 The African Union Peace and Security Council and The African Peace and Security Architecture

The emergent African Peace and Security Architecture is currently comprised by a set of AU structures which together with African Sub-Regional Organisations (SROs) are lead by the African Union Peace and Security Council. The Peace and Security Council was established in 2002 at the AU Durban Summit with the aim of Africa having a military mechanism, which was able to deal with different security threats (AU, 2013).

In January 2004 the AU adopted a Draft Framework for a Common African Defence and Security Policy (CASDP) (AU, 2004), and implemented during March 2004 (AU, 2004). The document formulated the principles, the interdependence of African states as well as the concept of security incorporating both the traditional state-centric and human security (AU, 2004).

The Peace and Security Council has the direct responsibility of enhancing collective security in order to allow proper and effective responses to manage with insecurity and emergency issues and situations in Africa (AU 2002). The council therefore also has the mandate to plan and conduct peace and peace support missions in Africa.

The Peace and Security Council has also authority over the components of the African Peace and Security Architecture, i.e. the Panel of the Wise, the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the African Standby Force (ASF), Military Staff Committee (MSC) and the Special Fund (AU, 2002).

The Panel of the Wise is mandated to inform the Peace and Security Council on all matters relating to the promotion and preservation of peace, security

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and stability in Africa. It is required to conduct diplomatic efforts at the early stages of conflict prevention to prevent it from intensifying further (AU, 2002). The Peace and Security Council also assists and advise on issues about military and security needs.

The CEWS gathers and studies data, empowering and reinforcing the Peace and Security Council in the anticipation and prevention of conflicts and is linked to Regional Mechanisms who link the AU with the Regional Economic Communities (AU, 2002).

The ASF is comprised of five regional brigades. The ASF deployed under the conditions which includes aspects such as war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity, as well as on the request of a member state (AU, 2000).

The last instrument, relevant to the AU's emerging profile in peace and security is the Special Fund, established as a continental financial mechanism for AU activities in the peace and security field. Its finance sources are the AU's regular budget as well as direct contributions by AU member states and from other donors within Africa, including the private sector (civil society and individuals) (AU, 2002).

Levitt (2003) argued that the creation of the Peace and Security Council in 2004 signified a significant stage in the AU's search for effective security management on the African continent.

Williams (2009) therefore also argued that the Peace and Security Council has also assumed an increasing responsibility in managing security challenges on the African continent.

2.5 AFRICOM AND THE PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL RELATIONS

Mangala (2013, p. 255) stated that despite the discourse on the creation of AFRICOM and the many challenges it has faced, and although the proposed cooperation has still to be formalised, AFRICOM was still in a position to provide limited support to Peace and Security Council endeavours. The fact that the AFRICOM and AU partnership has not been formalised stands in

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clear contrast to the growing relations between AFRICOM and various African governments.

The Peace and Security Council Protocol (AU, 2002) stipulates that the Peace and Security Council shall collaborate and work closely with all international partners on matters and concerns of peace and security in Africa. This offers the legal basis for a partnership between the Peace and Security Council and AFRICOM. Although AFRICOM and the Peace and Security Council have informally engaged with each other, a framework for cooperation has still to be determined (ISS, 2010, p. 13).

Mangala (2013, p. 255) noted that the AU considers AFRICOM as a chance to strengthen and develop US and African relationships. The non-existence of a framework for cooperation and the current informal arrangements of collaboration between the Peace and Security Council and AFRICOM continue to be directed to specific issues as confirmed by AFRICOM's engagement and support to regional security efforts.

2.6 AFRICOM'S SUPPORT TO NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND COLLECTIVE AFRICAN INITIATIVES

AFRICOM (2010) in its declared and published 2010 'Posture Statement' reiterates the implication of US regional undertakings and support in order to establish continental security measures, such as the AU's peace and security design.

AFRICOM has therefore also stressed its readiness to assist the AU's peace and security initiatives. Given the Peace and Security Council responsibilities in post-conflict reconstruction, there seems to be the probability of an arrangement with AFRICOM in this area.

Volman (2007) also argued that there has been an emerging partnership between AFRICOM and regional organisations in the creation and operational readiness of ASF regional brigades.

AFRICOM has also according to Mangala (2013, p. 256) planned military and humanitarian exercises involving Regional Economic Communities. For

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example, Exercise AFRICA ENDEAVOR, a multinational exercise aimed at testing and strengthening the communications interoperability of African militaries to enable their coordination in regional peacekeeping, humanitarian and disaster relief operations.

AFRICOM's lacking commitment with continental and regional organisations and institutions is in disparity with the extensive variety of undertakings and programmes in collaboration with national governments (AFRICOM, 2010). Mangala (2013, p. 257) argued that this growing bilateral cooperation with particular national governments might therefore weaken the African Peace and Security Architecture.

Ploch (2011) stated that the Department of Defence conducts a wide variety of activities in Africa in support of US national interests and these tasks may include operational activities and other tasks as part of US interest in the region. These other tasks may for instance include peacekeeping operations or assistance, counter terrorism efforts in cooperation with allies, etc.

Ploch (2011) also emphasised the fact that the US in addition to the above traditional contingency operations, also implements various other efforts directed at establishing capabilities to provide security for African countries. Ploch (2011) and the ISS (2008) provide several examples of these implemented initiatives as part of the foreign military assistance programs.

Ploch (2011) also argued that the US military provides consultants to African peace missions and that US forces also conduct a range of bilateral and multilateral joint exercises with African militaries.

Brown (2013) argued that in order to ease African worries about AFRICOM, would be to strengthen the AFRICOM's commitment to support regional approaches to Africa's security problems. By acknowledging this, AFRICOM has already expanded many of its programs and exercises to help the AU and five of its Regional Economic Communities develop the AU's African Peace and Security Architecture.

Brown (2013) argued that AFRICOM should continue to expand its training

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assistance on multilateral terms through the African Standby Force and its five regional brigades.

AFRICOM according to Brown (2013) should also ensure better cooperation and coordination with the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) in New York, working with and through the State Department and the US Mission to the UN, in order to avoid duplication of effort with other donors and to provide a coherent international plan for training and mobilising African peacekeepers.

2.7 THE FUTURE PROSPECTS OF AFRICOM

Whelan (2007) in her article: “Why AFRICOM?” addresses the question asked in this part of the literature review and by doing so also addresses the future prospects of AFRICOM. Based on the article from Whelan (2007) it is clear that Africa was never a high priority for any Unified Military Command and because of historic disinterest in the continent, the US never developed a significant panel of devoted African experts.

Neethling (2008, p. 44) argued that beyond military counter-terrorism, AFRICOM should focus on defence-sector reform, including civil-military relations and support to building African peacekeeping and standby capacity. Neethling (2008) stated that this implies a role and responsibility in establishing a professional military and by doing so also entrenching the democratic principle of civil supremacy over the military.

Neethling (2008) also argued that this also suggests an obvious commitment by AFRICOM to provide long-term, sustainable support to developing African peacekeeping capabilities – for participating in UN peacekeeping, as well as AU and regional peacekeeping.

It also noted by Neethling (2008) that huge progress was made in the development of a unified African peace and security system when African defence functionaries met in Addis Ababa in May 2003 where they agreed on the modalities of an ASF.

Neethling (2008) argued that some of the challenges faced by the now out-

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dated Organisation of African Unity (OAU) seem to persist and is also seen as current challenges in the African context.

Neethling (2008) also argued that Africa's main security challenge is to mobilise sufficient resources to provide a secure, stable and well-governed environment that is underpinned by the rule of law, human rights and civil liberties.

Neethling (2008) argued that Africa alone couldn't provide the stability, which is vital for future development, and argues that AFRICOM could and should make a concerted effort to assist the AU in overcoming this shortcoming by fully support the African Peace and Security Architecture and, in particular, the ASF.

2.8 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this literature review is to explore the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security on the African continent by cooperating with the AU Peace and Security Council and in particular the African Peace and Security Architecture. This literature review shows that from 2006 significant changes in the US National Security strategy approach towards Africa took place and lead to the establishment of AFRICOM. The establishment of the AU in 2002 and later the establishment of the Peace and Security Council in 2004 provides the basis for cooperation between the AU, regional organisations and AFRICOM. It has also become clear that in the absence of a general framework or agreement, AFRICOM manage to support AU peace initiatives and by doing so also contributes to regional and sub-regional organisations, although not formalised.

The literature review also emphasised the role of AFRICOM in contributing to the establishment of peace and security on the African continent by cooperating in various bi-lateral and multilateral agreements with individual African countries. How AFRICOM cooperates with regional organisations and institutions such as the AU, the AU Peace and Security Council and the African Peace and Security Architecture and other continental institutions is

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not clear and are therefore the focus of this research.

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CHAPTER 3 : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Research methodologies are the plans and the procedures for research that describes the research approach from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Creswell (2014, p. 3) argued that these plans involve several decisions, and they need to be taken in the order in which they make sense. The overall decision involves which approach should be used in this research. Creswell (2014) further argued that the decision on which approach should be used must be informed by the research design, the specific research method and lastly the nature of the research problem or issues being addressed. The selected research methodology must enable the researcher to formulate a research strategy and therefore, requires proper consideration and planning to ensure quality research.

The selected research methodology applied in this study will ensure that specific findings with regards to the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security in AFRICA could be determined. Salkind (2003, p.3) refers to research as “a process through which new knowledge is discovered”. Badenhorst (2007, p.6) also argued that research builds on preceding research done in a specific field of study and that evidence is the source of truth and also argued that the stronger the evidence the more reliable the claims and findings of the research. Bryman (2012, p.380) argued that qualitative research has an inductive view of the relationship between theory and research whereby theory is generated out of research. Bryman (2012, p.380) further stated that the epistemological position described as interpretivist i.e. the understanding of the social world through the examination of the interpretation of that world by its participation.

Creswell (2014) describes qualitative research as an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups assign to a social problem and stated that the process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data are typically collected in the participant's setting and

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data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The study on the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security in Africa is a qualitative study. Bryman (2012, p.380) argued that qualitative research tends to be concerned with words rather than numbers. A researcher in the qualitative research approach understands and interprets situations in terms of their actors and consequently may be described as interpretive and subjective.

3.2 RESEARCH STRATEGY

A qualitative research approach will be followed in this research. Bryman (2012, p.380) argued that qualitative research tends to be concerned with words rather than numbers. An inductive reasoning approach will be followed in order to understand the relationship between theory and research whereby theory is generated out of research done. Leedy & Ormrod (2010, p.33) stated that in inductive reasoning specific instances are used to draw to conclusions about events. An interpretivist view will be followed by the researcher, which will enable him to gain insight about the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security in Africa. In a qualitative research where data is more often in the form of words this includes written and spoken words and where the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and data analysis the researcher in his analysis reflects on ideas, and claims are then made on constructive perspectives to understand a specific situation.

The qualitative research strategy is the most suitable approach for this study as “qualitative research has a particular part to play in exploring issues of process, in explaining how outcomes are achieved – or not” (Silverman, 2010, p.337). The role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security in Africa requires sound understanding and analysis of the situation to determine the impact thereof on the African political environment.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

A qualitative research design is adopted for this research by the researcher. Qualitative research is a research where various reasons and perspectives on

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the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security in Africa could be provided. The research is considered as a qualitative research approach where the researcher is the sole collector and interpreter of data. This qualitative research will follow specific qualitative approaches in data collection, data analysis, and processes to validate data collected.

3.4 RESEARCH METHOD

Leedy & Ormrod (2010, p. 88) argued that “data are those pieces of information that any particular situation gives to an observer” and that the “researcher seeks, through data, to discover underlying truths”. Neuman (2011, p.9) on the other hand defines data more scientifically as “the forms of empirical evidence or information carefully collected according to the rules or procedures of science”. Leedy & Ormrod (2010, p. 89) distinguish between primary data and secondary data and argued that primary data are the closest to the truth while secondary data is farther away. Both primary and secondary data will be used in this research.

3.4.1 Primary data

Primary data refers to original data collected by the researcher for the purposes of this study. The data and information will be collected and interpreted by the researcher for this study (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell 2005, p.149). Primary data will be collected by studying and analysing authoritative documents and publications such as the Presidential Directive for establishing AFRICOM and US National Security Strategy publications, other official Department of Defence publications i.e. Posture Statement of AFRICOM published by the commander of AFRICOM which provides insight into the functions of AFRICOM.

Interviews will be conducted with the authors of the Five Year Appraisal of the Peace and Security Council published by ISS, members of the Africa Institute, academics from the Military Academy, as well as an identified member from the US Embassy in Pretoria and the public liaison officer at AFRICOM.

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3.4.2 Secondary data

Secondary data are information collected by individuals or agencies and institutions other than the researcher himself and information gathered and interpreted by other researchers (Welman, et al., 2005, p.149). Although there are various dangers with the use of secondary data i.e. personal emotions, own opinions and biasness, information in this category could not always be accurately interpreted and verified as correct. Various published, unpublished and Internet publications addressing AFRICOM will be used.

3.5 SAMPLING

Welman and Kruger (2002, p.129) argued that the research problem and the specific populace in question will determine which data-collecting method is the most suitable. Bryman (2012, p.417) argued that in quantitative research sampling revolves around probability sampling and that sampling in qualitative research revolves around the notion of purposive sampling. Neuman (2011, p.242) on the other hand also argued that "... most qualitative studies use a non-probability method and non-representative strategy" when referred to sampling. For the purposes of this study, the following methods of data collection will be utilised.

3.5.1 Literature study

The literature review must explain the theoretical framework of the problem researched as conducted by other researchers and academics (Singleton & Straits, 1999, p. 547). In support of Singleton and Straits, Babbie (2004, p. 113) also proposes that the literature review should answer the following questions: What have other researchers and academics revealed about this topic? What theories are addressed and what do they say? What previous research exists? Are there consistent findings or do past studies disagree? Are there flaws in the body of existing research that you think you can remedy?

The research design of this study is presented in the form of a literature study composed of AU and AFRICOM documents, library sources, media and

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newspaper reports and research reports. In addition, the researcher conducted extensive database searches during the entire study, in order to be assured that the most relevant and up to date sources were consulted.

3.5.2 Individual Interviews

Interviewing can be described as data collection in a one-to-one situation, using an oral questions-and-answer format, which either employs the same questions in a systematic and structured way for all respondents, or allows respondents to talk about questions in less focussed but expansive way (Payne & Payne, 2004, p.129).

This research will focus on literature reviews that will be complemented by not less than five (5) interviews with subject specialist. These specialists will be determined by means of purposive sampling. Due to time constraints it is not foreseen that additional interviews will be scheduled unless it will have a major impact on the research.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis in the qualitative research approach will proceed hand-in-hand with other parts of the qualitative study, namely the data collection and the write-up of the findings (Creswell, 2014). Because text and image data are so dense and rich, not all the information can be used. Thus, in the analysis process the researcher will focus on some parts of the data and disregarding other parts of it.

Leedy and Ormrod (2010, p. 96) argued that all research requires logical reasoning and those qualitative researchers make specific observations (inductive reasoning) and then draw conclusions based on their observations. Leedy and Ormrod (2010, p 96) also claimed that the analysis of data in qualitative research is more subjective in nature. Therefore, data analysis in this research will involve searching for common themes and categories in the available literature and interviews. The analysis of data will also informs the researcher with regards to possible gaps, relationships and differences in the literature and in the outcomes of interviews. To prevent losing sight of the

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formulated research questions, data analysis will be done simultaneously with the data collection process. This will be done in order to ensure that the data collected are more reliable, relevant and valid.

3.7 CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING SOCIAL RESEARCH: VALIDITY, RELIABILITY

3.7.1 Validity

Qualitative validity is defined by Creswell (2014) as checks performed by the researcher where the researcher checks for accuracy of the findings.

Leedy and Ormrod (2010, p.97) refer to validity as “the accuracy, meaningfulness, and credibility of the research project as a whole”. Welman, et al. (2005, p.142) also refers to validity as “...the extend to which the research findings accurately represents what is really happening...” The literature in relation to quantitative research distinguish between internal and external validity where internal validity refers to a good match between research observations and theoretical ideas developed by researchers and external validity refers to the degree to which findings can be generalised (Bryman, 2012, p.390). Validity remains a critical element of this research in assessing findings with regards to the role of AFRICOM in Africa. The researcher will confirm the accuracy and validity of all data obtained during interviews before utilising such data in the research by confirming the data with the specific individual source in order to ensure that the deductions and conclusions is in line with what was said during the interview. A structured approach for organising interview data will be followed.

3.7.2 Reliability

Qualitative reliability indicates that the researcher’s approach is consistent across different researchers and different projects (Creswell, 2014). Welman, et al. (2005, p.145) refers to reliability as the credibility of findings. Reliability therefore deals with accuracy. Neuman (2011) reasoned the issue of reliability and state that if any other researchers can replicate your specific research and get to similar results then your study passed the reliability test.

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The validity and reliability of this study will be embedded in the recordings of literature and interviews as well as in the findings, conclusions and recommendations.

3.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

African leaders have seen the establishment of AFRICOM in 2007 as a threat to the sovereignty of Africa (Malan, 2007). Although various literature (Neethling, 2008; Underwood, 2008) addresses the role of AFRICOM in Africa, this study will fill the gap by determining the level of cooperation between AFRICOM, the AU and African regional organisations in promoting peace and security on the African continent.

The study is perceived to add to scholarly research and literature in the field of security when addressing International, National and Regional security issues in Africa.

3.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The scope of this study is limited to the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security on the African continent and will therefore, focuses on the strategic objective related to creating peace and security on the African continent. The study is limited methodologically, in the sense that the study will predominantly follow a qualitative approach. The research will also be confined to literature and interviews, as time available for the research will not allow for in-depth questionnaires.

3.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Welman, et al., (2005, p.181) argued that ethical behaviour is important when conducting research and that certain considerations such as plagiarism and honesty arise in all research and that additional ethical issues arise when the research involves human subjects.

I therefore, will adhere to the University of the Witwatersrand's code of ethics as provided to me and will also adhere to rules and regulations with regards to biasness, privacy and confidentiality. Work and opinions of previous

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researchers and participants will be acknowledged accordingly. The findings and conclusions of this study will be made in support of factual evidence.

3.11 RESEARCH MANAGEMENT

3.11.1 Time management

In order to determine the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security on the African continent various aspects of the African security and political environment, as well as the influence and impact of key role players were considered. Other considerations included the influence of countries and organisations such as the US, UN, AU and other stakeholders and role players such as the influence of China and India regional organisations.

Information regarding all above-mentioned aspects was readily available at the various institutions' headquarters, as well as on its Internet web pages. Web pages administered by the U.S Foreign relations, the ISS, academic institutions (local and abroad) and propaganda groups were also considered during this research.

Collected data was filed and tagged according to specific units, such as role players, institutions and legislations. Document research was complimented by interviews with academia and officials specialising in the field of security studies and African politics. Information regarding the research topic and the research questions are readily available in different forms (published, electronically).

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CHAPTER 4 : ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As explained in Chapter 1, this study explored how AFRICOM has in terms of its stated mandate, contributed in promoting peace and security by cooperating with the AU Peace and Security Council and the African Peace and Security Architecture. This chapter will address the analysis and interpretation of data collected during the research process by means of the literature study and the preliminary literature review, the data collected from questionnaires and also the analysis of data obtained during various interviews.

Creswell (2014) argued that the purpose of the analysis chapter is to make sense out of the various forms of data collected during the research study. Creswell (2014) argued that managing the volume of data collected during the research study involves the categorising of the data, dissecting of the data collected as well as putting it back together in order to make sense of the data.

Creswell (2014) further argued that data analysis in a qualitative research would proceed hand in hand with other activities in the development of the qualitative study; namely the data gathering and recording of findings. Creswell (2014) also stated that while interviews are conducted, the researcher may analyse interviews conducted earlier and writing notes may be included in the final research report.

Creswell (2014) argued that because the various data collected are so dense and full of information, not all these data or information could be used in a qualitative study. Creswell (2014) therefore, argued that the researcher would in the analysis process focus on some parts of the data and also disregard other parts of the data collected.

The analysis and interpretation of the data collected during the literature study, questionnaires and interviews will be presented in this chapter must provide answers to the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security in

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Africa. This will be done by analysing the selected data in order to provide answers or possible solutions to the primary and secondary questions stated in Chapter 1 of this research report. In order to provide the reader with some form of continuity the primary and secondary research questions is listed again.

In order to collect sufficient data over a wide spectrum various interviews were scheduled and conducted with academics, military personnel and other military institution as well with international students attending military programs. On request of the interviewees there personal detail will not be cited. The following interviews were scheduled and conducted:

Specific interviews were done with stakeholders directly linked to AFRICOM but could not be cited in this paper.

Interviews have also been conducted with international fellows and international directing staff attending the South African Joint Senior Command and Staff Programme. These International fellows and directing staff are from the United Kingdom, Asia and Africa.

Discussions and interviews were also conducted with academics associated with the South African National War College.

Primary Research Question

In what way and to what extend does AFRICOM's support to the AU Peace and Security Council and in particular the African Peace and Security Architecture strengthen African peace and security?

Secondary Research Questions

What is the purpose and role of AFRICOM in Africa?

What is the relationship between AFRICOM and the AU Peace and Security Council and in particular the African Peace and Security Architecture?

What is the impact of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security on the African continent according to a South African perspective?

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The chapter is organised in terms of the research questions asked as stated above. The chapter first addresses the primary research question; then the secondary research questions and finally it will conclude with a summary of the conclusions made after each section.

4.2 PRIMARY RESEARCH QUESTION

The primary research question asked by this research is: In what way and to what extent does AFRICOM's support to the AU Peace and Security Council and in particular the African Peace and Security Architecture strengthen African peace and security?

The role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security in Africa derived from the US National Security Strategy, AFRICOM's mission and posture statements as well as various other bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements with African nations. This part of the report will therefore be analysing the data collected in order to determine Why AFRICOM? How and what form of support did AFRICOM provide to the AU and specific the African Peace and Security Architecture.

4.2.1 US National Security Strategy Towards Africa

The first element of this analysis is to determine meaning of the concept 'National Security Strategy' as used by the US Administration. It is therefore also important to understand that the term National Security Strategy and national security are used inter-changeable. According to the definition provided by Baylis et al. (2011) and Williams (2008) the concept or term National Security Strategy also refers in some instances to national security or grand strategies and plans that use appropriate forms of national power during peacetime as well as war to achieve national security objectives despite foreign and domestic threats. Such strategies employ diplomatic, economic, psychological, cybernetic, technological and other instruments, of which the armed forces may be the most or least useful.

Various authors (Feleke, Picard & Buss, 2011; Lanier, 2011; Pham, 2011; Neethling 2008) refers to the controversy surrounding the establishment of

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AFRICOM and therefore consistently argued that the controversy can be accredited to the US government for not sufficiently and effectively communicate its motivations, capabilities, and intentions with regards to the establishment of AFRICOM with Africa, the US and its European allies.

Taking in consideration the importance of the official announcement of the establishment of AFRICOM by the US Administration, other senior government officials diminished the significance of the establishment of AFRICOM and therefore has described it as a political attempt and a more suitable way of establishing military-to-military relationships with African nations (Mills, McNamee & Lorentzo, 2007 as cited in Pham, 2011, p. 57).

Although the official statement for the establishment of AFRICOM refers to the creation of a partnership with Africa and to assist Africa in building own capabilities to overcome the security issues on the continent, Pham (2011) suggested that in order to understand the strategic reason behind the establishment of AFRICOM, aspects such as the US interest in Africa must be investigated.

4.2.2 US National Interest

What is the US interests in Africa? National interest refers to the objectives of a state's foreign policy. Baylis et al., (2011) and Williams, (2008) refers to national interest as a set of lasting concerns that a state wants to protect or achieve, including economic and political power, international status and prestige, and domestic welfare. These are the protection of internal and external sovereignty of the state, improving the welfare of its citizens, and the improvement of its status and prestige. Invoked by Realists and state leaders to signify that which is most important to the state – survival being at the top of the list.

In order to analyse why the importance of Africa has changed in terms of US relations, Mangala (2013) and Mesfin (2009) suggested that three areas must be investigated; these areas are the political, economical and strategic areas.

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Political Environment. Mangala (2013) and Mesfin (2009) have argued that the strategic importance of Africa is based on its role in international environments and organisations. It has therefore been argued that the most critical aspect of Africa in the international arena is its capability to unite on specific issues concerning Africa and by doing so forms a significant voting block. It is, therefore, that the political instability of African states is a major concern to US interest and security and that this insecurity and instability has the potential to invite external intervention. Various examples are discussed of which the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, the 2002 attacks in Kenya, and particularly after the September 2001 attacks on US soil, are more recent examples. Based on the arguments of Mangala (2013) and Mesfin (2009) it is clear that US interests almost exclusively related to the prevention of terrorism of Africa. Further more, the potential of Africa as a shelter for international terrorist organisations is also of major concern to the US (Mangala, 2013).

Economical Environment. Mesfin (2009) has argued that Africa's economical importance to the US is minimal. However, although Africa's economical importance according to Mesfin (2009) is minimal Africa has become of significant interest to the US. Various authors (Mesfin, 2009; Wright, 2010; Carmody, 2011) identified this strategic national interest as access to African oil and other resources. Wright (2010) also agreed with Mesfin (2010) and stated that African leaders were aware of US interests in their oil and gas fields, as well as other raw materials long before most Americans had any idea that renewed intervention in Africa was being planned.

International Environment. In the international arena the role of China in establishing itself as a major external power in Africa has become of great concern to the US. Africa's trade has grown with an impressive degree and China has gained unique access to African markets for its economy (Mesfin, 2009). With changes in the US political arena the Obama administration has confirmed their position on Africa's strategic importance,

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however, the new administration's concept of strategic importance must still be clarified because currently the US only engaged in bi-lateral agreements with African countries and no formal framework for cooperation between AFRICOM and the AU exist.

Pham (2011) agreed with Mangala (2013) and Mesfin (2009) on the strategic importance of access to African resources and therefore also argued that the change in the strategic national interest in Africa is based on: The first important strategic national interest issue identified by Pham (2011) is that of the US counter terrorism efforts. Pham (2011) argued that in the context of US counter terrorism efforts; it has become vital to prevent the use of Africa's territories as headquarters for terrorists' recruitments and operations.

Various authors (Mesfin, 2009; Pham, 2011; Mangala, 2013) and others also argued that US interests has left Africa at the bottom of US foreign policy concerns; and therefore has never been viewed as a continent of strategic importance to the US.

In the 2006 US National Security Strategy, changes to the US NSS identified Africa for the first time as a high priority, by doing so the US acknowledged the significance of Africa in US security policy issues and also recognised that by strengthening African security will also strengthen US security (Executive Office, 2006, p. 37).

Pham (2011) disagree with the opinion of the above authors (Mesfin, 2009; Pham, 2011;) and argued that the only motivation for the existence of AFRICOM is the fact that the US has recognised that the US has substantial national interest in Africa, which requires that it engage the continent.

Carmody (2011) argued that AFRICOM serves a number of US interests: combatting terrorism, securing natural resource supplies, containing armed conflict, reducing crime and responding to growing Chinese influence.

With changes in the US political arena the Obama administration has

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confirmed the US position on Africa's strategic importance, however, the new administration's concept of strategic importance must still be clarified because currently the US only engaged in bi-lateral agreements with African countries and no formal framework for cooperation between AFRICOM and the AU exist (Ploch, 2013).

The following aspects are considered to be the driving force for US interest that lead to the establishment of AFRICOM.

4.2.3 Geographical Importance of Africa

Collins (2008) argued that world powers attach particular importance to geostrategic position when they deploy armed forces abroad for offensive, defensive or deterrent purposes.

The changes in the strategic importance of Africa to the US lead to a discussion in the motives why the sudden change in US security policy? Mangala (2013) and Mesfin (2009) agreed with Collins (2008) and argued that the strategic importance of Africa is based on Africa's geographical importance because Africa is near important and strategic world sea-lanes, such as the Straits of Gibraltar, the Red Sea and the Cape route, through which oil and vital minerals are shipped, and which could be possible targets of terrorism and piracy.

Mesfin (2009) also argued that Africa is of strategic importance to the US military because it provides useful communications, and air and naval facilities through which US troops could be transported and a variety of combat and covert operations launched. However, the notion of military deployments from African soil lead to the concerns of African leaders and other international organisations of the re-colonisation of Africa by the US (Isike et al., 2008).

4.2.4 Natural Resource Wealth and Global Trade

Wright (2010) argued that the reason for the establishment of AFRICOM as a combatant command is based on Africa's rising strategic importance to the United States mainly because of its variety and abundance of natural

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resources.

Pham (2011) on the other hand argued that one of the important strategic national interests identified by the US is the protection of access to hydrocarbons and other strategic resources that Africa has in abundance and promoting the integration of African nations into the global economy.

Pham (2011) argued that the current US Administration indicated that they want to end the US dependence on oil from the Middle East and Venezuela. Pham (2011) argued that in 2008 the US imports of petroleum products from African countries were more than what is imported from the Persian Gulf countries. The significance of Africa for US energy security can therefore not be underestimated. The role of China, Russia and India and their interest in the African continent's natural wealth also led to an increase in their activities in Africa.

Carmody (2011) also argued that US interests in Africa is based on oil (security) and security in general. While Kennan (2009) argued that US interest is based on the fact that by 2020 US domestic oil production would supply less than 30% of the country's domestic needs and although the US is currently heavily dependant on oil from the Persian Gulf it is foreseen that the import of oil will shift from the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa, due to a lower oil production by Persian Gulf countries. It is therefore argued by Carmody (2011) that US interest in Africa are increasingly structured by interlinked concerns over energy and security.

Ploch (2011) stated that the US wanted to expand its economic relations with Sub-Saharan Africa, and because of this expansion of economic relations trade between the US and Africa has tripled since 1990.

In 2000, the Clinton Administration introduced a comprehensive US trade and investment policy for the continent in the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) (Ploch, 2011). Natural resources, particularly energy resources, dominate the products imported from Africa under AGOA. Africa now supplies the US with roughly the same amount of crude

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oil as the Middle East (Ploch, 2011).

It is therefore evident that Africa's economical importance to the US is minimal as argued by various authors (Mesfin, 2009 and Wright, 2010). However, although Africa's economical importance is minimal it can still be argued that the US has a significant interest in Africa, which continues to be a source of oil, which has become a vital national security interest of the US. This is especially true when considering that North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa accounted for an estimated 18.6 % in 2005 and an estimated 20 % in 2012 of world oil (Mesfin, 2009). Wright (2010) also agreed with Mesfin (2010) and stated that African leaders were aware of US interests in their oil and gas fields, as well as other raw materials long before most Americans had any idea that renewed intervention in Africa was being planned.

4.2.5 International Political Arena

It has been argued that the strategic importance of Africa is based on Africa's role in international forums and the fact that Africa has a significant voting strength in the United Nations and other international organisations. It is, therefore, that the political instability of African states is a major concern to the US interest and security and that this instability has the potential to invite external intervention (Mangala, 2013 and Mesfin, 2009).

In the international arena the role of China in establishing itself as a major external power in Africa has become of great concern to the US. Africa's trade has grown with an impressive degree and China has gained unique access to African markets for its economy (Mesfin, 2009).

4.2.6 Security Cooperation

What has motivated the official interest of the US interaction in Africa? What strategic assumptions has been made in order to establish AFRICOM as the governmental component charged with conducting "sustained security engagement through military-to-military programs, military sponsored activities, and other military operations as directed to promote a stable and

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secure African environment in support of US foreign policy” (AFRICOM, 2013)?

The establishment of AFRICOM and the establishment of the AU in 2000 and the AU Peace and Security Council in 2002 created the conditions for a partnership between the US and African regional organisations such as the AU, the AU Peace and Security Council and the peace and security architecture and specific states on the African continent to strengthen peace and security on the African continent.

Maritime Security

Ploch (2011) argued that Africa’s coastlines, particularly those along the Gulf of Guinea, the Gulf of Aden, and the West Indian Ocean, have been extremely vulnerable to illegal fishing, illegal trafficking, and piracy in recent years. It is therefore also argued that the inability of African governments to effectively policing the region’s waters has allowed criminal activities such as human trafficking, smuggling of illegal drugs, and weapons. Ploch (2011) therefore argued that it is for this reasons that the Bush Administration in 2005 introduced its National Strategy for Maritime Security with its African partners.

Ploch (2011) also argued that the US through its Global Fleet Stations (GFS) concept has committed itself to more persistent, longer term engagement in the waters off the coast of East Africa and it is for this reason that the Combined Joint Task Force - Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) is cooperating with the US Navy and with coalition partners in CENTC to conduct maritime security operations in order to protect shipping routes in the Gulf of Aden.

Coalition and US naval forces have had various engagements with pirates in these waters. AFRICOM also implements a number of training and equipping programs to build the operational capacity of African Navies to secure their waters.

Armed Conflicts

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Ploch (2011) identified conflict and instability in parts of Africa as a major concern for the US and argued that these human suffering has destabilised economic, social and political development.

Ploch (2011) further stated that though the number of engagements in Africa has decreased in recent years, the continent is home to a majority of the United Nations' peacekeeping operations, with six missions currently underway.

Instability and insecurity in Africa has required considerable humanitarian and defence assets and resources from the international community, and the US.

Violent Extremism

Ploch (2011) further argued that US security policy has been driven largely by counter terrorism efforts, which the Bush and Obama Administrations have both identified as a top national security priority.

Ploch (2011) also stated that the Obama Administration's strategy for countering terrorism in Africa, focuses primarily on dismantling Al Qaeda elements in the region and on empowering countries and local administrations "to serve as countervailing forces to the supporters of al-Qa'ida and the purveyors of instability that enable the transnational terrorist threat to persist" Ploch (2011, p.18).

Combined Joint Task Force: Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA)

Ploch (2011) argued the US Central Command established a joint task force in 2002, to focus on locating, fixing and destroying international terrorist groups operating from African soil and as a second objective to provide the US military a forward operating base in the region.

Ploch (2011) therefore argued that the mission of the task force has changed over time to a more appropriate concept of mutual conflict prevention. The CJTF - HOA, covers the land and airspace in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Seychelles, Somalia, and Sudan, as well as the coastal waters of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Indian Ocean.

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Security Assistance

Ploch (2011) argued that one of the major responsibilities of AFRICOM is to provide Security Assistance to US partners in Africa. The development of defence capabilities of African partner nations remains a key aspect of US interest in Africa and is therefore a key responsibility of AFRICOM.

The US military provides security assistance to African militaries through both bilateral and multilateral initiatives. The US also provides military training through several programs, including the African Regional Peacekeeping Program (ARP), and International Military Education and Training (IMET).

The US military has cooperated with the regional security organisations, including the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). US military efforts also aim to support the development of the African Union's African Standby Force (ASF), a multinational peacekeeping force composed of regional brigades organised by the continent's Regional Economic Communities.

The ASF and its regional brigades are not intended to be standing forces, but will instead draw from pre-identified forces of member states. AFRICOM continues to conduct annual training exercises under EUCOM, such as African ENDEAVOUR, a communications and interoperability exercise with more than 30 African nations conducted annually.

US military assistance also includes efforts to improve information sharing networks between African countries through programs such as the Multinational Information Sharing Initiative, which donor and aid organisations can in turn use to warn and be warned of possible crises. AFRICOM also supports US security sector reform initiatives in post-conflict countries like the DRC, Liberia, and Sudan.

Regional Perspectives

In its 2010 Posture Statement (AFRICOM, 2010), AFRICOM restates the importance of US regional undertakings in order to establish common

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security arrangements, such as the AU's cooperative security architecture.

AFRICOM has therefore also stressed its readiness to assist the AU's peace and security initiatives. For example, in 2008, it helped to deploy 1,600 Ugandan peacekeepers to Somalia and provided equipment to the Burundian battalion as part of the AU's Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). It also participated in the planning and providing of logistics for the deployment of AU troops in Darfur (ISS, 2008). AFRICOM has worked with the AU to strengthen the latter's communications capability by training a team of AU technicians and military personnel on Very Small Aperture Terminal (VSAT) satellite systems. Given the Peace and Security Council responsibilities in post-conflict reconstruction matters under Article 6.e. of its Protocol, there appears to be the likelihood of an agreement with AFRICOM in this area.

Volman (2007) stated that there has been an emergent relationship between AFRICOM and Regional Economic Communities in the establishment and operational readiness of ASF regional brigades. The establishment of regional brigades is seen as a matter in which AFRICOM could effectively contribute to the improvement of the African Peace and Security Architecture (Volman, 2007).

AFRICOM has also according to Mangala (2013, p. 256) planned military and humanitarian exercises involving Regional Economic Communities. For example, Exercise AFRICA ENDEAVOR, a multinational exercise aimed at testing and strengthening the communications interoperability of African militaries to enable their coordination in regional peacekeeping, humanitarian and disaster relief operations.

It is also argued that AFRICOM's limited engagement with continental and regional organisations and institutions is in clear contrast with the wide range of activities and programmes that the military command has been pursuing in collaboration with national governments (AFRICOM, 2010). Mangala (2013, p. 257) argued that this increasing bilateral cooperation with specific national governments might weaken the African Peace and

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Security Architecture.

Ploch (2011) stated that the Department of Defence conducts a wide variety of activities in Africa in support of US national interests and these tasks may include operational activities and other tasks as part of US interest in the region. These other tasks may for instance include peacekeeping operations or assistance, counter terrorism efforts in cooperation with allies, etc.

Ploch (2011) also emphasised the fact that the US in addition to the above traditional contingency operations, also implements various other efforts directed at increasing African militaries' capacities to provide security and stability for their own countries and the region as a whole. Ploch (2011) and the ISS (2008) provided several examples of these implemented initiatives as part of the foreign military assistance programs.

Ploch (2011) also argued that the US military provides advisors to peacekeeping missions on the continent and that US forces also conduct a range of bilateral and multilateral joint exercises with African militaries.

The US as part of its arms programme also sells military hardware and equipment to African governments through special established programmes such as Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program, implemented by the US Defence Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) Ploch (2011).

Ploch (2011) stated that the all important US counter terrorism strategy on the continent is addressed through a number of the above initiatives, and that the US counter terrorism efforts may also include, at one end of the spectrum, programs to address the root causes of terrorism, and, at the other end, military operations to destroy terrorist targets through military strikes.

Brown (2013) argued that in order to ease African worries about AFRICOM, would be to strengthen AFRICOM's commitment to support regional approaches to Africa's security problems. By acknowledging this, AFRICOM has already expanded many of its programs and exercises to help the AU

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and five of its Regional Economic Communities develop the AU's African Peace and Security Architecture.

Brown (2013) argued that AFRICOM should continue to expand its training assistance on multilateral terms through the African Standby Force and its five regional brigades.

AFRICOM according to Brown (2013) should also ensure better cooperation and coordination with the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) in New York in order to avoid duplication of effort with other donors and to provide a coherent international plan for training and mobilising African peacekeepers.

When considering the opinion and viewpoints of the US and the international community on the security situation in Africa, African states has undertaken a number of initiatives across a broad spectrum of economic, political and military initiatives to address security challenges at the national, regional and collective levels (Feleke et al., 2011, p. 25).

At the national level some of these initiatives includes socio-economic upliftment, open-market strategies for economic development and measures affecting good governance (Feleke et al., 2011, p. 26).

At regional level a number of Regional Economic Communities operate. While the purpose for creating Regional Economic Communities was to serve the economic goals of a region, these goals changed overtime and began to assume more responsibilities related to regional peace, conflict mediation, and security (Feleke et al., 2011, p. 27).

At the collective level the AU succeeded the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 2002. AU objectives include unity and solidarity in Africa, peace and security, political and socio economic integration, respect for territorial integrity, democracy and good governance, etc. (Feleke et al., 2011, p. 29).

It is evident from the above analysis that AFRICOM indeed fostered good relations and security cooperation with African states on National level by making use of various bi-lateral agreements.

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It is also clear that at the regional level many developments between AFRICOM and Regional Economic Communities did emerge. Various bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements make provision for support from AFRICOM, which includes the establishment, equipping and training of the regional ASF brigades.

The concern for AFRICOM is supporting AU initiatives formally and openly. The lack of a formal framework for cooperation is not preventing support to the AU but creates concern for its involvement in individual countries based on various bi-lateral or multi-lateral agreements.

4.3 SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of the research is to explore to what extent AFRICOM support to the AU Peace and Security Council strengthen peace and security on the African continent.

4.3.1 Purpose and Role of AFRICOM

The purpose of the research is to explore to what extent AFRICOM support to the AU Peace and Security Council strengthen peace and security on the African continent. The purpose of AFRICOM as stated by the US is that AFRICOM is intended to strengthen US security cooperation with Africa and to strengthen the capability of African states to deal with threats to their stability and security (Isike et al, 2008, p. 21).

The discussions around AFRICOM started with the motivation for its establishment, Juergens (2008), argued that when conducting a study of AFRICOM's mission you would find that it is in contrast with those of other combatant commands.

AFRICOM's mission as defined is to "enhance a mutually supporting stable, secure, and prosperous African environment through sustained US government engagement with African, national, and international partners. US Africa Command conducts military operations as directed" (Juergens, 2008, p.8).

This reveals a different focus from that of the other commands. The

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important theme in President Bush's announcement stating that ultimate aim of AFRICOM is to "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" (Juergens, 2008, p.8).

The 2006 NSS provides direction and priorities that apply either directly or indirectly to Africa and must therefore form part in formalising a strategy to build AFRICOM (National Executive, 2006). Some of the broad principles are: fostering effective democracies, building coalitions to defeat terrorism, encouraging economic growth through establishment of free markets and free trade, working with others to prevent regional conflict, and promoting the importance of human dignity (National Executive, 2006). All of these tasks are relevant to Africa.

In order to promote democracy, the 2006 NSS speaks of employing the elements of national power: political, economic and diplomatic, the military element of national power is however not mentioned in the 2006 NSS (National Executive, 2006).

Juergens (2008) argued that when you consider the list that follows in the 2006 NSS there are specific tasks that necessitate military support. The following tasks form part of a strict military involvement; "Tailoring assistance and training of military forces to support civilian control of the military" is a pure military task and responsibility.

Juergens (2008) argued that another responsibility emerges in the section concerning the Global War on Terror (GWOT). It clearly states that, "the fight involves using military force and other instruments of military power to kill or capture the terrorists and deny them safe haven or control of any nation" (Juergens, 2008). These tasks are specific military tasks that AFRICOM will be called upon to accomplish.

Juergens (2008) argued that the biggest challenge to AFRICOM would be the multitude of other tasks and responsibilities it must undertake that support the efforts of other US Government departments and agencies as

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they work to achieve the goals established in the NSS.

Catoire (2001) argued that inter-departmental and interagency cooperation is essential when AFRICOM's regional responsibility is considered. Catoire points out that, "As a truly regional representative of the United States, a unified combatant commander functions as the singular subject matter expert for his or her area responsibility, particularly in regard to security issues" Catoire (2001).

Juergens (2008) argued that AFRICOM could enhance the lead efforts of other agencies and departments in pursuing free trade agreements, promoting and funding AIDS treatment and prevention programs, assisting in the development of education systems and supporting initiatives to fight famine and starvation, are some of the programs planned or in the process of being executed in Africa.

Juergens (2008) argued that AFRICOM will also undertake the following missions as stated in the 2006 NSS and will therefore be responsible for preventing possible attacks against the US, its territories, possessions and bases and employing appropriate forces should deterrence fail. The new command will also be responsible for planning, conducting and assessing security cooperation activities with African partners. In general terms, these two tasks further underline the dual role and responsibility that AFRICOM will fulfil as both a war fighter and as a supplier of security cooperation.

Juergens (2008) stated that the difference between AFRICOM and other commands would be the higher priority placed on this security cooperation tasks. AFRICOM will "enhance a mutually supporting stable, secure, and prosperous African environment through sustained US government engagement with African, national, and international partners," with the conduct of military operations being a secondary task (Juergens, 2008, p.8).

Yet as AFRICOM organises, the importance of US interests and challenges to these interests in the Africa must be considered. The unique opportunity presented in the establishment of AFRICOM necessitates careful

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examination of the environment it must operate in.

It is argued that the AFRICOM's objective relevant to this research is its intent to strengthen security on the African continent; the prevention and response to humanitarian emergencies; to improve cooperative efforts between the US and African nations in order to stem trans-national terrorism and to sustain long-term efforts that contribute to African unity, with a central focus on preventing wars rather than fighting wars (Isike et al, 2008).

Martin (2007) stated that AFRICOM is created in order to enhance the creation of a mutually supported, stable, secure, and prosperous African environment. Although it is generally accepted that AFRICOM will go beyond traditional security matters by concentrating on non-traditional security issues such as good governance, humanitarian assistance, disaster relief and economic development, it is important to acknowledge that in principle AFRICOM will conduct military operations as directed because it remains a formidable military organisation (Kruzel, 2007) and (Wood, 2007).

4.3.2 The Relationship between AFRICOM and the AU Peace and Security Council and in particular the African Peace and Security Architecture

The establishment of AFRICOM and the establishment of the AU in 2000 and the AU Peace and Security Council in 2002 creates the conditions for a partnership between the US and African regional organisations such as the AU, the AU Peace and Security Council and the peace and security architecture and specific states on the African continent to strengthen peace and security on the African continent.

AFRICOM has therefore also stressed its readiness to assist the AU's peace and security initiatives. Volman (2007) stated that there has been an emergent relationship between AFRICOM and Regional Economic Communities in the establishment and operational readiness of ASF

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regional brigades. The establishment of regional brigades is seen as a matter in which AFRICOM could effectively contribute to the improvement of the African Peace and Security Architecture (Volman, 2007).

AFRICOM has also according to Mangala (2013, p. 256) planned military and humanitarian exercises involving Regional Economic Communities. For example, Exercise AFRICA ENDEAVOR, a multinational exercise aimed at testing and strengthening the communications interoperability of African militaries to enable their coordination in regional peacekeeping, humanitarian and disaster relief operations.

It is also argued that AFRICOM's limited engagement with continental and regional organisations and institutions is in clear contrast with the wide range of activities and programmes that the military command has been pursuing in collaboration with national governments (AFRICOM, 2010). Mangala (2013, p. 257) argued that this increasing bilateral cooperation with specific national governments might weaken the African Peace and Security Architecture.

Ploch (2011) stated that the Department of Defence conducts a wide variety of activities in Africa in support of US national interests and these tasks may include operational activities and other tasks as part of US interest in the region. These other tasks may for instance include peacekeeping operations or assistance, counter terrorism efforts in cooperation with allies, etc.

With changes in the US political arena the Obama administration has confirmed the US position on Africa's strategic importance, however, the new administration's concept of strategic importance must still be clarified because currently the US only engaged in bi-lateral agreements with African countries and no formal framework for cooperation between AFRICOM and the AU exist (Ploch, 2013).

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4.3.3 The Impact of AFRICOM in promoting Peace and Security on the African continent according to a South African perspective

The US National Security Strategy provides direction and priorities that apply either directly or indirectly to Africa and must therefore form part in formalising a strategy for the establishment of AFRICOM. Some of the broad principles are: fostering effective democracies, building coalitions to defeat terrorism, encouraging economic growth through establishment of free markets and free trade, working with others to prevent regional conflict, and promoting the importance of human dignity (National Executive, 2006). All of these tasks are relevant to Africa.

When considering these broad principles that led to the establishment of AFRICOM it has become evident that the US involvement in Africa is not just for fostering peace and security on the continent. The announcement of the establishment argued that AFRICOM would enhance US 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.

During the interviews conducted, the initial statement of intent of the US government were discussed and then questions on “how did this impact on promoting peace and security on the African continent” were asked and this provides for a long discussion on issues pertaining to the role of AFRICOM.

It has become clear during the interviews that the general consent was that the role of AFRICOM is directed towards the protection of US national interest, i.e. directed towards the protection of energy sources and scarce mineral wealth in some African states. It is for this reason that the interest of AFRICOM in South Africa is limited to that of the international political arena.

It has been stated that the strategic importance of Africa is based on Africa’s role in international forums and the fact that Africa has a significant voting strength in the United Nations and other international organisations.

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South Africa as a prominent country and economic hub in Southern Africa and Nigeria in West Africa as another prominent role player and economic hub is the main contenders for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council as part of the proposed UN reforms. It is, therefore, that the political instability of African states is a major concern to the US interest and security and that this instability has the potential to invite external intervention (Mangala, 2013 and Mesfin, 2009).

The role of China in establishing itself as a major external power and its developmental support to Africa has become of great concern to the US. The trade of African states and specifically South Africa has increased tremendously over the last few years. Africa's trade has grown with an impressive degree and China has gained unique access to African markets for its economy (Mesfin, 2009).

The US therefore needs to create a foothold in Africa and it is for this reason that the US established the US Africa Command.

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CHAPTER 5 : CONCLUSIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

President George Bush when announcing the establishment of a new unified command for Africa stated that this “new” command will strengthen US security cooperation with Africa and that the command will enhance US efforts to help bring peace and security to the people of Africa and by doing so it will also promote goals of development, health, education, democracy, and economic growth in Africa (Whelan, 2007, p.1).

Robert Gates the Secretary for Defence stated that by creating AFRICOM it will enable the US to have a more effective and integrated approach than the current arrangement of dividing Africa between different regional commands (Whelan, 2007, p.1).

AFRICOM therefore, without uncertainty poses a better and more unified framework for pursuing US interests in Africa in the light of the rapid changes created by the end of the Cold War and the September 2001 terrorist attacks (Mesfin, 2009). The aftermath of the end of the cold war and the end of the Iraqi wars has been characterised by a change in US foreign and security policy towards Africa in such a way that it lead to changes in in how the US sees Africa today. The US has now acknowledged the strategic importance of Africa by changing its view of Africa from basically a observing to one of important.

The involvement of the US in Africa increased to a wide range of endeavours such as humanitarian relief and assistance, support to AU and UN peacekeeping operations, training support and others specific military operations in support of US national interests and objectives.

5.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The establishment of AFRICOM has triggered a discourse in the US and abroad and at the centre of the argument were the planned capacity and

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the potential advantages and dis-advantages of an enlarged and more enduring US military presence in Africa.

Although, there has been a developing relationship between AFRICOM and various African states and Regional Economic Communities, it is not clear in what way AFRICOM has contributed in promoting peace and security on the African continent by cooperating with the African Union and its organs since its inauguration in 2007.

This study intends to explore how AFRICOM has in terms of its stated mandate contributed in promoting peace and security by cooperating with the AU Peace and Security Council and the African Peace and Security Architecture.

As explained in Chapter 3 the research was a qualitative research study of the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security in Africa and requires sound understanding and analysis of the current situation to determine the impact thereof on the African security environment.

The study relied mainly on a literature study and interviews conducted over the last few months.

5.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Limitations to the study were identified in Chapter 1. This indicates that the scope of this study will be focussing on the role of AFRICOM in promoting peace and security on the African continent and will therefore, focuses on the strategic objective related to creating peace and security on the African continent. It has also been indicated that the study is limited methodologically, in the sense that the study will predominantly follow a qualitative approach. The research will also be confined to literature and interviews, as time available for the research will not allow for in-depth questionnaires.

5.4 MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Throughout the literature study and interviews the creation of a separate unified combatant command for Africa has been seen as very contentious

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issue. The reaction and the resistance from African leaders were not expected. The announcement by the US President on the establishment of AFRICOM emphasised the importance and significance of the establishment of AFRICOM.

The most important question was asked by Ploch (2011) when she asked 'Why AFRICOM'. When President Bush announced the establishment of AFRICOM in 2006 it was again emphasised that the role of AFRICOM is to promote peace and security in Africa and that this role and function is derived from the US National Security Strategy. Appointed AFRICOM commanders raised this assigned role and responsibilities over and over during posture statement formulations and during various bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements with African nations.

The first aspect that must be addressed is why the sudden change in US National Security Strategy. It has become clear during the literature review that the controversy surrounding the establishment of AFRICOM is based on the way the establishment was communicated by the US Administration, by not clearly and effectively communicated its motivations, capabilities, and intentions with regards to the establishment of AFRICOM with Africa, the US and its European allies.

When considering the importance of the official announcement of the establishment of AFRICOM by the US Administration, senior government officials diminished the significance of the establishment of AFRICOM and described it as a political attempt and a more suitable way of establishing military-to-military relationships with African nations.

It has also become evident that although the official announcement of the establishment of AFRICOM refers to the creation of a partnership with Africa to assist Africa in building own capabilities to overcome the security issues on the continent various authors suggested otherwise and argued that the true reason behind the establishment of AFRICOM is to protect US interest in Africa.

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It has also been argued that US interest is based on the access to strategic African resources rather than aspects such as US counter terrorism efforts.

Although the strategic importance of Africa to the US is not disputed it has become evident that the authors has different opinions on why Africa is of strategic importance. It has also been argued that the only reason for the existence of AFRICOM is the fact that the US has recognised that the US has substantial national interests in Africa, which requires that it engage the continent. This may include: combatting terrorism, securing natural resource supplies, containing armed conflict, reducing crime and responding to growing Chinese influence.

A specific group of authors mainly from Africa claims that US interest in Africa is based on the following areas: political, economical and strategic areas.

Other authors mainly from the US claimed that the US interest is based on the geostrategic position of Africa; Natural Resource Wealth and Global Trade; Natural Resource Wealth and Global Trade; International Political Arena; Security Cooperation.

It has been argued that in this modern times world powers still attach importance to geostrategic positioning when they deploy armed forces abroad for offensive, defensive or deterrent purposes. It has also been argued that the reason for the establishment of AFRICOM is based on Africa's rising strategic importance to the US mainly because of its variety and abundance of natural resources.

It has further been argued that Africa's strategic importance is also based on Africa's role in international forums and the fact that Africa has a significant voting strength in the UN and other international organisations.

Over and over the question has been asked on why is Africa of strategic importance to the US. What strategic assumptions has been made in order to establish AFRICOM as the governmental component charged

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with conducting sustained security engagement through military-to-military programs, military sponsored activities, and other military operations as directed to promote a stable and secure African environment in support of US foreign policy?

When addressing the primary research question on: In what way and to what extent does AFRICOM's support to the AU Peace and Security Council and in particular the African Peace and Security Architecture strengthen African peace and security? This security cooperation includes aspects such as: Maritime Security; Armed Conflicts; Violent Extremism; Combined Joint Task Force: Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA); Security Assistance; Regional Perspectives.

It is also evident from the above analysis that AFRICOM indeed fostered good relations and security cooperation with African states on National level by making use of various bi-lateral agreements.

It is also clear that on regional level cooperation between AFRICOM and Regional Economic Communities did emerge. This is however based on various bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements, which includes the establishment, equipping and training of the regional ASF brigades.

The concern for AFRICOM is supporting AU initiatives formally and openly. The lack of a formal framework for cooperation is not preventing support to the AU but creates concern for its involvement in individual countries based on various bi-lateral or multi-lateral agreements.

It is therefore evident that AFRICOM is indeed involved in promoting peace and security in Africa but not in cooperation with AU formal structures but with various African countries based on bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements between the two states.

When addressing the secondary research questions the following has become evident:

The purpose of AFRICOM as stated by the US is that AFRICOM is intended to strengthen US security cooperation with Africa and to

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strengthen the capability of African states to deal with threats to their stability and security. It has also been argued that AFRICOM has been created to enhance the creation of a mutually supported, stable, secure, and prosperous African environment. It is also generally accepted that AFRICOM will go beyond traditional security matters by concentrating on non-traditional security issues such as good governance, humanitarian assistance, disaster relief and economic development, and will also conduct military operations as directed.

The establishment of AFRICOM and the establishment of the AU in 2000 and the AU Peace and Security Council in 2002 indeed did create the conditions for a partnership between the US and African regional organisations such as the AU, the AU Peace and Security Council and the African Peace and Security Architecture.

The US National Security Strategy provides direction and priorities that apply either directly or indirectly to Africa and must therefore form part in formalising a strategy for the establishment of AFRICOM. Some of the broad principles are: fostering effective democracies, building coalitions to defeat terrorism, encouraging economic growth through establishment of free markets and free trade, working with others to prevent regional conflict, and promoting the importance of human dignity.

When considering these broad principles that led to the establishment of AFRICOM it has become evident that the US involvement in Africa is not just for fostering peace and security on the continent. The announcement of the establishment argued that AFRICOM would enhance US 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.

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