

**U.S. MILITARY PROGRAMS IN AFRICA, U.S. POLICY TOWARD AFRICA,
AND AFRICOM**

**Section One: US Arms Transfer Programs and Military Training Programs in
Africa, FY 2006-2008 (dollars in thousands)**

**Introduction: Data is current as of 21 December 2007. Sources are listed at the end.
See “Description” section below for a description of each program.**

Country	FMS FY 2006 Actual Delivery	FMS FY 2007 Estimated Delivery	FMS FY 2008 Estimated Delivery	FMF FY 2006 Actual Funding	FMF FY 2007 Request Funding	FMF FY 2008 Request Funding
Algeria						
Angola						
Botswana	866					
Cameroon						
Chad	1,816					
Dem. Rep. Congo	1,255					600
Djibouti	7,000	4,000	4,000	3,960	4,000	3,200
Eq. Guinea						
Eritrea	240					
Ethiopia	8,852	2,000	2,000	1,980	2,000	850
Ghana	78	400	400	495	400	300
Guinea						200
Kenya	1,600	2,525	25		25	800
Liberia	1,200	1,600	1,600	1,980	1,600	1,000
Mali	3,727					
Morocco	11,828			12,375	12,500	3,655
Niger						
Nigeria	4,201	800	800	990	800	1,350
Rep. of Congo						
Rwanda						
Sao Tome	4					
Senegal	164	2,470	2,250	495	400	
South Africa	699					100
Tunisia	6,947			8,413	8,415	2,064
Uganda	3,017					
Zambia						
Africa Regional				3,960		
Afr. Coastal and Border Security				3,960	4,000	1,980
Total	31,542	14,120	11,075	13,860	14,825	8,800
Sub-Saharan Africa						

Country	DCS FY 2006 Actual Delivery	DCS FY 2007 Estimated Delivery	DCS FY 2008 Estimated Delivery	EDA FY 2006 Delivery Actual Acquisition Value
Algeria	243,368	37,933	175,052	
Angola	14,529	2,333	1,101	
Botswana	7,937	1,577	2,097	
Cameroon	2	324	1,243	
Chad	43			
Dem. Rep. Congo				
Djibouti	2,521	438	1,084	633
Eq. Guinea				
Eritrea				
Ethiopia	575	712	750	
Ghana	477	184	37	746
Guinea	10	368	50	
Kenya	1,888	867	3,108	
Liberia	1	20	5	
Mali	74	807	37	
Morocco	22,114	5,943	18,871	74,486
Niger	126	75	374	
Nigeria	2,858	3,631	17,112	
Rep. of Congo				
Rwanda	388	616	85	
Sao Tome				
Senegal	394	19	93	880
South Africa	11,887	16,703	61,448	
Tunisia				13,841
Uganda	3,302	277	91	4,097
Zambia				
Total Sub-Saharan Africa	51,237	31,797	92,183	2,348

Country	IMET (\$ in thousands)			IMET (# of students)
	FY 2006 Actual	FY 2007 Request	FY 2008 Request	FY 2006 Actual
Algeria	823	840	700	36
Angola	486	400	500	13
Botswana	760	690	690	42
Cameroon	231	295	295	8
Chad	342	295	100	14
Dem. Rep. Congo	306	220	500	16
Djibouti	307	345	350	5
Eq. Guinea		49	45	
Eritrea		445		
Ethiopia	594	640	650	9
Ghana	645	640	600	25
Guinea	376	345	350	57
Kenya		45	550	
Liberia	130	245	300	77
Mali		45	250	
Morocco	1,884	1,975	1,800	116
Niger		45	100	
Nigeria	792	590	800	98
Rep. of Congo	155	105	100	5
Rwanda	288	270	400	108
Sao Tome	289	200	200	29
Senegal	1,089	1,135	1,100	31
South Africa		45	900	
Tunisia	1,847	1,085	1,800	83
Uganda	340	295	500	72
Zambia	261	245	400	108
Africa Regional	136		133	
Total	10,177	10,830	13,663	1,169
Sub-Saharan Africa				

Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Program (ACOTA)

This program, which began operating in 2002, replaces the African Crisis Response Initiative launched in 1997 by the Clinton administration. In 2004, it became part of the Global Peace Operations Initiative. ACOTA is officially designed to provide training to African military forces to improve their ability to conduct peacekeeping operations, even if they take place in hostile environments. But since the training includes both defensive and offensive military operations, it also enhances the ability of participating forces to engage in police operations against unarmed civilians, counter-insurgency operations, and even conventional military operations against the military forces of other countries. By FY 2007, nineteen African countries were participating in the ACOTA program (Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia). In 2004, ACOTA became a part of the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) and the Bush Administration's FY 2008 budget includes a request for a little more than \$40 million for ACOTA activities. The GPOI itself, a multilateral, five-year program that aims to train 75,000 troops— mostly from African countries—by 2010, will receive more than \$92 million under the president's FY 2008 budget, which also provides \$5 million to reorganize the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo, \$16 million to reorganize the Liberian military, and \$41 million to help integrate the Sudan People's Liberation Army into the national army as part of the peace process for southern Sudan.

African Coastal and Border Security Program (ACBS Program)

This program provides specialized equipment (such as patrol vessels and vehicles, communications equipment, night vision devices, and electronic monitors and sensors) to African countries to improve their ability to patrol and defend their own coastal waters and borders from terrorist operations, smuggling, and other illicit activities. In some cases, airborne surveillance and intelligence training also may be provided. In FY 2006, the ACBS Program received nearly \$4 million in FMF funding, and Bush administration requested \$4 million in FMF funding for the program in FY 2007. No dedicated funding was requested for FY 2008, but the program may be revived in the future.

Excess Defense Articles Program (EDA)

This program is designed to conduct ad hoc transfers of surplus U.S. military equipment to foreign governments. Transfers to African recipients have included the transfer of C-130 transport planes to South Africa and Botswana, trucks to Uganda, M-16 rifles to Senegal, and coastal patrol vessels to Nigeria.

Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA)

The ATA program was created in 1983—under the administration of the State Department Bureau of Diplomatic Security—to provide training, equipment, and technology to countries all around the world to support their participation in America's

Global War on Terrorism. In FY 2006, Sub-Saharan Africa received \$9.6 million in ATA funding; for FY 2007, the administration requested \$11.8 million and for FY 2008, the request was \$11.5.

The largest ATA program in Africa is targeted at Kenya, where it helped create the Kenyan Antiterrorism Police Unit (KAPU) in 2004 to conduct anti-terrorism operations, the Joint Terrorism Task Force in 2004 to coordinate anti-terrorism activities (although the unit was disbanded by the Kenyan government in 2005, and is now training and equipping members of a multi-agency, coast guard-type unit to patrol Kenya's coastal waters. Between 2003 and 2005 (the most recent years for which this information is available), ATA provided training both in Kenya and in the United States to 454 Kenyan police, internal security, and military officers in courses on "Preventing, Interdicting, and Investigating Acts of Terrorism," "Crisis Response," "Post-Blast Investigation," "Rural Border Operation," and "Terrorist Crime Scene Investigation." The creation of the KAPU was financed with \$10 million from the FY 2003 Peacekeeping Operations Appropriation for Kenya, along with \$622,000 from ATA; the ATA spent \$21 million on training for Kenya in FY 2004 \$3.5 in FY 2005, and another \$3.2 in FY 2006. The administration requested \$2.9 for FY 2007 and an additional \$5.5 in FY 2008.

The second largest ATA program in Africa at present is one used to help fund the Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI). For FY 2007, the administration requested \$7.2 million in ATA funding for the TSCTI and for FY 2008 requested another \$6 million in ATA funding for FY 2008 for Africa Regional activities, most of which may be used to fund the TSCTI.

ATA programs are also being used to train and equip police, internal security, and military forces in a number of other African countries, including Tanzania (\$2.1 million in FY 2006), Mauritius (\$903,000 in FY 2006), Niger (\$905,000 in FY 2006), Chad (\$625,000 in FY 2006), Senegal (\$800,000 in FY 2006), Mali (\$564,000 in FY 2006), Liberia (\$220,000 in FY 2006), Ethiopia (\$170,000 in FY 2006). Training courses provided to these countries includes topics like "Investigation of Terrorist Organizations," "Rural Border Operations," "Antiterrorism Instructor Training," "Terrorist Crime Scene Investigation," and "Explosive Incident Countermeasures." In Djibouti, this training helped to create the country's National Crisis Management Unit, within the Ministry of the Interior, to respond to major national emergencies.

ATA utilizes training facilities at three International Law Enforcement Academy (ILEA) centers, one located in Botswana. In 2003, students from Botswana, Ethiopia, and Tanzania attended a course on "Terrorist Investigations" at the Botswana ILEA center. In 2004, students from Djibouti, Malawi, Uganda, and Zambia took the same course there. In 2005, students from Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania attended a course on "Combating Domestic and Transnational Terrorism at the Botswana ILEA center and students from Angola, Mozambique, Uganda, and Zambia took a course on the "Police Executive Role in Combating Terrorism."

Section 1206 Fund

This fund, named for a provision of the FY 2006 National Defense Authorization Act, permits the Pentagon—on its own initiative—to spend up to \$300 million each year to provide training and equipment to foreign military, police, and other security forces to “combat terrorism and enhance stability.” The fund received \$200 million in FY 2007 and has been authorized to spend \$300 million in FY 2008 for programs in fourteen countries, including Algeria, Chad, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, and Sao Tome and Principe. In addition to paying for the cost of sending private military contractors to recipient countries to provide training, the fund is also being used to supply radar systems, surveillance equipment and sensors, GPS navigation devices, radios and other communications systems, computers, small boats, trucks, and trailers.

Description of Programs

FMS deliveries: Foreign Military Sales is the total dollar value of defense articles delivered to a foreign government or international organization in any fiscal year

FMF: Foreign Military Financing is the amount of credit/grant aid extended to a foreign government or international organization in any fiscal year for the procurement of defense articles. Such articles may be procured from U.S. Defense agencies through FMS or may be negotiated directly with U.S. commercial suppliers following the approval of the Department of Defense. FMF credit is extended in the form of direct loans, which must be repaid, or grants, which do not require repayment. However, repayments of nearly all FMF loans to African countries are waived, so that in effect all FMF aid for Africa is free.

DCS: The total dollar value of Direct Commercial Sales purchased directly from U.S. manufacturers by foreign governments. The Office of Defense Trade Controls of the Department of State licenses all sales.

EDA: Excess Defense Articles is the acquisition cost of surplus U.S. defense articles transferred to foreign governments by the Defense Security Cooperation Agency of the Department of Defense.

IMET: International Military Education and Training is the dollar value allocated in any fiscal year for the training of foreign military personnel at U.S. military facilities and the total number of students trained at these institutions.

For More Information

For additional information, see Rachel Stohl, “U.S. Arms Exports and Military Assistance in the ‘Global War on Terror,’” Center for Defense Information (CDI), Washington, DC, 6 September 2007, available from CDI: www.cdi.org. See also country

studies on Algeria, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya linked to the above report.

Sources: Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations, Fiscal Year 2008, U.S. Department of State, 2007 and Foreign Military Sales, Foreign Military Construction Sales, and Other Security Cooperation Historical Facts as of September 30, 2006, U.S. Defense Security Cooperation Agency, 2006.

Section Two: U.S. Counter-Terrorism Programs in Africa

Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Partnership

Operation Enduring Freedom—Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Partnership (TSCTP) links the United States with eight African countries: Mali, Chad, Niger, Mauritania, Nigeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria. The TSCTP was created in 2004 as an expanded version of the Pan-Sahel Counter-Terrorism Initiative, which was initiated in 2002. The TSCTP consists of regular training exercises conducted by U.S. Army Special Forces throughout the region to improve the ability of participating African military forces to conduct counter-terrorism operations. However, many of the participating forces have been involved in counter-insurgency operations and in military operations to repress non-violent political dissent. Although changing budgetary methodology makes it difficult to be certain, it appears that the TSCTP received some \$31 million in FY 2006, nearly \$82 million in FY 2007, and \$10 million was requested for FY 2008.

East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative

The East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative is a training program similar to the TSCTP. Established in 2003 as a multi-year program with \$100 million in funding, the EACTI has provided training to Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Djibouti, Eritrea, and Ethiopia. It appears that funds from this program are being used, among other purposes, to train and finance the Kenya Anti-Terrorism Police and other internal security units.

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

In October 2002, the U.S. Central Command played the leading role in the creation of this joint task force that was designed to conduct naval and aerial patrols in the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the eastern Indian Ocean as part of the effort to detect and counter the activities of terrorist groups in the region. Based at Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti, long the site of a major French military base, the CJTF-HOA is made up of approximate 1,400 U.S. military personnel—primarily sailors, Marines, and Special Forces troops—that works with a multi-national naval force composed of American naval vessels along with ships from the navies of France, Italy, and Germany, and other NATO allies. The CJTF-HOA provided intelligence to Ethiopia in support of its invasion of Somalia in January 2007 and used military facilities in Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya to launch its own attacks against alleged al-Qaeda members involved in the Council of Islamic Courts in Somalia in January and June of 2007. The command authority for CJTF-HOA, currently under the U.S. Central Command, will be transferred to Africom when it become operational as a separate unified command on 1 October 2008.

Joint Task Force Aztec Silence (JTFAS)

In December 2003, the U.S. European Command created this joint task force under the commander of the U.S. Sixth Fleet (Europe) to carry out counter-terrorism operations in

North and West Africa and to coordinate U.S. operations with those of countries in those regions. Specifically, JTFAS was charged with conducting surveillance operations using the assets of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and to share information, along with intelligence collected by U.S. intelligence agencies, with local military forces. The primary assets employed in this effort are a squadron of U.S. Navy P-3 "Orion" based in Sigonella, Sicily. In March 2004, P-3 aircraft from this squadron and reportedly operating from the southern Algerian base at Tamanrasset were deployed to monitor and gather intelligence on the movements of Algerian Salafist guerrillas operating in Chad and to provide this intelligence to Chadian forces engaged in combat against the guerrillas. And, in a particularly ominous incident, in September 2007, an American C-130 "Hercules" cargo plane stationed in Bamako, Mali, as part of the "Flintlock 2007" military exercises was deployed to resupply Malian counter-insurgency units engaged in fighting with Tuareg forces and was hit by Tuareg groundfire. No U.S. personnel were injured and the plane returned safely to the capital, but the incident constitutes a major extension of the U.S. role in counter-insurgency warfare and highlights the danger of America's deepening involvement in the internal conflicts that persist in so many African countries. The command authority for CJTFAS, currently under the U.S. European Command, will either be shared with Africom when it become operational as a separate unified command on 1 October 2008 or transferred entirely to the new command.

Section Three: US Base Access Agreements and US Naval Presence in Africa

Base Access Agreements for Cooperative Security Locations and Forward Operating Sites

Over the past few years, the Bush administration has negotiated base access agreements with the governments of Gabon, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, Tunisia, Namibia, Sao Tome, Senegal, Uganda, and Zambia. Under these agreements, the United States gains access to local military bases and other facilities so that they can be used by American forces as transit bases or as forward operating bases for combat, surveillance, and other military operations. They remain the property of the host African government and are not American bases in a legal sense, so that U.S. government officials are, technically, telling the truth when they deny that the United States has bases in these countries. To date, the United States has done little to improve the capabilities of these facilities, so that there is little or no evidence of an American military presence at these locations.

In addition to these publicly acknowledged base access agreements, the Pentagon was granted permission to deploy P-3 “Orion” aerial surveillance aircraft at the airfield at Tamanrasset in southern Algeria under an agreement reportedly signed in during Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika’s visit to Washington in July 2003 . The Brown and Root-Condor, a joint venture between a subsidiary of the American company, Halliburton, and the Algerian state-owned oil company, Sonatrach, is currently under contract to enlarge military air bases at Tamanrasset and at Bou Saada. In December 2006, Salafist forces used an improvised mine and small arms to attack a convoy of Brown and Root-Condor employees who were returning to their hotel in the Algerian town of Bouchaoui, killing an Algerian driver and wounding nine workers, including four Britons and one American (Smith, 2006).

Over the course of the next eighteen months, there is one major issue related to the new command that remains to be resolved: whether and where in Africa will Africom establish a regional headquarters. A series of consultations with the governments of a number of African countries—including Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Djibouti, Kenya—following the announcement of Africom found that none of them were willing to commit to hosting the new command. As a result, the Pentagon has been forced to reconsider its plans and in June 2007 Ryan Henry, the Principal Deputy Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy told reporters that the Bush administration now intended to establish what he called “a distributed command” that would be “networked” in several countries in different regions of the continent. Under questioning before the Senate Africa Subcommittee on 1 August 2007, Assistant Secretary Whelan said that Liberia, Botswana, Senegal, and Djibouti were among the countries that had expressed support for Africom—although only Liberia has publicly expressed a willingness to play host to Africom personnel—which clearly suggests that these countries are likely to accommodate elements of Africom’s headquarters staff when they eventually establish a presence on the continent sometime after 1 October 2008

U.S. Naval Presence in Africa

Although American naval forces operating in the oil-rich Gulf of Guinea and other areas along Africa's shores are formally under the command of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, based in the Mediterranean, and other U.S. Navy commands, Africom will also help coordinate naval operations along the African coastline. As U.S. Navy Admiral Henry G. Ulrich III, the commander of U.S. Naval Forces (Europe) put it to reporters at Fort McNair in Washington, DC, in June 2007, "we hope, as they [Africom] stand up, to fold into their intentions and their planning," and his command "will adjust, as necessary" as Africom becomes operational.

The U.S. Navy has been steadily increasing the level and pace of its operations in African waters in recent years, including the deployment of two aircraft carrier battle groups off the coast of West Africa as part of the "Summer Pulse" exercise in June 2004, when identical battle groups were sent to every ocean around the globe to demonstrate that the United States was still capable of bringing its military power to bear simultaneously in every part of the world despite its commitment to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan

More recently, American naval forces led an unprecedented voyage by a NATO fleet that circumnavigated the African continent from August to September 2007. Under the command of its flagship, the guided missile cruiser U.S.S. Normandy, the ships of Standing NATO Maritime Group One—composed of warships from Denmark, Portugal, the Netherlands, Canada, Germany, and the United States—conducted what were described as "presence operations" in the Gulf of Guinea, then proceeded to South Africa, where they participated in the Amazolo exercises being held by the South African Navy, and then sailed to the waters off the coast of Somalia to conduct more "presence operations" in a region which has experienced an upsurge in piracy. Later that same month, the guided missile destroyer U.S.S. Forrest Sherman arrived off South Africa to engage in a separate joint training exercise with the South African Navy frigate S.A.S. Amatola.

And in another significant expansion of U.S. Navy operations in Africa, the U.S.S. Fort McHenry amphibious assault ship began a six-month deployment to the Gulf of Guinea in November 2007. The ship carries 200-300 sailors and U.S. Coast Guard personnel and will call at ports in eleven countries (Angola, Benin, Cameroon, the Republic of the Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Ghana, Nigeria, Sao Tome and Principe, and Togo). Its mission is to serve as a "floating schoolhouse" to train local forces in port and oil-platform security, search-and rescue missions, and medical and humanitarian assistance. According to Admiral Ulrich, the deployment matches up perfectly with the work of the new Africa Command. "If you look at the direction that the Africa Command has been given and the purpose of standing up the Africom, you'll see that the (Gulf of Guinea) mission is closely aligned," he told reporters.