

OPSOMMING

Onderwerp: Die militêre betrokkenheid van die Verenigde State van Amerika in sub-Sahara Afrika: 1993 - 2001.

Deur: A.J. Esterhuyse

Leier: Prof M. Hough

Departement: Politieke Wetenskappe, Universiteit van Pretoria.

Graad: Magister in Veiligheidstudies

Die doel van dié studie is om die militêre betrokkenheid van die VSA by veiligheid in sub-Sahara Afrika (SSA) tydens die Clinton-era (1993-2001) te ondersoek en te ontleed. Dit is gegrond op die aanname dat die VSA tydens die Clinton-era nie veel belang by veiligheid in SSA gehad het nie en daarom veral nie op militêre gebied in SSA betrokke wou raak nie. Uit die aard van die VSA se posisie as die enigste oorblywende supermoondheid in die post-Koue Oorlog-era, het daar egter wel 'n verantwoordelikheid op die VSA gerus om militêr betrokke te wees by die daarstelling van veiligheid in SSA. Die studie steun op twee teoretiese vertrekpunte. Aan die een kant word die veranderende aard van veiligheid wêreldwyd, in die besonder ook in SSA, tydens die post-Koue Oorlog as teoretiese vertrekpunt benut. Aan die ander kant word dit ondersteun deur 'n teoretiese fokus op die aard van militêre betrokkenheid op globale vlak met spesifieke verwysing na SSA in die era na die Koue Oorlog. Laasgenoemde staan in noue verband met die veranderende aard van militêre mag, sowel as die aanwending daarvan, in die post-Koue Oorlog-era.

Die militêre betrokkenheid van die VSA in die hantering van SSA se veiligheidsprobleme tydens die Clinton-era word ondersoek teen die agtergrond van die VSA se belang, beleid, en strategie – spesifiek die veiligheidstrategie. Daar word gewys op die realiteit dat die VSA geen konkrete belang in SSA gehad het nie. Gevolglik is SSA nie as 'n prioriteitsgebied in die VSA se buitelandse beleid beskou nie. Die VSA se beleidsdoelwitte in SSA was daarom gerig op die bevordering van demokrasie, die verbetering van die veiligheidsituasie en die ondersteuning van ekonomiese vooruitgang. Die VSA se onwilligheid om militêre magte in SSA te ontplooi, het gevvolglik sy veiligheidstrategie en militêre betrokkenheid in SSA onderlê. Genoemde veiligheidstrategie was in wese voorkomend van aard in dié sin dat dit stabiliteit in die streek moes bevorder ten einde te voorkom dat bedreigings teen die VSA manifesteer.

Die VSA was egter op 'n verskeidenheid wyses militêr in SSA betrokke, waaronder die verskaffing van opleiding, militêre oefeninge en operasies. Dit was egter hoofsaaklik gerig op die bemagtiging van weermagte in SSA. Die argument was dat weermagte in SSA die kapasiteit moes ontwikkel

om demokratiese overheidsvorms en ekonomiese vooruitgang in SSA te ondersteun. Die VSA-weermag se kapasiteitsbouprogramme in SSA was toegespits op verdedigingshervorming, militêre professionalisering, konflikoplossings en vredesmagvermoëns, die voorsiening van uitrusting en die verbetering van gesondheids- en omgewingstoestande.

ABSTRACT

Topic: The military involvement of the United States of America in sub-Saharan Africa: 1993 - 2001.

By: A.J. Esterhuyse

Leader: Prof M. Hough

Department: Political Sciences, University of Pretoria.

Degree: Master in Security Studies

The aim of this study is to investigate and analyse the military involvement of the USA in the security of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) during the era of the Clinton administration (1993-2001). The study is based on the assumption that the US did not have that much interest in the security of SSA during the Clinton era and that it did not want to become militarily involved in SSA. Its position as the only remaining superpower in the post-Cold War era, however placed a responsibility on the US to be militarily involved in the creation of a more secure SSA. The study relies on two theoretical constructs. On the one hand the changing nature of security in the post-Cold War world in general, but specifically in SSA, serves as a theoretical starting point. This is, on the other hand, supported by a theoretical focus on the nature of military involvement globally, but also specifically in SSA in the era after the Cold War. The latter is to a large extent related to the changing nature of military force and the use thereof in the post-Cold War era.

The military involvement of the US in the management of the security of SSA during the Clinton era is analysed against the background of the US interests, policy, and strategy – specifically its security strategy – in SSA. The reality of the absence of concrete US interests in SSA is highlighted. This lack of interest led to a situation whereby SSA could not be a priority in US foreign policy. The US policy objectives in SSA were nevertheless aimed at the promotion of democracy, the improvement of the security situation and the support of economic progress. The reluctance of the US to deploy military forces in SSA underpins its security strategy and military involvement in SSA. The security strategy of the US was in essence preventive in nature since it aimed at preventing the manifestation of threats from SSA against the US by promoting the stability of SSA.

However, the US was still militarily involved in SSA in a variety of ways, from the provision of military training and the conduct of military exercises to military operations. Military involvement centred around the empowerment of armed forces in SSA. It was argued that the capacity of the armed forces of SSA should be developed to support democratic governance and economic progress. The capacity building programmes of the US armed forces in SSA concentrated on defence reform, military professionalism, the creation of indigenous conflict resolution and peace support capabilities, the provision of equipment, and the improvement of health and environmental conditions.

SLEUTELTERME / KEY TERMS

Afrika veiligheid / African security

Clinton-administrasie / Clinton administration

Gewapende konflik / Armed Conflict

Militêre betrokkenheid / Military involvement

Militêre mag / Military force

Post-Koue Oorlog-veiligheid / Post-Cold War security

Sub-Sahara Afrika / Sub-Saharan Africa

VSA-veiligheidsbeleid / US security policy

VSA-veiligheidstrategie / US security strategy

VSA-weermag / US armed forces

BRONNELYS

1. Prim re Bronne

1.1 Owerheidspublikasies

RSA, South African National Defence Force, "USA: Security Policy Towards Africa", *Defence Intelligence Assessment*, No 19/2, 4 April 2002.

United Kingdom, *The Causes of Conflict in Africa*, Africa Policy and Economics Department, Department of International Development, Consultation Document, London, March 2001.

US, "U.S. Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations", *Presidential Decision Directive 25*, Bureau of International Organisational Affairs, U.S. State Department Publication 10161, 5 Mei 1994.

US, Department of State, "Fact Sheet: US Policy for a New Era in Sub-Saharan Africa", *US Department of State Dispatch*, Bureau of Public Affairs, Vol 4, No 3, 18 January 1993.

US, *A National Security Strategy for A New Century*, Washington DC, May 1997. Beskikbaar op die internet by: [<http://www.fas.org/man/docs/strategy97.htm>]

US, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*, Washington DC, October 1999. Beskikbaar op die internet by: [<http://www-cgsc.army.mil/djco/documents/nss1998.htm>]

US, *A Strategy of Flexible and Selective Engagement – National Military Strategy*, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington DC, February 1995. Beskikbaar op die internet by:
[http://www.fas.org/man/docs/nms_feb95.htm]

US, Army Public Affairs, "U.S. Army Training and Operations Update", *US Army News Release No 98-007*, Washington DC, 8 April 1998.

US, Department of Defense, "DoD Launches African Center for Strategic Studies", News Release, 22 July 1999, Beskikbaar op die internet by: [http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Jul1999/b07221999_bt343-99.html]

US, Department of Defense, Office of African Affairs, *U.S. DoD Africa Strategy*, August 1995, Beskikbaar op die internet by: [http://www.defenselink.mil/policy/isa/a...office_african_affairs_strategy.html]

US, Department of Defense, *US Security Strategy for Sub-Saharan Africa*, US Department of Defense Office of International Security Affairs, Washington DC, August 1995, Beskikbaar op die internet by:
[<http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/1995/s19950801-report.html>]

US, Department of State, "Arms and Conflict in Africa", *Report of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research*, Bureau of Public Affairs, July 1999.

US, Department of State, "Bombings in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania August 7, 1998", Fact sheet released by the Bureau of Public Affairs, 7 Augustus 1998.

US, Department of State, "Foreign Military Training and DoD Engagement Activities: Joint Report to Congress", Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, Washington DC, January 2001, Beskikbaar op die internet by: [<http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/rpt/fmtrpt/2001/2569.htm>]

US, Department of State, "Summary of the African Crisis Response Initiative", *International Information Programs*, Beskikbaar op die internet by: [<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/af/acri/acrisumm.htm>]

1.2 Interowerheidspublikasies

Annan, K, "The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa", *Secretary General's Report to the United Nations Security Council 16 April 1998*.

2. Sekondêre Bronne

2.1 Boeke

Ayoob, M, *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System*, Lynne Reinner, Boulder, 1995.

Berman, E G & Sams, K E, *Peacekeeping in Africa: Capabilities and Culpabilities*, United Nations Publications, Geneva, 2000.

Brown, M E (Ed), *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1996.

Brown, M E, et al (eds), *Theories of War and Peace*, MIT Press, London 2000.

Buzan, B, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda For International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, New York, 1994.

Clough, M, *Free at Last? U.S. Policy Toward Africa and the end of the Cold War*, Council of Foreign Relations Press, New York, March 1992.

Croft, S & Terriff, T (eds), *Critical Reflections on Security and Change*, Frank Cass, London, 2000.

Dickson, D A, *United States Foreign Policy Towards Sub-Saharan Africa*, University Press of America, 1985.

Du Plessis, L and Hough, M (eds), *Managing African Conflicts: The Challenge of Military Intervention*, HSRC, Pretoria, 2000.

Furley, O, *Conflict in Africa*, Tauris, London, 1995.

Haass, R N, *Intervention. The Use of American Military Force in the Post-Cold War World*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, 1994.

Hale, W & Kiele, E (eds), *After the Cold War. Security and Democracy in Africa and Asia*, Tauris, London, 1997.

Hammond, A, *Which World? Scenario's for the 21st Century*, Shearwater, Washington D.C. 1998.

Holsti, K J, *International Relations: A Framework for Analysis*, Prentice-Hall, London, 7de Uitgawe, 1995.

Job, B L (ed), *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States*, Lynne Reinner, London, 1992.

Mandel, R, *The Changing Face of National Security. A Conceptual Analysis*, Greenwood Press, Westport/London, 1994.

Mason, T, *The Aerospace Revolution: Role Revision and Technology an Overview*, Brassey's, London, 1998.

Mathur, K M, *Crime, Human Rights and National Security*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 1996.

University of Pretoria etd – Esterhuyse, A J (2003)

Schraeder, P J (ed), *Intervention into the 1990's. U.S. Foreign Policy in the Third World*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1992.

Schraeder, P J, *United States Foreign Policy Towards Africa: Incrementalism, Crisis and Change*, University Press, Cambridge, 1997.

Shultz, R H et al (eds), *Security Studies for the 21st Century*, Brassey's, London, 1997.

Snow, D M, *Uncivil Wars: International Security and the New Internal Conflicts*, Lynne Reiner, London, 1996.

Snyder, C A (ed), *Contemporary Security and Strategy*, Routledge, New York, 1999.

Sorbo, G M & Vale, P, *Out of Conflict. From War to Peace in Africa*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 1997.

2.2 Tydskrifte en Joernale

Albright, M, "The Making of U.S. Foreign Policy", *U.S Foreign Policy Agenda*, Vol 5, no 1, March 2000.

Alden, C, "From Neglect to 'Virtual Engagement': The United States and Its New Paradigm for Africa", *African Affairs*, Vol 99, 2000.

Art, R J, "Geopolitics Updated: The Strategy of Selective Engagement", *International Security*. Vol 23, No 3, Winter 1998/99.

Bonnemaison, E, "Security Sector Planning in Africa: Military Force as a Public Good", *African Security Review*, Vol 11, No 2, 2002.

Booker, S, "The Colour Line: US Foreign Policy and National Interest in Africa", *South African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 8, No 1, Summer 2001.

Bridgeman, M, "The US-Africa Binational Commision", *South African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 8, No 1, Summer 2001.

Brower, S E & Simons, A, "The ACRI Command and Control Challenge", *Parameters*, Winter 2000-01.

Buzan, B, "National Security in the Post-Cold War Third World", *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, Vol XVI, No 1, March 1994.

Campbell, J E, "Sub-Saharan Africa and die Unified Command Plan", *Joint Forces Quarterly*, Autumn/Winter 2001-02.

Catoire, R C, "A CINC for Sub-Saharan Africa: Rethinking the Unified Command Plan", *Parameters*, Vol XXX, no. 4, Winter 2000-01.

Clark, M T, "The Future of Clinton's Foreign and Defense Policy: Multilateral Security", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol 13, 1994.

Cochran, E S, "The Pivotal State: Post-Apartheid South Africa", *Parameters*, Vol XXX, no 4. Winter 2000-01.

Diomandé, M, "Strategy for Increased Stability in Africa", *Naval War College Review*, Autumn 1994.

Freedman, L, "The Revolution In Strategic Affairs", *Adelphi Paper 318*, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, Oxford University Press, London, 1998.

Freedman, L, "The Changing Forms of Military Conflict", *Survival*, Vol 40, No 4, Winter 1998-99.

[University of Pretoria etd – Esterhuyse, A J \(2003\)](#)

- Gray, C S, "The Changing Nature of Warfare", *Naval War College Review*, Vol XLIX, No 2, Spring 1996.
- Gutteridge, W, "Undoing Military Coups in Africa", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 7, No 1, January 1995.
- Higgs, R W, "The United States and Sub-Saharan Africa", *Naval War College Review*, Vol XLIX, No 1, Winter 1996.
- Kuperman, A J, "Rwanda in Retrospect", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 79, No 1, January/February 2000.
- Levitt, J, "The African Crisis Response Initiative: A General Survey", *Africa Insight*, Vol 28 No 3/4, 1998.
- Maynard, W K, "Spears vs. Rifles: The New Equation of Military Power", *Parameters*, Vol XXIII, No 1, Spring 1993.
- Metz, S, "A Strategic Approach to African Security: Challenges and Prospects", *African Security Review*, Vol 9, No 3, 2000
- Mills, G, "South Africa, the United States and Africa", *South African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 6, No 1, Summer 1998.
- Minter, W, "Africa", *Foreign Policy in Focus*, Overview Edition, Vol 2, No 26. March 1999.
- Minter, W, "America and Africa: Beyond the Double Standard", *Current History*, Vol 99, No 637, May 2000.
- Neethling, T & Esterhuyse, A J, "US Involvement in African Security Requirements: Some Notes and Reflections", *African Armed Forces Journal*, September 2000.
- Newson, E D, "Uniting the Tools of Force and Diplomacy to Enhance Security", *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda*, Vol 5, No 1, March 2000.
- Newson, E D, "Security Assistance: The Bridge Between Diplomacy and the Use of Force", *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda*, Vol 4, No 3, December 1999.
- Ngubane, S & Solomon, H, "Southern Africa's New Security Agenda", *Africa Insight*, Vol 32, No 1, March 2002.
- Nye, J S, "US Defence Interest in sub-Saharan Africa", *African Security Review*, Vol 4, No 6, 1995.
- Omach, P, "The African Crisis Response Initiative: Domestic Politics and Convergence of National Interests", *African Affairs*, Vol 99, 2000.
- Perry, H, "Defense in an Age of Hope", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 75, No 6, November/December 1996.
- Prinslow, K E, "Building Military Relations in Africa", *Military Review*, May-June 1997.
- Rugumamu, S M, "State Sovereignty and Intervention in Africa", *Conflict Trends*, No 4/2001.
- Schreder, P J, "It's the Third World Stupid! Why the Third World Should be the Priority of the Clinton Administration", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 14, No 2, 1993.
- Thom, W, "Africa's Security Issues Through 2010", *Military Review*, July-August 2000.
- Walker, N J & Hanauer, L, "EUCOM and Sub-Saharan Africa", *Joint Forces Quarterly*, Spring 1997.

2.3 Monografieë en Periodieke Publikasies

- Anon, "Chapter 8: Sub-Saharan Africa", *1998 Strategic Assessment: Engaging Power of Peace*, National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1998.
- Cilliers, J, "Peace, security and democracy in Africa? A summary of outcomes from the 2002 OAU/AU summits in Durban", *ISS Paper 60*, August 2002.

University of Pretoria etd – Esterhuyse, A J (2003)

- Fox, C W, "Military Medical Operations in Sub-Saharan Africa: The DoD 'Point of the Spear' for a New Century", *Strategic Studies Institute Monograph*, US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Pennsylvania, 24 June 1997.
- Henk, D & Metz, S, "The United States and the Transformation of African Security: The African Crisis Response Initiative and Beyond", *Strategic Studies Institute Monograph*, US Army War College, 5 December 1997.
- Henk, D, "Peace and Security in Africa: Contributions by the United States", *ISS Monograph No 35*, 1999.
- Henk, D, "Uncharted Paths, Uncertain Vision: U.S. Military Involvements in Sub-Saharan Africa in the Wake of the Cold War", *INSS Occassional Paper 18: Regional Series*, Institute for National Security Studies, US Air Force Academy, Colorado, March 1998.
- Lodge, T, "Towards an Understanding of Contemporary Armed Conflict in Africa", In: *Whither Peacekeeping in Africa? ISS Monograph No 36*, April 1999.
- Malan, M, "US Response to African Crises: An Overview and Preliminary Analysis of the ACRI", *ISS Papers No 24*, August 1997.
- Metz, S, "Refining American Strategy in Africa", *Strategic Studies Institute Monograph*, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, Pennsylvania, February 2000.
- Minter, W, "United States and Africa: Starting Points for a New Policy Framework", *Foreign Policy Focus. Special Report #8*, November 1999.
- Romjue, J L, "The Evolution of American Army Doctrine", In: Gooch, J (ed), "The Origins of Contemporary Doctrine", *SCSI Occasional Paper No 30*, September 1997.
- Simpson, D H, "U.S. African Policy: Some Possible Course Adjustment", *Strategic Studies Institute Monograph*, US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Pennsylvania, August 1994.
- Tilford, E H (ed), "World View: The 1998 Strategic Assesment from the Strategic Studies Institute", *Strategic Studies Institute Monograph*, US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Pennsylvania, 26 February 1998.
- Williams, R, "Don't Hold the African Crisis Response Force Hostage to Unrealistic Demands", *ISS Papers No 20*, April 1997.

2.3 Koerante

Die Burger, (Kaapstad) 4 April 2002.

The New York Times, (New York) 8 January 2001.

3. Internetbronne

"African Crisis Response Inisiative (ACRI): A Peacekeeping Alliance in Africa", *Project on Peacekeeping and the United Nations*, Beskikbaar op die internet by: [<http://www.clw.org/pub/clw/un/acri.html>]

African News Service, 22 October 1997. Beskikbaar op die internet by [<http://www.africanews.org>]

University of Pretoria etd – Esterhuyse, A J (2003)

CNN, *U.S. Choosy about Military Intervention*, 22 Mei 1996. Beskikbaar op die Internet by:

[<http://www.cnn.com/US/9605/22/us.military.africa/>]

Global Issues, "The Strike against Afghanistan and Sudan", Beskikbaar op die internet by:

[<http://www.globalissues.org/Geopolitics/MiddleEast/AfghanSudan.asp>]

Issues 2002, *Al Gore on Foreign Policy*, Beskikbaar op die internet by:

[www.issues2000.org/Al_Gore_Foreign_Policy.htm]

Kuperus, T, "Kosovo and Rwanda: Selective Interventionism?" *Public Justice Report*, The Center for Public Justice. Beskikbaar op die Internet by: [[http://www.cpjustice.org/stories/storyReader\\$646](http://www.cpjustice.org/stories/storyReader$646)]

Lanham, R W, *Beyond the Clinton Doctrine: U.S. Military Intervention Policy*, 1997. Beskikbaar op die internet by: [<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1997/Lanham.htm>]

Mokhiber, J and Young, R, "The Uses of Force", *Frontline*, 1999. Beskikbaar op die internet by:

[<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/military/force/>]

Past Presidents, *Biography of William J Clinton: Forty-Second President 1993-2001*, The White House, Washington DC. Beskikbaar op die Internet by:

[<http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents/bc42.html>]

Program on International Policy Attitudes, "Humanitarian Military Intervention in Africa", *Americans & The World*. Beskikbaar op die Internet by: [http://www.americans-world.org/digest/regional_issues/Africa/africa4.cfm]

Webbladsy: *African Center for Strategic Studies*. [<http://www.africacenter.org/>]

Webbladsy: *MPRI* [http://www.mpri.com/subchannels/int_africa.html]

Webbladsy: *International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies*.
[<http://www.ifrc.org/WHAT/health/archi/fact/fmines.htm>]

Webbladsy: *U.S. Department of Commerce*, Africa Growth and Opportunity Act.
[<http://www.agoa.gov/index.html>]

4. Ander Bronne

Bacon, J et al, *Sub-Saharan Africa: Pragmatism in the National Interest*, Studentewerkstuk, National Defense University, National War College, 1998.

Bridgeman, M, *Between 'Partnership' and Disengagement: Mapping the Contours of US Policy Towards Post-Apartheid South Africa*, Dissertation presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, December 1999.

Cilliers, J, "Security in Africa" Referaat gelewer tydens die Ministriële Konferensie rakende Veiligheid, Stabiliteit, Ontwikkeling en Samewerking in Abudja, Nigerië, 8 Mei 2000. Beskikbaar op die internet by: [<http://www.iss.co.za/Pubs/Other/Abudja.html>]

Hooks, A, "Promoting Security in Africa – The U.S. Contribution". Referaat gelewer by "Council of Foreign Relations" in 'n reeks getitel *American Policymakers on Africa*, New York, 10 February 2000. Beskikbaar op die Internet: [<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/af/acri/hoockstx.htm>]

University of Pretoria etd – Esterhuyse, A J (2003)

Shaw, B, Aanbieding deur dr Bryant Shaw, Akademiese Dekaan van die ACSS, ACSS-Botswana Seminaar,
3 Julie 2000.

Verbrugge, K *et al*, "Sub-Saharan Africa: Adrift in a Sea of Misery. Defining U.S. National Strategy",
Studentewerkstuk, National Defense University, National War College, 1997.