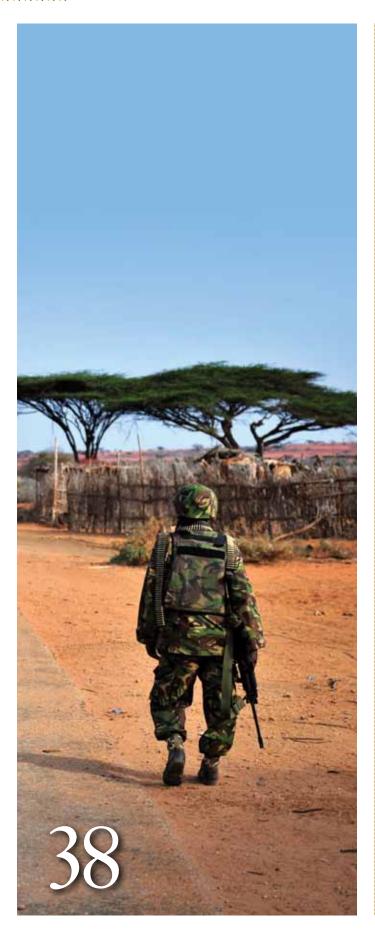


An Ambitious

DDR Effort Helps Build a Nation

OPERATION LINDA NCHI
Col. Cyrus Oguna Discusses Kenya's Involvement in Somalia

TABLE OF CONTENTS



features

- **8** The Roads to Reconciliation
 Three African nations demonstrate
 different ways to deal with violent pasts.
- 14 New Lives After Combat
 An ambitious DDR effort in South
 Sudan wants ex-combatants to help
 build a nation.
- **22** From Combatants to Comrades
 Rebel-military integration is tough and messy, but it can support a lasting peace.
- **28 Back from the Battlefield** Well-planned reintegration programs are essential to preserving the peace.
- **34** Life After the Gun
 Across the continent, ex-combatants are finding vocations as varied as the conflicts they are leaving.
- **38** Assessing Operation Linda Nchi Col. Cyrus Oguna of the Kenya Defence Forces discusses his country's involvement in Somalia.
- 42 Strength in Diversity
 When militaries reflect the population they serve, they're better able to provide stability.
- 48 For Somalia's Youth the Time is Now With high unemployment and low wages, the country must find new ways to reach out to its young population.
- **52 Making Good Messengers**An international NGO is training journalists to promote peace through accurate reporting.



departments

- 4 Viewpoint
- 5 African Perspective
- 6 Africa Today
- **20** Africa Heartbeat
- **56** Culture & Sports
- 58 World Outlook
- 60 Defense & Security
- 62 Paths of Hope
- 64 Growth & Progress
- 66 Flashback
- 67 Where Am I?





ADF ILLUSTRATION

ON THE COVER:

The cover illustration depicts a hand sewing together the continent of Africa. The image symbolizes that reconciliation often requires stitching together the fabric of society after it has been torn during a conflict. Underneath the fabric are four images depicting reconciliation from across the continent.

WWW VIEWPOINT

incredible reconciliation efforts.

ational reconciliation takes time. It can't be won on the battlefield or with a peace treaty or with a political power-sharing agreement. Pulling a nation together after a conflict requires leadership, patience and a special capacity for forgiveness.

In recent history, Africans have shown a remarkable willingness to forgive one another and continue to live side by side. Although the continent has endured some of the world's worst tragedies, it also has been the site of

South Africa led the way. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) established in 1995 was a unique African solution to addressing a painful history. After the apartheid era, Nelson Mandela and the country's new leaders chose to record the crimes of the previous regime rather than prosecute them. Nobel Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu presided over the TRC and called it a "middle way." He said it was not quite the Nuremberg Trials of Germany and not collective amnesia.

"Our country chose a middle way of individual amnesty for truth," Tutu said. "Some would say, 'What about justice?' And we say, 'Retributive justice is not the only kind of justice. There is also restorative justice.' "

Since then, the community gacaca courts of Rwanda, the TRC of Sierra Leone and Kenya's new Constitution each provide unique answers to the same problem.

The military also can play an important role in reconciliation. After a conflict, the national military might be asked to integrate ex-rebels into its units to give them a stake in the country's future. The security sector might also be asked to help disarm, demobilize and reintegrate rebel forces, and some of their own armed forces if their ranks have grown too large. Finally, the military can lead the way toward national unity by creating a diverse institution that reflects the nation it serves.

Throughout the reconciliation process, the military's most important contribution is to provide security so a lasting peace can take root.

U.S. Africa Command Staff



Sudan Defence Force officers hug each other during a ceremony that preceded the split of South Sudan from the north in July 2011. As an institution, an integrated and ethnically diverse military can lead the way toward national reconciliation.



Reconciliation

Volume 6, Quarter 2

U.S. AFRICA COMMAND

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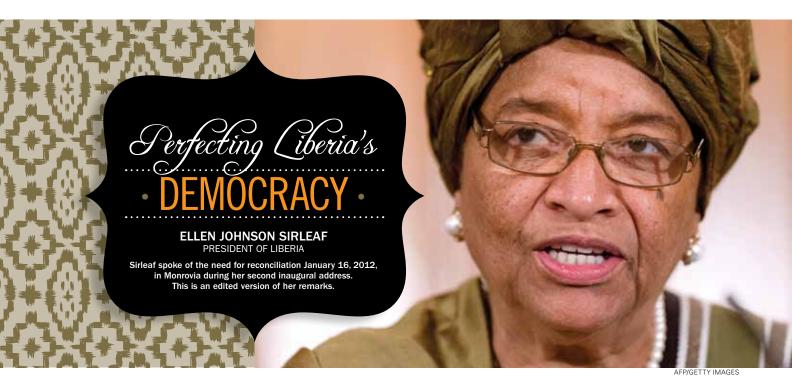
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AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE



We all, together, will never allow those mistakes to be repeated. We will never again shed the mantle of democracy, of freedom, of national unity, of patriotism.

oday, we can state with conviction that our country has turned the corner.
Liberia is no longer a place of conflict, war and deprivation. We are no longer the country our citizens want to run away from, our international partners pitied, and our neighbors feared.

The second election in any emerging democracy is the most important. The first takes place on the world stage, in the spotlight, with great fanfare. But the second election is the true test of the will of the people and the institutions they have created. If the second election works, it establishes a pattern, a tradition, a routine of democracy that subsequent elections can follow.

The cleavages that led to decades of war still run deep. But so, too, does the longing for reconciliation — a reconciliation defined not by political bargaining or by an artificial balance of power by tribe, region, religion or ethnicity, but by the equality of opportunity and a better future for all Liberians.

True reconciliation means a process of national healing. It means learning the lessons of the past to perfect our democracy. But above all, it means

economic justice for our citizens and the spread of progress to all our people. It means creating jobs, opportunities and giving our young people the skills they need to prosper and create the life they choose.

Six years ago, I stood before you in this same place and pledged to you my commitment to a process of national renewal. Now I address a new and very different Liberia. I call on you to join me in the completion of that formidable task.

My fellow Liberians, we know all too well what can happen when the tenets of democracy and freedom are not jealously and vigorously defended, when the true love of country is abandoned for narrow interest. We have suffered the years of deprivation and terror, during which democratic principles were exiled from our shores. We have looked into the vacant eyes of a generation of young Liberians whose hope for the future was stolen.

We all, together, will never allow those mistakes to be repeated. We will never again shed the mantle of democracy, of freedom, of national unity, of patriotism.

I invite you to join me in the next steps toward restoration and the progress of our beloved Liberia. The future that has beckoned us is finally here.

MINIMA AFRICA TODAY



PIRACY

Drops to Lowest Level in Four Years

A Somali pirate

fishing vessel in

September 2012

stands near

a Taiwanese

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

ea piracy worldwide fell to its lowest level since 2008 over the first nine months of 2012, as navies and shipping companies cracked down on attacks off the coast of Somalia.

The International Maritime Bureau said 233 attacks were recorded worldwide in the first nine months of 2012, down from 352 in the same period in 2011. The bureau's piracy reporting arm, based in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, said 24 vessels were hijacked between January and September 2012, with 458 crew members taken hostage and six killed.

The numbers fell because attacks off Somalia's coast plummeted during that same period, from 199 in 2011 to 70 in 2012. The bureau said only one Somali attack was reported in the third quarter of 2012.

Piracy off the coast of mostly lawless Somalia surged in 2009. Since then, pirates have been deterred by international navies and by ships taking their own security measures, such as hiring armed guards.

A recent trip by reporters to areas off the Somali coast once controlled by pirates found many pirates hiding in unfurnished rooms from creditors. Rather than attacking cargo ships, they were playing cards or catching lobsters.

Still, the bureau cautioned that piracy in Africa's Gulf of Guinea, ranging from Benin to Togo, was becoming increasingly dangerous, with 34 cases in the first nine months of 2012. It said the attacks were often violent, planned and aimed at stealing refined oil products.

RADIO STATION EASES TRAFFIC

—— in Lagos —

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Many radio stations across the world update their listeners with traffic reports, particularly during peak hours. But Lagos is the largest city in Nigeria and, as any longtime resident would be happy to explain, it is a world unto itself.

Nigeria's economic capital has a population estimated at 15 million. The city has spotty public transportation and roads with potholes the size of small ponds. Officials decided that ordinary traffic reports simply would not suffice under such conditions. They launched Traffic Radio 96.1 FM, taking calls from drivers and monitors throughout the city and then relaying those reports and suggestions to listeners.

The government in Lagos State, where the city is located, has made easing monstrous traffic jams one of its priorities, so far with varying success. The radio station is among its latest moves.

It is difficult to overstate the problem. The millions of Lagos residents who must commute across town or into the suburbs face hours-long drives over often dangerous roads while dodging tankers and swarming motorcycle taxis. Hoodlums extorting money from drivers add further headaches.

The radio station operates 18 hours a day, with songs played intermittently between traffic reports. Commuters have welcomed the station since it came on the air in late May 2012. When a petrol tanker ran into a ditch on the outskirts of Lagos, the station prevented a nightmarish traffic jam from forming. A monitor had phoned in to report the crash, and announcer Femi Akanni began broadcasting alternative routes to escape the gridlock.

Another part of the radio station's duties has been to explain, in English and the local Yoruba language, a set of controversial new traffic laws, including bans on mobile phone use and even smoking or eating while driving.

"The radio is one of our initiatives to make life better for Lagosians, to solve traffic problems as a city aspiring to become Africa's model megacity," Lagos Information Commissioner Lateef Aderemi Ibirogba said.



CONGO COOPERATIVE OFFERS EMPLOYMENT TO

EX-COMBATANTS

VOICE OF AMERICA

opacdi, a cooperative in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, is helping to relaunch a traditional export and, at the same time, encourage the region's ex-combatants to make a better, and less violent, living from coffee.

It's a bumpy three-hour ride from Sopacdi's headquarters in the town of Minova to the National Coffee Office in Goma, the capital of North Kivu province. Getting certification for Congolese coffee was not an entirely smooth journey either, said Sopacdi President Joachim Munganga. It required years of work to meet international fair trade standards and advocacy on the part of a British nongovernmental organization to get the coffee sold in major supermarket chains.

Munganga said Sopacdi was created in response to pressing needs. A few years ago, most of the coffee from the area was taken across Lake Kivu at night to Rwanda, and the sudden storms that blow up on the lake had drowned many desperate smugglers, along with their cargo. Coffee growers needed better access to markets.

The founders of Sopacdi, Munganga said, were trying to think what they could contribute toward resolving ethnic conflicts in the area, and they thought perhaps they should bring producers together and persuade them to organize themselves into a co-op. Members of rival communities now work together at the co-op's different branches, electing their leaders and promoting group interests.

The 3,600 members, who all work for themselves, are divided into groups of about 50 farmers who elect their leaders, who in turn elect sector representatives, who elect the president.

A key factor in the co-op's success at obtaining certification is its washing station, where a machine depulps the coffee berries — in other words, removes the outer flesh. Doing this process by hand is time-intensive and can mean loss of freshness. The co-op's trucks take the beans to the

station for depulping. fermenting, washing and drying within hours of being picked.

Many ex-combatants work at the washing station, which employs 161 people. Former rebel Habamungu



Engavashapa said he is happy with civilian life. Now he spends his nights in a house, whereas before he spent them in the forest.

Ex-soldier Abdul Mahagi is also pleased with his new job. He said he suffered when he was in the army, but now he's beginning to feel more at ease. Since working with Sopacdi, he has been trained as a machinist, he has a contract, and is earning money and beginning to see how to organize his life.

MANDELA BANK NOTES ISSUED IN SOUTH AFRICA

BBC NEWS AT BBC.CO.UK/NEWS

The first bank notes featuring the face of Nelson Mandela went into circulation in South Africa in November 2012. They replace notes with wild animals and rural and

industrial scenes. President Jacob Zuma says the bank notes were a "humble gesture" to express South Africa's "deep gratitude."

Mandela, one of the world's best-loved figures, spent 27 years in prison for fighting apartheid. Reserve Bank Governor Gill Marcus became the first to use the new bank notes when she spent 160 rand, about \$18, on

some nuts, beetroot, a watermelon and a cucumber at her local shop in the capital, Pretoria.

She said that Mandela was delighted with the design.

She also noted that South Africa tries to update its currency every seven years for security reasons. The new design includes watermarks and a metal strip.

> Raised printing was added to assist the visually impaired.

> Mandela's face is on one side of all the new bank notes, and the "Big Five" animals — lion, leopard, rhino, buffalo and elephant - remain on the reverse.

> Mandela won the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize jointly with F.W. de Klerk for his campaign against white minority rule and was elected president the next year.

He stepped down after a single term. Known affectionately by his clan name "Madiba," he has now retired from public life.





The Roads to RECONCILIATION

Three African Nations Demonstrate Different Ways to Deal With Violent Pasts

ADF STAFF

ormer Robben Island prisoner Singqokwana
Ernest Malgas rolled his wheelchair to a table
and faced South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation
Commission (TRC). It was April 16, 1996, the
second day of the hearings that would change a
country, a continent and the world.

"Your situation is quite different from a whole lot of other people," said TRC Deputy Chairman Alex Boraine, according to South Africa's *Sunday Times*. "You are a victim of torture, of harassment, of imprisonment, and we want you to tell us your story."

Malgas obliged, straining a voice ravaged by a stroke. He told of his house being burned. He told of his son, Simphiwe, who died after acid was poured over him. He told of his own unspeakable suffering.

"During the torturing, I was always suffocated with a mask, and there was this 'helicopter training,' " he said of a torture method that contorts the victim's arms and legs.

Malgas began to cry. His testimony caused Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the commission's chairman, to weep uncontrollably as well.

South Africa's TRC is the world's best-known example of transitional justice, a process that strives to promote healing, build a historical record and grant victims a modicum of justice after mass crimes or the downfall of repressive regimes. But South Africa's is not the only model.

Rwanda employed its "gacaca" system of community courts in the wake of one of history's most notorious genocides. Sierra Leone used a U.N.-funded Special Court for high-level perpetrators and a TRC based on South Africa's model for hearing victims and perpetrators.

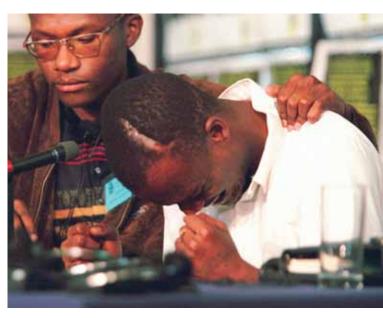
There are others, in Africa and elsewhere. Scholars disagree on whether transitional periods demand responses that favor reconciliation over retribution. But

societies moving out of dark periods such as apartheid, genocide and civil war may prefer reconciliation.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

South Africa's post-apartheid government, led by President Nelson Mandela, chose to focus on airing injustices while providing a public accounting of atrocities, according to *The Fate of Africa: A History of the Continent Since Independence*, by Martin Meredith.

Many whites wanted to leave the past buried — just forgive and forget. Some blacks called for reparations.



Charles Zwane, right, is consoled as he breaks down while answering questions from South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission on how he was tortured by security police in the late 1980s.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The commission was a result of compromise. It would hear only the most egregious human rights violations from between 1960 and 1994. "Only the extremes of apartheid would be examined, not its normality," Meredith wrote.

The TRC, established in 1995, heard or received stories from 21,000 victims, relating to 38,000 incidents and 14,000 killings, the *Sunday Times* reported. Perpetrators also addressed the commission, and 7,127 applied for amnesty. Of those, 1,146 received it.

The commission took on the theological view of its leader, Tutu, a Christian cleric. Lyn Graybill and Kimberly Lanegran, in their paper "Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation in Africa: Issues and Cases," said the commission mixed Christian theology with a tradition known as "Ubuntu."

"Ubuntu," which has its origins in the Bantu languages of southern Africa, roughly translates as "humanness" and embodies the notion that the community is more important than the individual. A common Xhosa expres-

that would direct attention to the needs and participation of the victims and, in that way, help repair the damage done."

Patricia J. Campbell, a faculty member at American Military University, argued in a 2000 paper for "African Studies Quarterly" that South Africa's TRC took the middle of three paths in dealing with past abuses. "Minimalists" seek to forgive and forget and move forward for the good of all. "Maximalists" demand full prosecution. The commission took the "pragmatist" approach. Pragmatists are "those who argue that the pursuit of truth and justice must be tempered with recognition of the political reality of a given society," Campbell wrote.

RWANDA'S GACACA

As South Africa slowly emerged from decades of atrocities, a historic genocide was getting under way in Rwanda. The small nation's Hutus killed 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus in a span of 100 days — the

"After the horrors of war and genocide that rocked Rwanda in 1994, no one can say that national reconciliation has been fully attained. But the gacaca courts are certainly a starting point for achieving these goals."

~ JEAN KAYIGAMBA, A GENOCIDE SURVIVOR

sion translates as "People are people through other people."

South African-born writer Gillian Slovo, whose novel *Red Dust* is an account of the commission, wrote an essay for OpenDemocracy.net in which she highlighted goals and compromises held in tension as the TRC worked. The commission "was passionately contradictory, mixing shortcomings with its own, not inconsiderable, triumphs."

"Here lay the paradoxical role of the TRC — it was a commission set up to draw a line under the past, to seal it up so that it could not contaminate the future, to expose the truth about past illegalities without throwing the weight of the law against them, and to offer compensation without revenge," she wrote.

"What [the African National Congress] had done, it was suggested," Slovo wrote, "was exchange retributive justice (or legal punishment) for restorative justice: a justice

swiftest genocide in recorded history, according to Graybill and Lanegran.

Rwandans called on the United Nations to set up a system of "retributive justice." The Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in 1994 to prosecute those who conceived and directed the genocide.

Graybill and Lanegran list several reasons why Rwanda took a different path than South Africa. First, the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front had defeated the interim Hutu government, so there was little pressure to compromise. Second, "the religious-redemptive model" that undergirded South Africa's TRC held no sway because of the complicity of some church leaders and priests in the genocide.

"Across Rwanda, church buildings where Tutsis desperately sought sanctuary became the scene of one massacre after another," Meredith wrote in *The Fate of Africa*. "More

Transitional justice systems at a glance

South Africa, Rwanda and Sierra Leone each took somewhat different paths toward justice after their violent pasts. Here is a look at some statistics for each.

SOUTH AFRICA'S TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

Years in operation: Hearings began in 1996, and the TRC completed its work on July 31, 1998. Amnesty investigations continued until June 1999.

Number of cases handled: About 21,000 through depositions and testimony

Applied for amnesty: 7,127

Received amnesty: 1,146

RWANDA'S GACACA COURTS

Years in operation: 2002 to 2012

Number of cases handled: About 2 million people went through the system.

Convictions: The latest figures point to a 65 percent conviction rate.

SIERRA LEONE'S TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

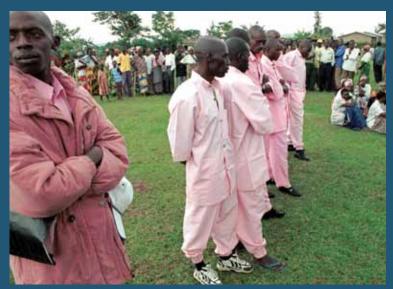
Years in operation: 2002 to 2004

Number of cases handled: The commission collected more than 9,000 statements.

Number testifying: About 350 testified, and the commission compiled a list of 13,003 victims.



Eugene de Kock, left, an apartheid-era assassin nicknamed Prime Evil, appears at a TRC amnesty hearing. De Kock, who led the state-sponsored Vlakplaas death squad, sought amnesty for more than 100 incidents of murder, torture and fraud. He was sentenced to 212 years in prison. REUTERS



Prisoners in pink uniforms are surrounded by townspeople as they await the beginning of a gacaca court session in Kamonyi in the Rwandan province of Gitarama in December 2003. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Judges in the Special Court for Sierra Leone, back row in red, court clerks and prosecutors assembled in June 2007 for the trial of former Liberian President Charles Taylor. He was convicted of overseeing murder, rape and other atrocities during Sierra Leone's 10-year civil war. He was sentenced to 50 years in prison. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

"It was a commission set up to draw a line under the past, to seal it up so that it could not contaminate the future."

~ GILLIAN SLOVO, A SOUTH AFRICAN WRITER



Former South African security police officer Jeffery Benzien demonstrates the wet bag torture technique used against anti-apartheid activists during his 1997 Truth and Reconciliation Commission amnesty application. The commission granted Benzien amnesty for his role in human rights abuses committed under apartheid.

people were killed there than anywhere else."

The ICTR was established in Tanzania to handle genocide ringleaders. As of mid-June 2012, 54 suspects had been convicted and eight acquitted. The court was due to be closed by the end of 2012, according to the BBC.

The tribunal focuses on the most notorious organizers and murderers associated with the genocide, and others accused of murder were charged in regular criminal courts. But that left hundreds of thousands of others accused of various forms of involvement awaiting justice. Rwanda's "gacaca" courts became a solution.

Gacaca, which means "judgment on the grass," is an apt name for the community courts. They met in villages across the countryside, sometimes under a tree. Local communities elected more than 160,000 judges, most without any legal expertise. In spite of this, about 2 million people went through the gacaca system, the BBC reported in June 2012. Data from 2010 point to a conviction rate of about 65 percent.

Writer Sarel Kandell Kromer described a gacaca court in *The Washington Post* in October 2005: "The nine Rwandan judges filed into a grassy enclosure shaded by tarps to keep out the equatorial sun. Each wore a blue, green and yellow sash that said 'inyangamugayo' — trusted person. Two prisoners were summoned from the rear. Fifty or 60 people sitting on benches facing the court stood up. The chief judge said, 'We are going to remember.' Then, a long silence."

Kromer saw a man named Nicodemus summoned before the bench. "His accuser rose, took an oath and stated: 'Nicodemus was persecuting Tutsis, hunting them. I am not sure if he killed them.' He then asked the tribunal to forgive Nicodemus, as though charging him in public were its own form of revenge."

One of the judges curtly questioned a second accuser who said Nicodemus was a killer. The accuser's lack of firsthand knowledge drew an admonition.

"At this point the judge read out an article of the laws of gacaca, informing the accuser that he was in danger if he was perjuring himself," Kromer wrote.

Nicodemus was later convicted and sent to prison. Even so, gacaca courts were designed to reward confession and offer emotional catharsis by establishing a collective accounting of crimes, according to a 2009 article in *The New Yorker*.

As the gacaca courts ended their 10-year run of homegrown justice in mid-2012, activists pointed to mixed results. Chief among the concerns were the lack of legal standards, including unqualified judges and the lack of defense attorneys. "Survivors are worried about their security because they are living side by side with those who had wanted to previously exterminate them," Albert Gasake of

Survivors Fund (SURF) told the BBC. "Suspicion is very high."

Yet, on the whole, gacaca courts seem to have been a homegrown solution that worked for Rwanda. "After the horrors of war and genocide that rocked Rwanda in 1994, no one can say that national reconciliation has been fully attained," said Jean Kayigamba, a genocide survivor who wrote for New Internationalist magazine. "But the gacaca courts are certainly a starting point for achieving these goals. Rwanda is today maybe the only country where the victims of such hideous crimes live side by side with the perpetrators. This perhaps explains why some countries, like the Ivory Coast, Somalia, and Southern Sudan, in trying to confront the aftermath of the violent conflicts in their respective countries, have sent delegates to Rwanda to learn about the workings of its local justice system."

SIERRA LEONE'S SPECIAL COURT AND TRC

Civil war ravaged Sierra Leone from 1991 until 2002. About 70,000 were killed, and 2.6 million people — more than half the population — were displaced. Although its death toll did not approach that of Rwanda's genocide, the conflict was known for its atrocities, including child abductions and rape, according to a United Nations Development Programme case study.

Sierra Leone took a two-tiered approach to justice. Those who bore the greatest responsibility for war crimes and humanitarian violations would be tried in a U.N.-funded Special Court, based in Freetown. Other perpetrators and victims were heard in a truth and reconciliation commission much like South Africa's. The goal was punishment for masterminds and forgiveness for "the many foot soldiers," according to Graybill and Lanegran.

Parliament established the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission in July 2002. It started taking citizen statements in December 2002, and public hearings began in April 2003. It was designed to create an impartial record of human rights violations committed during the war (1991 to 1999) and to address the conflict's root causes.

By August 2003, the commission had taken nearly 8,000 statements from victims, perpetrators and witnesses. Of those, 350 testified publicly. About 13 percent of witness statements came from perpetrators. Each week, a reconciliation ceremony was held where perpetrators and victims could come together. Many who acknowledged their crimes were baptized through a special cleansing ceremony, ritually reintegrating them into the community.

Sierra Leone's Special Court and the

commission operated simultaneously. That prompted confusion and criticism. Citizens didn't understand the distinctions and interaction of the two bodies. As a result, some were afraid to speak to the commission for fear of being indicted by the Special Court, according to IRIN.

"It undermined the ability of the TRC to actually get the information it could have gotten, if the Special Court had not been operating, because many of the combatants shied away from giving testimony at the TRC," human rights activist Joseph Rahall told IRIN. "Reconciliation was not achieved for a lot of these combatants because they did not come out and confess and ask for forgiveness."

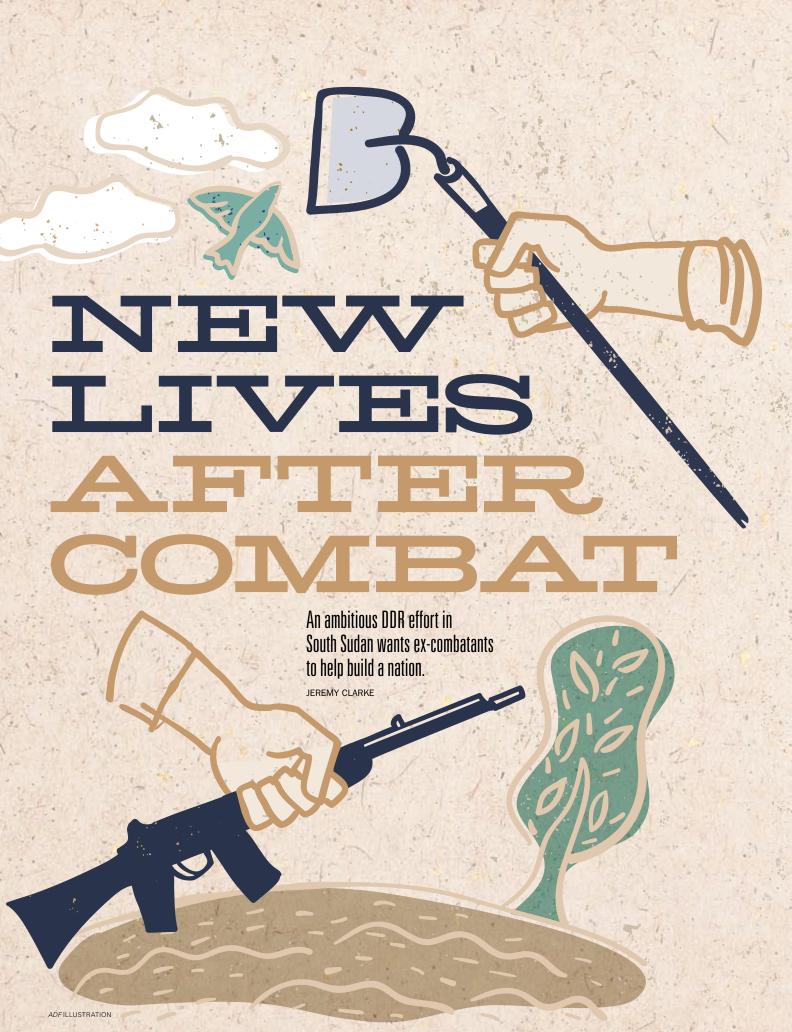
The commission operated from 2002 to 2004. Its final report, which is more than 5,000 pages



A witness leans against a tree as he faces the president of a gacaca court session in December 2003.

long, concedes there were some difficulties. "The simultaneous operation of the two bodies brought into sharp focus their different roles. It also highlighted the need for harmonization and an operational model designed to mitigate inherent tensions and avoid potential pitfalls in future instances where a TRC and criminal court work are supposed to work in tandem."

Despite criticisms and challenges, its list of findings and recommendations is comprehensive. According to the United States Institute of Peace, the commission found that corruption and executive control were the main causes of the war. Its recommendations, which are legally binding, include fighting corruption, creating a new Bill of Rights, making the judiciary independent, strengthening Parliament's role, having stricter control of security forces, enhancing economic autonomy for the provinces, committing government to deliver basic public services, and including youth and women in decision-making.



"The time for fighting is over," said Charles Deng, 42, a former South Sudanese Soldier. "I fought for over 25 years so that I can have peace. ... I missed my whole life fighting, but my reason for this was to provide security for my children."

Deng has gone back to school in Morobo, South Sudan. He was a Soldier in the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) during the long civil war that raged between the northern and southern regions of Sudan from 1983 until an uneasy peace settlement that started in 2005.

Now he wants to put those years behind him.

"I lived with my gun for 20 years like a wife," Deng said, standing outside his classroom on the campus of the Excel Academy in Morobo. "She has a name, but I give her up for books, which is better than anything. When I hand in my weapon and get release, I celebrate like a new birth, I don't know my birthday, but I know what day my life began, when I give my gun away."

Sudan had been Africa's largest country, and for all but a few years since 1955, Northerners and Southerners fought over resources, land, ideology, religion and ethnicity. The protracted conflict is thought to have cost 2 million lives. In 2005, they signed a fragile peace deal, providing a path to formal independence in 2011. Southerners were, for the first time in living memory, able to prepare for something other than war.

South Sudan emerged on July 9, 2011, as the world's newest nation. The country remains severely underdeveloped with substantial infrastructure

needs and a negligible amount of local industry. These deficiencies, combined with a population with a much longer memory of battle than of peace, would seem to make South Sudan a perfect candidate for a robust disarmament, demo-

bilization and reintegration (DDR) program.

"The national DDR program is envisioned to prevent conflict, strengthen human security, cultivate socioeconomic development and foster sustainable peace in South Sudan," said Chan Moses Awuol, an information officer at the South Sudan DDR Commission.

"Pretty much all sectors of the economy need ex-combatants, for instance in agriculture, wood processing, public works and construction, brick-making, small businesses, amongst others," Awuol said.

So far, 13,000 former combatants in South Sudan, such as Deng, have successfully completed the DDR program implemented between the peace agreement of 2005 and independence in 2011, according to government figures. Much work remains because the number of armed combatants still far outnumbers those officially disarmed. Nevertheless, support for the program is evident among South Sudanese residents.

"The DDR program has been a big success," said Juma,

a shopkeeper in Yei, a town in the country's south. (Many sources quoted for this story asked to be identified by first names only or not at all.) "Peace and independence has made it needed for the people to focus on the other things in life, like schools and food. We are a new nation that doesn't need the guns anymore. We need the tools to build our homes and plow fields."

Such peacetime activities characterize the efforts of volunteers at the Africa Education and Leadership Initiative (Africa ELI), a United Statesbased nongovernmental organization that has been building schools in the southwest in Morobo, where Charles Deng now teaches, and in Mukaya and Yei. Volunteers include a number of demobilized combatants.

"South Sudan isn't an easy place to work," said Andrew Colin Nelsen, a British project manager with Africa ELI. "Currently, it's good. Progress is always being made, even if by glacial measures."

Nelsen explained that the schools are built by pooling the efforts of local

populations — former combatants among them — but also "anywhere from cooks and cleaners to local market salespeople." Government officials, Nelsen added, also play a significant role.

Although optimistic about South Sudan's prospects for a peaceful recovery and the reintegration of former Soldiers into the peacetime economy, Nelsen expressed doubts about disarmament.

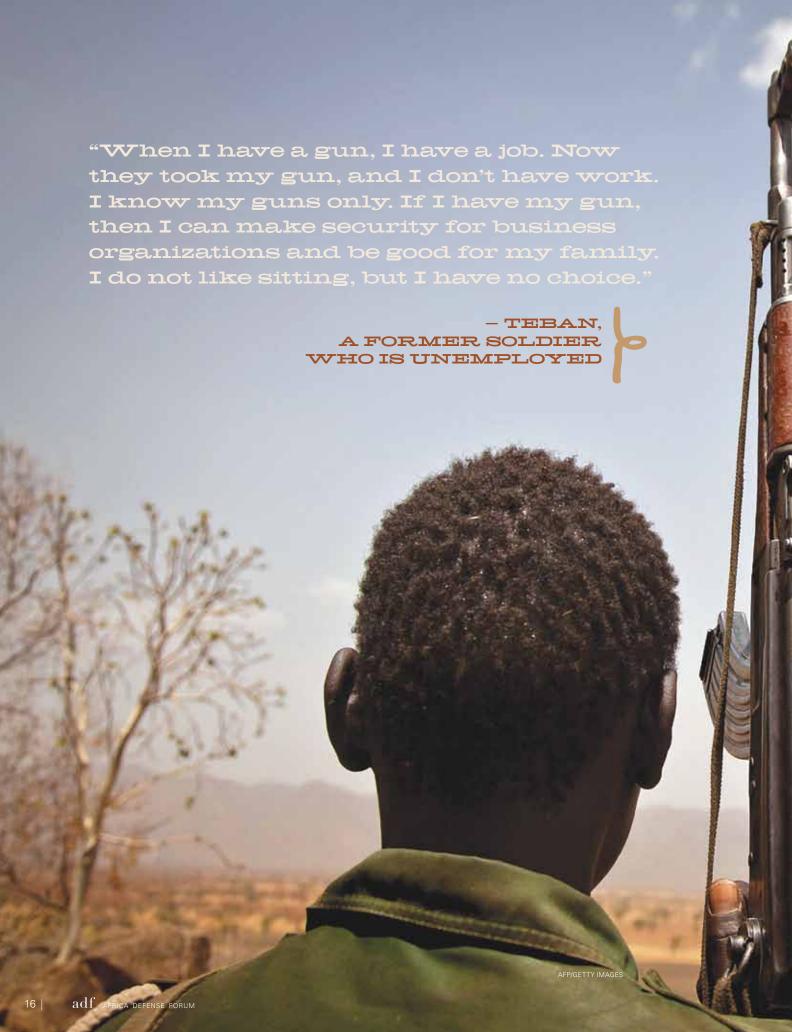
"For every rusty gun authorities take, a working gun and ammunition is buried in the yard, and generations have held guns as you or I would drink water," he said. "They aren't giving them up that easy."

If South Sudanese citizens still hold weapons, at least they aren't as visible, said a farmer near Yei, who identified himself as Martin. "Before, the guns were everywhere, and now we are safe from them. Without the DDR,



A former South Sudanese fighter from the Sudan People's Liberation Army holds a demobilization certificate during a ceremony in Juba in 2009.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



we would still have guns in the street. Now we can walk freely when we want and not be afraid."

South Sudan's armed forces still number in the tens of thousands, and most of these combatants have served their entire adult lives. Yet many are now largely inactive and spread across a remote, landlocked region amid a stagnant economy.

Analysts argue that before South Sudan can put more of its former armed forces to work and improve agriculture, open small businesses and build a private sector, it must address widespread insecurity in the decentralized nation.

"The impact of fighting is more severe with weapons easily available," said Vincent Lelei, United Nations head of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance in South Sudan. "Insecurity continues to have an impact on the humanitarian situation. This year, nearly 170,000 people have been displaced in South Sudan due to intercommunal fighting and insecurity."

The current size of the SPLA is estimated at between 150,000 and 200,000 troops. As late as June 2011, one month before independence, the United Nations' top official in the country, David Gressly, said probably more than half the army still needed to be demobilized as soon as possible.

Defenders of the DDR program say that relentless antagonism from the north hindered the initial effort. As both sides ramped up their rhetoric, and some fighting along the disputed border brought the countries to the brink of war, there was little political will within the SPLA to begin dismantling its forces en masse.

This fear is echoed on the ground by some former SPLA Soldiers who have tried to move on, but their memory of the long war and their suspicions of the north have been hard to leave behind.

"I don't like not having protection," said Wani, a former Soldier who has remade himself as a farmer, also near Yei. "If Khartoum leaves us alone, then we don't need guns, but they make many problems for us still."

Some who have been disarmed say not enough has been done to find them employment, spurring reluctance among former colleagues to give up their arms. "When I have a gun, I have a job. Now they took my gun, and I don't have work," said Teban, a former Soldier who is unemployed. "I know my guns only. If I have my gun, then I can make security for business organizations and be good for my family. I do not like sitting, but I have no choice."

Now, South Sudan plans to try again. An ambitious DDR program has been devised. Originally designed to launch in 2012, repeated delays have pushed the program back, with most sources now predicting a launch in 2013. It will target 150,000 people over eight years: 80,000 members of the armed forces and 70,000 members of the organized forces (wildlife, fire brigade, police and prison officers). South Sudanese officials say it is the most ambitious DDR program in the world.

Under the new program, ex-combatants will spend up to three months at a series of transitional facilities, where they will be debriefed and given "intensive support and training in literacy, life skills and livelihood opportunities of their choice." Ten such centers are planned, one per state in South Sudan. Each will accommodate up to 500 ex-combatants at a time.

According to the DDR Commission, the program will help ex-combatants get the skills they need to participate in reintegration projects involving agriculture and intensive labor. Debate continues over the nature of financial compensation for former Soldiers. Some argue for a lifetime pension; others seek a gradual reduction in wages as their reintegration moves forward.

But some analysts fear that not enough has been done to avoid a repeat of the shortcomings of South Sudan's first DDR attempts. Lydia Stone, an independent DDR consultant based in South Sudan, said a lack of cohesion between the SPLA, the DDR Commission and political leaders is setting the new program up for trouble.

"The problem with DDR in South Sudan at the moment is that it's a case of the cart before the horse," she said. "It's the DDR planners saying we need to force DDR on principle, rather than the army doing an assessment of its own capacities and its own needs."

Stone added that little has been done to sell the new program to average Soldiers, tens of thousands of whom will have their lives changed if it goes to according to plan.

"If you talk to people in the SPLA now and ask them what do they think DDR is about, they say it's for the old people or it's for the disabled," Stone said. "Then if you talk to the DDR planners, they say they are going to have a program of all these strapping men who are going be rebuilding the country.

"They do not share the same image of the purpose of DDR. That is the crucial problem: They don't have a shared understanding of what DDR is, and when you're planning a program that has a planned budget of \$1.3 billion over eight years, I think you ought to start off with everyone having a shared vision of what it's setting out to achieve."

The DDR Commission says it remains confident of hitting its target of 150,000 people within eight years. That's almost 20,000 per year, more than has been managed overall in the years since the 2005 peace deal.

"Yes, I believe the program will reach the target set because the national organized forces are undergoing transformation — security sector reform (SSR) — and the DDR program is an integral part of SSR," said Awuol of the DDR Commission.

"Besides, the government of the Republic of South Sudan has put the DDR program in the top priorities list," he added. In September 2012, South Sudan Vice President Riek Machar traveled to the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, and called on the African Union to support the new DDR program.

But Stone argues that the target numbers do not take into account that the SPLA is still recruiting, heavily in some areas. She says for any DDR process to work in South Sudan, the army, not the politicians, must take the lead.

"What actually needs to happen is a strategic defense review; the army needs to make an evaluation and decide how many people it needs to have in its ranks," Stone said. "Of course, the army absolutely needs to be downsized; the country cannot sustain the army consuming such a large portion of the annual budget."

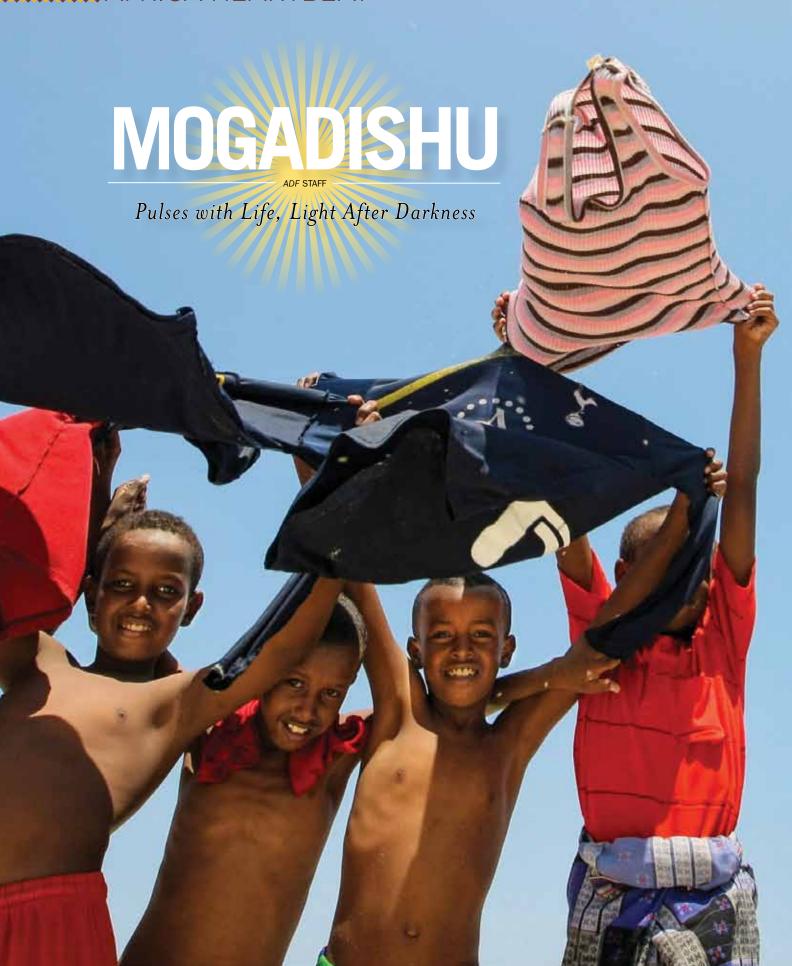
Few deny the need for an aggressive solution in a nation overflowing with idle Soldiers but lacking economic infrastructure. As the DDR Commission said in its latest newsletter: "Now that the liberation of the country is over, people have to be reassigned differently. ... The new nation will have to reverse everything done in the past by disarming, demobilizing and successfully reintegrating ex-combatants into the communities."

The current size of the SPLA is estimated at between 150,000 and 200,000 troops.

Before independence, the United Nations' top official in the country said more than half the army needed to be demobilized as soon as possible.









ife is once again stirring on the dusty streets of Mogadishu.

The Somali capital, once a historic seaside jewel on the Horn of Africa, fell into darkness with the collapse of its government in 1991. At times, it seemed the darkness might never lift.

The Islamist terrorist group al-Shabaab snuffed all joy through strict Sharia and the barrel of a gun. Now the group is on the run. Its foot soldiers have

retreated, and a measure of the darkness has followed them.

The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), now composed of troops from Uganda, Burundi, Djibouti and Kenya, drove the militants from the capital in August 2011. Forces dislodged al-Shabaab from the port city of Kismayo in October 2012.

Now, a generation after its fall, hope is sprouting throughout Mogadishu. Schools, shops and markets are opening again. The city is filling potholes, and the Norwegian government has donated solar-powered streetlights. Children play in the glow, and shops stay open late to serve emboldened locals.

"I see so much difference as a longtime resident in Mogadishu," Abdiaziz Nur, 31, told The Associated Press while smoking a hookah at a local cafe. "I had never dreamed that I would either walk through Mogadishu's streets or drive my car at night, but now we feel glorified and proud."

The list of new prospects is impressive:

- Turkish Airlines began weekly flights to Mogadishu in August 2012.
- A Somali-American entrepreneur opened First Somali Bank in May 2012, the first international bank in more than two decades.
- Another member of the Somali diaspora returned to the city and opened its first dry-cleaning business.
- The national theater reopened after 20 years. The March 2012 opening concert was broadcast live on TV.
- Mogadishu residents are watching sports competitions again
 — together. Al-Shabaab had forbidden men and women from
 sitting together at such events.

The new life in this city of about 2 million is evident in the business plan of restaurateur Ahmed Jama. He returned to the Somali capital more than three years ago and began cooking. He has opened four restaurants since his return from London, and a fifth one is planned. All are named The Village.

Despite military gains over al-Shabaab in the city, a violent spasm took a tragic toll on one of Jama's restaurants on September 20, 2012. That night a crowd was enjoying tea and political talk at The Village across from the National Theater. Two men wearing explosive vests walked into the dining room and blew themselves up, killing 14 people — including three Somali journalists — and injured 20 more, according to an NPR report. The suicide bombers were thought to be connected to al-Shabaab.

Jama dealt with the tragedy the only way he knew how. "[In the days] following the explosion I went in the kitchen, in the kitchen cooking."

The restaurant has recently been renovated and reopened. "I showed them I'm not going to give up," Jama said. "I showed them I'm still wanting to stay here."

COMBATANTS to

ADF STAFF

is tough and messy, but it can SUPPORT A LASTING PEACE

he idea is startling at first. An army fights a war that ends with the surrender of the opposing side or in a peace agreement. The government then decides that the best way to ensure a lasting peace is to rearm former rebels, train them, hand them uniforms and ask them to serve alongside members of the national army.



"It's really counterintuitive when you say, 'We're going to bring the people together that have been killing each other *and* we'll give them guns,' " said Roy Licklider, a professor of political science at Rutgers University. "You think, 'Wait a minute, how's that going to work?' "

But this practice called rebel-military integration (RMI) has worked. It was used at least 21 times between 1971 and 2004, according to Licklider's research, and those programs were at least partially successful 14 times.

Licklider cautioned that his criteria for peace is generous — he includes most outcomes short of a return to pitched conflict — but, in general, he found slightly better outcomes when peace agreements included RMI.

"In principal it looks like integration at the individual level can be done and it does, in fact, work," Licklider said.

Not everyone agrees. Researchers Katherine Glassmyer and Nicholas Sambanis of Yale University found that when countries use RMI, the duration of peace (42 months) is virtually the same as when countries do not use RMI (41 months).

All seem to agree that RMI is messy. One need not look far across Africa to see the best and worst of what happens when former rebels are brought into national armies.

In Namibia, former rebel opponents have served side by side in an integrated military since the early 1990s. Namibia's 8,000-person Namibian Defence Force (NDF)

Members of the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy rebel movement patrol with a truck in September 2002 near the town of Kolahun in northern Liberia.

includes former fighters from the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) and the South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF), once bitter enemies. The NDF has become a regional stalwart capable of contributing to foreign peacekeeping missions and putting down domestic threats, including a 1998 secession attempt by militants in the country's northeast Caprivi Strip.

"There were some misunderstandings, especially for the two sides, the ex-PLAN fighters and the ex-SWATF," said Victor Simunja, the former Namibian deputy minister of defence. "But, despite those misunderstand-

> ings, our integration was a success story, and I strongly believe it has influenced the conduct of the general public."

> South Africa boasts of similar success. There, the chiefs of the Army, Air Force, Navy and the South African National Defence Force were all once members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress. During apartheid, they were considered militants and enemies of the state. Now, they salute the national flag and serve in an integrated military.

"The South African case is amazing," Licklider said. "They merged eight different military units of various groups, not only of different cultures but speaking different languages. And they put black officers into command positions.

South Africa is dazzling to me."

But it's just as easy to find examples of failed programs. In 2012, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, former rebels who had been integrated into the Congolese armed forces known as the FARDC mutinied and returned to their old ways. Dressed in crisp uniforms and armed with new weapons, they formed a rebel group known as the M23, which has terrorized civilians, occupied mineral-rich swaths of eastern DRC,



and threatened to topple the government.

One analyst wrote that the country is "harvesting the rotten fruit" of a hasty, ill-conceived military integration.

"Governments should be intensely circumspect when considering the viability of militants and ex-combatants as potential security providers," wrote Prosper Nzekani Zena, a retired Congolese colonel, in a piece for the Africa Center for Strategic Studies.

Countries including Libya, South Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire and the Central African Republic are now weighing the benefits of rebel-military integration as a way to forge national reconciliation. Scholars, however, remain divided about whether this strategy is worth the significant possibility of failure.

Tried Throughout History

Military integration is not new. Alexander the Great integrated tens of thousands of Persians into his Macedonian army in the third century B.C. Julius Caesar often conscripted conquered Soldiers into his Roman army.

But by all accounts the tactic has grown more popular in recent years. Glassmyer and Sambanis found that RMI was used in nearly one-third of all peace processes in the 1990s. This is a necessity because modern civil wars rarely end in a decisive victory for one side. Internal conflicts often end with a negotiated cease-fire followed by a power-sharing agreement.

Power-sharing extends beyond the "unity government" formed when a president and prime minister agree to work together. It typically involves either the national army absorbing former militants or the two sides joining to form a new military. Researcher Mark Knight has called this second option "1 + 1 = 3."

Advantages of RMI

1. **It builds trust.** Parties to a conflict are hesitant to believe that their adversaries are serious about peace and reconciliation. Rebel groups are known to sign peace accords and then cling to their arms and stay on alert in case violence resumes. "You find that they've

handed in only one of the five arms they had, and they've buried the remaining four in the ground," said professor J. Bayo Adekanye of Nigeria. "If the peace is not sustained, they will begin to go back to those arms that are hidden away." The act of integrating the military is a concrete, costly gesture that lets all combatants know that leaders are serious about peace.

2. It helps solve the employment problem. At the end of hostilities there are sometimes tens of thousands of ex-combatants left without income or job skills. Many countries try to ease combatants' return to civilian life with demobilization, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) programs that help them take up jobs such as farming, taxi driving or craftsmanship. But the most natural vocation for them may be to remain Soldiers. RMI helps decrease the number of

fighters that need to be demobilized and returned to civilian life.

3. It creates a national identity. RMI helps form a military that represents the country at large. When the military includes people from all parts of the country and all ethnic groups, locals consider it more legitimate. Adekanye said a military that ends a war but does not incorporate all ethnicities, regions or religions into its armed forces is simply delaying a return to conflict. He terms this resumption of hostilities the "boomerang" effect.

Parties to a
conflict are
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Disadvantages of RMI

1. **Suspect loyalty.** When rebel units are incorporated into

the military without dismantling their previous command structure, they are more likely to continue past behavior. This happened in the DRC when rebels from a group known as RCD-Goma integrated into the FARDC but kept their command structure intact and continued to control valuable mineral resources. The result in 2012 was that these units declared war on the government. An even more dramatic example of "suspect loyalty" was the attempt to reform the military in Cambodia in the 1990s. There, according to Knight, a coalition government insisted on maintaining two parallel military and police structures. The competing security sectors often clashed and, in 1997, the stronger of the two militaries led a coup.



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Rebels from the M23 movement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are photographed in Kinshasa after being captured by government forces in December 2012.



Libyan Soldiers stand at attention during a graduation ceremony in December 2012. After a civil war that uprooted the regime of Col. Moammar Gadhafi, Libya is examining ways to integrate ex-rebels with elements of the former army to create a new security sector.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



- 2. **It must be fully implemented.** RMI strategies are costly and risky. They also take a long time to take root. Mozambique has recently seen threats of a return to violence after more than a decade of an integrated military. And RMI cannot be done halfway. In fact, Knight's evaluation found that weak or partially implemented RMI programs make a return to war more likely than having no agreement at all. This makes it all the more essential that RMI be backed by political will and the strength to see the process through for many years.
- 3. **Distrust of the civilian population.** Many RMI agreements involve incorporating militants who once threatened civilians. When that civilian population sees their erstwhile enemies wearing the uniform of the national military, it could delegitimize the entire armed force.

Best Practices

There is no blueprint for implementing RMI, but researchers have identified a handful of best practices that have historically increased success rates.

1. Separate rebels from their previous command structure. RMI works best when it is attempted at the "individual" level rather than the "unit" level. This requires interspersing ex-combatants among standing units as opposed to allowing them to maintain their established network and territorial control. It is also beneficial

to integrate ex-rebels at roughly the same rank that they held in their previous structure. This prevents resentment and backsliding.

2. **Provide training.** Some integrated militaries have found it helpful to retrain ex-combatants. Namibia, for instance, offered its integrated units an eight-week course that included training on firearms and preparation for command positions. Licklider said his research has shown, somewhat surprisingly, that training programs for integrated militaries need not be extensive or rigorous. "It does not require exotic training and people with anthropological skills and all that stuff," he said. Instead, Licklider found that the strong culture of the military unit tends to trump previous allegiances and force new recruits to improve their performance. "The military can almost become the equivalent of an ethnic group because

it's a total experience," Licklider said. "The identity as a Soldier trumps your ethnic identity. Now, that doesn't always work, but it does work more often than not."

- 3. **External assistance.** In some instances, newly integrated militaries have found it helpful to bring in foreign trainers. These trainers serve a dual purpose by offering valuable knowledge and by serving as impartial arbiters that prevent a return to violence. The British Military Advisory and Training Team has played this role in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Sierra Leone.
- 4. **Rebranding the military.** In some instances, newly integrated militaries decide to rebrand themselves with new uniforms, insignias and even a new name. This rids the military of the stigma

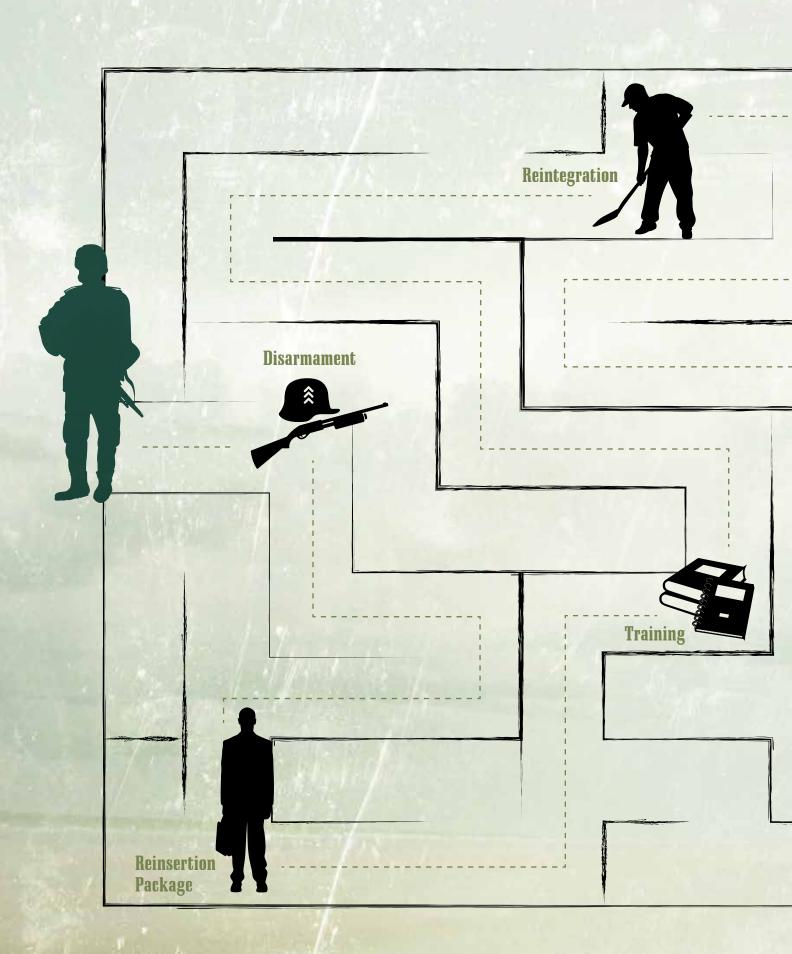
attached to previous regimes, and it neutralizes it in the eyes of the newly enlisted. Another way to change the image of the military is to put Soldiers to work on infrastructure projects such as building bridges, terracing land and clearing swamps. "Normally, standing armies don't like those tasks," state with a momentum for war can begin to use its armed forces for the momentum for peace. It's important that armed forces don't sit in the barracks drinking, playing cards; they should be part of

Adekanye said. "But a post-conflict the reconstruction."

5. Civilian DDR program. As mentioned previously, it is not

possible or even desirable in most cases to integrate all former rebels into the national military. Many post-conflict states actually need to downsize their security forces. Therefore it is vital that ex-militants have the option of enlisting in a program where they receive a stipend, job training and psychological support to ease their transition to civilian life.

6. **Political power-sharing.** It is nearly impossible for an integrated military to exist apart from an integrated political system. At its best, an integrated military supports civilian peacebuilding and power-sharing. When the political agreement falters, the military tends to follow, and there is a return to violence. "The peace agreement is not a substitute for political, social and economic peacebuilding," Adekanye said. "They give the taproots that support a lasting peace." □





BACK FROM THE BATTLEFIELD

Well-planned Reintegration Programs are Essential to Preserving the Peace

STORY BY *ADF* STAFF PHOTOS BY AFP/GETTY IMAGES

question of what to do with Soldiers after hostilities end is almost as old as armed combat itself. Commanders and governments throughout the ages have wrestled with the question.

Julius Caesar cut off the right hands of hundreds of Gallic Soldiers who were causing him trouble. He considered them a threat, and he had no time for a sophisticated program of vocational training or transition to civilian life. His swift, brutal solution was a product of his time.

Centuries later, Napoleon shipped thousands of his own Soldiers to Haiti after suspecting them of Republicanism. Many died at the hands of Toussaint L'Ouverture's revolutionary forces and from disease.

After World War II, demobilized English servicemen received a small payout and a suit as a way to help them transition back into civilian life.

These simple, shortsighted solutions are no longer possible. Fighters have to be given something that will help them forge a life off the battlefield.

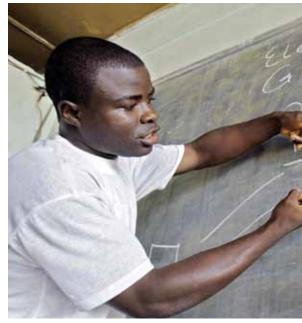
ADF ILLUSTRATION

As African nations embark on programs to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate (DDR) ex-combatants, they will do well to pay especially close attention to reintegration procedures. Reintegration is the "process by which ex-combatants acquire civilian status and gain access to civilian forms of work and income," according to a report on the "Identifying Lessons from DDR Experiences in Africa" workshop held in Accra, Ghana. "It involves retraining and employment and, thus, promotion of local ownership of the process is crucial. Because every situation is different, reintegration must be tailored for a specific economic and cultural mix."

clothing, toiletries and other basic needs, as well as food, household items and agricultural help such as seeds and tools. This is commonly referred to as "reinsertion support." It is intended to meet the basic settlement needs for ex-combatants and their dependents and typically lasts six to 12 months.

Such support is then followed by two types of medium-term assistance: "Economic reintegration" helps participants find a lasting economic livelihood. "Social reintegration" promotes civilian life and helps them "participate in the social, cultural, religious and political life of their communities."





ASSESSING THE NEED

As of 2007, 19 nations had active DDR programs, and 14 of those were in Africa. A total of 1.1 million ex-combatants participated in some part of a DDR program. Ninety percent of combatants eligible to be demobilized were from Africa, according to a 2008 DDR report. The 19 programs cost \$1.6 billion, an average of \$1,434 per demobilized combatant.

It's one thing to get the guns out of combatants' hands. It's another to make sure they never pick them up again. For that reason, reintegration is the most challenging stage of DDR.

The Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP) is the largest program of its kind; it was set up to support 400,000 ex-combatants in nine Central African countries of the Great Lakes Region. The MDRP in September 2006 published a paper listing best practices and lessons for successful reintegration programs.

TYPES OF ASSISTANCE

According to the MDRP, reintegration support can include short-term and medium-term help. Initial assistance usually consists of cash and in-kind help such as

The MDRP lists three guiding principles for reintegration:

Reconciliation should be fostered between ex-combatants and civilians in their communities of settlement. Ex-combatants should be helped to reach the same standard of living as those in their communities. Support should benefit the wider community when possible to avoid resentment, and programs should build on existing local institutions instead of creating new ones. A goal is to avoid distorting local market economies.

Assistance should lead to sustainable livelihoods for ex-combatants. For example, socio-economic profiles can be used to make sure support aligns with ex-combatants' needs, skills, preferences and experience.

Build the capacity of national structures and institutions through reintegration support. National and civil society leaders should be involved in setting up reintegration programs. Those programs should be decentralized and incorporate local leaders and organizations.

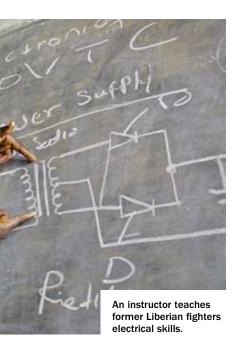
Decentralized offerings allow ex-combatants to have better local access to programs. In 1991, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, after 29 years of guerrilla warfare, established the Commission for the Rehabilitation of Former Members of the Army and Disabled War Veterans. The commission successfully managed one of the largest reintegration efforts on the continent. The MDRP credits this success in part to linking of local and national governmental groups and stakeholders.

"Incorporating government bureaucrats, nongovernmental organizations, community representatives and ex-combatants, these committees fostered communication and coordination among different actors and a sense of shared responsibility for program success," the MDRP said.

BEST PRACTICES

The MDRP and other sources touch on common themes when discussing the best ways to approach reintegration programs. Among the suggestions are:

Allocate resources to reintegration programming at the start of DDR process. Reintegration is sometimes an afterthought following the urgency of disarmament and demobilization. In Sierra Leone, officials focused on the demands of the first two components of DDR, believing that reintegration could be addressed later. As a result, it was more than a year after demobilization ended before





QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER WHEN DESIGNING REINTEGRATION SUPPORT

The Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program suggests that these questions be at the forefront of efforts to set up an effective program:

- How is reintegration defined and how will it be measured?
- What are the reintegration needs and expectations of ex-combatants?
- What opportunities exist for promoting reintegration (such as market demands, civil service staffing, complementary development programming)?

- What are the key constraints to promoting reintegration (such as land, credit skills, institutional capacity)?
- What socio-economic data and preparatory studies are required to guide the development and implementation of programming?
- How can programming coordinate with and leverage the activities of partners and programs on social and economic development, social services delivery, and peacebuilding?
- What mechanisms to deliver reintegration assistance are appropriate and feasible?
- What institution will be responsible for managing reintegration programming?

- How will participation and ownership by key stakeholders be promoted?
- How will the needs of vulnerable groups of ex-combatants be addressed?
- How will information on the program be shared with ex-combatants and local populations?
- What will be required to effectively monitor and evaluate the program and ensure that it is able to adapt to ongoing feedback?
- How will measures for recruitment prevention and monitoring of re-recruitment be included?
- What is the exit strategy for the program?

economic support was available to ex-combatants. Launching reintegration in a timely fashion lowers the risk that programs will lose credibility and have low participation.

Programs should communicate regularly with all stakeholders. Ex-combatants have to know about programs in order to participate in them. Potential participants should hear about services and procedures, any changes to program offerings, and additional services available to them as members of the community.

"Direct communication with ex-combatants is particularly essential in the early post-demobilization period, when military commanders may attempt to use information to maintain command and control structures and exert influence over reintegration opportunities and resources," the MDRP says.

Furthermore, poorly planned communication can result in problems with access and quality of services.

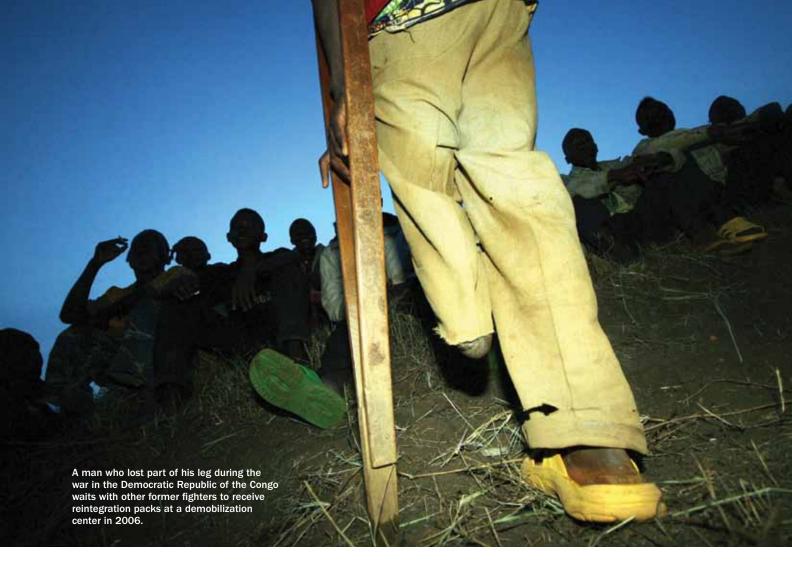
Develop partnerships to support reintegration programming. Teaming up with local stakeholders can strengthen reintegration programs in the short term while promoting long-term community development.

Work for decentralization. Decentralized programs can ensure better access, improve program flexibility and take advantage of local opportunities. One way to ensure decentralization is to set up

SNAPSHOT OF DDR INITIATIVES IN AFRICA SINCE 1990

COUNTRY	DURATION	ESTIMATED COMBATANTS	NUMBER DEMOBILIZED	NUMBER REINTEGRATED	BUDGET (millions of US\$)
Namibia	1989-1999	Unavailable	57,000	11,950	Unavailable
Mozambique	1992-1994	100,000	92,000	Unavailable	Unavailable
Chad	1992-1996 (Phase I) 1996-1997 (Phase II) 1999 (Reintegration pilot program)	27,179	27,179	Discontinued	12
	2005-2010	9,000	Never implemented	Never implemented	10
South Africa	1995-2001	22,000	7,081	4,758	50
Rwanda	1997-2001 (Phase I) 2001-2008 (Phase II)	57,000	29,794	43,891	68
Sierra Leone	1998 (Phase I) 1999-2000 (Phase II) 2002-2004 (Phase III)	84,200	71,043	54,000	45
Ethiopia	2000-2003	148,000	148,000	148,000	174
Uganda	2000- Present	50,000	26,288	5,335	8
Guinea-Bissau	2001-2006	12,595	12,129	4,261	13
	2008-Present	3,120	Delayed	Delayed	Unavailable
Angola	2002-2008	105,000	97,390	92,297	246
Somalia	2003-2007	53,000	1,500	505	3
Liberia	2003-2008	103,019	101,495	59,831	110
Côte d'Ivoire	2003-2007 (Phase I) 2007-2010 (Phase II)	48,000	17,601	0	40
	2011-Present	100,000	Yet to commence	Yet to commence	Unavailable
Central	2004-2007	7,565	7,556	7,556	13
African Rep.	2009-Present	19,100	6,431	Yet to commence	Unavailable
Burundi	2004-2008	35,000	26,283	21,012	84
DRC	2004-2010	240,000	159,670	77,780	275
Rep. of Congo	2005-2008	30,000	Unavailable	15,179	25
Niger	2006-2007	3,160	3,160	3,160	2
Sudan (Darfur)	2008-Present	4,700	5,363	303	Unavailable
South Sudan	2009-2011 (Phase I) 2012-2017 (Phase II)	150,000	12,523	8,307	165
Nigeria	2009-2014	30,000	26,358	6,549	63
Libya	2011-Present	150,000	Yet to commence	Yet to commence	Unavailable

Sources: These figures are based on various estimates from multiple United Nations and World Bank documents, commissioned studies, and news reports. They were compiled by the Africa Center for Strategic Studies.



a network of regional offices. An MDRP list of seven African countries shows that at least 75 percent of reintegration offices were outside the nations' capital cities.

Develop programs that extend beyond short-term objectives of demilitarization and disarmament and embrace long-term peace and stability. Mozambique's Reintegration Support Scheme (RSS) and Information Referral Service provided demobilized Soldiers with 18 months of cash disbursements. The RSS also provided kits with farming tools, seeds and three months of food rations, according to a 2007 George Mason University paper.

Implement economic reintegration projects to foster national reconciliation. The international community must help fund training programs for ex-combatants because many lack civilian job qualifications, according to the university study. Countries that demobilize typically are not capable of financing such programs.

Such aid eventually benefits the entire community because it helps employ former combatants and helps lead to long-term stability.

Reintegration programs must address the needs of vulnerable groups such as female and child combatants, dependents and the chronically ill. Such groups face unique challenges and must not be left out of reintegration efforts. Widows also must have access to vocational training so they can support their children, the George Mason study says.

Establish systems to manage, monitor and evaluate information. Establishing good information management when programs start will ensure good data gathering and help avoid duplication of benefits and allow for "mid-course corrections and improvements in program activities," according to the MDRP.

Enact financial controls. Reintegration programs are costly and often involve lots of international funding, many transactions and cash payments to participants. Failure to avoid waste and corruption can undermine confidence in the program among partners, donors, even parties to related peace agreements. Though costly, employing public accounting firms or project managers can reduce potential losses and maintain confidence.

Have an exit strategy. Although reintegration is a long-term process for ex-combatants, institutions providing assistance should have limited life spans. This avoids creating dependency among participants and increases the likelihood that they will be included in more wide-ranging initiatives. Therefore, the duration of assistance must be clear to ex-combatants from the beginning. □



AFTER THE GUN

ADF STAFF

As Foday grew from childhood to adolescence, the only skill he learned was how to use a gun. He and thousands of other Sierra Leonean youths missed out on an education because they were learning how to kill and survive in the nation's bloody civil war.

Now in his late 20s, Foday lives with his wife and daughter in a one-room house. "When I was 11, the armed men came to my village," he told the United Kingdom's *The Guardian*. "Everyone scattered into the bush, but I stayed to look after my grandmother. The armed men captured me and said if I didn't join them, they would kill me or cut off my hand. So I joined them, and they accepted me."

Young armed men like Foday face an uncertain future. One may fight on the side of government forces. Another is a lieutenant in a rebel faction.

If such a fighter survives beyond a truce or a peace accord, his sense of uncertainty likely will survive with him. He may surrender his gun as part of a disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) campaign. But without it, what will he do? How will he, and perhaps his family, survive?

Bringing ex-combatants back into society as productive and peaceful participants is a primary challenge in effective DDR programs. In nations across the continent, ex-combatants have transitioned into various vocations. Some jobs have come as a result of structured reintegration programs. Others have evolved in light of local or regional needs and opportunities.

Programs and job opportunities vary, as do their level of success. A look across the continent sees ex-combatants doing everything from buzzing city streets on motorcycle taxis to joining car-parking cooperatives to raising pigs.

Sierra Leone

Foday spent 10 years fighting in the jungle during Sierra Leone's civil war. Now he and thousands like him work as motorbike taxi drivers in the war-torn nation.

Poor infrastructure and damaged roads make transportation a problem. The solution has been the rise of the motorbike taxi drivers, known as Okada, a Nigerian term for motorcycle. It has provided thousands of former combatants with jobs and those who fought on opposite sides now work together. Civilian victims of the war ride on the same motorbike as former combatants, their arms clasped around the drivers' waists.



Motorcycle taxi drivers ride in the streets of Freetown, Sierra Leone. After years of civil war, many former fighters have started new lives as motorcycle taxi drivers in the nation's larger cities.

The job is dangerous and pays little. Drivers typically rent motorbikes, and some earn no more than \$1 a day. Yet there are some positives.

"What makes this case so interesting, besides the fact that it is a new [post-war] development, is that the bike riders have organized themselves as a membership-based trade association drawing some inspiration from modalities associated with former fighting groups," sociologist Krijn Peters wrote.

Home villages expose the ex-combatants to possible revenge, Peters wrote. But in larger towns they have more freedom of movement, and that offers more opportunity — including the ability to establish niche businesses. Motorcycle taxis, though common in many countries, were once virtually unheard of in Sierra Leone. Now they are among the most visible postwar changes, especially in the four main provincial towns of Bo, Kenema, Makeni and Koidu. Ex-combatants operate most of the taxis.

The former taxi system, which consisted mostly of minibuses and small cars, had to stay on larger roads and use fixed routes. After the war, those taxis were mostly gone. Motorbikes such as 125 cc Hondas and various Chinese brands now zip along streets large and small in search of passengers. They go straight to destinations, not central stopping points. But the rates are higher, the ride is more dangerous, and rain can soak passengers.

So why have ex-combatants decided that transporting passengers on motorbikes is better business than robbing them? An 18-year-old motorbike taxi operator in Makeni identified only as Abdul gave researchers some insight in 2004:

"The war was exciting but bad," he said. "To be a bike rider is exciting and good. In the past nobody dared to jump on the back seat, because we were ex-combatants, since they were afraid to be undressed, raped and robbed. They were afraid that we still had this rebel blood in our body. But such a thing never happened after the war."

Peters observed: "As becomes clear from Abdul's statement, excitement is an important part of what drew fighters to the war, and the excitement of riding a bike is an acceptable substitute in times of peace."

Rwanda

Few countries have a more troubled recent history than Rwanda, which endured a genocide in 1994 and periodic fighting near its western border since that time. In an effort to end the violence, the Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (RDRC) has worked with more than 78,000 ex-combatants since 2001. The commission offers training and assistance to members of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, which ended the genocide; former government forces of the pre-genocidal

era; and militants from the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), now based in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The Kigali Veteran Cooperative Society (KVCS) is a notable success story. The ex-combatants' cooperative has created more than 500 jobs overseeing street parking in the capital city. Positions include security, cashiers, drivers, managers and office administrators, according to *The New Times* of Rwanda.

"We are focusing on playing a role in fighting unemployment among the youth," Eugene Kasavubu Gitefano, the co-op's human resource manager, said.

In 2012, the RDRC named KVCS the bestperforming cooperative in the country out of 104 organizations. KVCS Director General Bossa Rwemarika said the organization not only is aimed at supporting ex-combatants, but at creating job opportunities for the public. As of September 2012, the organization employed about 450 people. Most of those are young people.

KVCS started in 2004 with 30 members, Gitefano told *The New Times*. That number had more than doubled to 70 by September 2012. The organization offers security services for parked vehicles at a cost of 100 Rwandan francs per hour — about 16 cents.

Rwandan ex-combatants are doing more than park cars. Thirteen demobilized Soldiers living with disabilities operate a grinding mill as part of the Igisubizo cy' Amajyambere cooperative in Rugende village. In 2012, the Bank of Kigali donated a heavyduty grinding mill to the cooperative.

"We believe that despite our disability, we can still participate in income-generating activities and contribute to the development of our country," said retired Lt. Joseph Sabena, who uses a wheelchair. He said the new grinding mill will increase revenues as the cooperative makes maize and cassava flour for "big organizations like schools and army barracks."

The cooperative also runs a poultry farm, a retail shop and a motorcycle taxi business.



A Kigali Veteran Cooperative Society street parking attendant prepares a claim ticket for a motorist.



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Côte d'Ivoire

In 2008, the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire launched a \$5 million 1,000 Micro-Projects Initiative to help reintegrate civil war ex-combatants and at-risk youths, as well as help children and women associated with the Ivorian conflict. Projects covered agriculture, catering, cattle rearing, construction, fishing, forestry, mechanics and other skills.

A pilot pig farm, which started in August 2008, was one of the first microprojects for ex-combatants, according to a United Nations report. It started with seven ex-combatants who decided to work as a group. About \$5,500 was allocated for the three-month project, which covered construction of four sties, the cost of pigs for breeding and food. After six months, they had seven times the 21 pigs allocated to them. Using the money from selling some of the pigs, the beneficiaries built 12 more sties.

Beneficiaries worked together to find markets to sell their goods and to handle accounting. They agreed upon a monthly allocation of \$100 for each participant and deposited the rest of their money in a group bank account. The host community of Oliénou donated land for the project.

Oliénou lives peacefully with the beneficiaries and has given them additional land around the site for agricultural activities such as growing maize, yams and cassavas. The project soon began to provide meat to Bouaké and its surrounding markets.

As of late 2009, 526 microprojects had been started in Côte d'Ivoire involving 3,500 beneficiaries, according to a December 2009 study by the Centre for Intercultural Communication. Projects were spread nationwide, and they involved everything from the pig farm to restaurants to secondhand clothing dealers.

"Besides creating direct employment, the microprojects contribute to increased local retail trade," the study stated. "The project has brought fresh capital into local markets, with positive impact on the financial activity of local suppliers, wholesalers and craftsmen."

In early 2010, those associated with the 1,000 Micro-Projects Initiative met for two days to note the achievements of the first phase and make adjustments for the second, which was expected to cost \$1 million. Phase two was to target female victims of the Ivorian conflict and the disabled. \square

$\frac{ASSESSING}{OPERATION}$

Col. Cysus Iguna

of the Kenya Defence Forces discusses his country's involvement in Somalia



This Q&A was conducted by Catherine Kihara, Africa researcher at the United States Marine Corps Center for Advanced Operational Culture Learning, and Capt. Zipporah Kioko of the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF).

Q.

When did you join the KDF, and why did you choose to serve in the military?

Col. Oguna: I joined the KDF in 1986 as a direct-entry cadet officer. I did not join the military to gain any skills or to build a career out of it. As a young man at the tender age of 19, it was an adventure. I joined the military, in all honesty, to see the world. As I toured the world, the military also turned out to be a career.

Q.

What events led to Kenya's military involvement in Somalia?

A. Somalia-based militants, al-Shabaab, repeatedly violated Kenya's sovereignty through unprovoked attacks on Kenya's citizens and other interests. There were several attempted pirate attacks in Kenya's territorial waters and spirited efforts to recruit young Kenyans to join the terror group. Additionally, the militant group kidnapped individuals who were providing humanitarian services. On October 12, 2011, two Spanish aid workers and a driver were abducted from the Dadaab refugee camp. Tourists had also been attacked, directly, affecting Kenya's tourist sector. There were a series of attacks directed at the police and ordinary Kenyans. Such attacks became very frequent in Nairobi, mainly targeting large concentrations of people at places like bus parks. The list is long, but every activity undermined the security of the country, hurting the confidence and pride of Kenyans while at the same time killing the economy.

Operation Linda Nchi (Swahili for Protect the Nation) is Kenya's first international operation in pursuit of a terror group.

How were KDF forces received as they entered Somali communities in October 2011? Especially since African Union forces had been there earlier?

A. Among the challenges was gaining general acceptance by the locals due to cultural differences (language, religion, dress, food, etc.). It therefore became imperative to dovetail KDF operations within the broader Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) objective of securing peace and stability in Somalia. It was decided to go with a joint operational plan with the Somali forces, which were already operating in Jubaland as part of the IGAD peace efforts. These were the Somali National Army and the

Ras Kiamboni Brigade. These were the lead forces initially as KDF crossed into Somalia. Having those forces on the side of KDF created an environment of acceptance because KDF was then viewed not as an occupying force, but as a partner force helping in the search for peace in Somalia. Therefore, as one region after another fell to KDF, the response of the locals was jubilation at their newfound freedom. At Busar in particular, about 6,000 residents who had fled the town due to the actions of the militants were extremely happy when the militants were removed. They felt they had a chance to reclaim their pride.

Q.

How did the KDF prepare its men and women for Operation Linda Nchi?

A. The KDF training philosophy is based on the principle that good training motivates, and motivation wins battles. Arising from this, KDF training has always evolved in tandem with the shifting profile, training for threats ranging from conventional to asymmetric. The training also provides for joint operations as well as combined operations in a multination setup. The joint operation specifically is aimed at having all three services of the KDF — Army, Air Force and Navy — understand each other's operational procedures, techniques, capabilities and limitations in order to generate greater understanding and camaraderie. The training also recognizes the importance that soft power [media, diplomacy, psychological operations, civil-military cooperation, etc.] plays in modern warfare. Thus, during training, mock operations depicting possible scenarios are carried out, and all possible correlates are worked out and stakeholders are invited, including the media.

Modern warfare involves winning the hearts and minds of the local people. What has the KDF done to empower communities in Somalia, especially with the language barrier?

A. In every town that fell from al-Shabaab into the hands of KDF, the situation was the same: lack of water, lack of food, no basic medical services, no schools, no access roads, etc. In Dhobley, KDF renovated the existing health facility and upgraded it to hospital status. KDF provided doctors and nurses to treat the local

population. AMISOM [African Union Mission in Somalia] has now taken it up and converted it to a Level 2 hospital. Mobile clinics were set up by KDF in areas that had no health facilities. A makeshift facility was set up in the town of Ras Kiamboni that had nothing at all despite being home to a large fishing community. Additionally, KDF has helped in drilling wells in Dhobley, Busar, Afmadow and Badhaadhe by employing our own engineers. KDF Soldiers also donated one month of their salary to buy food, which was delivered to all the centers out of al-Shabaab control.

The language barrier was always going to be a challenge, but identifying the need to operate closely with other Somali-based forces helped alleviate it. KDF offers linguistic training, but the skills acquired could not replace somebody who not only speaks the local language but also understands the terrain. Within the KDF, however, there is a sizable number from the Kenyan Somali community who also assisted with language challenges.

In your opinion, what has been the toughest challenge in securing Somalia?

A. The vastness of the area compared to the forces on the ground. Currently, KDF has a force strength of 4,664 and occupies a total of 150,000 square kilometers. This is bigger than Rwanda, Burundi and the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo combined. This will certainly leave pockets that can be exploited by the militants.

Lack of sufficient humanitarian support. To be meaningful, the forces replacing al-Shabaab should provide what the militants could not. One must replace something with something better. What people want is running water, food, education, accessible and affordable health services, development, and freedom. Freedom alone does not put food on the table. Lack of these services creates room for the al-Shabaab propaganda to spread.

Slowness in the political process. Military activities alone cannot stabilize Somalia. Military action can only create an environment to allow the political process to be initiated that eventually would develop institutions of governance. These are the institutions that should have the requisite capacity and capability to govern. This process has been dogged and bogged down by special interests and propaganda. With each passing day, the forces in Somalia, and particularly the KDF, are likely to be viewed as occupation forces.

Please explain why Kenyans and people from the wider subregion should be concerned about the expansion of terror groups such as al-Shabaab in Somalia?

A. Once the terror groups take control of Somalia, Somalia will not only serve as a training ground for terrorists, but will also serve as a launching pad to

destabilize the other countries in the region. The ultimate goal of these extremists is to link up with groups in Mali and Nigeria. This would have major implications for stability, security and economic growth in this region. Piracy in the Indian Ocean would thrive. Activities of al-Shabaab in Kenya not only targeted Kenya's interests, but Western interests as well. Within the al-Shabaab ranks, there are militants who have been recruited from the region, but there are others from Western capitals. Throw in the al-Qaida link, and you begin to realize that this cannot only be a Somali problem. It is a global problem. But since it is happening in the region, the regional countries and mechanisms must take the vanguard role.

After this experience, do you think the KDF is ready to play a larger role in peacekeeping/ stability operation missions in the region?

A. KDF has always participated in the search for peace in the region. The search for peace is not always limited to military combat engagement. KDF has been at the forefront in shoring relations with other neighboring countries and engaging in constructive dialogue to ensure that peace prevails. This is what KDF stands for and will continue to pursue. However, should the situation demand that KDF deploy, it will, but only after approval through the established procedure in the Constitution.

Tell us a little about the inclusion of the KDF into AMISOM's forces and the division of labor. When was it integrated into AMISOM? Is there a division of labor or territory, or do they execute one strategy under mixed/multinational battalions? How does the command structure function?

A. When KDF crossed into Somalia and began to register significant gains against al-Shabaab, observers took note. Previously, AMISOM had been operating in Mogadishu without moving out of the town for close to five years. Successes by KDF, moving from one town to another, signaled that it was indeed possible to move out of the town centers and venture into the wild. To the AU, the entry of KDF and subsequent quick gains was a game changer in the search for peace and stability in Somalia. Arising from this, the AU requested of the Kenyan government that the KDF be integrated into AMISOM and to have KDF objectives incorporated within the AMISOM mandate. The legal requirements for rehatting were followed, and the United Nations officially approved KDF integration on February 22, 2012, through U.N. Resolution 2036. The same resolution also increased AMISOM force levels from 12,000 to 17,731, out of which 4,664 were to be members of KDF.

After the KDF inclusion, AMISOM had to restructure. New players including Djibouti and Sierra Leone also were included. The entire theater





COL. CYRUS OGUNA of the Kenya Defence Forces

was divided into four sectors: Sector 1 covering Lower and Middle Shebelle (Uganda and Burundi), Sector 2 covering all of Jubaland (KDF and Sierra Leone), Sector 3 covering Bay and Bakool regions (Uganda and Burundi), and Sector 4 covering the Hiram region (Djibouti).

Every sector commander has operational independence without reference to the force headquarters, but the force commander retains the full command administratively. To facilitate command, there is a communication line between each of the sector headquarters and the force headquarters.

Please tell us a little about the young men and women fighting in Somalia. What drives them?

A. The main values that are ingrained through training in the KDF are:

Steadfastly remain apolitical. Political affiliations have the potential to divide. A KDF core value is for every rank-and-file member to steer clear of politics.

Patriotism and loyalty. All KDF members must be patriotic to Kenya, and uphold and express loyalty and commitment to the citizens.

Professionalism. KDF members must deliver service with courage, which must be based on the highest professional standards and be blind to gender, ethnicity, race, culture, religion or any other consideration.

In closing, tell us one thing that people do not know about the KDF.

A. We in KDF believe in being a lightweight force, agile and highly mobile but able to deliver a punch like a heavyweight.



STRENGTH IN DIVERSITY

WHEN MILITARIES REFLECT THE POPULATION THEY SERVE, THEY'RE BETTER ABLE TO PROVIDE STABILITY

ADF STAFF

n April 2009, Maj. Gen. Godefroid Niyombare was sworn in as Burundi's Army chief of staff, the nation's top military officer. The event was significant not just for the appointment, but for the decisions that led to it.

In a nation once divided by ethnicity, Niyombare was the first ethnic Hutu chosen for the Army's top job. The military had historically been dominated by Tutsis.

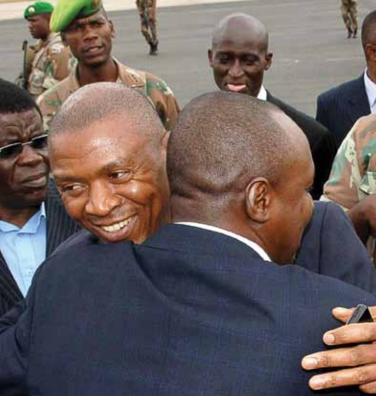
"The base of our problems during former times were the Army and the police — now we have both ethnic groups represented," President Pierre Nkurunziza said.

Radio France Internationale hailed it as a historic turning point for the tiny central African nation. "The greatest sign that times have changed in Burundi is that the appointment did not elicit any particular emotion," RFI reported.

A peace agreement signed in 2000 known as the Arusha Accords paved the way for Niyombare's selection and for broader ethnic reconciliation in Burundi. After a brutal civil war that began in 1993 and raged on and off for more than a decade, several factions signed the Accords, which mandated that not more than 50 percent of the security sector, including the Burundi National Defense Force (BNDF) and the police, could be drawn from one ethnic group.

Results have been mixed. Peace has not completely found Burundi, but few blame today's problems on ethnic hatred.







Members of several warring factions have been integrated into the new military, and citizens no longer utter the bitter phrase "I'armée monoethnique," which means mono-ethnic army, when confronted by Soldiers. Burundi's military has even contributed three battalions to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), where it earned praise for professionalism.

"The ethnic divide that Burundi experienced — with Tutsis dominating every sphere of society and neighborhoods split along ethnic lines — is all but over," the BBC reported in 2012. "Burundians consider themselves to be free and are confident that their country will not be torn apart by ethnic enmity again."

Other nations roiled by ethnic tensions are taking note. According to the study "Confronting Ethnic Conflict" by researcher Jennifer L. De Maio, between 1989 and 2004 there were 118 military conflicts in the world. Of those, only seven were between two states. The rest were between factions inside a country. By one estimate, two-thirds of the world's conflicts were driven to some extent by ethnicity. National armies that are not representative of the population are a major driver of this conflict.

"You can't maintain a uni-ethnic army in a polarized environment. Something will give," said Professor J. 'Bayo Adekanye, a Nigerian expert on ethnicity in the military, in an interview with *ADF*. "An army like that does not breed confidence. It creates problems."

So the question arises: How can a military foster diversity in order to avoid conflict?

METHODS

Militaries historically have used three general methods to ensure that they represent the nation at large, according to a study by Lindy Heinecken of the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa.

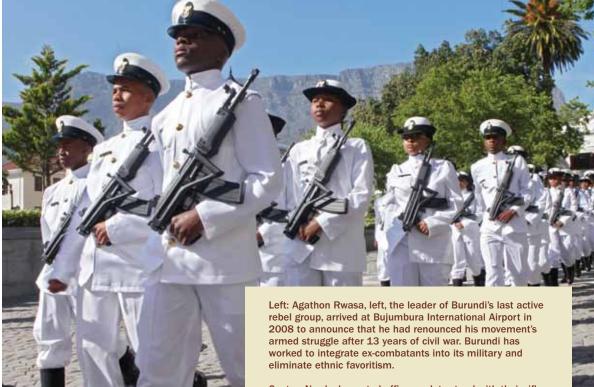
The passive scenario: This occurs when the military simply changes its official policies to ensure that there are no rules that discriminate against a particular group. After the rules are changed, leaders consider the problem solved and take no further action to promote diversity.

This method is effective when the sole obstacle to integrating the security sector is outright discrimination or racism instead of a lack of qualified applicants. This scenario assumes that, without barriers, Soldiers from previously disadvantaged groups will advance. Often, though, after years of discrimination, more "affirmative action" is needed to help certain groups advance in the military.

The pipeline scenario: This approach attempts to rectify the problem by increasing the number of qualified minority candidates in military academies so they will rise through the ranks. After perhaps five years or more, there will be more commanding officers, pilots, ship captains, etc., from previously disadvantaged groups.

This method is effective, but it might not fully address the disparity if it comes after years of segregation and unequal access to schooling. Due to educational and economic advantages, a privileged group might continue to dominate and occupy a higher number of officer positions despite the presence of disadvantaged groups in national military academies.





The mobility scenario: This method actively recruits disadvantaged groups into the military and encourages the promotion of these groups through the ranks, sometimes by using target numbers or quotas to ensure that the military meets representation goals. This is the quickest and most effective way to increase the diversity of the armed forces, but critics say that it can lower standards for promotion. The South African National Defense Force (SANDF) has struggled with this balancing act since it set aggressive quotas for the number of blacks and "colored" Soldiers in the armed forces after apartheid.

The number of black Soldiers across the SANDF has risen from 39 percent in 1994 to nearly 70 percent in 2007. This number surpassed the goals of the Defence Review, a national advisory board that had set integration benchmarks for the military.

But due to historical inequities, blacks have been underrepresented in command positions and specialized fields in the SANDF. In 2007, blacks made up about 90 percent of privates, but less than half of officer and noncommissioned ranks, according to Heinecken.

BENEFITS

Interaction with civilians: Diversity has benefits beyond simply reconciling warring parties or righting historical wrongs. In some cases, a diverse military is better able to operate in the field than a homogenous one, particularly in noncombat missions. When an army unit in the field includes Soldiers from the region or who share the same ethnicity or religion as the local population, the unit can be more effective. This unit may be less

Center: Newly decorated officer cadets stand with their rifles

at the Uganda military academy in Kabamba in September 2012. Militaries have tried several methods to increase diversity including the "pipeline" method, which increases the number of minority cadets in military academies.

Above: South African Sailors march in Cape Town during a welcoming ceremony for the president of Namibia in November 2012.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

likely to be viewed by civilians as a foreign, occupying force.

For instance, in 2012 Djibouti contributed 300 Soldiers to AMISOM. Unlike the majority of AMISOM Soldiers, Djiboutians speak Somali and share the Islamic religion of the local population. Therefore, they were able to succeed in areas where AMISOM's Ugandan and Burundian forces could not. An example of this occurred in the central Somali town of Beletwyene where Djiboutian Soldiers trained former Somali militants to join the fight against al-Shabaab. Working closely with the former militants, the Djiboutians taught how to detect and demine an improvised explosive device, first aid, tactical driving and communications.

Broad recruiting: A diverse military broadens a nation's recruiting base. As militaries around the world struggle to recruit enough qualified Soldiers to fill their ranks, they are looking to tap into new populations. Recruiters find that groups that have been historically marginalized are more likely to view military service as a ladder out of poverty. "Shortages, particularly in the technical and combat positions in the army, air force and navy, are observed across nations. This has obliged armed forces to recruit from nontraditional pools, namely ethnic minorities (and even foreign nationals)





and women, to meet their manpower requirements," Heinecken wrote. In this way, a diverse military becomes the "school of the nation," where people from far-flung parts of the country develop a national identity. This dates back to the times of Napoleon Bonaparte, when it was said that the military was where "peasants learned to become Frenchmen."

BUILDING A TRUE NATIONAL MILITARY

Diversity is more complex than simply recruiting a certain number of Soldiers from a particular religion or ethnicity. Often the inequities in the armed services of African nations are mixed with issues of regionalism, personal allegiance and access to power.

National leaders who gain power by force or who wield dictatorial authority tend to surround themselves with people from their home region or clan. Former Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi, for instance, filled the upper ranks of his military with members of his clan, many of whom hailed from his hometown of Sirte. Former Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi likewise promoted members of his clan, the Kalenjin, to the highest levels of the military.

In these cases, control of the military and the government carries with it the promise of control of resources. This "winner-take-all" game of ethnic-based elections, coups and control was explained in the memorably titled *It's Our Turn to Eat*, a 2009 book by Michela Wrong about Kenyan politics. When a new regime comes to power, Wrong reported, its leaders say, "It's our turn to eat," and begin raiding state resources.

In these scenarios, holding onto power and controlling scarce state funds becomes essential to survival. The military has historically been integral to this, and its officers have become cogs in a dictator's patronage network.

"When the state makes access to power, patronage, education, business opportunities, and other resources contingent on belonging to a particular hereditary group, individuals will come to see identity as central to politics and, by extension, conflict," researcher Kristen Harkness wrote in a 2012 paper on military integration. "Resistance to ethnic exclusion will logically organize itself along ethnic lines."

Adekanye said these feelings of ethnic exclusion delegitimize the military. "It becomes not a national army — it becomes perceived as a sectional army," he said.

It is for this reason that a diverse military can actually create stability. In a 2011 study published in the journal *The African Spectrum*, Stefan Lindemann found that nations with a history of avoiding military coup d'états, such as Zambia, have an important trait: They tend to have ethnically balanced militaries and civilian leadership. Lindemann's thesis argues that a representative military has less reason or ability to overthrow a civilian government.

"Military leaders will show little inclination to engage in coup activity not only because members of all ethnic groups feel represented in the army but also because the government is equally broad-based in composition, an aspect that bestows civilian leaders with high legitimacy and enhances the loyalty of the army," Lindemann wrote.

In Africa, where there have been more than 215 coup attempts across 43 nations in the post-colonial era, this is no small matter. Lindemann believes that diversity helps to snuff out coup attempts before they can gain momentum. "Military leaders will also lack the ability to intervene, as members of competing ethnic groups in the officer corps keep an eye on each other — a situation that helps deter and detect conspiracies," he wrote.

With all these factors in mind, a number of African nations are now paying closer attention to the importance of diversity in the armed forces. This emphasis was particularly evident in Kenya's 2010 Constitution, which specifically mentioned the importance of diversity in a country with 40 ethnic groups. The constitution says, "The composition of the command of the Defence Forces shall reflect the regional and ethnic diversity of the people of Kenya."

FOR SOMALIA'S YOUNG THE TIME IS NOW

With high unemployment and low wages, the country must find new ways to reach out to its young population

ADF STAFF



Young Somali men stroll down a street in the southern port city of Kismayo. There are currently not enough jobs in Somalia for young people.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

ne could say that Mohamed Ahmed Jama was a man with few opportunities.

As a young man, he had decided that the

As a young man, he had decided that the wealth associated with piracy in Somalia outweighed the risk of getting caught. That gamble did not pay off, and at the age of 27, he had already spent three years in prison. After his release, he might have returned to a life of piracy had he not found a United Nations Development Program (UNDP) that helped him make his way back into society.

"At the initial state, it seemed to be similar to any other humanitarian project, providing only short-term opportunities, such as access to food and employment," he later said. "But through the social and legal rehabilitation, I feel I have gained skills that I never had before. I believe I have a chance for a brighter future."

Mohamed enrolled in the U.N.'s Youth at Risk initiative, part of the Armed Violence Reduction Project, started in 2011. The project, in conjunction with UNICEF and the International Labour Organisation, targets marginalized teenagers and young adults to teach vocational skills so they can find a job or start their own business. Along the way, counselors coach them on changes of mindset, behavior and attitude.

Mohamed's training included afternoon classes three days a week for three months. He left the program with plans to start a small business.

Mohamed is typical of many Somali youth who have ambitions but lack opportunities. They are young, but they are many, and they have no place to go.

The general goal of the UNDP programs is to equip young people to go out into the world and make their own careers. But specific training is offered as well.

MONEY FOR SMALL BUSINESSES

A UNDP microfinance initiative helps entrepreneurs and small businesses with startup and expansion costs, or even just to give an existing business a boost. The program's Private Sector Development project issues interest-free "microcredit" loans to low-income families to expand and improve their profits.

Canab Abdi Daud got a \$300 loan through the project to expand her small shop in Hargeisa, Somalia's second-largest city. She had struggled to keep the shop open, and the loan enabled her to add more products to sell and to add a money exchange business.

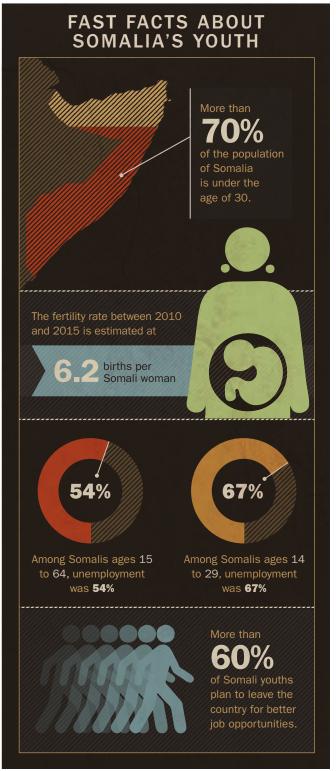
"After I got the loan, my business has expanded," she told UNDP organizers. "My customers increased in number, and the profit I make from the business increased. My profit margin is high, and I am sure that I will be able to pay back the loan regularly."

Along with the loans comes training, in subjects such as record keeping, marketing, pricing, generating new business and long-term planning. A local nongovernmental organization, Committee of Concerned Somalis, conducts the training, which means that additional help and advice will never be far away.

SOCIAL CHANGE THROUGH TRAINING

UNDP programs affect all walks of life in Somalia. The UNDP's Access to Justice Project puts law school graduates in internships in key judicial positions. One such intern, Aswan Mohamoud Jibril, became one of Somaliland's first female prosecutors in late 2011 at 26.

In a region where just 36 percent of women can read, Aswan stands apart. She got her start by applying for a



Source: UNDP OCTOBER 2012

NGOs PROVIDING RELIEF, EDUCATION

he United Nations is not the only group working to improve the lives of young Somalis. Nearly 90 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are active in Somalia, mostly providing emergency aid. But some are also working to provide training and education for young Somalis. They include:

Action Contre La Faim (ACF) provides Somalis with emergency help to get them back on their feet after hard times. After the drought of 2011, ACF gave unconditional cash grants to families and young people. In some cases, the recipients received multiple grants, which they used to establish new livelihoods.

In 2012, ACF targeted 6,450 households in the Hodan, Shibis, Wardhigley and Dharkenley districts of Mogadishu, with three rounds of unconditional cash grants of \$120 per round.

Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli (CISP) began education interventions in Somalia in 1992. CISP's approach assumes that structured and continued support is the only way to encourage school attendance. CISP has received financial support from the Somali diaspora and the communities themselves.

Interpeace is an independent, international peace-building organization and strategic partner of the United Nations. Interpeace and its Somaliland partner, the Academy for Peace and Development (APD), support the Somaliland National Youth Organization in the establishment of a National Youth Voters League. It aims to increase the role of Somaliland young people in the state-and peace-building processes.

The voters league engages young voters in the six regions of Somaliland, encouraging them to participate and to vote for candidates who support their cause. **Progressio** is another, unrelated NGO with a similar agenda in Somaliland.

The **Juba Foundation** is a local NGO, formed in July 2004 by a group of Somali intellectuals in response to the increased insecurity, suffering, famine and deaths in Somalia. The foundation is committed to providing education, humanitarian and development programs. The foundation has successfully conducted human rights monitoring, intervention programs such as food distribution, and the construction of six school tents to promote access to basic education.

The **Somali Women Contact Committee** is a network of women's organizations that spreads over 54 districts in the eight southernmost regions of Somalia. It works with another NGO, the **Life and Peace Institute**, to get Somalis involved in the political process, particularly those in rural, undeveloped parts of the country. The two groups are working to build on the fragile relationships between local clans and the emerging Somali government.

The Office for Development and Humanitarian Affairs is a Somalia-based NGO. Its programs include helping young Somalis who are returning to the homeland to integrate into society. The office's training and capacity-building program has been running for three years. The program has different components, focusing on youth empowerment, especially the Somaliland youth diaspora. One initiative is to equip diaspora youth with information to help them adopt the culture, interact with local youths, and avoid misinformation, which could lead to violence.

PartnerAid has three specific areas of focus for assistance: health, water and nutrition; education and income; and development-oriented emergency aid. The NGO is working with women in Somalia to stop the practice of female circumcision. The procedure is done on girls as young as 4 without anesthesia and can cause infection and death from hemorrhaging. It is performed on 95 percent of Somali women.

The Social-Life and Agricultural Development Organization (SADO) is a Somalia-based NGO created in 1994 after international organizations withdrew from the country. SADO focuses on improving the urban and pastoralist populations throughout the country, offering relief and education.

UNDP scholarship specifically for law school. Two days after graduating in 2009, she enrolled in a 10-month judicial internship along with other female law graduates.

In 2010, she was appointed as a prosecutor and now handles crimes against women and children.

"Sometimes I get threats after the court," she said. "The accused threaten me that they will kill me after they come out of prison. When I am in the marketplace, I put on a veil and cover my face so that those criminals don't see me when they are out of prison."

She said she sees her job as a step forward for all women. "Women were looked down upon, and people used to think we could not hold those positions," she said. "I have a dream of becoming a senior prosecutor."

UNITED NATIONS FOCUSES ON SOMALIA

The United Nations focused research on the youth of Somalia in a special report issued in September 2012. Recognizing the perils of high unemployment among the country's young people, along with problems involving clan affiliations, gender, age and poverty, the U.N. came up with a ninepoint plan for jobs and training:

Putting empowerment at the center of the national development agenda: Policy and institutional barriers that have excluded and marginalized young people must be removed. "A coherent national youth policy framework needs to be well-integrated in the national development strategy and translated into action," the report says. In September 2011, youth leaders from places including Garowe, Somaliland, Puntland and Central Somalia joined to introduce a "Youth Charter" that outlines youth aspirations across the country.

Strengthening democratic governance: The Somali government must guarantee political rights, protect economic freedoms, make institutions accountable, and foster an environment of peace and development. The report says that respect for human rights and the rule of law "may require amending legislation, strengthening judicial institutions, promoting human rights training, and establishing credible, independent and impartial national human rights institutions."

Enhancing youth voice and representation: Youth empowerment is not possible without guaranteeing their rights to participate in government decision-making at all levels. "Any conventional 'tokenism' should be avoided, and youth should be accepted as partners in decision-making," the report says.

The report urges the creation of a permanent national youth council. "Strong links across all levels of governance, from the local to the national, should be promoted, and extended to the international level where warranted, with an emphasis on regular networking and the exchange of knowledge and experiences."

Enhancing employability of young people: Somalia must make skills training and employment services available, affordable, relevant and of high quality. "Other policies should provide access to universal, free, quality public primary and secondary education, with a focus on extending access to excluded groups, and with greater attention to quality early childhood development programs."

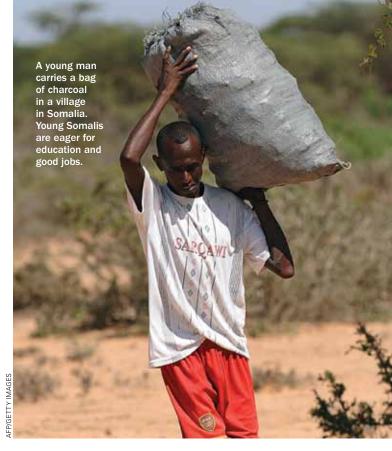
Promoting employment-led inclusive growth: "Widespread youth unemployment cannot be tackled in isolation from the wider crisis confronting the Somali economy," the report says. Any economic reforms must include sustainable employment creation and youth employment promotion. Because the labor market can only grow so fast, the government must offer aid for those who want to be self-employed. There must also be training quickly available for new jobs and industries that require special skills.

Localizing Millennium Development Goals-based development and peace-building: In 2000, the United Nations established eight international goals to promote health, education and gender equality. These goals are an integral part of any dynamic peace-building process in Somalia. The U.N. report calls for a "new, dynamic vision of peace that is locally empowered, with youth-led community organizations in the driver's seat."

"Engendering" development and peace-building: Somalia has a history of gender-based violence and discrimination. The country cannot move forward if its women are left behind. Women, especially young women, need to be at the center of the national policy agenda, with gender-equality measures integrated into all walks of life.

Ensuring environmentally sustainable human development: Humanitarian relief in Somalia has not taken into account environmental costs, even though these costs are becoming a problem unto themselves. "Moving forward, the country must have a long-term plan of action for natural resource management as an integral component of the national development strategy," the report says. "Because youth often have a stronger awareness of environmental issues and a greater stake in long-term sustainability, they could have a lead role, including in driving community-led movements for greening human development."

Any plan should include the development of a decentralized system of sustainable energy: A looming



energy crisis is becoming a barrier to breaking the cycle of poverty and conflict. Somalia needs to develop plans to manage its resources, including harvesting rainwater and managing forests and natural resources. Community-based property rights or leasing systems would help address land rights and potential conflicts.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND

The U.N.'s Youth at Risk programs continue to show the way in Somalia for young people trying to improve their lives. In one 2012 program in Burao in the northwest part of the country, more than 200 young trainees learned skills that included computer and office management, financial operations, electrical repairs, electronics, plumbing, masonry and weaving. The skills were put to use with trainees repairing and reconstructing two main roads, rebuilding a canal in a neighboring village, and constructing a wall in a dried river bed. Each trainee was paid daily for the work.

Another Youth at Risk program in Somalia has similar goals — addressing the country's actual needs in terms of sustainable energy, rather than focusing on training that may not be practical in generating jobs.

A U.N. report said that the Burao program was an example of the learn-as-you-earn training needed going forward in Somalia. Although most jobs and training programs are supply-driven, the Burao work focused on demand — the need for the public works repairs. The U.N. said that more such training should focus on actual needs, "such as through public works programs and sustainable microfinance, self-employment or entrepreneurship."





MAKING Good MESSENGERS

An international NGO is training journalists to promote peace through accurate reporting.

ADF STAFF
PHOTOS BY AFP/GETTY IMAGES

ust hours after a commission announced the winner of Kenya's presidential election in December 2007, people took to the streets in protest.

"Thousands of young men burst out of Kibera, a shantytown of 1 million people, waving sticks, smashing shacks, burning tires and hurling stones," *The New York Times* reported. "Soldiers poured into the streets to fight them. In several cities across Kenya, witnesses said, gangs went house to house, drag-

ging out people of certain tribes and clubbing them to death."

Two more months of violence followed the disputed election. More than 1,000 people died, and as many as 500,000 lost their homes.

The media can be a powerful tool for promoting social reconciliation in such situations. It can help replace rumors and propaganda with rationality and reason. It can bring worldwide attention to injustice. But in Kenya's election, some in the media chose to fan the flames of violence.

"On the whole, Kenya's print media are among the best in Africa," the Department for International Development concluded in a 2009 report. "Nonetheless, the major media were biased in favor of the government, especially the government-owned Kenya Broadcasting Corp. Talk shows on some of the small, vernacular FM stations also became vehicles for hate speech, although others became vehicles for peace."

One station, Kass FM, which broadcasts to the ethnic Kalenjin community, was singled

out for inciting violence. The station's executive, Joshua arap Sang, was indicted by the International Criminal Court, charged with planning attacks and preaching hate over the airwayes.

For some broadcasters, the media's role in fueling violence was a wake-up call. "The media has failed Kenya," said Paul Ohaga of Pamoja FM, a station that broadcasts from Kibera. "We got people into this mess, and it's up to us to get them out."



Journalist Atem Deng presents a program on the United Nations-sponsored Radio Miraya in South Sudan's capital, Juba.

The 2007 Kenyan election crisis was certainly not unique, but it remains an example of why a professional, unbiased media is closely linked to national security. A trained, independent media can exert tremendous pressure on political, military and social leaders to behave responsibly.

RADIO STATION **CLIPTION** FROM THE ASHES

INTERNEWS

Côte d'Ivoire is still suffering from the effects of the 2010 postelectoral crisis that resulted in more than 3,000 deaths and left tens of thousands of people displaced. In late 2012, there were more reports of violence that led to a new wave of refugees.

Radio Voix du Guémon had been an outlet for local information in Duékoué, a town in the west of the country that was severely affected by conflict. In September 2012, the station returned to the airwaves after an 18-month absence.

During the fighting, the radio station was looted and burned to the ground. It left a significant portion of the local population and refugees without any credible information, something that became especially worrisome in July 2012 when a camp with 5,000 refugees was attacked and burned down.

Recognizing the important need for information in Duékoué, Internews worked with the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire and other international organizations, asking for their support in rebuilding the station. Albert Koenders of the United Nations said the U.N. provided new equipment for the station because of the strong sense of local ownership that Internews helped to build within the community. "What Internews has done is unique in the world," he said.

The Internews program in Côte d'Ivoire focuses on building the capacity of six radio stations covering Moyen-Cavally and Montagnes, the two main western provinces, and even deep inside neighboring Liberia, where tens of thousands of Ivorian refugees remain. One of the priorities has been to establish feedback groups with representatives from villages and neighborhoods. Thus far each station has managed to establish at least 20 groups whose members provide important feedback, information and financial support.



EARNING TRUST

In February 2008, Internews, an international nongovernmental organization (NGO) launched a pilot project for Kenyan media called Mission Possible. The project included training on the role of the media during times of conflict, an editors' seminar, six station-based training seminars and a series of mentoring sessions.

One of the most powerful sessions included a round-table discussion with 35 of Kenya's top radio presenters to examine how they can "move away from the 'language of conflict,' where ethnic distinctions are pejoratively drawn." Other workshops with print journalists discussed hot-button issues, including when to print disturbing war images and when it is important to list the ethnicity of victims in news stories.

Formed in 1982, Internews has trained more than 80,000 people in reporting, the business side of news production, and news staff management. The NGO has worked in more than 70 countries with 4,800 news organizations. To help independent media fulfill their "watchdog" roles, Internews has worked to adopt and implement fair media laws and policies in 21 countries.

Internews has also helped with the nuts and bolts of journalism, including production, studio equipment and the construction of radio stations. In war-ravaged countries such as South Sudan, Kenya and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Internews has trained reporters to cover violence and reconciliation.

THE NGO'S WORK IN AFRICA INCLUDES

In the **Central African Republic**, Internews linked 15 community radio stations in a "humanitarian communication network," providing



Radio Miraya host Lubna Lasu broadcasts the Betna Weekend Edition program in Juba.

timely, and often exclusive, information to and from remote areas. The stations are owned and managed by their local communities and

deal with issues key to the country: peace, food security, access to basic services, health, religion and education.

In **Chad**, Internews has a network of three FM radio stations broadcasting in six local languages "to unite listeners from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds." Internews also started a gender-based violence reporting team that produces the region's first radio program dedicated to the needs of refugee women.

Internews' work in **Côte d'Ivoire** has focused on rebuilding community radio stations in the western part of the country, the region most heavily affected by post-2010 election conflict. Internews trained reporters at the stations to focus on information related to reconciliation efforts and help them understand

new communications technologies. The stations are re-establishing themselves as credible, reliable sources of information.

Internews launched a five-year program in December 2010 to work with more than 50 community radio stations across four provinces in the **Democratic Republic of the Congo.** In a country plagued by conflict since 1996, Internews is helping to deliver reliable, high-quality information to Congolese citizens, even in remote areas. Internews is building a media resource center in each province.

In **Ethiopia**, Internews' five-year project that ended in 2010 provided government-endorsed in-country training, technical assistance and support to the media. The project developed tailored training for journalists, editors, government public relations professionals and health care specialists.

Niger is one of the poorest countries in Africa, despite being resource-rich. Internews has been training journalists and media outlets to report on natural resource management and encouraging local communities to speak out about mismanagement.

Internews began working in what is now **South Sudan** in 2006, after the end of decades of civil war. Since then, Internews has expanded its support of a network of four radio stations providing remote communities access to critical news and information in local languages. Each station now has a broadcast radius of almost 100 kilometers. Internews also

co-manages Eye Radio 98.6 FM, a Juba-based 24-hour radio station. Eye Radio's national network expansion will include broadcasting in all 10 regional capitals of South Sudan, with an additional seven repeater sites to further expand the national audience.

In partnership with Star FM, a Kenya-based Somali-language radio station, Internews is establishing three community radio stations within some of the most affected populations in **Somalia**, beginning in the capital, Mogadishu.

BROADCASTING A POWERFUL VOICE

Peter Kariuki is of Kenya's Kikuyu tribe, but he is married to a woman of the Kalenjin community. His in-laws evicted him and his wife from their home because of their marriage. His parents disowned him for the same reason. In 2008, he was living in an internally displaced person camp for his tribe, and his wife was living in a camp for hers. Since their separation, his wife gave birth to a son who Kariuki named by cellphone.

Kariuki told his story to an audience of radio journalists at a Mission Possible conference. The journalists were angered and moved by his story, and nine stations asked him to take part in their broadcasts.

"This was a major turning point in the way that radio covered the crisis faced by displaced people," Internews wrote later. "One breakfast show presenter, Sumba Juma of Mulembe FM, reported that initially their listeners were 'stereotyping' Peter based on his ethnicity. The listeners were both aggressive and negative toward Peter. Peter's calmness in dealing with the issues that were raised, despite provocation, persuaded people to start calling in with a more positive attitude. The listeners started calling in to suggest solutions to the issue. As the show progressed — Peter was on the air for two hours — the response of listeners became overwhelming."

He was later invited to appear on a radio station that broadcasts to the Kalenjin community and had, in the past, been accused of promoting racial hatred. For hours, he took calls from people from the same tribe that had displaced him.

Mitch Odero, a nationally known Kenyan journalist, said the broadcasts "caused many of us to interrogate our collective guilt."

"Never in broadcasting in Kenya has radio been engaged so effectively," Odero said. "It is therefore my hope that the effective role of the media, as was illustrated here, will be replicated across the country, particularly by the community media."

Musicians — COME TOGETHER

When violence swept Côte d'Ivoire in 2011 after a contested presidential election, some of the country's most popular musicians took part in the conflict.

"When I looked at the musical scene in Côte d'Ivoire, I realized that we ourselves went too far," said Asalfo Traore of the zouglou band Magic System, one of the few groups that refused to take sides during the crisis. "It was when everything was ruined that we wanted to glue the pieces back together. But it was too late."

Now, long-divided musicians are coming together, hoping to use their influence to help Côte d'Ivoire heal its wounds.

The country's leading rival reggae artists are showing the way. The long feud between Alpha Blondy and Tiken Jah Fakoly is famous in the reggae world, although neither has been willing to say what was behind the bad blood.

Both men come from Côte d'Ivoire's arid north and share a musical genre. But the similarities stop there. Alpha, considered the father of Ivorian reggae, performs in the shimmering pink suit, golden tie and Panama hat of an urban dandy. Tiken wears the traditional flowing robes of his northern Malinke tribe.

During the crisis, Alpha remained in Côte d'Ivoire, while Tiken, a vocal critic of former President Laurent Gbagbo's regime, went into exile in neighboring Mali.

They had successfully avoided each other during their long parallel careers. Before he picked up the phone to approach Alpha with the idea of uniting for a series of peace concerts, Tiken claimed they had met only twice.

"Before going to the Ivorians to ask them to move towards reconciliation, it was important for us to show a major sign," Tiken said. "That's what we did."

Out of a meeting in Paris was born a simple idea: six concerts in six towns, bringing together musicians from across the political spectrum to push for peace. "No one's died over

the problems between Tiken and me," Alpha said, "There are things that are more serious than our little spats, our pride and our vanities."

Unity was never a problem, Alpha said, until politicians began to play the ethnic identity card in the struggle for power that came after the death of the country's first president, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, in 1993.

"Ivorians are not divided. That's what I discovered," Alpha said on the last night of the tour in November 2012. "If there are people that need reconciliation, it's not the artists or the people. It's the politicians." REUTERS



- in Côte d'Ivoire

GROUP USES FOOTBALL TO EMPOWER GIRLS

Girls and Football South Africa (GFSA), a new nonprofit, is kicking down gender barriers to give more South African women the opportunity to participate in the world's most popular sport.

Founded in April 2012, GFSA encourages sport as a developmental tool for girls and raises awareness about important issues affecting the lives of young women.

"We believe football is a source of empowerment for girls, equipping them with a strong sense of body ownership and promoting self-esteem," said GFSA director and founder Jos Dirkx.

Frequently, leadership qualities afforded by sports are experienced by boys only, Dirkx said. "This significantly impedes the development of girls, resulting in an imbalance in South African society."

The organization offers workshops that combine life skills training and football to empower girls ages 9 to 18. "By linking our participants with strong role models such as the players of the South African national women's team, we inspire the young girls to build a better future," Dirkx said.

The initiative was partly inspired by the hype surrounding men's football leading up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which was held in South Africa. After the football extravaganza, GFSA decided to conduct research on women's football on the continent and South Africa in particular.

In 2011, the organization produced a documentary, Can I Kick It?, which won Best Documentary at the international Festival du TV et Cinema in Beirut, Lebanon. Produced by Dirkx, the film features interviews with male and female amateur and professional players. It highlights challenges faced by women, particularly players on South Africa's women's national team, Banyana Banyana.

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AFP/GETTY IMAGES



African Music Gets Digital Treatment

More than 80 years ago Hugh Tracey made his first recordings of African music and earned a reputation as a mad Englishman who sallied into the bush with people playing drums.

Today his unique archives have been digitized and used as teaching aids in two new school textbooks, realizing his lifelong dream of preserving the music.

His International Library of African Music is made of up recordings on 78 rpm discs and magnetic tape. Its contents amount to a running time of six months, gathered from what is now Zimbabwe throughout southern and eastern Africa and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The Tracey collection, housed at the Rhodes University campus in Grahamstown, South Africa, is the most important archive of its sort in Africa. The thousands of hours of music include village ensembles, royal court music, drumming and voices, all saved during expeditions carried out until the 1960s in scarcely imaginable circumstances.

"There was dust, there were mosquitoes that would go under the tape," recalled Tracey's son Andrew, who has continued his father's pioneering work by preserving and transcribing the collection. "He traveled around with three vehicles and used a diesel generator." His father died in 1977.

Now 78, Andrew Tracey has passed on the work to Diane Thram, an American professor at the university who looks after the archive, entirely digitized in 2012, and the 8,000 photographs of the collection.

The latest products of the archives are two school handbooks published by the library. The first, *Understanding African Music*, is aimed at high school students and was presented at a world conference of music teachers. The second will target younger children.

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Academy Mixes Basketball, Education

A Senegalese basketball academy has been fighting for 10 years to provide an education for youngsters passionate about the sport.

The Sports for Education and Economic Development in Senegal (SEEDS) Academy is based at the National Centre of Physical and Sporting Education (CNEPS) in Thiès, east of Dakar. It was established by Amadou Gallo Fall, the U.S. National Basketball Association's vice president for the development of the sport in Africa.

Respect and discipline are two values advocated by Fall, a 49-year-old Senegalese who benefited from help in the late 1980s. At the time, he was a student basketball player in Tunisia and was noticed by an American who helped him study in the United States.

A wrist injury cut short his playing career while still in college, but he managed to find a job as a recruiter with the NBA. In 2010, he was put in charge of promoting the game in Africa, and he wanted to give young Senegalese the



Amadou Gallo Fall

chance that he had. In 2003, Fall created the SEEDS Academy to help take care of youths' school and sports needs.

"In return, they had to be high achievers at school to stand a chance of going to a U.S. college or university," said Fall's brother, Cheikh Fall. "That's the deal."

SEEDS Academy has about 30 students ages 14 to 18, and its program is tough.

"We have lessons and training until 11 p.m.," said Youssoupha Birama Fall, 17, a recent African under-18 champion with Senegal. "We don't have time to play or think about anything other than studying and basketball."

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE



Basketball players head to a training session at the SEEDS Academy, a free basketball boarding school, in Thiès, Senegal. Its mission is to give youths the discipline to succeed in life through sports and education.



SOMALI PRESIDENT//ins NATIONAL RECOGNITION

→ ADF STAFF ├─

Somali President Hassan Sheik Mohamud said he wants to rebuild his nation by focusing on security, judicial reform and public finance management reform.

Mohamud outlined his plans during a January 17, 2013, speech before the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., during his first visit to the United States since taking office in September 2012



Somali President Hassan Sheik Mohamud met U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in January 2013. The U.S. formally recognized the Somali government for the first time since 1991.

During the trip, the United States formally recognized the government of Somalia for the first time since 1991. U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton announced the development after meeting with Mohamud

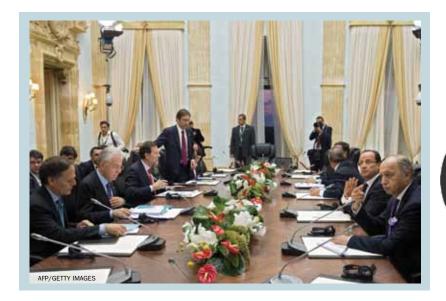
and recapping the east African nation's long struggle with violence, disorder and the armed terrorist group al-Shabaab. "It's not the end of the journey, but it's an important milestone to that end," Clinton said. "We respect the sovereignty of Somalia, and as two sovereign nations we will continue to have an open, transparent dialogue about what more we can do to help the people of Somalia realize their own dreams."

"Somalia is very grateful for the unwavering support from the United States to the people of Somalia," Mohamud told Clinton. He met earlier at the White House with U.S. President Barack Obama.

He said the Somali people are prepared to meet the immense challenges that face them. "Our people have suffered a lot, and it is time to bring [back] all the memories where Mogadishu used to be the safest capital in the African continent," he said. "I have faith of my people, who are entrepreneurs and can come out of the difficult times by courage and dignity. Somalis are resilient people, and I have no doubt it is that resilience that allowed them to still survive despite all the odds."

While in the U.S., Mohamud also spoke to 4,000 members of Somalia's diaspora community in Minneapolis, Minnesota, urging them to help rebuild their homeland. The state is thought to be home to about 70,000 Somalis, the BBC reported.

Mohamud, a university lecturer, was elected from among a dozen candidates in September 2012. He survived an assassination attempt soon after his inauguration.



Mediterranean States Meet

for First Time Since Arab Spring

eaders of 10 Mediterranean states pledged to jointly tackle common security challenges at a two-day summit in Malta in October 2012, with calls for strengthening transcontinental collaboration in security, defense, immigration and the economy. "Our main objective at the Malta Summit is to create the foundation for a strong cooperation in various fields, including security and economy," Maltese Prime Minister Lawrence Gonzi said at the first "5+5 Dialogue" since the Arab Spring.

the summit since the Arab Spring revolts.

European and North

leaders held

their first

African

Participants called for activating the group as a framework for consultation between the two shores of the Mediterranean. Leaders of Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia, along with European partners France, Italy, Malta, Portugal and Spain, also discussed new security threats after the Arab Spring. They expressed their determination to combat terrorism, Algerian Foreign Minister Mourad Medelci said.

Tunisia proposed forming a joint intervention force to monitor shores and rescue immigrants, and Algeria called for creating an observatory for food security.

Democratic reform also was high on the agenda. "Events in North Africa are historic and have consequences on all other countries," Gonzi said. He also called for putting an end to violence, and consolidating democracy, peace and prosperity in the Maghreb.

Tunisian President Moncef Marzouki said that changes in North Africa "don't pose a threat to Europe." European countries "will find many opportunities in our region," Marzouki said.

"The region has witnessed developments that will contribute to its stability," Mauritanian President Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz said. "Our countries are now trying to reconcile democracy and governance."

He described the 5+5 group as "a model for cooperation and integration," whose "values can help overcome problems" in the two regions. "Dialogue will help us counter the challenge of terrorism, transnational crimes and arms smuggling," Ould Abdel Aziz said. "All this requires a change of mentalities."

Other topics included:

- The group agreed to create a task force among the 10 countries to combat illegal immigration.
- Participants agreed to hold two meetings for youth ministers from the 10 countries in Nouakchott, to be scheduled later. They scheduled a foreign ministers' summit for March 2013.

FACT-CHECKING CRAZE ARRIVES IN AFRICA



ADF STAFF

Has a politician, business leader, health association or environmental group said something that you think may be

untrue and that you would like to challenge? If so, Africa Check might be the website for you.

The new nonprofit website, found at africacheck.org, says it "promotes accuracy in public debate" by testing "claims made by public figures around the continent."

"It started in South Africa, using journalistic skills and evidence drawn from the latest online tools, readers, public sources and experts, sorting out fact from fiction."

The website comes after several that have gained popularity in the United States, particularly FactCheck.org and PolitiFact.com, which won the prestigious Pulitzer Prize for its work. These sites and others were prominent during the 2012 U.S. presidential election as they checked the truth of candidates' statements and claims

Africa Check was devised by the AFP Foundation, the nonprofit media development arm of international news agency Agence France-Presse. Founded in June 2012, it is run in a partnership with the journalism department of the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

"Based in a journalism training institute, we also aim to foster a culture of accuracy among students and interns by giving them hands-on experience in the rigors of fact-checking," its website said.

A November 7, 2012, report on Africa Check examines competing claims from South Africa's African National Congress and the Democratic Alliance (DA).

"President Jacob Zuma claimed last week that the gap between rich and poor has been narrowing," the site said. "The opposition DA claimed that it is growing steadily. A careful look at the statistics shows both are wrong."

MINION DEFENSE & SECURITY



MAURITANIA, SENEGAL

JOIN FORCES

AGAINST TERRORISM

auritania and Senegal have launched a large-scale anti-terrorism awareness campaign along their shared border.

"Mauritanian and Senegalese army delegations explain to villagers that they need to get involved in the fight against terrorism by promptly reporting any movements of suspicious individuals or groups to the nearest authorities," noorinfo.com said of the initiative launched in December 2012.

Soldiers are visiting communities on both sides of the Senegal River to tell citizens about the "dangers that terrorism, cross-border crime and trafficking of all kinds pose to their peace of mind and safety," the Mauritanian news website said.

In September 2012, during the first official visit to Mauritania by Senegalese President Macky Sall, both countries expressed a desire to cooperate in fighting terrorism and cross-border crime.

This is not the first time a campaign like this has been organized along the Mauritanian border, according to journalist Jidou Ould Sidi, who

specializes in security issues. "In February [2012], a similar campaign was run in Mauritania and coordinated with Algeria, Mali and Niger, across the region in which al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb [AQIM] operates," Ould Sidi told Magharebia.com.

Villagers bathe and

wash clothes in the

Senegal River near

the border town of

Kaedi, Mauritania,

in June 2012.

"The goal of this awareness-raising is to tackle the extremist propaganda spread by AQIM among members of border communities whom it draws in," he added.

The prospect of terrorism is becoming increasingly real in Senegal. AQIM has "threatened to attack Senegal, which is anxious to create a secure environment in order to stop these cross-border criminals in their tracks," Walfadjri newspaper reporter Pape N'Diaye said. MAGHAREBIA.COM

EXERCISE STRESSES

Police, Civilian Roles in Standby Force

In November 2012, the African Union completed a week of training in Ethiopia for members of its African Standby Force. The force is due to become active in 2015, but some sectors could be mobilized earlier.

More than 100 police officers and civilians from regional institutions participated in the eight-day exercise called Njiwa. These participants are expected to share the training with colleagues and institutions in their home countries.

The training focused on conflict resolution in the fictional African country of Carana and asked participants to develop plans to help the country as it underwent an imaginary, violent crisis. The participants were split into three teams: one focusing on the rule of law, one on the protection of civilians, and the last one dealing with mission management.

Kamye Arthur, a civilian planning officer from Uganda, was part of the rule of law team that developed strategies and interventions. "The scenario is [run] in such a way that the police in this country, this hypothetical country, does not have the accurate capacity," Arthur said. "So what we are trying to do is we are coming up with interventions which are aimed at capacity building of the police."

The exercise also aimed at clarifying the role civilian components will play in the African Standby Force.

VOICE OF AMERICA

MALAWI CONDUCTS

Noncommissioned Officer

TRAINING

STAFF SGT. WILNED KALIZGAMANGWERE CHAWINGA/MALAWI DEFENCE FORCE

hroughout 2012, Malawi Defence Forces (MDF) conducted commissioned, senior and junior noncommissioned officer (NCO) courses at the Kamuzu Barracks in Lilongwe, Malawi, in a cooperative venture with U.S. Africa Command trainers.

MDF Soldiers of various ranks from multiple units participated in four military-to-military courses. "The first three courses were meant for leadership and development of senior and junior noncommissioned officers, while the recent one was mainly a training for convoy movement, movement controls and execution in both combat or peacekeeping operations," explained MDF Warrant Officer Class One Sarry Mussa, the course coordinator.

Deputy MDF Commander Lt. Gen. Clement Kafuwa said the training is important because it teaches leadership skills, knowledge of the chain of command and the NCO support channel, army structure, organization training, and how to prepare training calendars.

"It is only when NCOs have gone through courses like this one that we can confidently declare that we have reliable junior commanders who can lead troops and provide meaningful guidance to senior commanders at all levels for crucial decision-making on important issues," Kafuwa said.



Malawi Defence Force Soldiers calculate vehicle weight and center of balance during an African Deployment Partnership Training course held in Salima, Malawi, in 2013.

Then-Chief of MDF Military Operations Maj. Gen. Ignasio Maulana encouraged the troops to share their new knowledge with fellow NCOs after graduation.

"Let me urge you that when you get back to your respective units, you should be able to share whatever you have learnt with your fellow NCOs, since not everyone had a chance to attend this important course," he said.

The MDF is putting its training to immediate use. It has sent a battalion of 850 troops to support the U.N. Operation in Côte d'Ivoire. Maulana also thanked the U.S. government and AFRICOM for its support.



NIGERIAN NAVY Cracks Down on Sea Crime

ADF STAFF

With a maritime exercise code-named Exercise Farauta, the Nigerian Navy declared war on sea crime. Rear Adm. Emmanuel Ogbor made the announcement in a ceremony aboard the Nigerian Naval Ship Thunder. He said the objective was set by President Goodluck Jonathan, who has made eliminating oil bunkering, sea robbery, piracy and other crimes a priority.

"The synergy of this effort will ensure full mission accomplishment across the threat spectrum, with specific emphasis to immediately end all criminal activities in the Niger Delta region," Ogbor said according to *This Day*.

The weeklong exercise in November 2012 included eight warships, six gunboats and three helicopters, *The Guardian* of Nigeria reported. The Navy boarded and inspected 17 ships and found two that were illegally transporting oil.

Participants believe the show of force will send a message to would-be thieves. "Crude oil thieves and pirates have already seen the signals, and they don't have a choice than to leave our waters," said Vice Adm. Dele Ezeoba, chief of the Naval Staff.

Ezeoba added that the efforts to intercept vessels were aided by surveillance aircraft. The next step for the naval forces is to have the ability for real-time transfer of data from the aircraft to a ship at sea, he said. In addition to the Navy, elements of the Nigerian Army and the Maritime Patrol Aircraft of the Nigerian Air Force took part in the exercise.

MININ PATHS OF HOPE



VOICE OF AMERICA

nspired by the popularity of American and British homemakeover shows, a television producer in Kenya has created a reality show that is helping farmers in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania do a better job. The program now has more than 7 million viewers.

David Campbell has lived in Kenya since 1979, using mass media to teach farmers how to improve their techniques. As director of the company Mediae, Campbell aims to educate and entertain his audiences.

After learning that 70 percent of the viewers for his popular TV drama *Makutano Junction* came from rural areas, Campbell created a farm-makeover show called *Shamba Shape-Up*.

He says that although research projects and development programs may help a small group of farmers, his unique programming has a much wider impact. Each episode begins with a farmer explaining his or her agricultural problems to the program's presenters and experts. The team provides advice and helps the farmer with planting, harvesting, pest eradication, livestock care and even financial literacy. At the end of the show, viewers can send a text message to receive a leaflet about information discussed during the episode.

GUINEA WORM DISEASE

NEARS EXTINCTION

ADF STAFF

Guinea worm disease may soon become only the second human disease in the world to be eradicated, after smallpox.

At a January 2013 news conference headed by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, health officials said Guinea worm disease cases were cut to 542 in 2012. In 2011, there were 1,058 cases. Health officials said there were 3.5 million Guinea worm cases in 21 countries in 1986 when the Carter Center began eradication efforts. The disease has existed on the continent dating as far back as ancient Egytptian times.

There is no vaccine or medical solution for preventing Guinea worm. It can only be stopped by aggressive public health campaigns to clean up drinking water and by using filters to keep the worms from being ingested. Health officials recognized that it was theoretically possible to kill off the disease simply by improving water hygiene.

The affliction is painful. Once the larva is ingested, it can grow for more than a year, reaching as much as a meter in length. It leaves the body through a blister, generally on the leg or foot.



Children in a remote South Sudanese village collect drinking water from a pond using filters provided by the Carter Center to keep out Guinea worm larvae.

In addition to alleviating suffering, eliminating the disease could have an economic impact. Studies have shown that in areas where the disease is prevalent farmers often miss harvest season and children miss school due to illness.

UGANDAN

WOMEN

Sell Door to Door

BBC NEWS AT BBC.CO.UK/NEWS

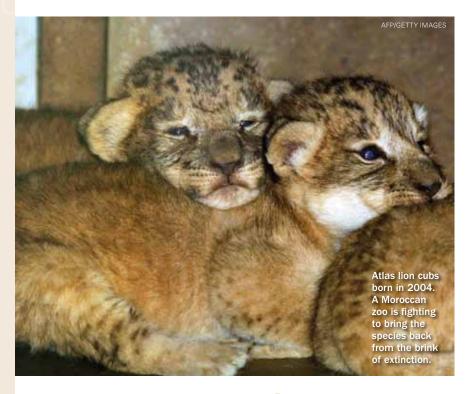
With a \$75 loan, women in Uganda are becoming entrepreneurs. An organization called Living Goods has hired 700 Ugandan women to sell its health products door to door in their rural communities.

A dose of medicine can cost just 20 cents to buy, but the cost of transporting it to the store that sells it could be \$2. Buying in bulk means these women can get the products cheaply and cut out the travel costs for their customers.

Joe Speicher, vice president of the San Francisco-based organization, is confident the business model will work because it was inspired by the success of Avon, an American household brand name. "Avon was founded in the 1860s in upstate New York, and the conditions there are very similar to the conditions that you would find today in Sub-Saharan Africa: primarily social networks, underemployed women and low penetration of essential products," Speicher said.

Living Goods has what it calls a "double bottom line"— it aims to make a profit and improve community health. But big businesses are also looking at the model with interest. American company Procter and Gamble is already selling its products through Living Goods' saleswomen.





MOROCCAN ZOO BRINGS BACK Atlas LIONS

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Imost a century after a French colonial hunter put a bullet in what came to be viewed as the last Atlas lion living in the wild, a Moroccan zoo is struggling to bring the fabled subspecies back from the brink of extinction.

The majestic animal, also known as the Barbary

lion, was once common across North Africa. It was eventually declared extinct after the 1922 hunt that saw it vanish from its natural environment. But a few dozen individuals survived in captivity, and the newly opened Rabat zoo is fighting to save the bloodline and raise numbers to a viable population.

"For a long time, it was thought that the species had disappeared. But it turned out that Sultan Mohammed V (the current king's grandfather) had some Atlas lions in his private park," said Abderrahim Salhi, the zoo's head of operations.

The sultan, who became king at independence, supplied his park with the help of tribesmen who hunted the mountain predators and offered them to their ruler as a tribute and proof of allegiance. "After Morocco's independence [in 1956], the Atlas lions from the royal park formed the nucleus of the zoo and became a symbol of pride," Salhi said.

Today, this symbolism appears on the monarch's coat of arms, which depicts two lions protecting a crown. The Moroccan football team carries their name, Atlas Lions, along with the hopes of the football-loving nation.

Some observers say it is larger than its Sub-Saharan relatives, weighing 225 kilograms or more, although the claim is disputed. The newly renovated Rabat zoo opened in 2012, an event followed by the birth of three lion cubs at the facility. Staff members described their arrival as a "joyous event."

MINIM GROWTH & PROGRESS

KENYA Launches Commuter **Train Service**

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE



n November 14, 2012, commuters in Nairobi traveled on the inaugural commercial service of a new train system aimed at easing some of the worst traffic jams in the world. Traveling on refurbished locomotives and carriages from the newly opened Syokimau station, 16 kilometers from Nairobi's hub, passengers cut their travel time by more than two-thirds.

"The reliability, convenience and ease in movement are worth every shilling," said businesswoman Jessica Mwangangi, one of the first commercial travelers on the train, which follows a colonial-era line previously used mainly for heavy-goods traffic. "From now on, I will be using my car only over the weekends," she added.

The sleek and modern Syokimau station, which has electronic ticketing systems and vast parking areas, is the first of 28 stations planned to lessen traffic in the capital.

The station, the first to be built in Kenya in 80 years, cost \$4.6 million. Other African nations have recognized the need for mass transport. The first-ever commuter train service in Tanzania's commercial capital, Dar es Salaam, was launched in October 2012 to ease road congestion.

The Kenya project is behind schedule, and it is not clear when the network of other stations will be completed. Until then, the train service's impact remains limited to the one suburb with a station. Traveling from the middle class suburb of Syokimau to the city center takes about 90 minutes by road, but often up to three hours in rush hour or if roads are flooded in regular torrential rainstorms.

Nairobi was ranked the world's fourth-worst city for traffic by a 2011 survey commissioned by IBM, following only Mexico City; Shenzhen, China; and Beijing.

Tanzania Builds Fiber-Optic Network BBC.CO.UK/NEWS AND ADF STAFF

Tanzania has borrowed \$170 million and raised an additional \$80 million to build a vast fiber-optic cable network, stretching 7,500 kilometers in a ring around the country. The country hopes to transform itself into a tech powerhouse to rival its neighbor Kenya, which built a smaller network and is already regarded as the regional technology hub.

According to a January 2013 report by the Tanzanian newspaper, The Citizen, the cable network is connected to two undersea cables, giving it a high capacity. Neighboring countries, including Kenya, Rwanda and Burundi, are connected to the network, as are domestic and international telecommunications companies. Tanzania is now working to build "metro networks" around major population centers so businesses and average citizens can get online.

The project known as the National ICT Broadband Backbone has also reduced mobile phone costs by 40 percent during the past three years, according to a 2012 report by IT News Africa.

It is a quiet, invisible revolution, but its effects are beginning to be felt in places such as Bagamovo, where trade in cheap Chinese smartphones is booming, and Internet cafes are starting to struggle.

"People used to come to check their mail, Facebook and the like," says Mahbub Nurdin Faqi, who runs the Sunrise Web cafe. "But now everything is on the phones. People only really come to our cafe to print out an attachment or to send a document."

The first undersea cable arrived in 2009, so it is an impressive feat of engineering to have laid so much cable.





VOICE OF AMERICA

outh Africa is the world's seventh-largest wine-producing country. As the wine industry has grown, there has been an increasing focus on expanding the country's customer base.

A high-end winery on the Western Cape of South Africa, Stellenzicht, has launched a new wine called Red Escape. The bottle label shows a cartoon-like USB cable that runs between computers, modems, grapes, satellite dishes and wine barrels. Assistant winemaker Natalee Botha says the idea is to appeal to a broader and younger audience.

The consensus among winemakers is that South Africa's growing black middle class is a market that has been ignored. But that is changing.

South Africa's population is 79 percent black, but among wine consumers, that number has been much lower. According to the All Media and Products Survey in 2006, 53 percent of the country's wine drinkers were black. In 2010, that had grown to 63 percent.

Winemaker Eugene Vanzyl of Leopard's Leap winery is trying to expose his wine to new audiences in South Africa. In 10 years, his winery has gone from selling 7,000 cases a year to 1.3 million cases.

Wineries are also finding ways to make their labels stand out on the shelf, hoping to attract novice wine drinkers. From 2005 to 2010, wine drinkers in South Africa grew from 1.7 million to 3 million.

Angola Investing Its Oil Earnings

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Angola, Africa's second-largest oil producer, launched a \$5 billion sovereign wealth fund in October 2012 to invest some of its vast oil earnings, following in the footsteps of oil-rich Arab nations.

The Angola Sovereign Fund, known by its Portuguese acronym FSDEA, will channel investments into the infrastructure and hospitality sectors, both at home and abroad, the fund's board said.

The fund was proposed in 2008, and in 2011 Parliament enacted a law for its creation. It will also invest in financial securities at home.

Angola, an OPEC member, is second only to Nigeria in oil production on the continent, with 1.6 million barrels per day. The oil is helping power its postwar economic boom, but critics say the gains have mostly benefited the country's elite and failed to lift the majority of Angolans out of poverty.



Boats are docked in a marina near the central business district of Luanda, Angola's capital.

SOUTH AFRICA'S TRUTH & RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

ADF STAFF

Ith multiracial national voting in 1994, apartheid in South Africa came to an end. But wounds caused by decades of oppression could not heal overnight. The nation still had to face its history. That's where the Truth and Reconciliation Commission came in.

The South African government established the commission to investigate racially motivated crimes of the apartheid era, which lasted from 1960 to 1994. Unlike the Nuremburg trials that came after World War II, the

commission never was intended to administer punishment. Its goal instead was to record the truth — all of it — about the nation's era of hatred and violence.

Noble Prize winner Desmond Tutu, the first black archbishop of Cape Town and a world-renowned opponent of apartheid, was named chairman of the commission. After the hearings, he said his country must never whitewash its racial history.

"We needed to acknowledge that we had a horrendous past," Tutu said. "We needed to look the beast in the eye, so that the past wouldn't hold us hostage anymore."

Commissioner Faizal Randera said the hearings were to prevent history from repeating itself.

"If we cannot understand what made people think and do what they did, these conflicts will arise again within our society," he said.

In two years of hearings that ended in July 1998, more than 21,000 victims shared stories about human rights abuses, both by the white government and militants. Few offenders have been prosecuted.

The hearings were a horror show. Victims told of imprisonments, beatings, burnings, rapes, torture, kidnappings and murders. In many cases, the victims were able to look their attackers in the eye and ask them to apologize for what they had done.

The truth was the goal, above all else. Former security agents who claimed they committed atrocities that were authorized by their superiors were offered amnesty on the condition that they tell their entire stories.

"Making the truth public is a form of justice," Tutu later told an American reporter. "This is a moral universe, and you've got to take account of the fact that truth and lies and goodness and evil are things that matter."

Sometimes, excuses overrode contrition. Brigadier Jack

Cronje led a death squad that once packed 10 young men into a van filled with explosives and pushed it off a cliff. Confronted by the mother of one of the 10 during the hearings, Cronje said, "I thought I was doing the right thing."

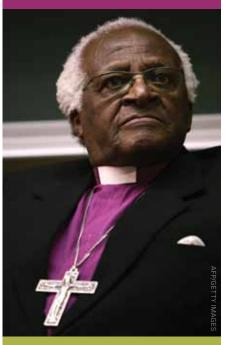
To get amnesty, people like Cronje had to prove that they were following orders, acting on behalf of the South African government. That government, the commission later concluded, had been the true enemy.

"The state, in the form of the South African government, the civil service and its security forces, was, in the period 1960-94, the primary perpetrator of gross violations of human rights in South Africa," the commission said.

The commission also noted that members of the country's liberation movements on occasion committed "gross violations of human rights." The commission blamed the country's mainstream media for participating in the racist government or, at the very least, looking the other way.

Although many citizens complained about the lack of punishment, victims such as Albie

Sachs understood the intent of the hearings. Sachs was a white anti-apartheid activist who was crippled for life in a car bomb attack but was not out for revenge. After the hearings, he said, "No one can say it never happened now. It's on the record."

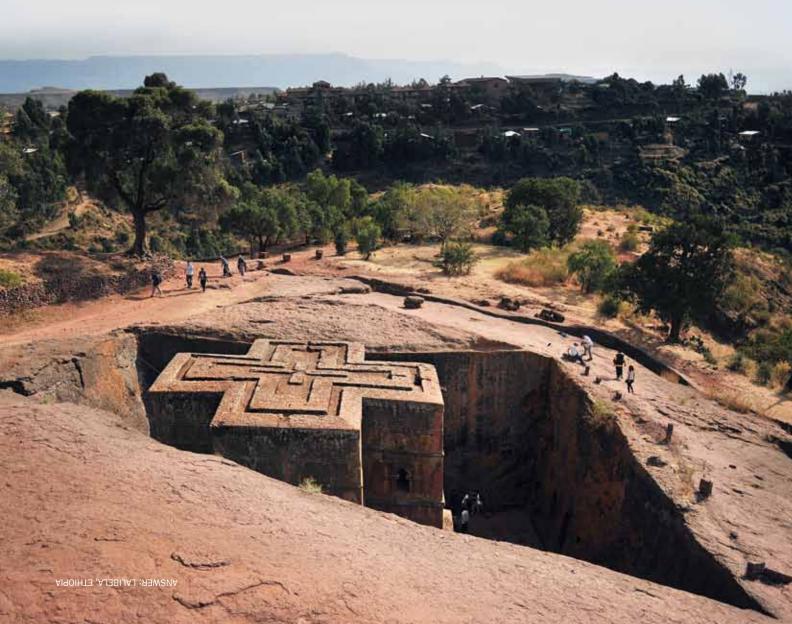


"We needed to look the beast in the eye, so that the past wouldn't hold us hostage anymore."

WHERE AM I? ////////

Clues

- 1 This mountainous region is home to 11 medieval cave churches.
- 2 Construction of the churches is attributed to a king who set out to build a "New Jerusalem" in the 12th century.
- 3 The churches were carved out of monolithic blocks.
- 4 These churches have been the focus of pilgrimages for Coptic Christians since they were constructed.





share your knowledge

Want to be published? Africa Defense Forum, or ADF, is a professional military magazine that serves as an international forum for military and security specialists of Africa. The magazine is published quarterly by U.S. Africa Command and covers topics such as counterterrorism strategies, security and defense operations, transnational crime, and issues affecting peace, stability, good governance and prosperity. The forum allows for an in-depth discussion and exchange of ideas. We want to hear from people in our African partner nations who understand the interests and challenges on the continent. Submit an article for publication in ADF and let your voice be heard.

..... (author guidelines for ADF submission).....

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- Articles may be edited for style and space, but *ADF* will collaborate with the author on final changes.
- Include a short biography of yourself with contact information.
- If possible, include a high-resolution photograph of yourself and images related to your article with captions and photo credit information.

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