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SHARED DUTY
Multilateral Interventions in Troubled Zones

FLINTLOCK Promotes Civil-Military Relations

Plus
A Conversation with Mauritania's Army Chief of Staff

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ON THE COVER:
Ugandan peacekeepers stand at a ceremony at the Mogadishu Airport in May 2014 in front of flags from Uganda, the United Nations and Somalia.

REUTERS

VIEWPOINT

Security begins with cooperation. Whether it is efforts in West Africa to stem the influx of illegal drugs from South America or bringing security to the continent's ever-growing presence in cyperspace, countries will have to combine their efforts to win and preserve peace.

An example of this occurred recently in Niger, where nations from the Sahel region gathered in Niamey, Agadez, Tahoua and Diffa in February and March 2014 for Exercise Flintlock 14. Participants were taught methods for addressing the growing threat of terrorist and violent extremist organizations, such as those that have taken root in northern Mali.

As the 18 participating nations trained on techniques for air drops, casualty evacuation and patrolling skills, they also learned an important truth about building lasting security: Civilians can help. Building good relationships with civilians is essential, especially in large nations with vast open spaces that are far from government centers. Civilians who trust their militaries and security forces will be willing partners in efforts to make sure outsiders and extremist groups don't destabilize regions.

Relationships spanning the continent among senior African security officials also are essential. A network of professional military education institutions is helping to build regional security cooperation by fostering relationships and friendships among the officials who attend them.

The role of the African Union also is important. Moving forward, member nations will have to focus on harmonizing efforts and increasing their capacity to respond to crises on the continent. With this kind of focus and cooperation, the AU can replicate the kinds of successes that the African Union Mission in Somalia has had recently in its fight against al-Shabaab extremists.

Security ultimately will be built upon strong cooperation and relationships among nations, armies and people.

| U.S. Africa Command Staff

Nigerian Soldiers train in the border town of Diffa, Niger, during Flintlock 2014, a counterterrorism exercise involving Sahel nations, the United States and other Western nations. REUTERS

Avoiding Another Crisis
in the Central African Republic

DYLAN LOWTHIAN/UNDP

Abdoulaye Mar Dieye,

a Senegalese national, is director of the Regional Bureau for Africa of the United Nations Development Programme. This is an edited version of an editorial he wrote in January 2014 for Inter Press Service News Agency.

The sectarian violence in the Central African Republic has uprooted nearly 1 million people, and it is estimated that 2.2 million, about half the population, need humanitarian aid.

Drug supplies to clinics and hospitals have been disrupted, and public infrastructure such as schools and government buildings has been destroyed. Now, a major food crisis is looming.

While fulfilling immediate humanitarian needs is essential, the international community needs to help address the development gaps that led to the crisis in the first place. If it fails to do so, another crisis could soon happen again.

As such, humanitarian action needs to be part of a wider effort aimed at putting the country back on a more robust development path.

The current crisis in the Central African Republic is the result of long-term state failure, chronic poverty and lawlessness, coupled with decades of under-investment in social services and economic development.

About 63 percent of the population in the country lives below the poverty line, while long-standing inequalities and competition for power and resources have driven successive conflicts, the latest fueled by religious identity.

Because various administrations have been unable to implement the rule of law, women, children and other vulnerable groups are at increased risk of violence. By the same token, because people have not been included in local development planning, marginalized and excluded groups feel that violence is the only way.

When the violence subsides, attention must stay focused on measures needed to rebuild essential infrastructure such as water reservoirs, sewers, bridges and local clinics.

Such initiatives can help restore trust and confidence among local communities across ethnic and religious divides, while involving them in the rehabilitation of local administrations.

Addressing human rights and gender-based violence through dialogue and local reconciliation, as well as ensuring disputes are mediated and victims are supported through legal aid and physical protection, can go a long way toward preventing conflict.

In the medium term, because weak governance compounded by the current power vacuum is at the core of the problem, there will need to be considerable investments in rebuilding the capacity of the state to deliver basic services to the population.

This includes creating a functioning judiciary and security corps, including police and gendarmerie units that are able to pursue criminals and apply the penalties.

Aid workers unload food in Bangui, Central African Republic, in February 2014. The United Nations estimates that 1.3 million people — more than a quarter of the population — need food after months of violence. REUTERS

Having worked with donors, national actors and international partners to create a road map for the transition of the Central African Republic, the United Nations Development Programme will support the country's stabilization through the phased implementation of community security, livelihoods, social cohesion and reconciliation initiatives.

FLOATING SCHOOL BRINGS HOPE TO 'VENICE OF AFRICA'

Makoko, Nigeria, known as the "slum on stilts" and the "Venice of Africa," hopes a new floating school will create a better future for children there. The school, built entirely by locals and launched in 2013, has a triangular frame that rises from the water like a half-built house submerged in a flood.

The project, backed by the United Nations Development Programme, the Nigerian government and the Heinrich Boell Foundation, is the brainchild of local architect Kunlé Adeyemi. His design was inspired by life in Makoko, and he said that improving the neglected area required a new approach more in tune with local customs and the environment.

"Living on water is actually a way of life," he said. "So the question is then how do you improve that condition, how do you address the challenges of living on water in a safe, healthy and environmentally sound way?"

The new school, which is visible from the Third Mainland Bridge, floats on 250 empty blue barrels fixed under its wooden base to get around periodic flooding in the area. Its three stories make it the tallest structure in Makoko and with 220 square meters of floor space, it is also the neighborhood's biggest communal facility. Fishermen can tether their canoes to the base and mend their nets.

Most of Makoko's 150,000 residents fish and trade. Art student Jeremiah Oleole Austin is one of the few young people to have gone on to further education. "I was born and brought up here so I know how the people suffer, I feel their pain, I feel their cry, and I also know their happiness," he said.

"I know what they really need in this community," he said. "Without some … training or skills, how can they go places? … If there are more schools, I believe there is going to be changes in the community."

Head teacher Noah Shemede agrees. "Every child deserves an education wherever they are," he said. "We are on water, and that doesn't mean that we can't go to school on water. We have to."

The design also could be used differently as a prototype in Nigeria and beyond as a home, hospital, theater or restaurant.

The floating school in Makoko, Nigeria, offers hope for children living in the city known as "Africa's Venice."

NLÉ

ROBOTS
Direct Traffic in DRC's Capital

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Can robots ease traffic chaos in the capital of the Democratic Republic of the Congo? A small cooperative, which developed the solution and is testing two robots, thinks so. And it wants to promote the concept across the country, Africa and the world.

Kinshasa, a city of 10 million people, has a reputation for chaotic driving and huge traffic jams. Tricolor traffic lights are rare, many cars are old and battered, and not all drivers are mindful of road rules. "When the robot stops the traffic, you can see that everybody stops and the pedestrians can cross without a problem," said taxi bus driver Franck Mavuzi.

The first model, which is 2.5 meters tall, was deployed in June 2013 at Lumumba Boulevard in the central Limete district. "Drivers, you should make way for pedestrians," it booms, raising one arm and lowering another while flashing red and green lights to signal cars.

The first was designed to help keep pedestrians safe, said Therese Ir Izay Kirongozi, who founded Women's Technology to provide employment for Congolese women with engineering degrees. Her seven-member team, which includes four men, develops the robots.

In October 2013, a more sophisticated model designed to control traffic flow was deployed in front of Parliament. It swivels its torso as a green light on its breastplate turns red while it raises an arm, mimicking a traffic police officer.

The robots have an electronic detection system that determines when pedestrians are waiting to cross a street. Cameras in the robots' eyes and shoulders provide video footage of traffic flow. Those images are transmitted and stored for possible use in prosecuting scofflaws.

The aluminum robots are designed to resist harsh equatorial climates, and each one costs about $15,000 to build, Kirongozi said.

Above: A traffic robot directs pedestrians crossing busy streets in Kinshasa. Two large robots have been installed in the capital of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to alleviate traffic problems.
AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Man Poised to be First Black African in Space

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Mandla Maseko, 25, of the Mabopane district near Pretoria, South Africa, will fly 103 kilometers into space in 2015 after winning a competition organized by a United States-based space academy. He beat 1 million other entrants from 75 countries to be selected as one of 23 people who will travel on an hourlong suborbital trip on the Lynx Mark II spaceship. The former civil engineering student will experience zero gravity and a journey that normally costs $100,000.

Maseko, who still lives at home with his parents and four siblings, was named one of the winners on December 5, 2013, a few hours after the death of Nelson Mandela.

The part-time party DJ's improbable journey began with a leap from his house's 2-meter perimeter wall. The initial entry requirement was to submit a photograph of himself jumping from any height. He secured his seat after grueling physical and aptitude tests in the contest organized by AXE Apollo Space Academy and sponsored by Unilever and Space Expedition Corp.

His family says they never doubted Maseko would be a high-flier. "I don't know what comes after space," said his sister, Mhlophe, 18. "I'm sure if there was something, he would go."

His long-term plans are to study aeronautical engineering and qualify as a space mission specialist with the ultimate dream of planting the South African flag on the moon.

South African Science and Technology Minister Derek Hanekom sees Maseko "as a role model to the future generation of space professionals and enthusiasts."

Maseko spent a week at the Apollo Space Academy at Kennedy Space Center in the United States, where he skydived and took air combat and G-force training. For Maseko, the experience was magical. "This is how it feels to be out in space," he recalls thinking.
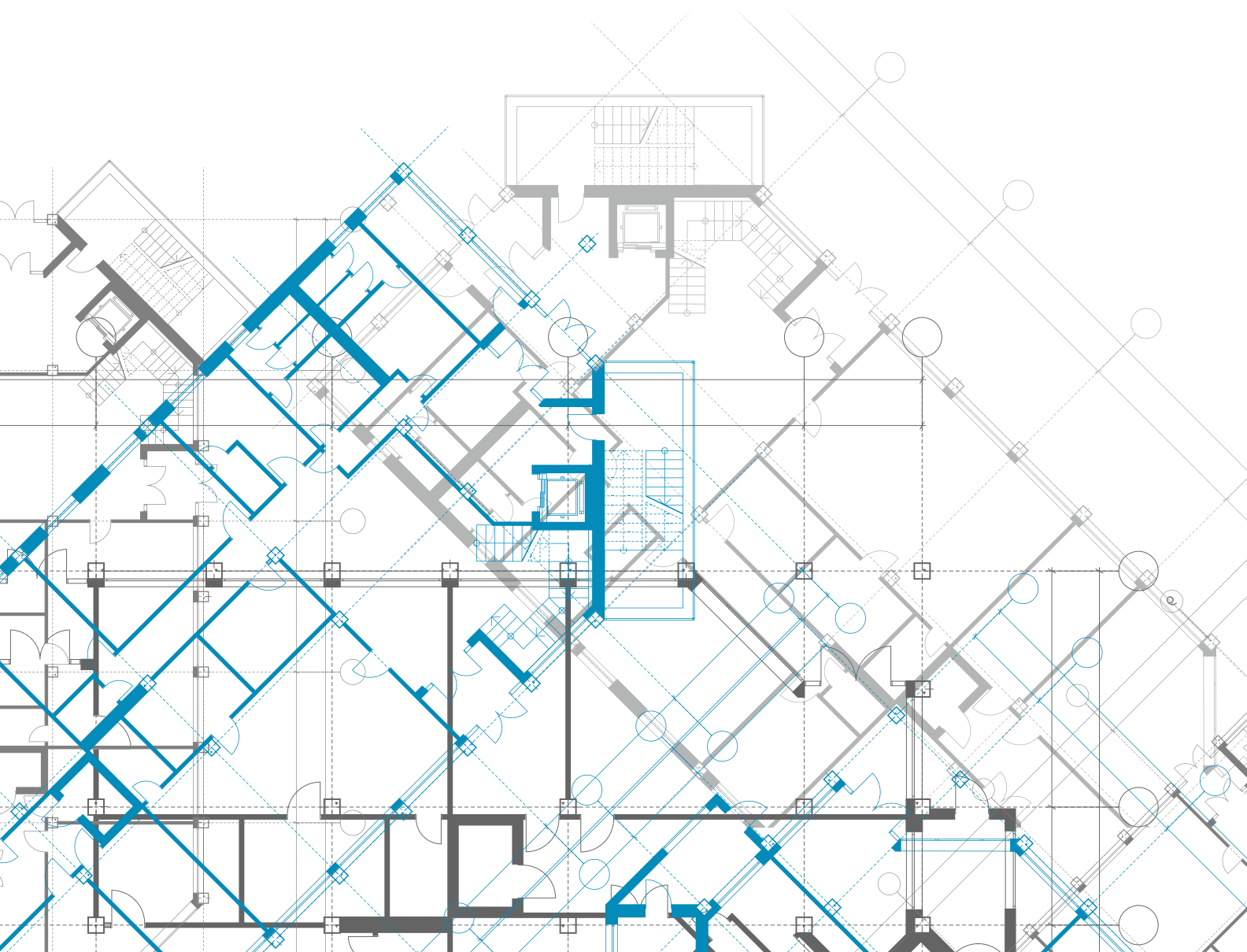
In 2002, Mark Shuttleworth of South Africa became the first citizen of an African nation to be launched into space when he paid to be a space tourist and spent eight days aboard the International Space Station.

Mandla Maseko, 25, has won a seat on the Lynx Mark II spacecraft, which will fly him 103 kilometers into space in 2015.
AFP/GETTY IMAGES

A
BLUEPRINT
for Peace

The AU's African Peace and Security Architecture Must Overcome Challenges to Fulfill Its Mission

BY **TIM MURITHI**/INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

Tim Murithi, Ph.D.

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The use of collective African resources to solve security concerns on the continent has long been a dream of African leaders. Among its strongest proponents was Ghana's founding president, Kwame Nkrumah, who as early as the 1950s imagined an "African High Command" that could be called into action to prevent crises and fight on the side of liberation movements and against foreign occupiers. Nkrumah famously said, "We must unite now or perish."

Nkrumah's High Command never came into existence, but his influence was key in creating Pan-Africanism, a concept based on promoting a spirit of solidarity and cooperation among Africans on the continent and in the diaspora. The concept was institutionalized on May 25, 1963, with the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was mandated to eradicate the vestiges of European colonialism, promote solidarity and speak with a common voice on issues affecting the continent. The OAU, however, was not as effective in monitoring and policing the affairs of its own member states. For example, the Rwandan genocide of 1994 occurred on the OAU's watch.

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South African troops parade during the official launch of the African Union in July 2002 in Durban.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

This led African leaders to create another more interventionist organization through the launch of the African Union (AU) at a Summit of the OAU in Sirte, Libya, in 1999. The AU Constitutive Act was signed in Lomé, Togo, on July 11, 2000, and the organization was officially inaugurated in July 2002 in Durban, South Africa. The AU's vision remained consistent with the spirit of Pan-Africanism but with a priority of promoting peace, security and development. The AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) was established in 2004 and is one part of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). Other elements include a Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), a Panel of the Wise, an African Standby Force (ASF), a Military Staff Committee (MSC) and an AU Peace Fund.

The Peace and Security Council: The 15-member PSC assesses potential crises, sends fact-finding missions to trouble spots, and authorizes and legitimizes AU intervention if and when necessary. Article 4(h) of the AU Constitutive Act affirms the right of the AU to intervene in a member state during a crisis. Article 7(e) of the Protocol Establishing the Peace and Security Council states that the council can "recommend to the Assembly of Heads of State, intervention, on behalf of the Union, in a Member State in respect of grave circumstances, namely, war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity, as defined in relevant international conventions and instruments." Membership of the PSC, as of April 1, 2014, was:

- **CENTRAL AFRICA:**
  Burundi, Chad and Equatorial Guinea

- **EAST AFRICA:**
  Ethiopia, Tanzania and Uganda

- **WEST AFRICA:**
  Guinea, Niger, Nigeria and The Gambia

- **NORTH AFRICA:**
  Algeria and Libya

- **SOUTHERN AFRICA:**
  Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa

Algeria, Ethiopia, Nigeria and South Africa bring experience in peacemaking and peacekeeping to the PSC. The fact that Nigeria and Chad, members of the AU PSC, also are members of the United Nations Security Council until 2015 allows them to bridge the communication and cultural gap that exists between the two institutions. As of April 2014, the PSC had convened more than 430 meetings. It also has authorized sanctions against several member states and the deployment of peace operations in Burundi (2003 to 2004), Comoros (2008 to present), Somalia (2007 to present) and Sudan (2004 to the present, now jointly with the U.N.). In addition, the AU is involved in the African-led Support Mission in the Central African Republic, which was scheduled to transition to the U.N. Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic

on September 15, 2014. In 2013, the AU participated in and provided money for the African-led International Support Mission in Mali. The African Union-led Regional Task Force, which is mandated to pursue members of the Lord's Resistance Army, operates in the Central African Republic and the northeastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The AU's commitment to intervening in crises is hampered by its lack of capacity and self-sustaining resources. As a result, it relies on the U.N. to buttress, and gradually take over, its interventions. This has historically been a contentious issue between both institutions, with the U.N. arguing that it cannot always take on responsibility for AU matters.

The African Standby Force: On May 16, 2003, the Policy Framework for the Establishment of the ASF and the MSC was adopted in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The ASF, which is mandated to coordinate the activities of Africa's subregional mechanisms, is composed of five brigades from each of Africa's subregions: central, east, west, north and southern. These include brigade formations drawn from the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), notably: the Southern African Development Community, the Economic Community of West African States and the Economic Community of Central African States. There are also two regional mechanisms in East Africa known as the EASBRIGCOM, and the North African Regional Capability. The operational readiness of the ASF and the decision-making process used by the PSC has been tested through a series of command post exercises called the AMANI Exercise. Despite this "dress rehearsal," the ASF remains a work in progress. AU member states have not succeeded in deploying the necessary resources to make the force operational.

This has affected logistical readiness because of concerns about the political consequences of having a force that can potentially challenge national sovereignty. The ASF will only be effective if there is much closer coordination between the AU nations' defense and foreign affairs ministries, and if a stable source of funding is found.

The ASF, which was to be deployable by 2008, has been delayed three times, the latest in 2013. An AU audit indicated it is unlikely that the ASF will be ready by the new target date of 2015.

Readiness varies among the brigades. Western and southern brigades are essentially ready to deploy, but brigades in North and Central Africa are not. Former AU Commissioner of Peace and Security Ramtane Lamamra has said the North Africa brigade has been delayed by Arab Spring uprisings. Raychelle Omamo, Kenya's Defense Cabinet secretary, has said the East Africa Standby Force will be operational by the end of 2014.

In the midst of ASF delays, the AU came up with the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC) in 2013. The ACIRC would be a rapid-reaction force composed mostly of voluntary troop contributions by states. Algeria and South Africa are proponents of the

The African Peace and Security ARCHITECTURE

ADF STAFF

The Peace and Security Council

- Composed of 15 member states (2-4 from 5 regions)
- Sends fact-finding missions to trouble spots
- Authorizes African Union intervention when necessary
- Most operational component of the African Peace and Security Architecture

The African Standby Force

- Made up of five brigades
- One brigade from each African subregion: central, east, west, north and southern
- Limited by logistics and infrastructure
- Regional brigades at different stages of development

The Continental Early Warning System

- Intended to provide information to decision-makers on crises
- Includes monitors at AU headquarters and Regional Economic Communities
- Already providing regular information
- Not yet operating at full capacity
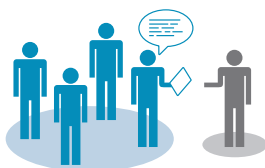
The Panel of the Wise

- Advises the Peace and Security Council and the AU Commission chairman
- Has the authority to mediate disputes

Military Staff Committee

- Helps the Peace and Security Council assess the military aspects of its action
- Composed of senior military officers or defense attaches
- Has not convened regularly

African Union Peace Fund

- To be funded from the AU budget and voluntary contributions
- Has been consistently underfunded

ACIRC, according to published reports. They are joined by Angola, Chad, Liberia, Niger, Senegal, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. A "comprehensive report" on the progress of the ASF and the ACIRC was expected in June or July of 2014.

The Continental Early Warning System: Article 12 (1) of the PSC protocol establishes a CEWS with the mandate to provide early-warning information to AU decision-makers. CEWS collects data and analyses it through an Observation and Monitoring Centre at the AU headquarters and coordinates the observation and monitoring units of the RECs and regional mechanisms. The idea behind the CEWS is to identify and prevent conflicts before they spiral out of control. Additional capacity and improved coordination with complementary structures at the regional and international level is required for the CEWS to live up to its promise.

The Panel of the Wise: The panel, established in 2007, consists of "highly respected African personalities from various segments of society who have made outstanding contributions to the cause of peace, security and development on the continent," the AU said. The panel meets at least three times per year and is charged with supporting the Peace and Security Council, "particularly in the area of conflict prevention." The five appointed members represent the central, east, west, north and southern regions of the continent and serve three-year terms. In 2010, the panel was expanded to include the Friends of the Panel of the Wise, who also represent the five regions.

The AU says the panel has produced thematic reports on issues "relevant to peace and security such as non-impunity, women and children in armed conflicts and electoral disputes." The panel met in Cairo in April 2014 for a round of talks between the AU and Egypt and has visited Egypt three times since the country's June 30, 2013, military coup.

Article 11 of the protocol establishing the panel gives it authority to facilitate and mediate prospective or ongoing disputes on its own volition. Despite the panel's mandate to take preventive action, it regrettably deploys most of its resources and energy into convening think-tank discussions and issuing statements. The panel's independence needs to be assured by the provision of an adequate institutional

South African President Jacob Zuma, left, speaks with then-African Union Commissioner for Peace and Security Ramtane Lamamra during an AU Peace and Security Council meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 2011.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

support mechanism to ensure that it has timely information and the ability to intervene on any issue and at its own initiative.

Military Staff Committee: The MSC, staffed by senior military officers or defence attachés of PSC member states, was established through Article 13 to advise the council on assessing the military aspects of its discussions, recommendations and decisions. According to the PSC protocol, the MSC is mandated to convene before all meetings of the PSC at the level of senior military officers. At a minimum, the MSC should aspire to monthly meetings and regular attendance at PSC proceedings. Because of the lack of an adequate representation of defence attaches from the 15 members of the PSC in Addis Ababa, the MSC has not convened regularly and, therefore, remains a low-functioning component of the architecture.

African Union Peace Fund: The initial intention of financing the APSA was to establish a peace fund that would be sustained by a combination of resources from the AU's regular assessed budget and from voluntary contributions. In practice, the fund has remained notably underfunded, which means the AU does not have the resources it needs to conduct operations and enhance professional capacity. The Peace Fund has relied on resources from the AU's partners and the donor community. AU member states, therefore, need to back up their ambitious plans to implement the APSA by ensuring that funding is available.

APSA's Response to Threats and Challenges

The APSA is ambitious and reveals the AU's emerging interventionist policy. The AU is committed to promoting peace across the continent in partnership with other intergovernmental organizations such as the U.N. and the RECs, which is in stark contrast to the OAU's unspoken policy of "nonintervention." The AU is skilled at designing and proposing policy, but it has been less successful at implementing policies due to a lack of political will. This hampers the ability to respond to threats and challenges, even though the PSC makes regular pronouncements. The APSA will succeed only by addressing education and skills training on peace and security through Pan-African and international partnerships.

The APSA is the sum of its integral parts. Even though some of its components, such as the PSC, have started working, others, such as the ASF and MSC, still need to be properly implemented. The African Union exists, but the African continent is still working to become unified. The major problem facing the AU is the lack of integrity among some of its leaders to uphold human rights and democratic governance, and their continuing suppression, dominion and exploitation of their own people, sometimes in collusion with predatory global forces. "Afro-optimism" is necessary for Africans to reach their desired destination of peace and development. Pan-Africanism and the AU's APSA are vehicles that will help reach that destination. But like all vehicles, they sometimes break down, have accidents or refuse to start. When the car breaks down or won't start, it is not time to give up on it; the driver must try again or find somebody to help you fix it. The African vehicle has started on its journey toward peace and security; it is rolling along gently but with starts and stops. The APSA can be the engine to ensure that the AU is able to address existing and emerging threats. ❑

the power of

PEOPLE

ADF STAFF

TAKING TIME TO ENGAGE CIVILIAN LEADERS CAN BUILD PARTNERSHIPS THAT ENHANCE SECURITY

The village of Gofat spreads out beyond the rocky crags that punctuate the southernmost sands of the Sahara in Niger. More than 1,000 people call it home, but the population shifts like the desert wind — at times topping 3,000 people, depending on the season.

As the sun peeked above the horizon on February 27, 2014, a convoy of Soldiers, supplies and medical personnel made the lonesome drive into the village, 27 kilometers northeast of Agadez. They spent the day offering medical help to villagers and others from up to 160 kilometers away. In the medical civil action program (MEDCAP), a doctor, nurses and medics treated people who complained of tooth pain, diabetes, diarrhea and other illnesses. The event was part of Flintlock 2014, a larger annual military exercise in the Sahel area that focuses on counter-terrorism strategies. MEDCAP events are common at such exercises. They show civilians that militaries can be armed with stethoscopes and blood-pressure cuffs, not just guns.

Women and children in the village of Gofat, Niger, provide music and chanting for a medical clinic on February 27, 2014. Medical personnel handled more than 500 complaints during the daylong event.
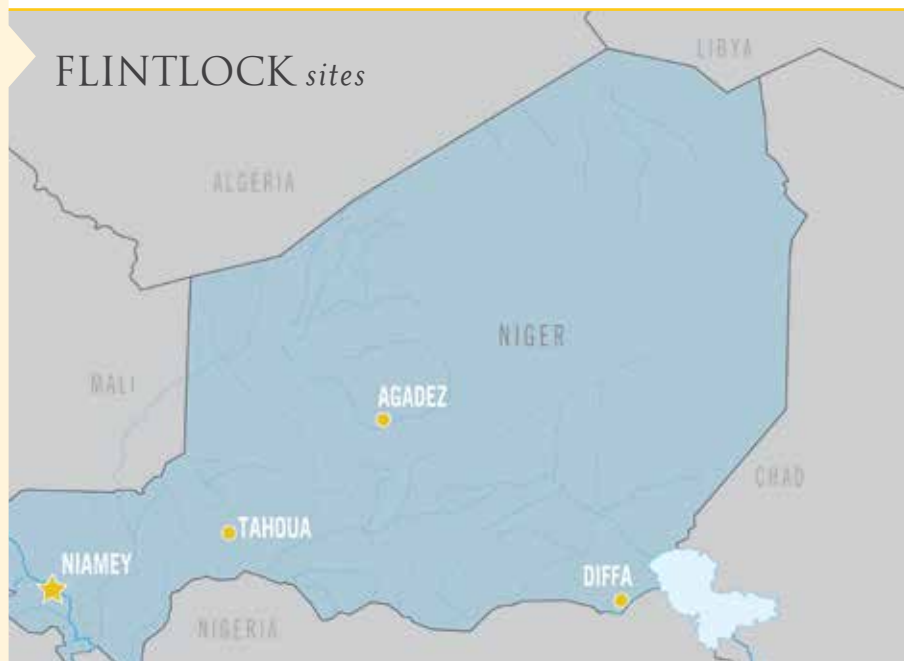
EXERCISE
FLINTLOCK
2 0 1 4

ADF STAFF

Since 2005, Exercise Flintlock has helped to develop counterterrorism capacity and collaboration among Sahel nations to better assist them in protecting their civilian populations. In 2014, Niger hosted the exercise from February 19 to March 9, with training in Niamey, Agadez, Tahoua and Diffa.

More than 1,000 troops took part in the training, with participating countries including Burkina Faso, Chad, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal. Western and European participants included Canada, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States.

"Your presence reflects your interests in our regional partnerships," Nigerien Col. Mahamane Laminou Sani, Flintlock country coordinator, said during the opening ceremony. "By sharing their experiences, expertise, and camaraderie, we share our interests in promoting stability in the region."

Participating countries trained in aerial resupply drops, casualty evacuation skills, raid and ambush techniques, checkpoint and search techniques, civil-military operations, and conducted civilian medical outreach clinics in remote villages.

SCOTT NIELSEN / U.S. AFRICA COMMAND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Nigerien Soldiers discuss patrolling positions and responsibilities during Flintlock 2014 in Diffa, Niger.

FLINTLOCK *sites*

ADF ILLUSTRATION

This year's Flintlock — held throughout Niger in Niamey, Agadez, Tahoua and Diffa — employed a new approach. Organizers reached out to key leaders across the nation to familiarize them with the exercise. Such an effort can build good will and relationships that can add value to counterterrorism efforts for years to come.

About 20 key leaders from throughout the region, including three women, attended the Gofat MEDCAP. Prominent among them was Oumarou Ibrahim Oumarou, the sultan of Aïr, who holds influence through a large swath of Niger and beyond. He came with his court of attendants, who have authority to resolve issues throughout the sultanate before they reach the sultan.

Oumarou told *ADF* that he was pleased with how Western militaries had come to Niger to help the national military build its capacity. He said he and other civilians are eager to work with the military to ensure the country remains secure against all threats. He added that trust between the military and civilians has improved in recent years.

"We, as local leaders, we will work, we will do our best to reach out in any far, deep place in this earth to let people know that we are looking for only one thing: peace in the heart and in the house of our population," he said.

NIGER SURROUNDED BY TERRORIST THREATS

Niger occupies a challenging space in Africa's Sahel region: Mali is to its west, Libya is to its north and Nigeria is to its south. Weapons have passed through the region from post-Gadhafi Libya, and

Boko Haram goes on murderous rampages just kilometers from Niger's border. Niger, like Mali, has vast territory to the north of its capital, which can be enticing to smugglers and violent extremists seeking to ply their trade unnoticed.

On May 23, 2013, terrorists detonated two truck bombs in Niger — one at an army base in Agadez, the other at a French-owned uranium mine in Arlit. The attacks killed 21 Soldiers and five bombers. The movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), an offshoot of al-Qaida, claimed responsibility. The group, which has been active in northern Mali, underscores concerns that violence elsewhere will spill into Niger. The government takes the threats seriously. In March 2014, Niger met with representatives of Benin, Cameroon, Chad and Nigeria in Abuja, Nigeria, to discuss the establishment of joint patrol teams to secure common borders. In February, Sahel and West African foreign ministers met in in Niamey to discuss a response to terrorism.

"Niger is suffering the collateral fallout of the Libyan and Malian crises, and at a very early stage, it began seeking ways of safeguarding its extra-community borders through a partnership guaranteeing human rights and the free movement of people," Nigerien Foreign Minister Mohamed Bazoum told the meeting of the Fusion and Liaison Unit.

The terrorist threat was underscored even as Flintlock was underway. Overnight on February 24 and 25, Boko Haram militants attacked and burned a school in Buni Yadi in Nigeria's Yobe State, which shares a border with Niger. Nearly 60 students — all boys — were either shot or burned by the terrorists.

ENGAGING KEY LEADERS

As with most large-scale military exercises, the months leading up to Flintlock included efforts to reach out to civilians using posters, radio and text messages. But a few months before the exercise began, Niger's president, Mahamadou Issoufou, told U.S. organizers that efforts to tell civilians about what Flintlock was and why Niger was hosting it were insufficient. In response, Nigerien and U.S. senior military officials met with Nigerien military zone commanders and governors, as well as traditional leaders in Agadez, Tahoua and Diffa, to explain the exercise in French and Hausa.

Still, there were concerns that the message was not reaching enough traditional leaders. So organizers brought leaders from each region to the three exercise sites, and they chose leaders who lived at least two hours away from each site. The leaders spent three nights in hotels with meals and transportation provided. They attended a briefing, observed training at the three sites, and attended the MEDCAP in their region.

Col. Dari Noma of the Nigerien Army speaks with Oumarou Ibrahim Oumarou, the sultan of Aïr, in the village of Gofat during a medical civil action program on February 27, 2014. Organizers stressed the military's interaction with civilians during the exercise.

The effort served two important purposes: Traditional leaders saw national and international military officials willing to be transparent about Flintlock's mission. And both sides built relationships that could help the Nigerien Army rely on traditional and tribal leaders to be its eyes and ears throughout the vast countryside.

U.S. Lt. Col. Eric Kotouc, who helped organize the key-leader engagement in Agadez, agreed that the effort was not just about promoting Flintlock. He said it was about increasing "the standing of the military and the government in the eyes of the population."

"This is an opportunity to really tell the story of the fact that their militaries are getting more capable, that they are getting assistance from other countries to build that capacity so that they hopefully have

Nigerien Soldiers practice military drills at the Flintlock base in Agadez.

A Nigerien Soldier, right, speaks with villagers waiting in line for medical help at the clinic in Gofat.

greater trust in the effectiveness of their military forces and the security that they provide," Kotouc said.

Leaders in Agadez met with officials, observed Soldiers' military training and attended the MEDCAPs. The leaders told officials they would spread the word about Flintlock among their tribes and villages, and encourage cooperation with the military.

HOW TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH KEY LEADERS

Flintlock offered classroom instruction on civil military operations (CMO), which included key leader engagement (KLE). In Agadez, Nigerien and Mauritanian Soldiers learned how to engage leaders, and how to set up a full-scale MEDCAP and smaller "tailgate" MEDCAPs.

Soldiers learned that CMO can be strategic, operational or tactical, and can help build support among populations in friendly, neutral or hostile areas. KLE is essential to effective CMO and includes a cycle of steps:

IDENTIFY KEY LEADERS: Find the people who hold sway in the area and determine their degree of influence, and the depth of personal and professional networks.

PREPARE THE ENVIRONMENT: Understand the cultural, religious and political associations of people in the area, including whatever clan-based or personal alliances exist. Before meeting with local leaders, develop talking points explaining your mission in the area.

IDENTIFY DESIRED EFFECTS: Identify your military objectives in an area and how civilians can help support those objectives. This includes identifying key leaders' needs and how the military can help meet them.

PREPARE: Choose a leader for the military engagement and have talking points. Be aware of local customs, such as gift exchange expectations, and designate photographers and note takers as appropriate.

EXECUTE: Show respect and be patient. Good listening is paramount. Focus on building a rapport with key leaders, and promise only what can be delivered. Try to build local ownership of solutions that arise to local problems, and conclude by clarifying agreements.

DEBRIEF AND REPORT: Write a report on the KLE, and keep a record of key leader information for use in follow-up meetings.

RE-ENGAGE: This step is vital to sustaining relationships. Soldiers must provide a way for key leaders to stay in touch between engagements, and monitor the development and protection of key leaders. Also, they should determine the military assets that can be used to address civilian key leaders' concerns.

CIVILIANS CAN PARTICIPATE IN SECURITY

Col. Dari Noma, Nigerien Army zone commander for the region that includes Agadez, said winning the hearts and minds

of civilians is crucial to security. "In order to win all of this, you have to build a bridge of trust between the Army and the civilian population."

The forces armées nigeriennes has formed two teams for civil-military engagement with U.S. help. Noma said the teams ask civilians what they need, determine whether they have sufficient water, and see whether education and health needs are being met. They also ask whether unwanted elements are harassing the population. The strong relations are paying off for the military. Noma said his forces get hundreds of tips a day from village leaders, and communication has been established with others, including schoolteachers and social workers. These relationships are the bedrock of security in the region.

Akoli Algoumaret, a Tuareg community leader from Ihugaan, 160 kilometers from Agadez, seemed pleased with what he saw in Gofat and Niger's willingness to work with people like him. He said civilians can help keep the military informed of events in their communities. "As a key leader, our contribution is to give the military the right information about the bad guys — their situation, where they are located and everything," Algoumaret said. "What we can do is just help the Army reinforce the relations between civilians and the military.

"And the population is also very glad about this kind of action," he said of the MEDCAP, "because today they can see the presence of the Nigerien Army, doing these kinds of good things for them, and also with the help of their friend militaries who are here."

Goumar Issouf of the village of Ingall went to the clinic to be treated for tooth pain. He was one of 520 patients seen in less than seven hours. The clinic, and his Army's willingness to help set it up, made him feel good. "They could do it downtown, but they didn't use the big town," Issouf said. "They just used the village to come and help people who really need help."

A Nigerien medic takes a patient's vital signs at the medical clinic in Gofat.

CASEVAC
TRAINING
pays off in Niger

CESSNA 208 FLIGHT CREWS USE NEW SKILLS TO SAVE A LIFE

ADF STAFF

The annual Festival de L'Aïr in Iférouane, Niger, draws crowds from throughout the nation's northern region. Those attending the event celebrated rich Tuareg culture with music, singing and dancing.

Two men on their way to the festival never made it. Their SUV ran over an old land mine about 1 p.m. February 22. The blast tore through the SUV and amputated one man's foot. The other passenger suffered trauma from the impact.

Mauritanian Soldiers carry a patient away from a helicopter during casualty evacuation training in Gofat, Niger, during Exercise Flintlock 2014.

Fortunately, two Nigerien military Cessna 208 airplanes were at an airstrip near the festival, and some of their crew members had taken months of intensive casualty evacuation (CASEVAC) training in the run-up to Exercise Flintlock 2014. Their training, quick work and ability to fly the injured to a hospital in Arlit may have saved a life.

"When we heard the story, heard of the bombing, we started preparing the Cessna, because the Cessna is made for CASEVAC," said Maj. Sidio Ka Ismael Ka, the pilot who flew the two patients to Arlit.

The Cessna 208 typically seats 10, including crew members. But these two planes, which the United States donated to Niger, each can accommodate up to two medical litters if crew members remove some seats.

Once the two injured men were brought to the plane, Ka and the two crews sprang into action. They removed seats, strapped in a litter and hung an IV bag for the severely injured man. One of the two flight engineers, Sgt. Chef Ibrahim Moussa, tied a tourniquet around the man's leg to stop the bleeding. The second passenger was able to sit upright during the 30-minute flight. The severely injured man underwent surgery and survived.

The successful response was the culmination of training that began in 2013. The United States trained about 30 people, including doctors, nurses, emergency responders and flight crews. The Nigeriens learned how

"WHEN WE HEARD THE STORY, HEARD OF THE BOMBING, WE STARTED PREPARING THE CESSNA, BECAUSE THE CESSNA IS MADE FOR CASEVAC."

Maj. Sidio Ka Ismael Ka, pilot
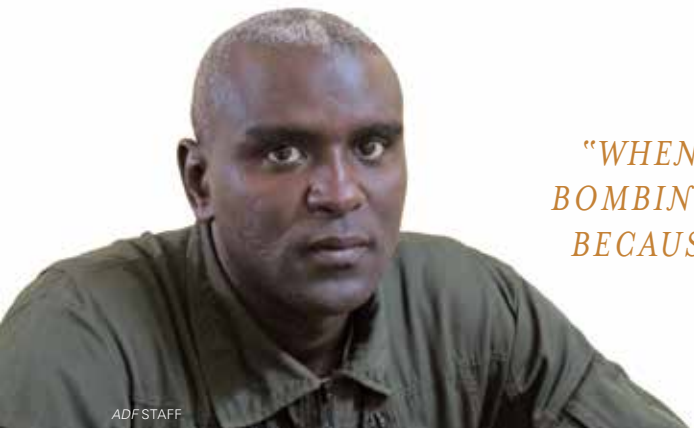
ADF STAFF

Above, Nigerien casualty evacuation team members navigate a confidence course in Agadez on February 26, 2014. The training was part of Exercise Flintlock 2014.

Nigerien Soldiers, right, prepare a stretcher in Agadez while training to evacuate casualties.

to fly the Cessna 208s and took medical training. They learned ground staging for transport and how to configure medical equipment on the plane. From August to December 2013, each of three engagements offered trainees 60 to 80 teaching hours and 20 flight hours. Nigeriens now are training their own air crews, medics and fire brigade members.

Crews practiced on day and night flights. By the end of 2013 and start of 2014, the Nigeriens were validating what they learned through a series of mock casualty drills. They also took command-and-control training. Lt. Col. Alvin Scott of U.S. Air Force Special Operations Command said the goal is to institutionalize CASEVAC capabilities in Niger.

"The training that we've done has developed exceptional tactical skills at the back end of the aircraft, and what we are still developing and working on are the national policy-level documents that need to come about to make sure that the program is sustainable long term," Scott said.

CASEVAC capability has multiple benefits for Niger. In February 2014, one of the Cessna crews picked up a Soldier who had been injured in a remote area about two flight hours northeast of Agadez. They flew him to Niamey. Such help can boost morale because it shows military personnel that the national

government has the will and ability to take care of its people.

On the same mission, the plane picked up a pregnant woman sick with malaria, demonstrating that civilian use also is possible. Eventually, the capability could become a source of revenue for the nation. For example, if a foreign company operating in Niger needs people taken to hospitals or evacuated from dangerous sites, the Cessnas and trained crews are available.

Various elements of CASEVAC training continued throughout Exercise Flintlock. In Agadez, Nigeriens practiced carrying stretchers laden with sandbags over dirt berms to simulate obstacles. During a medical clinic in the village of Gofat, Mauritanians and Nigeriens practiced carrying patients to and from helicopters and worked on multinational cooperation.

Dr. Cheikh Aboubacar, chief surgeon with the Nigerien Air Force based in Niamey, observed military personnel as they practiced with stretchers in Agadez. He said he is pleased with how the training has helped build Nigerien CASEVAC capacity.

"I think this training gives us some capability to care for all of our Soldiers first, and then other civilians who need to have CASEVAC in all of Niger."

Everyday

ALLIES

A NIGERIEN COLONEL STRESSES THE IMPORTANCE OF CIVILIAN HELP IN THE FIGHT AGAINST EXTREMISM

ADF STAFF

COL. MAHAMANE LAMINOU SANI is director of military intelligence for the Nigerien Army (forces armées nigériennes — FAN) and is based in Niamey, Niger. He coordinated military and civilian activities at Exercise Flintlock 2014, which was held at four locations throughout Niger. Col. Sani sat down with *ADF* for a talk on March 1, 2014. The interview was conducted in English, and it has been edited for length and clarity.

Col. Mahamane Laminou Sani, director of military intelligence for Niger's Armed Forces, speaks during the opening ceremony for Exercise Flintlock 2014 in Niamey, Niger.

SGT. 1ST CLASS JESSICA INIGO / U.S. ARMY

Col. Mahamane Laminou Sani, director of military intelligence for Niger's Armed Forces, speaks to *ADF* at the Hotel Gaweye in Niamey, Niger, on March 1, 2014.

ADF: *What things have stood out as being some of the high points of Exercise Flintlock 2014?*

Sani: Dealing with other countries, interacting and coordinating the planning of the operation. The second thing is just this involvement of the military to help civilians, both in health matters and other activities. And in communication — how we communicate so far, from the beginning to today; that is the most important thing I saw. Many people used to talk about Flintlock as if it were a pretext for creating military bases for the U.S. or Western countries. But now they have found that it's just a simple exercise.

ADF: *The organizers of Flintlock have determined that reaching out to key leaders in various communities is very important. Why was that decision made?*

Sani: You know, if you want to do something in our society, you have to do it by using those key leaders — opinion leaders, religious leaders, traditional leaders. If you want to relay information, you had better use those people.

ADF: *It seems that Niger has been successful in engaging with its northern populations, which also includes a large Tuareg population. How has Niger been able to do that?*

Sani: We had a rebellion insurgency in 1990. And again in 2007. When we signed our peace agreement, they asked, "OK, we need to get in charge of our area." We told them the northern area of Niger is Niger. So all citizens must go there and work; at the same time, you need to come down and work like any other citizen. The key leaders of the rebellion asked to be senior officers. We told them all our officers attended school to get at the level they are now. So, if you want to be an officer, you have to go to school. In 2007 we got a new rebellion because we were a bit tough; we were trying to control our northern area so if a convoy of trucks tries to cross the border, we'll deal with it. But this rebellion was really well-controlled. We knew all the key leaders and we were able, with our intelligence services, to locate all of them, and we defeated them. There were no negotiations, no peace agreement. In Niger you have our military guys everywhere in the north. And it's not just a matter of you will be appointed there if you are Tuareg. If you are Tuareg, you should be everywhere in Niger. And any citizen who is in the military or police or whichever institution should be appointed everywhere, even in the north.

ADF: *In what specific ways can your military, or any military, work with civilian populations to combat terrorism?*

Sani: Terrorism is a transnational threat. A single country cannot deal with terrorism. You need to play with other partners to cope with it. That's the first thing. So I can take one example from Niger. If we chase or pursue a group of terrorists down to cross the border to enter Mali, we need to coordinate with the Malian military to intercept them. And in the civilian area, at the border of Mali and Niger, we have the

Sani: If you take the issue of terrorism, you have two lines. The first line is the violence line. The second line is the will, the belief. Usually, people think that if you lower the violence line, you win. The most important thing is to decrease this belief — the will line. If you lower it, it's easy to finish with the violence line. In the past, most of our citizens were not aware of what terrorism is. They would see something on TV that's happening somewhere else.

It seems when the attacks of Agadez and Arlit occurred, people realized that terrorism

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"I USED TO TELL THEM THAT IF YOU SEE A BOMB ATTACK SOMEWHERE ELSE, IT CAN HAPPEN HERE. IT WAS LIKE, 'OH, YOU ARE CRAZY; HOW CAN IT HAPPEN HERE?' BUT IT HAPPENED."

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same population and most important, they are in the same families. You can see people from Tahoua, near the border of Mali, cross the border to see their relatives in Mali. So if you interact with the population by using these key leaders in the area, they can relay the information. And most of the key leaders in Niger, they are related to key leaders in Mali. The military should try to reduce the vulnerability of our population. They need medicine, they need some infrastructure, because sometimes the pretext used by terrorists is like, "You see, that government is not doing anything for you. So we are here for God, and we can help you — we are all Muslims. So please, don't mind the government. We will help you." So they keep recruiting people and they are vulnerable because they are in need. So if we solve this kind of situation, we can reduce the vulnerability of those people so that they can keep them from terrorist activities.

ADF: *How would you assess Niger's effectiveness at engaging its civilian population to fight terrorism? Where are you now, and how far do you have to go to get to a satisfactory level?*

is a serious issue. In the past, only security guys were in charge and were aware of the reality of terrorism. But now, people are really aware, the citizens are really aware of it. And with Flintlock, we succeeded in involving both security guys and civilians, and the involvement of the people has now increased.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: Two suicide bombings hit the military base in Agadez and a uranium mine in Arlit in May 2013, killing 21 Soldiers. The Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa claimed responsibility.]

ADF: *So it actually took the terrorist attack in Agadez and Arlit to make people stand up and take notice of the problem?*

Sani: They had awareness about the problem in the past but at a lower level. But since the attack in Agadez and Arlit, people knew that it was a serious matter.

ADF: *And it spurred them to action.*

Sani: Yes, yes. I used to tell them that if you see a bomb attack somewhere else, it can happen here. It was like, "Oh, you are crazy; how can it happen here?" But it happened. ❑

IN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC,

A Crisis for Children

ADF STAFF

A young boy sits on a stool, stares at a chalkboard, and writes in his notebook. His classroom is the porch of a home built during French colonial times in Bangui, Central African Republic (CAR). His improvised school makes him more fortunate than many children in the nation. As hundreds of thousands of people have fled their homes since unrest spread across the land, schooling has become a casualty.

The CAR has been in turmoil since December 2012, when rebels overran the north and central regions. A March 2013 coup brought Michel Djotodia to power, and the country suffered a "total breakdown of law and order," according to U.N. chief Ban Ki-moon.

Catherine Samba-Panza has since taken over as interim president, and France has increased its troop presence to 1,600 in hopes of stopping sectarian violence. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) says the number of internally displaced people has decreased recently, but 190,000 still were in about 57 camps around Bangui as of March 2014. Hundreds of thousands of others fled to Cameroon, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of the Congo.

At one point in late 2013, 70 percent of CAR's children still had not returned to school since the conflict began, according to UNICEF. Two-thirds of schools were looted, damaged or occupied. "A school is meant to be a safe space for teaching and learning, but in some areas there is nothing left," said Souleymane Diabaté, UNICEF representative in the CAR. "Without teachers, desks, textbooks — how can a child learn?"

UNICEF and other nongovernmental organizations worked with the nation's Ministry of Education to get more than 1,300 primary school teachers and 170,000 students back into classrooms by the end of 2013.

Petula Bokandi, 17, spent more than a month in the Boy-Rabe camp for internally displaced people outside Bangui. She said life in the camp is hard on children. Malaria is common. Most people sleep on mats on the ground. Blankets and mosquito nets are scarce.

In mid-January 2014, Bokandi returned to her home in the Gobongo neighborhood. Her room, which she shares with three sisters, doubles as a kitchen. She wakes up daily at 5 a.m., cleans house and works in the garden. "I left the camp because the violence in my neighborhood diminished," she told UNICEF. "The situation here is calmer. You sleep well on a bed, with a mosquito net and a blanket. Over there, there is none of that. Here at our house it is less difficult."

The violence separates children from their parents, communities and schools. Disease and the possibility of recruitment by warring groups also are threats. In camps like Boy-Rabe, UNICEF builds temporary learning spaces, but outside the camps education is stifled. There is no school because teachers don't come to the area, and they are not getting paid. But that hasn't stopped Bokandi from dreaming of becoming a banker one day.

"We have to stop the fighting among ourselves," Bokandi said. "We have to put the weapons down so we can have peace so we can get back to work and school."

A F R I C A

TACKLES CYBER SECURITY

Dr. Eric Young, George C. Marshall Center Faculty

THE ELECTRONIC REVOLUTION IS BRINGING RAPID CHANGE TO THE CONTINENT, IN GOOD AND BAD WAYS

As the electronic revolution sweeps across Africa, cyber security is a major emerging challenge.

Africa has the fastest-growing Internet penetration and growth in cyberspace of any continent and is erasing the global digital divide. Africa's e-revolution is growing economies, changing social structures and upending political systems.

Masaai ranchers in Kenya now can check market prices for their cattle on mobile phones. Africa's new undersea fiber-optic cables, which offer high-speed Internet access, are leading an entrepreneurial boom in Kenya and Ghana. Rwanda's Vision 2020 is centered on a youth-led, knowledge-based economy. The Nigerian government has launched the Single Window Trade Portal to improve trade and standardize services.

With dramatic growth and change come challenges and security threats, from cyber crime and intellectual property theft to espionage and other cyber attacks. To ensure that Africa fully benefits from the e-revolution, governments must take cyber security seriously.

Layers of solutions are emerging. Europe, Asia and the United States, and, indeed, all security professionals can learn from Africa's approach to cyber security.

Eleven undersea fiber-optic cable systems were completed with international and local investment in the past few years. This has brought faster and cheaper broadband connectivity. Economic growth, urbanization, and a rapidly growing youth population have followed and created new economic opportunities. Cyber cafes have opened in war-torn Somalia; engineers in Kenya, Rwanda and South Africa are building new software for worldwide markets; and from Algeria to Zimbabwe, e-commerce is taking off.

The numbers are impressive. Six of the world's 10 fastest-growing economies are in Sub-Saharan Africa, which has created the world's second-largest mobile phone market.

Smartphones outsell computers 4-to-1 in Africa, and an estimated 1 billion mobile phones will be on the continent by 2016. Mobile Internet use in Africa is among the highest in the world. Annual growth in the use of social media such as Facebook and Twitter exceeds 150 percent. There are more than 90 tech hubs, innovation labs and e-incubators in more than 20 African countries.

The political impact also has been profound. The software platform Ushahidi emerged from Kenya's 2008 postelection violence and lets users crowd-source crisis response. @GhanaDecides educated voters before the 2012 elections, and social media played a role in 2010's Arab Spring in North Africa.

CHALLENGES TO GROWTH

Despite robust growth, Africa's e-revolution has had several challenges:

- Access to broadband connectivity remains uneven and is focused mostly on English-speaking countries and coastal urban hubs.
- Africa remains a "dumping ground" for second-hand, second-generation mobile devices and personal computers. These devices are more vulnerable to cyber attacks.
- An estimated 80 percent of personal computers in Africa already are infected with viruses and other malicious software.
- Some have used mobile telephony to advocate violence, and states have used their control of Internet access to limit freedom and human rights.

Yet, on balance, from food security to health care access, and from employment opportunities to democratic freedoms, all facets of life in Africa have benefited from the e-revolution.

Workers sort out parts of discarded computers at the East African Compliant Recycling center near Nairobi, Kenya.

THREATS TO AFRICA'S E-REVOLUTION

To date, Africa has experienced a honeymoon period with the Internet. Most of the cyber attacks have been limited and unsophisticated. Cyber crime has become local and common, known in Uganda as *bafere* and in Ghana as *sakawa*. Criminals typically use off-the-shelf malware, phishing or email-based advance-fee scams, commonly known as Nigerian 419 scams or colloquially as *yahoo-yahoo.* It is mostly the public that has fallen victim to the attacks. The attacks have had a major economic impact only recently.

Cyber crime has grown with more affordable connectivity and the rise in e-commerce. Accompanying the growth in cellular telecommunications has been the growth in cyber attacks

TECHNOLOGY CLUSTERS EMERGE ACROSS AFRICA

ADF STAFF

Africa's technological growth isn't just in cyberspace. It's also taking root in some of the continent's major cities. Developers are seeing the value of grouping businesses in "technology clusters" to maximize efficiency and innovation.

Clusters consist of interconnected companies that share things such as labor market pooling, specialized suppliers and knowledge. Businesses in clusters collaborate and compete, and in some ways depend on each other, according to the South African LED Network. The hope is that the next tech giant like Google or Facebook will emerge from these clusters, sometimes called "cyber cities."

Recently, technology clusters have developed across the continent. Others are in the planning stages. Below is a list of some of the more prominent clusters operating or under construction:

1. **ALGERIA** — Cyberparc de Sidi Abdallah: The high-tech center has research space, laboratories and more spread across 100 hectares. It also includes two hotels, retail space and other amenities. When the center was under construction in 2006, Algerian Technology Minister Boudjemaa Haichour told Magharebia.com that the goal is to stimulate technological activity, provide business support for national companies, and accelerate the use of computers in small and medium-size businesses. Activities include electronic component manufacturing and assembly, and software.

2. **EGYPT** — Smart Village Cairo: Egypt's first, fully operational information technology (IT) cluster and business park covers 3 million square meters. It includes multinational companies, and governmental, financial and educational organizations. Participating companies include tech giants Microsoft, IBM and InfoBlink, a Cairo-based tech company that produces software to manage fleets, ground transportation and mobile workforce management.

3. **GHANA** — Hope City: Ghana's $10 billion technology hub is planned for Accra and will include Africa's tallest building at 270 meters among its six towers. It will include an IT university, a residential area and a hospital, and social and sporting amenities. "This will enable us to have the biggest assembling plant in the world to assemble various products — over 1 million within a day," Roland Agambire, head of Ghana technology giant RLG communications, told the BBC. Once finished, the tech park could be home to 25,000 residents and provide 50,000 jobs.

4. **KENYA** — Konza Technology City: Launched in 2013, the development is 60 kilometers from Nairobi. Its first phase, scheduled for completion in 2017, includes 1.5 million square meters of development on 162 hectares. Once completed, it's expected to attract 30,000 residents and 16,700 workers. Konza will focus on four sectors: education, life science, the telecom industry, and business process outsourcing and information technology outsourcing.

5. **MAURITIUS** — Ébène Cyber City: Developed and owned by a subsidiary of Business Parks of Mauritius Ltd., the Ébène Cyber City consists of two

on smartphones. In 2012, South Africa, the most advanced e-commerce market on the continent, also ranked as the world's second-most-targeted country in phishing attacks.

In October 2013, a variant of the Dexter malware program cost South African banks millions of dollars when it was inserted into point-of-sale devices in fast-food chains. In Nigeria, from 2010 to 2012, there was a 60 percent increase in attacks against government websites, which included attacks against the Central Bank of Nigeria, the Ministry of Science and Technology, and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission. These are only a few of dozens of instances.

Intellectual property (IP) theft, espionage, the costs of cyber security, and the opportunity and reputational costs associated with malicious online activities are difficult to quantify. As the security software company McAfee and the Center for Strategic and International Studies noted, the economic impact of the theft of IP is probably several times more than the cost of cyber crime.

As the e-revolution evolves, more IP will emerge from Africa, and the theft of IP and sensitive business information is likely to increase. Similarly, while Africa — except for South Africa — is probably not a significant target of online espionage, the threat is real.

So, too, is the likelihood that some states will develop offensive capabilities, further skewing the military capabilities between rich and poor countries. There is no public information available that an African state or nonstate actor has successfully conducted an offensive cyber attack, but the social media and online presence of such terrorist groups as al-Shabaab in Somalia demonstrates the ease and cost-effectiveness by which nonstate actors can use cyberspace to great effect. And since cyber crime is a transnational issue, African countries and their citizens remain vulnerable to attacks from around the world.

LAYERS OF SOLUTIONS

In addition to the threats, Africa faces many cyber challenges. For one, African governments have limited capabilities to enact legislation and enforce it. In Kenya, for instance, less than 50 percent of cyber crimes result in a conviction. Governments have only recently begun to fund cyber security, and they lack information technology (IT) and cyber-security professionals. Laws and

"cyber towers" of 44,000 square meters and 16,000 square meters. When construction began in 2001, the development was touted as an information technology hub and an effort to link Asian and African markets, according to 1st2tech.com. Ébène is the home of AfriNIC, the Internet Numbers Registry for Africa, and other IT companies.

6. MOROCCO — Technopark, Casablanca: The Technopark, a public-private partnership, was set up to develop information and communications technology and green tech. Technopark consists of 230 start-ups and small- and medium-size enterprises employing 1,500 people. Technopark opened in Rabat in 2012 and plans to open in Tangier in late 2014. Omar Balafrej, director general of the Moroccan Information Technopark Co., told Magharebia.com that plans also include expansion into Oujda, Marrakech, Agadir and Fes.

7. SOUTH AFRICA — Technopark Stellenbosch: This cluster of 289 companies representing 33 business categories includes the communication, engineering, Internet, software and technology industries. Construction on the park began in 1987.

AFRICA AND THE TECHNOLOGICAL AGE

Africa has the fastest-growing Internet penetration of any continent, due in part to new undersea fiber-optic cables. This fast, cheap connectivity has spurred economic growth and urbanization. Several African countries have opened "technology clusters," groups of companies that collaborate and share resources. Some of the more prominent clusters are described at left.

— African Undersea Cables

ADF ILLUSTRATION

READINESS TEAMS STRIVE TO SECURE INTERNET

ADF STAFF

In 2013, Internet security company Symantec determined that more than 552 million identities were exposed via security breaches, Web-based attacks were up 23 percent, and that one in eight legitimate websites had a "critical vulnerability."

Africa can be especially vulnerable, given that its computer and Internet infrastructure is still developing. In 2013, 73 percent of South African Internet users were affected by cyber crime, according to Symantec. This cost the South African economy about $300 million.

A plan to ensure Internet security is essential. That's where AfricaCERT comes in.

CERT stands for Computer Emergency Readiness Team. It began in 1988 as a project of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, an independent branch of the United States Department of Defense. Today it focuses on Internet security incidents.

The AfricaCERT Project seeks to unite nations in promoting cyber security. According to its website, it "facilitates incident response capabilities among African countries and provides capacity building, access to best practices, tools and trusted communication at the continent level."

Countries involved in AfricaCERT are: Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Morocco, South Africa, Sudan and Tunisia. Nations appear to be at varying levels of CERT development. National efforts provide a range of services.

For example:

- The **BURKINA FASO COMPUTER INCIDENT RESPONSE TEAM** is charged with helping government agencies reduce and respond to computer security risks. The team also helps educate the public about cyber threats and cyber crimes.
- **CÔTE D'IVOIRE'S COMPUTER EMERGENCY RESPONSE TEAM** alerts computer users to software vulnerabilities.
- The **MAURITIAN NATIONAL COMPUTER SECURITY INCIDENT RESPONSE TEAM** monitors public and private security problems and warns system administrators and users about the latest security threats.
- The **SUDAN COMPUTER EMERGENCY RESPONSE TEAM** serves as an early-warning system and collects data on network incidents. It also helps law enforcement agencies gather evidence.
- The **TUNISIAN COMPUTER EMERGENCY RESPONSE TEAM'S** website includes computer security alerts with risk analyses. It also has links that citizens can use to report malware and Internet scams.

regulations covering mobile telephones and Internet service providers are in their infancy, and enforcement can be lax. Corruption is often endemic and spills over into the cyber domain.

The United States and Europe do not offer particularly good examples to follow. They are heavily dependent on the private IT security industry and often behind the curve when it comes to combating cyber crime. Internationally, there is no central repository of cyber knowledge, expertise or training, and African-specific solutions are rarely presented.

Still, several layers of solutions have emerged in Africa, from increasing awareness of cyber crime to establishing computer emergency response teams (CERTs), and from national strategies against cyber security to international collaboration. All will be needed to ensure the e-revolution continues in Africa.

Cyber-crime awareness through education and training is vital in Africa. It includes public and corporate awareness, but most important, lawmakers must be educated on the threats and opportunities related to cyber security.

Only South Africa and Egypt have a significant number of trained cyber-security experts. In recent years, a few countries have passed laws related to cyber security, cyber crime, and data protection, but many already are outdated, and other countries are trying to catch up. Many are requiring mobile SIM card registration, in part, to better control crimes committed on mobile phones. Expertise on cyber-crime issues is needed at all levels and across the government. A positive step can be seen in law enforcement. Countries including Ghana, South Africa and Uganda have created new cyber units within their police forces.

One indication of growing government awareness and capacity is the creation of national CERTs (see sidebar). Eleven African countries have established CERTs, and a continentwide AfricaCERT is based in Ghana. It

A customer uses a tablet computer in a cyber café in the Medina district of Dakar, Senegal.

coordinates incident reporting and promotes cyber-security education and human resource development. Some CERTs have been successful: In 2012, the CERT in Côte d'Ivoire investigated 1,892 incident reports, and authorities made 71 arrests, leading to 51 convictions on cyber security-related crimes.

A NATIONAL CYBER STRATEGY

CERTs are only part of a comprehensive national cyber-security strategy. The strategy can be a vital tool in ensuring that scarce government resources are appropriated to ministries and agencies engaged in cyber security. South Africa is a leader on the continent, developing

a national cyber-security strategy in 2010 and inaugurating a National Cyber Security Advisory Council in 2013. Uganda also has a national cyber-security strategy, and Kenya is developing a national master plan.

As the South African and Ugandan strategies demonstrate, it is important for nations to take a whole-of-government approach to ensure that the strategy is effective and will build national capability, not just the power of one ministry. In addition to national strategies, numerous regional and international approaches are improving cyber security in Africa. Regional economic communities have sought to collaborate on cyber security, with the most

active being the Southern Africa Development Community and the East African Community.

For the past four years, the African Union has been considering the African Union Convention on Cyber Security, which includes sections on electronic commerce, personal data protection, cyber crime and national cyber security. It has put a special focus on racism, xenophobia and child pornography. But implementation will be a significant challenge, and political will remains an issue. Critics are concerned about the convention's potential for curbing Internet freedom.

At the same time, leaving cyber security to the private sector in Africa is not a feasible option because corruption, a weak legal framework and the drive for profits do not necessarily align with national security requirements. Academia, think tanks and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) will undoubtedly play important roles, but they lack the financial resources to lead cyber-security efforts.

Africa's e-revolution cannot, and should not, be stopped. Too many people are benefiting too much from increased global connectivity. Africa's emerging cyberspace entrepreneurs must be embraced by the global community and by their governments. African research into threats and solutions also are important for any cyber-security strategies to take hold.

Africa's economic growth will depend significantly on improving cyber security. It is not something that governments should outsource to the private sector or to NGOs. International partnerships and the sharing of best practices are vital, as are assisting in building technical capabilities and legal guidance. Everyone in cyberspace will sink or swim together. ❑

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DEPLOYING *for*
PEACE

Chadian Troops Partner with U.S. and French Trainers
to Prepare for Peacekeeping in Mali

ADF STAFF
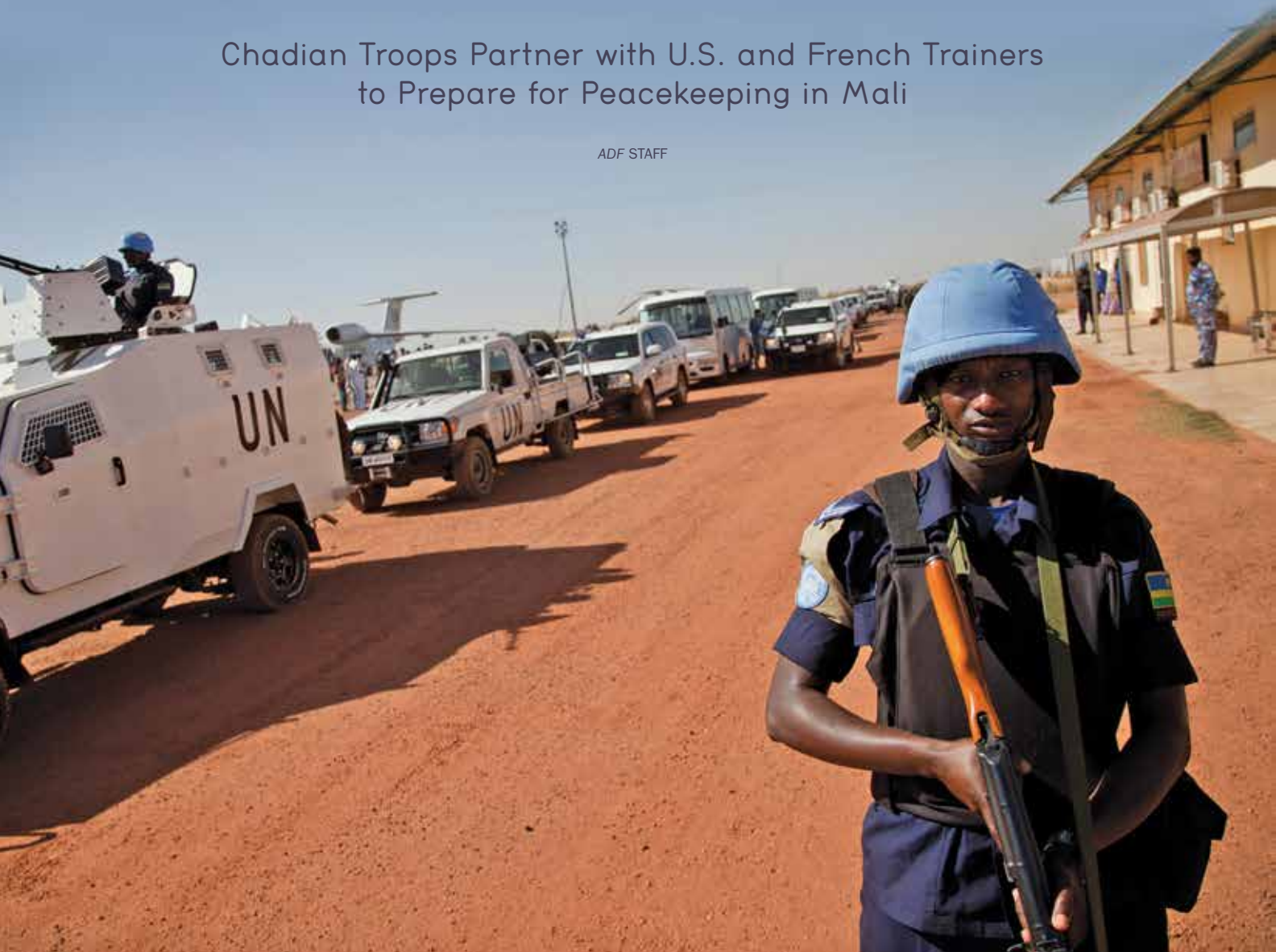
When Lt. Col. Jeffrey Powell and his team of 68 trainers arrived in Chad, conditions were less than ideal. They faced heat, equipment shortages, language barriers and an aggressive deadline of 32 days.

Powell, a member of the U.S. Army's 5th Squadron, 4th Cavalry Regiment, was there to partner with a French defense contracting company and Chadian military trainers to prepare 1,425 Chadian Soldiers for deployment as part of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA).

At an outpost 80 kilometers south of N'Djamena, the heat approached 35 degrees Celsius, meaning tactical training could last only until noon before Soldiers had to move to classrooms. They were limited to 50 weapons for training, and instructions had to be translated from English into French and then again into a local Arabic dialect.

Faced with these hurdles, Powell shrugged. "As long as they're motivated, we can do just about anything," he said in an interview after his first day inspecting the camp.

32 DAYS, SIX LANES

For a month, the Chadian Soldiers at Camp Loumia executed six training lanes, or skills categories, designed to help identify and clear improvised explosive devices, set up checkpoints, set up an observation post, perform dismounted patrolling, improve marksmanship, and assault an enemy target.

It was a crash course in modern peacekeeping. During dismounted patrols,

Soldiers were taught to control an angry crowd and identify an attacker among civilians. At checkpoints, they learned how to scan for threats and use mirrors to search under vehicles for bombs. To overcome the heat, Chadian Soldiers practiced nutrition and hydration techniques. On the rifle range, Soldiers practiced breathing methods to steady themselves before shooting and performed "dime drills" in which they fired at a target while balancing a coin on the barrel of the gun.

Powell stressed that training for a modern stabilization mission like the one in Mali should be approached like preparing for a war zone. In peacekeeping, the environment can change in a matter of moments.

"In this day and age [preparing for the battlefield and for peacekeeping] is not different," Powell said. "There's a great book called the *Three Block War.* It basically said you have to be prepared to conduct peacekeeping operations and peace enforcement operations and then decisive action, all within three blocks. I think that by training people to the standard of being able to do decisive action, they can scale back."

The Soldiers worked with a U.S. Army Civil Affairs unit and were taught the three capabilities mandated by the United Nations for peacekeepers: protection of the population, prevention of sexual assault and prevention of human rights abuse. Later, U.N. officials tested the men on these subjects.

"This is very important. We call it in French, 'comportement,' " said retired Brig. Gen. Jean Michel Reydellet of the French defense contractor Sovereign Global France. "It's the ability of the

Opposite: A peacekeeper from the U.N. Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali patrols the town of Mopti.

Soldier to be integrated into another country and respect the culture."

Each Chadian combat company did at least three day iterations on each of the lanes followed by an evaluation period. U.S. trainers adapted an Army assessment form on which companies were rated on a scale of one to five for their performance on each lane. The training culminated in a live-fire exercise in which squads bounded forward to assault a target. This type of squad-level live-fire maneuver was a first for the Chadian forces at Loumia and was completed without any injuries, Powell said.

Separate training at Loumia focused on combat medicine and medical evacuation. One of the highlights of the training was when French forces flew a Puma helicopter from their nearby base in N'Djamena and Chadian Soldiers practiced loading casualties aboard.

Perhaps most gratifying to the U.S.

and French military trainers was that a week after the training, the Chadian companies were repeating the training lanes on their own and had drawn up a "synchronization matrix" to track their progress up until their deployment. Chadian commanders said training on new equipment, reporting procedures and situational awareness of the Malian environment would continue up until deployment.

DIFFICULT MISSION
The Soldiers were to be deployed to northern Mali, an environment where interethnic fighting and asymmetric attacks by extremist groups are constant dangers. Chad is the largest troop-contributing country to MINUSMA, with more than 1,200 Soldiers deployed as of early 2014. Chadian forces trained at Camp Loumia were to be tasked with holding together a fragile peace in the

LESSONS *in* MULTILATERALISM

The United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) is instructive as a case study in multilateralism. It includes 36 troop-contributing countries and coordinates its actions with the Malian Army, two European Union missions for military training and civilian assistance, and the French troops of Operation Serval.

It is one of the most logistically challenging missions the U.N. has undertaken, due to the vast size of Mali, its harsh climate and its lack of infrastructure. MINUSMA also is understaffed. As of March 2014, it had about half of its mandated 12,600 personnel.

"That's the international environment for you — it is difficult," said Col. Joost de Wolf of the Netherlands, MINUSMA's deputy chief of staff of operations. "The whole art of it is to coordinate things and to deconflict. Make sure [entities] are not operating in the same sort of area at the same time. There's quite a lot of real estate in Mali; it's twice the size of France."

After its first year, MINUSMA can boast some successes, including maintaining order during a 2013 presidential election and facilitating the return of hundreds of thousands of displaced people to the nation's north. With its patchwork of international, continental and regional players, MINUSMA demonstrates what the future of multilateral peacekeeping may look like on the African continent. The long and winding path to the creation of MINUSMA from 2012 to 2013 also highlights the strengths and shortcomings of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).

A LOOK BACK

Early in 2012, after a coup d'état in Mali, West African heads of state met in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, and Ougadougou, Burkina Faso, to coordinate a response. The goal was to persuade the Malian junta that had seized power to return the country to civilian governance.

When that stalled, leaders began activating the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Standby Force. The force was authorized to prepare an intervention in March 2012 under the name of the ECOWAS Mission in Mali. However, several impediments prevented the standby force from intervening quickly. First, it became clear that it would be difficult to persuade countries, many of which have security concerns at home, to contribute enough troops for the mission. Second, the estimated annual cost of $227 million for the peacekeeping endeavor was unaffordable and required assistance from outside donors. Third, some of the countries most closely connected with northern Mali — Algeria and Mauritania — are not members of ECOWAS, and there was not a similarly developed standby force from North Africa.

To make the intervention more continental, the African Union stepped up in June 2012 and created the African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA) to bolster and train the Malian Army to restore peace. In November 2012, the AU's Peace and Security Council adopted a plan for a harmonized intervention. The U.N. Security Council voted to authorize the mission but did not provide financial or logistical support. As 2012 drew to a close, extremists consolidated their gains in northern Mali and civilians fled by the hundreds of thousands, but a U.N. envoy and former Italian prime minister, Romano Prodi, announced that any military intervention likely was nearly a year away.

The slow pace may have emboldened extremists who marched south, capturing the city of Kona and appearing poised to push into the capital, Bamako. In January 2013, France responded to pleas for help from Mali's interim president and launched Operation Serval. In a matter of months, in partnership with Chadian and other regional forces, the countries were able to retake and secure northern Mali. The MINUSMA mission was officially established in April 2013 and launched with a "rehatting" ceremony for troops serving under AFISMA.

"It's a long process," said Maj. Gen. Jean Bosco Kazura of Rwanda, MINUSMA commander.

"The problems in the north do not only concern the country of Mali. They go beyond its borders. It's a problem that's a bit global in the Sahel region, and the forces of the U.N. work in that realm."

Observers have called Mali a major test for the APSA and have identified several lessons learned. Some of these were outlined in an after-action review that ECOWAS completed in February 2014 while others come from academic studies of the intervention effort.

INTERVENTION MUST BE RAPID. The AU was criticized for not responding quickly enough to the emerging crisis in Mali. The African Standby Force (ASF) is scheduled to be fully operational across the continent by 2015 and is expected, under the most dire situations, to be capable of responding to a crisis within 30 days. However, the Malian crisis showed that much work remains. Since the crisis, ECOWAS has called for the creation of a Special Standby Two-Battalion Rapid Response Force capable of responding quickly to a deteriorating event and sustaining itself for at least 90 days. Similarly, the AU has announced it will create a rapid-reaction force called the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises to serve as a stopgap until the ASF is operational.

INTERVENTION MUST BE FUNDED. When first proposed, AFISMA's budget for 8,000 troops was $930 million, and the budget for 5,500 additional personnel was $458.5 million. That money was not readily available. A donor conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, was able to collect only promises for $455 million to fund the mission. The African Peace Fund, created as part of APSA, is intended to finance peace support operations through contributions by AU member states. The need for dependable funding was outlined extensively in a 2008 report.

EARLY WARNINGS MUST BE SOUNDED AND HEEDED. Neither the military coup nor the attempt by the north to secede from Mali came as a total shock to observers of the fragile nation. In the months leading up to the crisis, Mali had been thoroughly destabilized by a constellation of problems including drug trafficking, corruption, and the influx of weapons and fighters connected to Libya. However, no preventive action was taken. "The crisis in Mali has highlighted the gap between the rhetoric of prevention, which lies at the heart of the objectives of the AU and ECOWAS, and its actual practice," wrote Lori-Anne Théroux-Bénoni, a researcher based in the Dakar, Senegal, office of the Institute for Security Studies. "While the AU warned against the consequences of the Libyan crisis,

particularly on Mali, it did not take full measure of the fragility of the Malian state." The Continental Early Warning System will be an important part of the framework used to prevent the next failed state in Africa.

APSA SHOULD CORRESPOND TO GEOGRAPHY. Théroux-Bénoni pointed out that the response channels of the ASF are built around Regional Economic Communities. The Malian conflict, like many that can be envisioned in the future, affects the entire region. "The Malian crisis has showed the limits of the currently geographically bound security ensemble, and might call for an architecture that is less reliant on limited geographical areas," Théroux-Bénoni wrote. In February 2014, the leaders of Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger agreed to create a regional organization known as the G5 Sahel to bring collective resources to bear on common challenges, including extremism.

PEACEKEEPER TRAINING MUST BE CONTINUOUS. Readiness is a constant challenge for peacekeeping missions including AFISMA and MINUSMA. U.S. Col. Daniel Hampton, a senior military advisor at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, said the current model in which peacekeepers are trained and equipped before deployment without continual support and reinforcement of skills is not efficient. Hampton said Soldiers trained to proficiency on military tasks lose a part of that skill set after only 60 days. After 180 days, there is a 60 percent loss in skill retention. Hampton called for permanent training institutions in African countries to sustain the operational readiness of peacekeepers. "It is time to move beyond the reactionary nature of train-and-equip missions and create enduring capacity," Hampton wrote.

PEACEKEEPING MUST INCLUDE PEACE ENFORCEMENT. Historically, the U.N. has been most willing to intervene in crises in which there is a "peace to keep." However, in situations like Mali and Somalia where the goal is to win a country back from a determined and elusive extremist element, traditional peacekeeping duties must be paired with "peace enforcement" work. The U.N. acknowledged this in the creation of MINUSMA, saying it was operating in a new geopolitical context and facing threats not encountered before. Because of this, Jeffrey Feltman, U.N. undersecretary-general for political affairs, said it would be critically important for MINUSMA and future missions to make a clear distinction between peacekeeping tasks of a stabilization mission and the peace enforcement and counterterrorism activities of a parallel force.

Gen. Brahim Saïd Mahamat, chief of the general staff of the Chadian National Army, attends a graduation ceremony after a training course that prepared Chadian Soldiers to join the U.N. Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali.

Chadian peacekeepers take part in the inauguration ceremony for Mali's president, Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, in September 2013.

north with an infantry battalion expected to be split between Tessalit and Aguelhok, a reserve battalion in Gao and a special forces company in Timbuktu. Although life in northern Mali seemed to be returning to normal in 2014, violence erupted in May when the Malian Army was overrun in Kidal by fighters from the National Movement for the Liberation of the Azawad (MNLA).

Despite the frustratingly slow pace of dialogue and peacebuilding in Mali, Brig. Gen. Madjior Solness Dingamadji, advisor to Chad's chief of defense staff, said his nation is committed to the MINUSMA mission due to its importance for regional stability. "This mission has to do with neutralizing terrorism in all its forms," Dingamadji said.

Dingamadji noted that participating in U.N. peacekeeping operations poses numerous challenges for Chad ranging from logistics to interoperability, and adapting to a foreign command and control structure.

There also are numerous advantages for his Soldiers. They will receive relatively high reimbursement rates and invaluable professional development. Dingamadji noted that his Soldiers are gaining experience in the rules of engagement in a peacekeeping setting, learning how to protect the civilian population, and improving their English- and French-speaking capabilities. The general staff is learning new U.N. standard reporting methods, message protocol and organizational structures.

"The advantages for a contingent who responds to the requirements of the United Nations are numerous," Dingamadji said. "They can be summarized as including financial gain, professionalism and, in general, security sector reform for every country that contributes troops."

Chad's Soldiers have invested heavily in the future of Mali. They first deployed there in 2013 when they faced fierce fighting in the terrorist stronghold of the Adrar des Ifoghas mountains, sustaining dozens of casualties. The intervention forces succeeded in expelling extremist groups from the area, and Chad's leaders say they're not about to let the country slide back into chaos.

"We participated with great pride in the liberation of Mali," said Moussa Faki, Chad's minister of foreign affairs, in a 2013 interview. "We are now prepared to participate in its stabilization, because with that comes the stabilization of the entire region." ❑

Food and medical programs in remote areas, such as
the ancient village of Ouadane, have helped Mauritanian
Soldiers establish valuable links with civilians. REUTERS

A STRONG LINK IN THE CHAIN

Mauritania's chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces tells
ADF how his country seeks to offer stability in a troubled region.

During the week of May 19, 2014, Lt. Gen. Mohamed Ghazouani, Mauritania's chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces, traveled to Tampa, Florida, in the United States, to attend the Special Operations Forces Industry Conference. While at the conference, Ghazouani participated in events alongside special operations commanders from 84 countries, as well as senior governmental officials, top academics and leaders from U.S. Special Operations Command. Ghazouani has served in a variety of roles in Mauritania's security sector, including as director of National Security from 2005 until 2008. This interview has been edited for space and translated from the original French.

ADF: During your career, how has the Mauritanian Army changed and evolved?

Ghazouani: Essentially, the Mauritanian Army has undergone an evolution that is very positive during the last few years, but I can't be egotistical and say that it's due to my influence. It's due to two important factors. First, the most important is the fact that the Mauritanian government has been very conscious of the security situation in which the country finds itself. We have made a good analysis and evaluation at the national level and the subregional level. From this evaluation, the government decided that it was necessary to give top priority to the Armed Forces and security personnel, because without security there is no development. Our government has rightly perceived that security comes before all else.

The second aspect is the awareness that has developed among Mauritanian Soldiers. No matter the level — be they officers, NCOs or enlisted men — they understand that they must meet the challenges and understand that their country is threatened, and the lives of its citizens and foreigners living there are threatened, and all these threats come from terrorist groups. As it concerns me, I am only a Soldier among other Soldiers. My role is to take into account the instructions and direction given by the government and play the role of coordinator for this institution.

Lt. Gen.
Mohamed Ghazouani
ADF STAFF

ADF: Mauritania has more than 5,000 kilometers of land borders and shares its largest border with Mali. What is the strategy used by the Mauritanian military to secure this vast border?

Ghazouani: Mauritania is a large country if we talk about its land area. But it's a country with a population of less than 4 million. Therefore, that discrepancy presents us with some problems. A vast territory with a small population does not contribute much to security.

In order to secure the border, the principle is to use all means at our disposal. So how did we proceed? We have tried to mark out the entire border with bases. We created military bases that never existed before, including small bases that are manned by relaying units. And if you look at the border now, we have a base here, a base 200 kilometers away, a base 300 kilometers ahead, and it means that we are satisfied that along the entire border there is a military presence. Between these bases, what happens? There are mobile units that patrol constantly between bases to prevent the enemy from passing through at any moment, day or night. You're going to tell me this is costly. That's true; it is costly. It's tiring for our men also. Especially for a country where there is a large deficit in the third dimension, that is to say aviation. We don't have many aviation assets, and you can easily imagine that in a country with a vast territory, it is not ground forces or vehicles or the men aboard the vehicles that can best achieve this mission. It's

Members of Mauritania's National Guard patrol a desert near Bassikounou, a village about 30 kilometers from the Malian border, in 2012. REUTERS

very difficult. But here also I would like to thank the U.S. government and our American colleagues who understood well the situation in which our country finds itself. They realized that we had the will necessary to do good work, and they've helped us a lot. Particularly, I thank them because they gave us great support and aid in the realm of donating equipment that allows us to conduct surveillance of our territory by air.

ADF: In recent years, Mauritania has had a strained relationship with Mali. Even before the crisis of 2012 and 2013 when Mali lost control over two-thirds of the country, northern Mali had been a haven for extremists. At times, they sought to cross the border and organize attacks on Mauritanian targets. How has the recent Malian crisis affected Mauritanian security?

Ghazouani: In fact, even before the outbreak of the crisis, I would say that we felt the effects of the insecurity in Mali. Mauritania was under a permanent menace on the part of the terrorists who came across the Malian border. Every time, terror groups attacked a base or a town, or kidnapped tourists or foreigners. Therefore, it's during this period that preceded the crisis that we were under a veritable threat. When you allude to a somewhat tense relationship between Mali and Mauritania, in fact it wasn't tense. Mali and Mauritania are two countries linked by many things. We are neighboring countries, brother countries, and we share many common traits. But, really, our authorities brought to the attention of the Malian authorities the danger that existed if they

The more we rub shoulders with our colleagues from other countries, the more enriching it is, the more it gives us experience, and the more it allows us to discover procedures and doctrines of our neighboring nations. That's a positive thing."

Lt. Gen. Mohamed Ghazouani, Mauritania's chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces

continued to close their eyes to the actions and the presence of terror groups and narcotraffickers in Malian territory. Unfortunately, they didn't view it the same way and either didn't believe it was dangerous or didn't do anything to thwart the efforts of these groups. History has shown that we were right in saying to the Malians, "Pay attention" and "Do not accept the presence of terrorist groups on your territory, because next they will try to create their own state." Unfortunately, that's what happened. But Mauritania is always very concerned with the security of Mali, and we do what we can to help.

ADF: In your opinion, what is the current strength of al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, Ansar al-Dine and related groups that have operated in the Sahel region for years? How much of a threat do they pose?

Ghazouani: You have to recognize that Operation Serval accomplished a lot. Moreover, I think that if that operation didn't occur, we wouldn't be speaking today about a Malian state. Because the terrorists already conducted an invasion that succeeded, and the Malian Army did not react. The extremists were 24 hours, maybe 48 hours, away from arriving in Bamako. And if they took Bamako, we would be in a situation that is unimaginable. So we can say that the operation saved Mali. It also caused lots of casualties among the ranks of terrorists and greatly succeeded in destroying the equipment that had been in their hands. But here, also, we must understand that the terror groups have evolved and were able to reconstitute during several years in this subregion, and they have a lot of money from different sources. They have money from Libya, money from ransom payments. So they were able to equip themselves and recruit a number of personnel. They exist today; even if they have lost certain leaders, the structure remains. For the moment, apparently, they're keeping a low profile because they are under a military pressure that is very strong. But I think that over time they will reappear. Their leaders are currently on the move. When they suffered from strong pressure in northern Mali, they went to southern Libya. They have their depots, they have their arms, they have a rear base that is very strong. Therefore, should we think that terrorism has disappeared from this region? No, that hasn't happened yet. It exists, but it's true they have suffered losses.

ADF: Recently, Mauritania has placed significant emphasis on civil-military actions that reach out to people living in the most vulnerable, isolated areas of the country. These include medical programs, drilling wells and road construction. Could you describe these programs and tell us why they are important to national security?

Ghazouani: Here is another aspect where we worked with our American friends, and I thank them for having initiated these programs of civil-military action with us. These actions cannot help but have good results. First, because they touch the population that is needy and far from major cities. They are in need of medical attention because public health cannot reach them. So, every time the military assists this population, if it's a program for food or for medical care, these actions create links between civilians and the military. That's very positive. Our experience shows it gives very good results because it's a way the military can show its civilian brothers that they don't only have the military aspect — they also have the human aspect.

ADF: Since being appointed chief of General Staff, what actions have you taken to improve the trust that people have for the military as an institution?

Ghazouani: These past years, we have made the first steps to show our willingness to be open to the population in a general way. This occurs vis-à-vis the elected officials such as deputies, senators, in addition to civil society organizations and everyday citizens. For several years we have organized what we call Open Door Days. A certain number of military sites are opened to visits by parliamentarians, civil society leaders and others. We organize trips and bring them into the units, the casernes, and we call that our Open Door Day. It means, "Here, this is your Army." We say, "This unit is called this, their mission is this, go ahead, you can ask anybody questions, you can get into a tank, into an airplane and see for yourself." We have found that it's an important action that, at least, gives the right message that the Army is under the direction of political authorities, and we let it be known that we have nothing major to hide.

ADF: Mauritania has been proactive about preventing the spread of extremism and radical religion

within its borders. What strategies have been used to prevent radicalization of the youth? What role does the military play?

Ghazouani: There have been some interesting things done at the governmental level. That is to say there has been an elaboration of a counterterror strategy. This strategy can be found in a document called "The National Strategy for Fighting Terror." It's a comprehensive policy so it engages all governmental departments. Every ministry has a role to play in fighting terrorism. Take, for example, the Ministry of Islamic Affairs: They ask imams from mosques and experts on the Muslim religion to put on conferences and seminars to educate young people or all people who are targeted by terrorist propaganda for recruitment. They tell them, "Look, pay attention, if these people tell you that taking up arms and going and fighting is part of Islam, don't be fooled." Our religion is very moderate. Our religion does not permit that someone should kill another or take property from another. So it's awareness, it's seminars, it's all sorts of actions that the ministries take to counter terrorist propaganda. For example, the Ministry of National Education plays a role in this strategy by ensuring that the scholarship of students improves and there are fewer students who drop out and then do not know what to do. The Ministry of Labor plays an important role because there needs to be policies to employ young unemployed people so they don't fall into the hands of terrorists. In this same vein, the Army can be a good employer and can accomplish a lot. But honestly, I will tell you that it requires a clean criminal record to be recruited in the Army. We can't recruit just anybody.

ADF: In 2012, one of the most difficult events in Mauritania's recent history occurred when a Soldier inadvertently shot the president while he was driving back to the capital from his property outside Nouakchott. What actions did you personally take to maintain order immediately after this incident?

Ghazouani: At the level of the Army and at the level of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, I think that mission remains the same if the president is absent or if he is in a hospital recovering. It's normal. The president

Lt. Gen. Mohamed Ghazouani, right, meets with Col. Mohamed Mihoubi, a military attaché for Tunisia, during the 166th NATO Chiefs of Defence meeting in Brussels, Belgium. NATO

is a man. He can be injured. Unfortunately, in this case he was injured as a result of a bullet fired by a Soldier, it's true. But it is necessary to understand that the origin of this accident was precaution and vigilance. This young sublieutenant found himself in a unit that he was training, and he wanted to control all the vehicles that passed by because he was at the limit of the desert at the entry to Nouakchott. It's a vigilance, but a vigilance a bit elevated, we can say. On the subject of the injury of the president, I think that he was very well-taken care of and treated in France. Even during the period when he was recovering, he was regularly in contact with the civil and military authorities he regularly speaks to nearly every day on the phone. I think that it was a difficult time for Mauritania but also a period that gave assurance that the administration works well. There was no crisis in the absence of the president. Everyone did their work, and things continued normally.

ADF: The conference that you are attending here in Tampa is focused on the international integration of special operations forces. Do you hope for more integration of special operations forces among West and North African countries?

Ghazouani: It's a great objective but an objective that is very difficult to achieve. The ideal is the integration of special forces. That's the final objective, perhaps, but before that, you must establish relations and contacts between the different special forces from different countries. It's these encounters that permit interoperability between the forces. So I think the goal is very interesting, but I do not think we will arrive at it easily from one day to the next. Because, currently, there are difficulties for certain countries to organize joint military actions, which is even more of a reason to arrive at this integration. But we cannot lose sight of the fact that these decisions must be made on a political level. Our political decision-makers must reach an accord on integration and, after, we can go there. It's a very worthy objective and, as a military, we're very interested in it. The more we rub shoulders with our colleagues from other countries, the more enriching it is, the more it gives us experience, and the more it allows us to discover procedures and doctrines of our neighboring nations. That's a positive thing. ❑

STAFF COLLEGES PROFESSIONALIZE AFRICA'S MILITARIES

NIGERIA'S COLLEGE INCLUDES A 'THINK TANK' FOR RESEARCH

ADF STAFF | PHOTOS BY NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE - KENYA

First came battle command, the science of directing and leading armed forces against an enemy.

Battle command was the core curriculum of the first military staff colleges, also known as war colleges or defense colleges. The first modern staff college dates to 1810 and focused largely on military strategy. But Africa's staff colleges, among the youngest in the world, have evolved far beyond the study of the art of war.

Nigeria's National Defence College (NDC) is a case in point. Although its 11-month program includes the traditional training of senior military and civilian officers for leadership and command functions, its course structure extends to politics and research. The nine "blocks" of the program include war study, research methodology, economics, science and technology, peace support operations, and international affairs. Instructors emphasize that the curriculum is fluid and that some questions have no clearly defined answers.

"The course curriculum is designed such that participants are faced with a variety of problems for which there are no college template solutions," the college says. "Participants are encouraged to consider and challenge their own intellectual assumptions and standpoints about the nature of war, peace, leadership, politics, ethics and the application of force."

The college is among the most ambitious in the world. Classes typically have 200 students, with 21 classes graduating since the college's founding. The students rank from lieutenant colonel to brigadier general and come from the army, navy and air force. Civilians from government

Thirteen foreign military officers were among the 128 graduates of the 2011 class at the National Defence College in Kenya.

agencies also are included. Graduates are awarded master's degrees.

Like most of Africa's war colleges, the NDC recruits students from other countries. Typically, 8 percent to 10 percent of students are from other nations.

The war college encourages the open exchange of ideas. It has adopted what it calls "Rotunda Rules," a policy of nonattribution in the school's auditorium, where students and staff members can express personal views frankly, "but privately to a privileged audience."

The school's objectives include:
- Teaching command functions with a clear understanding of geographical considerations affecting Nigeria, Africa and the rest of the world.
- Understanding the elements of national power and the building of a national strategy.
- Training for joint and multinational operations.
- Within a democratic framework, managing defense interests within the broader national interests.
- Advanced academic research at the national level.
- Making policy recommendations on specific national and international issues.

NIGERIA'S MILITARY 'THINK TANK'

The NDC also includes the Center for Strategic Research and Studies, which dates to 1996. It was founded on the premise that a full, sustainable peace requires the study and understanding of violence and wars, and how best to prevent and resolve them.

The center has been structured to strengthen the academic program of the NDC and continue to make it relevant to modern developments in peacekeeping and international security. As the research component

of the NDC, its functions include supporting the NDC in research, documentation and publication of research findings. It serves as a "think tank" for the college, the three service branches, and the nation in the areas of defense, security and military science.

The center is charged with monitoring events and developments around the world, which can affect Nigeria and Africa. It also collaborates with regional and continental organizations, including the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States, the Southern Africa Development Community and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development.

The center also raises money for research, and provides internships and fellowships for visiting scholars. The center's duties have been divided among four departments:

The Department of Area and Regional Studies provides information to Nigeria's policymakers on any area or region of the world.

The Department of Conflict, Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Studies conducts research and training on conflict, peace support operations and humanitarian challenges in Nigeria and Africa. It collaborates with other organizations, including the African Union, in capacity building for strategic peacekeeping training.

The Department of Governance and Public Policy is the "good government" component. It focuses on research on the rule of law, constitutional governance, transparency and accountability, human rights, elections, political policies, and other areas of democracy.

The Department of Defense and Security Studies focuses on sustainable security development and the challenges of globalization.

Flags from all over Africa are displayed during the 2013 graduation ceremony at the National Defence College in Kenya.

A ONE-YEAR COMMITMENT

Africa's staff colleges have another mission: bringing together future military leaders from multiple countries. That's a significant commitment, considering that the senior officers' courses usually last about a year. The National Defence College in Kenya is typical: Its graduating class in May 2014 had 41 students representing 15 countries. Graduates have included Kenya Defence Forces officers, Kenyan senior civil servants, and more than 100 foreign military officers and civilians, with recent courses encouraging the participation of women.

Uganda's Senior Command and Staff College 2012 graduating class of 43 students included 12 representatives from five other countries in the region. In South Africa, the South African National War College emphasizes participation with officers from the Southern African Development Community's military.

The war colleges also generally include civilian students. Tanzania's National Defence College graduated its first class of 20 students in July 2013, and its student makeup was typical of such colleges: Of the 20 graduates, eight were from the military, with the ranks of brigadier general and colonel, and the remaining students were from various government departments, with a rank of director or its equivalent. The school has a 10-year strategy to develop capacity toward self-sufficiency in teaching, administration and facilities to handle up to 100 participants.

The staffs of the war colleges are every bit as diverse as their student populations. The instructors at Tanzania's first graduating class included government ministers, university professors, senior officers with defense and civil services, and leading industrialists. Some were from other countries.

Foreign travel can be a part of the training at the war colleges. Tanzania's National Defence College, for example, has sent students to Japan to meet with defense specialists there. In 2013, the school sent delegations to Liberia, Morocco, Rwanda and Uganda.

Flexibility has become a hallmark of staff colleges throughout the world, and Africa's colleges are no exception. They change their curriculum to adapt to world events. Nigeria's staff colleges, for example, announced in June 2014 that they were beginning a nationwide training program for officers and enlisted Soldiers on tactics for dealing with the extremist group Boko Haram. Officials said that they had begun a "practical exercise in maneuvering war gaming" for students in one course with a view to combating insurgency.

Such war games are a specialty of the South African National War College. Its "flagship" program is its annual Combined Joint African Exercises (CJAX), conducted with the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) military. Officials say the classroom-based exercise could be linked to the African Union's planned African Standby Force in the future.

CJAX, conceived in 2007, is modeled after the Combined Joint European Exercise directed by NATO. CJAX is to develop a greater understanding of the joint, multinational and interagency environment among SADC countries. It promotes a better understanding of the challenges involved in planning and coordinating complex multinational peace support operations. ❑

The commandant and faculty members from Kenya's National Defence College join with a delegation from the Korean Defence Academy in 2013.

THE ARMY OF
ANGER
&
HATE

UNDER PRESSURE, BOKO HARAM IS CHANGING ITS TACTICS

ADF STAFF

In a neighborhood of mud-brick buildings in Diffa, Niger, young men say there is one opportunity for work that is always lurking in the shadows. The job offers come from recruiters for the terror group Boko Haram, who approach teens with offers of cash and a way out.

In a 2014 interview with the BBC, recruits in Niger said they are paid as much as 500,000 Nigerian Naira (about $3,000) to join the group. If they are willing to follow the recruiter back to Nigeria, they are sometimes given Tramol, an opiate, or other narcotics and promised more money if they set roadside bombs. Those who stay in Niger are paid for information about troop movements and told to break into homes to steal money and other supplies.

The young Nigeriens said they don't join for ideological reasons — it's simply about money. "We have no jobs; some of us are still at high school, but we need money. Violence has become a form of work for us," said one teen.

Niger isn't the only country where Boko Haram is recruiting. The group has tried to make inroads in Chad, Cameroon, as well as Benin and Senegal. Analysts point to a willingness to cross borders as evidence of the group's aspirations to become a regional threat.

Viewed for years by outsiders as a northern Nigerian phenomenon, Boko Haram has never fit neatly into that box. The group's second in command, Mamman Nur, the alleged mastermind of a 2011 attack on the United Nations headquarters in Abuja, is originally from Cameroon. Boko Haram's ideological leader, Abubakar Shekau, was born in Niger, according to some media reports. Before 2013, Boko Haram was said to have connections in northern Mali with al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb and may have operated a training base near Gao. The group has claimed that some of its members train as far away as Somalia.

"There is also a thin line between these groups and a well-known international terrorist network," said Nigeria's National Security Advisor Mohammed Sambo Dasuki. "Game-changing incidents and sophistication of the emerging terrorist groups has thrown up greater challenges to security and intelligence agencies across the region."

In response, the nations of the region are joining forces. In March 2014, the nations of the Lake Chad Basin Commission agreed to expand the scope of the Multinational Joint Task Force to patrol the borders of Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria. The task force was created in 1998 to curb banditry and protect cross-border trade, but its mandate was expanded to include counterterror activities. The task force has its headquarters in Baga in Nigeria's Borno State.

Cameroon, which historically has had strained relations with Nigeria over border issues, has moved hundreds of its elite Bataillon d'Intervention Rapide Soldiers (BIR) to the northern border with Nigeria. The BIR now has an agreement with Nigeria allowing it to pursue criminals across the border for up to 8 kilometers, the International Crisis Group reported. Under a 2012 agreement, Soldiers from Nigeria and Niger are conducting mixed patrols along the stretch of border between Gaya, Nigeria and Diffa.

A wanted poster offers a reward for Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau.

"We share 1,500 kilometers of a common border," said Niger's President Mahamadou Issoufou. "On either side of this border are the same population groups and the same cultures. Globally, in Nigeria just as in Niger, they practice a moderate Islam. Those who are tempted by terrorism are in the minority."

Although Chad has not suffered a significant attack from Boko Haram, Brig. Gen. Madjior Solness Dingamadji, advisor to Chad's chief of defense staff, said security forces are on alert for incursions into the country, particularly from across the Cameroonian border and on the waters of Lake Chad.

To combat this threat, Chad has installed computerized controls at each of the posts bordering Cameroon, doubled searches of the people and vehicles crossing the border, and organized regular boat patrols on Lake Chad and its islands.

Still, Dingamadji said he is under no illusion that his country is immune from the threat. "The four countries bordering Nigeria are all, whether from near or far, under the threat of Boko Haram," he told *ADF*. "In Chad we fear an infiltration and an attack from Boko Haram because the elements linked to the Islamist sect could be present in a residual manner in Chad. Some are Chadians living in the communities every day, others could enter illegally, and that doesn't include the thousands of Nigerian refugees dispersed across the Lake Chad region."

During a May meeting in Paris to discuss the Boko Haram threat, regional leaders agreed on an action plan that includes heightened border surveillance,

the rage and contempt of most of the rest of the world in April 2014 with the kidnapping of 276 teenage girls. Boko Haram said the girls would be sold into slavery or as child brides for as little as $12 apiece.

Boko Haram's sworn enemy is Western civilization — its very name means "Western education is forbidden." The group wants part of northern Nigeria to be an Islamic state, but to say Boko Haram is a Muslim organization does a disservice to Muslims. Boko Haram rejects all Western thought, including science, secular education and democratic elections. Boko Haram's followers do not wear Western-style shirts or pants.

The sect may have originated as early as 1995. What is certain is that Mohammed Yusuf started, or at least took over, Boko Haram in Maiduguri, in northeastern Nigeria, in 2002. The official name at the time was Congregation of the People of Tradition for Proselytism and Jihad. Yusuf organized a complex that included an Islamic school and a mosque, but he was not interested

A Boko Haram attack in Kano, Nigeria, in March 2013 left the charred remains of buses.

Boko Haram attacked this student hostel in Yobe State in northeastern Nigeria in August 2013, killing dozens of students and a teacher.

sharing intelligence and a readiness to intervene. Cameroonian President Paul Biya spoke for the group when he said they were gathered there to "declare war" on Boko Haram.

Dingamadji said the countries bordering Nigeria have already stepped up the fight. "To better contain the problem, the countries bordering the Lake Chad Basin have begun the exchanges of intelligence and information across their special services," he said. "Equally, they have installed electronic border control systems, and joint patrols will be reinforced all along the borders between these countries and with Nigeria."

ELEMENTS OF THE TALIBAN

Like the Taliban of Afghanistan, Boko Haram wants a government with a narrow, intolerant interpretation of Muslim law, and it believes in ethnic cleansing. Like the Taliban, Boko Haram has no respect for women and treats them brutally. In fact, some people refer to the group as the "Nigerian Taliban." The group drew

in education, and the school soon became a recruitment center for extremists.

Yusuf was regarded as the spiritual descendant of Mohammed Marwa, also known as Maitatsine. Like Yusuf, Maitatsine preached an austere brand of Islam, rejecting all things Western, including radios, watches and bicycles. He called for war against virtually every facet of Nigerian society and government and declared himself to be a prophet.

Like Maitatsine, Yusuf rejected Western culture, including science. In a 2009 interview with the BBC, Yusuf referred to rain as "a creation of God rather than an evaporation caused by the sun that condenses and becomes rain."

"Like saying the world is a sphere," he added. "If it runs contrary to the teachings of Allah, we reject it. We also reject the theory of Darwinism."

The first known act of violence by the sect was on December 24, 2003, when it attacked police stations and other public buildings in two towns in Yobe

BOKO HARAM ATTACKS

Boko Haram's reign of terror in northern Nigeria has killed thousands and made the sect the biggest threat to security in Africa's top oil producer.

Locations of Attacks
January 2011 through May 2014. Each dot on the map represents an attack with fatalities. Darker color represents multiple attacks in the same area.
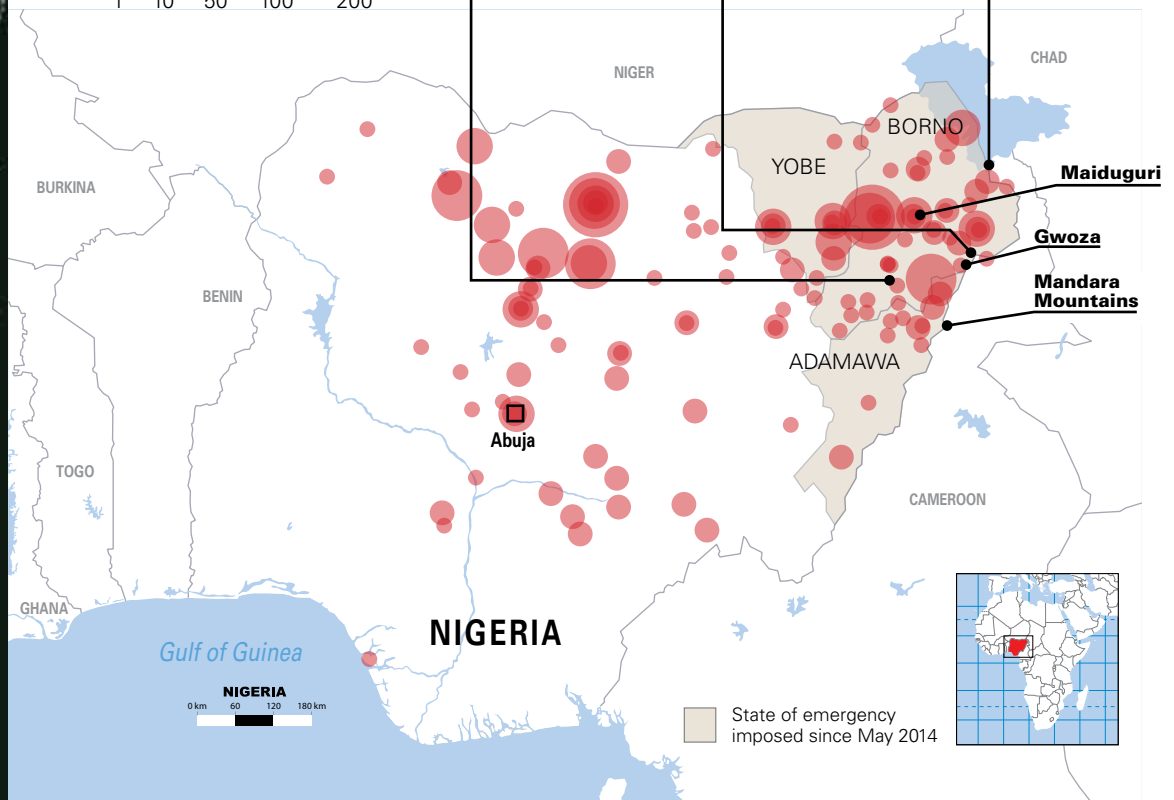
1   10   50   100   200
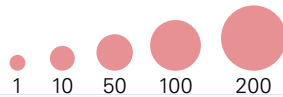
Chibok
Boko Haram insurgents abduct more than 200 schoolgirls in April 2014.

Warabe
Suspected Boko Haram gunmen kidnap eight girls in May 2014.

Gamburu
Suspected Boko Haram gunmen attack the market town in May 2014, killing 300 people.

NIGER

CHAD

BURKINA

BORNO

YOBE

Maiduguri

Gwoza

Mandara Mountains

BENIN

ADAMAWA

TOGO

Abuja

CAMEROON

GHANA

Gulf of Guinea

NIGERIA

NIGERIA
0 km   60   120   180 km

State of emergency imposed since May 2014

DAILY FATALITIES JANUARY 2011 THROUGH APRIL 2014

January 20, 2012
A series of bomb attacks rock Kano; the death toll hits 185.

Mid-May 2013
Boko Haram pulls back after army assaults on its bases and now shelters in the Mandar mountains.

200

150

100

50

0

2011   2012   2013   2014
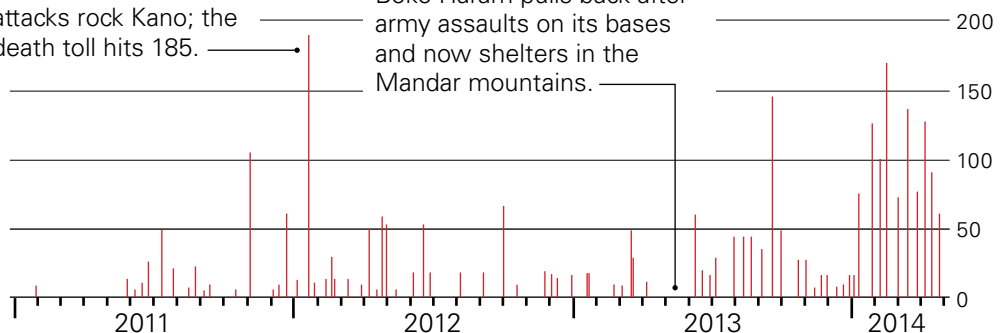
Sources: ACLED (Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset), Clionadh Raleigh, Andrew Linke, Havard Hegre and Joakim Karisen; Reuters

State. Less than a year later, it attacked more police stations, killing police officers and stealing weapons.

The Nigerian government cracked down on the group in 2009 so effectively that many believed it had been eliminated. Eight hundred people were killed, including Yusuf. But the crackdown had the reverse effect; the group went on a murderous rampage that continues to this day. When countries all over the world expressed outrage over the April 2014 kidnappings of the teenage girls, Boko Haram responded weeks later by attacking a farmers' market and slaughtering more than 300 people. Some were burned alive.

THE 'CITY OF FEAR'

Maiduguri is the capital and the largest city of Borno State in northeastern Nigeria. It has a population of more than 1 million and has historically been called the "Home of Peace." It is now also known as the "City of Fear" because of regular attacks by Boko Haram followers. Among Boko Haram's defining tactics is the use of gunmen on motorcycles, killing anyone who opposes the group, including Muslim clerics. Boko Haram gunmen are so closely identified with motorcycles that Maiduguri has issued 24-hour bans on them on occasion, despite the fact that they are the primary means of transportation there.

In December 2013, hundreds of Boko Haram militants attacked several areas of the city, forcing government officials to temporarily impose a dusk-to-dawn curfew. But the attacks never really stopped, and as of June 2014, small groups of Boko Haram militants were regularly attacking parts of the city and surrounding villages.

The village attacks were typical of Boko Haram's tactics: Display overwhelming force, kill people and burn down everything. Boko Haram specifically targets schools, churches, police stations and hospitals, as well as Nigerian Soldiers, police and politicians.

A WAR ON EDUCATION

The education system in northern Nigeria lags behind the rest of the nation. In Borno State, the epicenter of Boko Haram activity, only 52 percent of school-age children are enrolled in school. In an effort to reverse this, in 2013 the government announced an initiative to build more schools and get more children into classrooms. Boko Haram, however, is working in the other direction, by burning down schools. The *DailyPost* of Nigeria reported in January 2014 that Boko Haram was specifically targeting schoolteachers for murder as part of a crusade against secular education.

The attacks are based on a twisted misinterpretation of the Islamic law which, Boko Haram loyalists believe, makes schoolchildren *kafir*, or unbelievers, and legitimate targets for attack.

Boko Haram is thorough when it burns a school, using sufficient petrol to destroy the building and everything in it, including desks and blackboards. Although exact figures are elusive, Amnesty International reported in 2013 that in the course of about 20 months, the terror group had killed at least 70 teachers and more than 100 students. At least 50 schools had been destroyed or damaged, and 60 more had been forced to close. Amnesty International said the casualty figures probably were "significantly understated."

The Borno State government has a policy of rebuilding schools that have been burned down, even though the terrorist group is likely to return and burn them again.

"Imagine, each time government spends huge money renovating burnt schools or rebuilding them, the insurgents would return and destroy them again," Borno State Commissioner for Education Inuwa Kubo told the *DailyPost*. "It is quite frustrating. It is the same insecurity that is affecting attendance of students."

There seems to be no limit to the cruelty Boko Haram is willing to inflict. The BBC said in September 2013 that the group murdered 50 students as they slept in their dormitory at an agriculture college. The bodies had to be stacked in vans for removal.

A NEW TARGET

Boko Haram has attacked virtually every sector of Nigerian life, including media outlets. Dr. Freedom Onuoha of the National Defence College in Nigeria predicted in a 2013 study that Boko Haram, like other extremist groups in other parts of the world, would step up its attacks on telecommunications infrastructure, a tactic he labeled "cell wars." He compared Boko Haram's attacks in Nigeria to the Taliban's attacks in Afghanistan, where they have begun blowing up cellphone towers and trying to extort cellphone companies. In 20 days in Afghanistan, Taliban raiders destroyed or damaged about 30 cellphone towers.

A woman holds a sign during a protest in Lagos in May 2014 demanding the release of 276 abducted secondary school girls from the remote village of Chibok.

Hajja,
19, was
kidnapped by
Boko Haram
in 2013.
She later
escaped.

Cellphone use in Nigeria has skyrocketed in recent years, with an estimated 150 million subscribers and 20,000 cellphone towers. In 2011, Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan announced plans to make telecommunications operators dedicate toll-free emergency lines to the public to improve intelligence-gathering on the sect. Boko Haram responded with a threat to retaliate.

In September 2012, Onuoha said, Boko Haram began a two-day attack on cellphone towers in five cities in northern Nigeria. The group has since attacked other facilities.

"Attacks on telecom facilities add a new dimension to the pre-existing security challenges, as entire base stations are destroyed by (homemade bombs), suicide bombers and other incendiary devices," Onuoha wrote. He said that Boko Haram damaged 150 cell towers in northern Nigeria in 2012 alone. These attacks came at a tremendous price; the average cost of a Nigerian cellphone base tower is $250,000. Onuoha noted that the sect also targets the staffs of cellphone facilities.

"With several telecom facilities scattered in isolated areas in Nigeria, Boko Haram can always attack and destroy them at ease," concluded Onuoha.

Despite Boko Haram's supposed disdain for technology, it has not limited its attacks to bombs and murders. In August 2012, a computer operator hacked the personnel records of Nigeria's secret service. The hacker said the breach was in the name of Boko Haram and revealed the names, addresses, bank information and family members of the agency's past and present members.

"The attack would not have tremendous significance in and of itself," wrote Denise N. Baken of the University of Maryland University College. "However, it represents a substantial shift in tactics for a group whose name connotes an anti-Western stance." She said that, given Boko Haram's close ties to al-Qaida and al-Qaida's own cyber attacks dating to 1996, Boko Haram's continued use of Internet hacks is "almost inevitable."

HOW TO STOP THEM

Osumah Oarhe, a lecturer at Ambrose Alli University in Ekpoma, Nigeria, said intelligence-gathering will have to improve and include working with neighboring countries. He said Nigeria's intelligence community and its military will need to cooperate more to stop Boko Haram.

Nigeria will have to manage its borders better to stop the flow of "illegal arms, illegal immigrants, criminals and contrabands." And, he said, "The defense and intelligence establishments need to muster the courage to confront the political elites allegedly behind the sect."

Onuoha agreed, telling *ADF* the measures to stop Boko Haram must include "targeting politicians who are known to provide support or sponsorship to the group."

"I think that ultimately the Boko Haram undoing will lie on its growing indiscriminate attack on defenseless local residents," he said. "As more and more Northerners realize that the sect's objective of Islamizing Nigeria is untenable, coupled with growing anger over continued killing of innocent persons by the sect, it will lose whatever is available in the form of sympathy to its cause. The Nigeria government can quickly end the insurgency if it pays less attention to the foot soldiers meandering in remote border communities and forest areas of northern Nigeria, but greater attention on powerful individuals believed to be behind the sect."

Onuoha said stopping Boko Haram will require that Nigeria dismantle the "tripod of terrorist sustainability" — ideology, recruitment and funding.

"In a sense, government must undertake a comprehensive approach that deconstructs the appeal of Boko Haram ideology, deny it opportunities for recruitment and radicalization, and cut off its financial lifeline."

One Nigerian security official described the frustration of trying to catch them.

"It's the toothpaste effect: Squeeze one end and it comes out the other," he said. "They have proven resilient and are adapting faster than the military." ❑

Kenyan **CONQUERS**
London Marathon — Again

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Wilson Kipsang won the London Marathon for the second time on April 13, 2014, producing a course record. He managed to hold off a strong field despite arriving late in the British capital after his passport was stolen.

The 32-year-old Kenyan completed the 42.2-kilometer route in two hours, four minutes, 29 seconds — 11 seconds inside the previous fastest run in London by Kenyan Emmanuel Mutai in 2011.

"I was really feeling good, and I controlled the guys," said Kipsang, who also won in 2012.

Kenyan compatriot Stanley Biwott was 26 seconds adrift in second, and deposed London champion Tsegaye Kebede was just over two minutes behind Kipsang in third, but it was a disappointing full marathon debut for Mo Farah.

In a city bathed in sunshine, Londoners came out to cheer the home favorite only to see him finish eighth, almost four minutes behind Kipsang. But despite failing to match his track feats in the city in 2012, when he won the 5,000- and 10,000-meter titles at the Olympics, Farah will return for another shot at the marathon.

"I'm not going to finish it like this," Farah said. "I'll be back. It's a matter of experience and learning."

Before Kipsang's dominating performance, there was a sprint finish in the women's race in front of Buckingham Palace, and two-time world champion Edna Kiplagat of Kenya won on her fourth attempt.

REUTERS

Nigerian Poet Wins $100,000 Prize
AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Headlines portray the Sahara as a barren desert that claims the lives of many migrants. But Nigerian poet Tade Ipadeola had a different story to tell — and it was worth $100,000.

Ipadeola's *The Sahara Testaments* won the most lucrative writing award in Africa, the Nigeria Prize for Literature, for his account of the history and culture of the world's largest desert.

He said the Sahara's true richness has been distorted and overlooked. "I wanted to show that it is not just a barren wasteland," the 43-year-old poet said. "The Sahara was the prime location for some of the greatest literature in the world."

The Sahara Testaments touches on the desert's history, the impact of climate change, personal stories, and some political criticism and satire. Ipadeola targets the energy companies that he says have permanently disrupted life for the region's indigenous people. Despite his harsh criticism of the oil and gas sector, he applauded

the sponsor of the Nigeria prize, Nigeria Liquified and Natural Gas, for giving him the honor above the 200 other applicants.

Ipadeola, who trained as a lawyer, said he began work on *The Sahara Testaments* eight years earlier. He tried to write in the afternoons and evenings after spending the days practicing law in the southwestern Nigerian city of Ibadan. Having realized that he would never finish the collection as long as he was working in law, he cashed in his savings and set out to explore the desert.

He went from Mauritania to Egypt, staying with friends and acquaintances, meeting everyone he could, from Tuaregs in northern Mali to market traders in Egypt. His research was hampered by the Arab Spring revolts, which swept across the region from Tunisia in December 2010, making some places too dangerous to visit. "I couldn't touch Libya at all," Ipadeola said, referring to the 2011-2012 civil war that toppled the country's leader, Moammar Gadhafi.

Even though his work focused on the rich life of the Sahara, he

Town in Benin Hosts

CONTEMPORARY ART MUSEUM

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Until 2013, the only tourist attraction in the Benin town of Ouidah was a massive monument to the area's bleak history as a slave trading hub. Now the town is the home to something entirely different — the first Sub-Saharan Africa museum dedicated to contemporary African art.

The Zinsou museum, in an ornate 92-year-old villa, has attracted 13,000 visitors since its launch in November 2013 — an impressive tally for an out-of-the-way town in the sparsely visited nation of Benin.

The reputation — and monetary value — of contemporary African art has steadily risen in recent years. Curators and collectors from North America and Europe frequently fly to artistic hubs like Lagos, Nigeria, seeking new talent and new work by established names.

The Zinsou Foundation opened in 2005 at a building in Benin's largest city of Cotonou, where access was free to view African and foreign art. The foundation attracted 4 million visitors in eight years, mostly students 15 and younger.

As it became more established, the Zinsou Foundation began acquiring a diverse collection of contemporary African art with the goal of opening a permanent museum.

The Villa Ajavon, an expansive cream-colored home built in 1922 by a Togolese trader, drew the foundation to Ouidah, a town of 60,000 people 40 kilometers from Cotonou.

The slave trade monument in Ouidah is a huge archway with two long lines of naked, chained men in bas-relief along the top, suggesting the group is being marched into the Atlantic Ocean.

Hundreds of thousands of Africans were believed to have been condemned to slavery from the beach below the archway. The Villa Ajavon in a sense defies that history, having been built by the descendants of slaves who returned from the Brazilian city of Bahia in a style influenced by Brazilian and African architecture, the foundation said.

Although the villa needed to be renovated to host a museum, the priority was to preserve its original structure. Air conditioning in the main hall was therefore forbidden so as to not disfigure the exterior. Those who want to see the museum's collection must be prepared to sweat.

Air circulates through sunlight corridors where the works of leading African artists are on display.

nonetheless hoped that *The Sahara Testaments* would raise awareness about the unsustainable flow of Africans into Europe. "Europe cannot contain the influx," he said. "Europeans are becoming increasingly xenophobic. It is a really explosive mix."

He blamed a "failure of African leadership" for the heartbreaking accounts of migrants perishing, chastising politicians who have failed to provide opportunities for their people and failed to stop them from embarking on borderline suicidal journeys. "The bulk of those who leave are oblivious to the dangers of trying to cross that amount of distance in one of the hottest places on earth."

Nigerian poet Tade Ipadeola, winner of the prestigious Nigeria Prize for Literature, holds up his trophy during a ceremony in Lagos on March 6, 2014. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

U.S Promises to Support Nigeria's Investment Push

ADF STAFF

Nigeria and the United States have pledged to become more involved as economic partners in the coming years, officials said at a March 2014 meeting in Washington.

The goal is to raise the level of American foreign development investment in Nigeria to $8 billion annually, up from $5.4 billion in 2012, the *Vanguard* of Nigeria reported.

Ade Adefuye, the Nigerian ambassador to the United States, said the two countries also are working to combat the extremist group Boko Haram, which continues to terrorize parts of northeast Nigeria.

Adefuye said the Nigerian Embassy is courting foreign investors in the country's infrastructure, as well as its agriculture, power, communication and aviation sectors. Getting more foreign investment is part of the country's Vision 2020 program, which aims to make Nigeria one of the world's top 20 economies by 2020.

"We want to diversify our economy to the non-oil sectors in order to ensure that the country achieves its objectives as regards Vision 2020," Adefuye said.

Twelve northern state governors and a deputy governor also attended the meeting at the White House. The meeting was organized by the U.S. government, through the

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Nigeria's ambassador to the United States Ade Adefuye speaks to U.S. Under Secretary for Political Affairs Wendy Sherman at a meeting in Abuja, Nigeria in 2013.

U.S. Institute of Peace, to explore how the United States can work with state governments in northern Nigeria to address the Boko Haram insurgency and socio-economic underdevelopment in the region.

U.S. National Security Advisor Susan E. Rice attended the meeting and drew special attention to the importance of Nigeria's 2015 elections, the role that governors can play in countering corruption, and how the U.S. remains committed to partnering with Nigeria to address shared challenges, the White House reported.

AFRICAN SUSHI A HIT IN JAPAN

REUTERS

The idea of Japanese consumers eating sushi exported from a tiny African country with no coastline may sound improbable, but the kingdom of Lesotho is pulling it off.

Hatched in the boardroom of South African bullion producer Gold Fields, a project called Highlands Trout is now exporting 2,000 metric tons of rainbow trout a year, mainly to Japanese supermarket chain CGC.

"Made-in-Africa sushi" is a new twist in the African/Asian trade story, offering hope that a poor, landlocked country can tap its natural resources to produce and export a high-value product to discerning consumers.

It also highlights the limits of global trade because the jobs created in rural Lesotho, although welcome, cannot compensate for the loss of jobs for migrant labor in South Africa's mines, long the mainstay of Lesotho's economy.

Mountainous Lesotho, encircled by South Africa, supplies water to its bigger neighbor.

Highlands Trout, which has been exporting to Japan since 2012, hopes to expand its annual output of 2,000 metric tons as Lesotho's trout-handling capacity reaches an expected 10,000 metric tons a year.

By way of contrast, South Africa, with its extensive coastline along two oceans, has an aquaculture industry that produces about 4,000 to 4,500 metric tons per year.

At Highlands Trout, the fish are raised in floating cages and fed with special pellets imported from France. Grown to an optimal size of 2.5 to 2.8 kilograms, the fish are essentially "fresh frozen." They are put in a blast freezer within an hour of being scooped from the water and cleaned. Then they start a monthlong journey to Japan.

In another improbable twist to the tale, this rainbow trout is native to the Pacific Rim of North America and Russia, far closer to Japan than the highlands of Lesotho.

The species' adaptability makes it the ideal farmed trout, and it has been introduced to at least 45 countries and every continent except Antarctica.

Watson Supercomputer Comes to Africa

IBM is rolling out its Watson supercomputer system across Africa, saying it will help address continental development obstacles as diverse as medical diagnoses, economic data collection and e-commerce research.

The world's biggest technology service provider, IBM said "Project Lucy" will take 10 years and cost $100 million. The undertaking was named after the earliest known human ancestor fossil, which was found in East Africa.

"I believe it will spur a whole era of innovation for entrepreneurs here," IBM Chief Executive Officer Ginni Rometty told delegates at a conference in February 2014.

As an example, Rometty described how Morocco has used sophisticated data mining for "smart agriculture" to improve how crops are grown by predicting weather, demand and disease outbreaks.

The Watson system uses artificial intelligence that can quickly analyze huge amounts of data and understand human language well enough to hold sophisticated conversations. It beat humans on the television quiz show *Jeopardy!* in 2011.

The technology will enable poorer parts of Africa to leapfrog stages of development they have failed to reach, in much the same way mobile phones took off across the continent in places where there had been no landlines, said Michel Bézy, a Rwanda-based technology professor who helped develop the system.

It could help with education in schools that have few computer resources by using smartphone apps that get access to Watson's analytical tools through cloud computing, said IBM research scientist Uyi Stewart.

"This is a continent with a tremendous infrastructural deficit, but leveraging data can help you get around it," Stewart said.

LIBERIA'S Improved Ports Boost International Trade

A revamp of Liberia's four seaports is pointing the way to an economic transformation that aims to put the ravages of this West African nation's civil wars behind it.

A decade after the end of the hostilities, mineral-rich Liberia is seeing an expansion of its industrial and manufacturing sectors on the back of economic growth that hit 8.9 percent in 2012.

The transformation began in 2009, when the government took on Matilda Parker, a U.S.-educated private-sector management specialist, to become what remains the world's only female port authority head. Her task was to turn around the fortunes of the underperforming, inefficient Freeport of Monrovia.

"When my administration took over, we had operational challenges. Equipment was down, and we even had a nightclub in the port, so people could just enter at will and drink," she said. "We had little or no security, none of the ports had reached international standards, and we had administrative challenges when it came to accountability for revenue [and] for expenses."

Parker, with 25 years' experience in the private and charity sectors, focused on making sure that the Freeport of Monrovia and the Port of Buchanan, which handles mostly exports 270 kilometers southeast, were secure.

She replaced bookkeeping on scraps of paper with modern accounting software that tracks expenses and revenue and allows for proper financial planning. Among Monrovia's many milestones was a "One-Stop Shop," established in 2011 to group all the bureaucracy in one place at the port to speed up shipping.

The ports are vital to Liberia's economy. Ships began exporting palm oil from Liberia about 1850, but it was almost another century before the United States military built the Freeport of Monrovia, a 30-hectare artificial harbor designed to ensure the flow of rubber exports for use in wartime materials.

A revamp of Liberia's four major seaports, including the Freeport of Monrovia, is fueling economic growth.
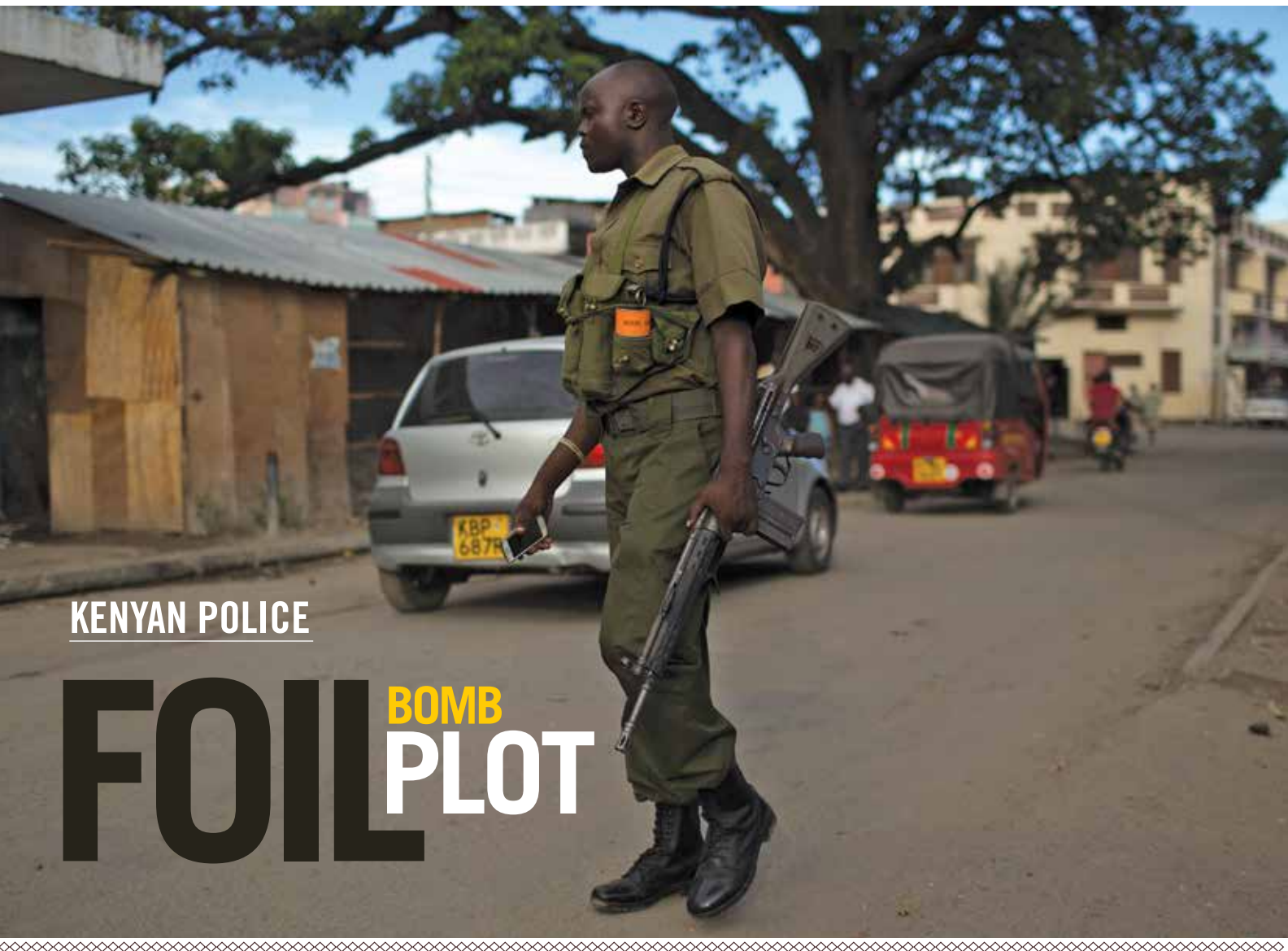
KENYAN POLICE
FOIL BOMB PLOT

A police officer patrols a street in Mombasa, Kenya, in April 2014.
REUTERS

Kenyan police arrested two men in March 2014 who were illegally driving a vehicle in Mombasa that was later discovered to be packed with explosives. "We have not established where the target was, but we have detained two terror suspects who were in the vehicle," said Henry Ondiek of the Mombasa Criminal Investigation Department, according to Agence France-Presse (AFP).

Police said two homemade bombs were found in the vehicle, along with a mobile phone that could have been used as a detonator. "We were tipped off that the two were headed for an attack on an unspecified place, and we laid an ambush and got them," Ondiek said.

Ondiek said that the car police seized had Somali plates and was in the country illegally. He said one of the suspects is a Somali national and the other a Somali-Kenyan. The vehicle was taken to Mombasa's main police station and placed under tight security, while police inspected a local garage where the vehicle may have been assembled, Ondiek said.

"At [first] glance, it is very difficult to know that it is laden with explosives," Ondiek said. "But bomb experts discovered that the explosives were hidden in the vehicle's engine." Mombasa County Commissioner Nelson Marwa told AFP that foreign special forces were part of the operation to stop the two men who had been preparing a "massive attack."

"The two were tracked from Somalia by both Kenyan and foreign forces," he said. Meanwhile, Uganda warned that al-Shabaab militants were planning to use fuel tankers as bombs. Uganda and Kenya are key troop contributors to the African Union Mission in Somalia, and al-Shabaab has carried out retaliatory attacks in both countries in the past.

"We have received credible information to the effect that al-Shabaab are planning to blow up fuel trucks in Kampala to cause extensive damage to people and property," Ugandan Police Chief Kale Kayihura said in a statement. "The public is asked to be very vigilant and help the police and report any suspicious movement or activity."

Countries in Lake Chad Region Create
JOINT TASK FORCE

The countries around Lake Chad in Central Africa say they are expanding a joint task force to combat arms trafficking, terrorism and cross-border attacks as regional tensions escalate.

The conflict in the Central African Republic (CAR) and the insurgency in northern Nigeria are having a regional impact, pushing refugees, weapons and violence into neighboring countries.

In response, defense and military chiefs from the six-member Lake Chad Basin Commission met in Cameroon and approved a multi-national military task force to act against militant threats. Cameroon Defense Minister Edgar Alain Mebe Ngo'o said the meeting was a sort of "shock therapy" to prompt Lake Chad Basin member states to address how best to tackle growing threats and security challenges.

Cameroon has been hit particularly hard by chaos in the CAR and Boko Haram attacks in northern Nigeria. Refugees from both countries have streamed into Cameroon.

Nigerian-born Sanusi Imran Abdullah, executive secretary for the Lake Chad Basin Commission, said the new task force's head-quarters will be in the town of Baga in Nigeria's Borno state — the home state of Boko Haram.

"Baga is the institution or the place that is fully prepared to accom-modate the headquarters," he said. "As you know, there are buildings there, there are infrastructures there, and there is no need to build a new place." Borno is one of three Nigerian states in which the govern-ment declared a state of emergency in May 2013 and has deployed thousands of troops in an effort to crush the Boko Haram insurgency.

Cameroon, Chad the CAR, Libya, Niger and Nigeria agreed that the initial mandate of the new task force will be to patrol the Lake Chad region, conduct military operations against arms dealers and suspected terrorists, and to facilitate free movement.

A Cameroonian Soldier stands on the banks of Lake Chad in Blangoua, Cameroon.
AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The Nigerian Navy raided this illegal oil refinery in the creeks of Bayelsa, Nigeria in 2013.
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Nigerian Navy Destroys Illegal Oil Refineries

The Nigerian Navy announced in March 2014 that it had destroyed 260 illegal oil refineries and burned 100,000 tons of contraband fuel to try to halt oil thefts that are bedeviling the economy of Africa's largest petroleum producer.

Commanding officer Capt. Musa Gemu said sailors of the NNS Delta destroyed the refineries in the Warri South-West area of the southern Delta region. The team also arrested five suspects.

Similar missions in the past have failed to slow the estimated daily thefts of 200,000 barrels of oil worth more than $20 million. Critics and analysts say most oil is stolen by politically connected criminal cartels and sold on the international market. The small-time criminals targeted in such attacks can reconstruct crudely built sites in days.

Shell Nigeria, the biggest operator, says it lost $1 billion to oil thefts in 2013.
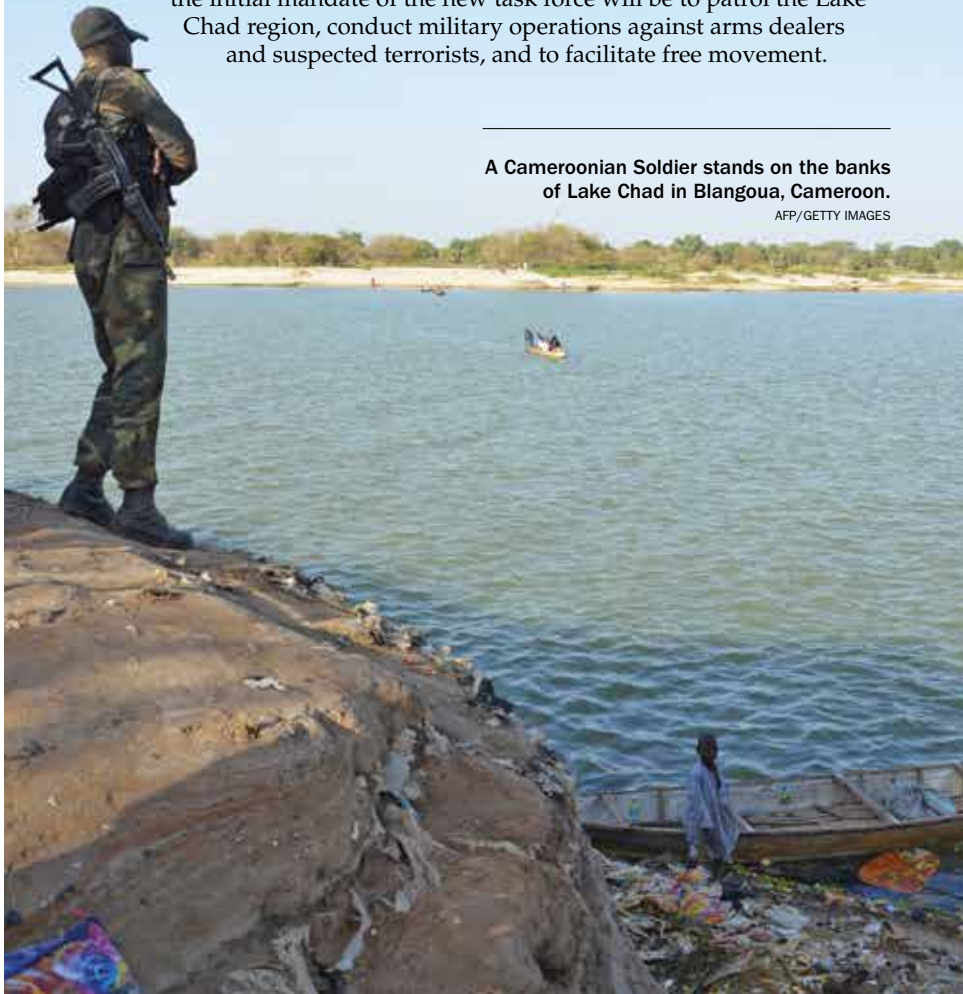
War-Scarred
CÔTE D'IVOIRE
REOPENS FOR BUSINESS

REUTERS

Côte d'Ivoire is re-emerging as the prime investment destination in West Africa after a decade of political turmoil, but President Alassane Ouattara must weed out corruption and promote reconciliation to keep cash flowing in.

Long considered the jewel in the crown of France's former West African territories, a 1999 coup destroyed the reputation of Côte d'Ivoire, the world's largest cocoa producer, as an island of stability in a troubled region. A bloody presidential election in 2000 and a rebellion two years later triggered an exodus of capital that undid decades of development, dubbed "the Ivorian Miracle."

With peace finally restored, French construction company Bouyges, oil companies such as Tullow and Lukoil, and South Africa's Standard Bank are among those flocking to invest.

"We lost half of our companies during that time," Trade Minister Jean-Louis Billon said. "The level of poverty increased from 10 percent to almost 50 percent. Now we want to move forward."

With Ouattara, a former International Monetary Fund official, at the helm, Côte d'Ivoire's $40 billion economy, comprising nearly half of West Africa's six-nation CFA currency bloc, embarked on a dramatic revival. It posted growth of more than 9 percent in 2012 and 2013, and the government is targeting double digits in 2014 as it seeks to make up ground on neighboring Ghana, a new oil exporter.

Large-scale infrastructure projects, shelved during a decade of political deadlock, are springing back to life. A motorway linking the port of Abidjan to the administrative capital Yamoussoukro opened in late 2013. Bouyges is pressing ahead with a long-delayed third bridge across Abidjan's lagoon to unlock congestion.

Heavy investment in electricity generation aims to boost output from 1,600 megawatts to 4,000 by 2020 as Côte d'Ivoire, already a power exporter, seeks to become a regional energy hub.

Donors also have thrown themselves behind Ouattara's reconstruction program. At a conference in Paris in December 2012, they pledged $8.6 billion — double the amount requested — to improve infrastructure under a 2013 to 2015 plan.

Côte d'Ivoire President Alassane Ouattara

REUTERS

ANGOLA GIVES $10 MILLION IN AID TO CAR

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Angola announced $10 million in aid for the strife-torn Central African Republic, with a possible credit line in the future, during a visit by the CAR's president in March 2014.

Joaquim do Espirito Santo, Africa director in the Angolan Foreign Affairs Ministry, said the aid was to support the transitional government and to respond to the ongoing humanitarian crisis. "There may be negotiations for an agreement opening a line of credit," he said.

Making an official two-day visit to Luanda, Angola, CAR Interim President Catherine Samba-Panza said there were "still peaks of violence" but that the general situation was beginning to come under control.

Women and children wait in line in the Begoua district, northeast of Bangui, in the Central African Republic to receive food and medicine in April 2014.
AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The CAR's needs are huge, and the country relies on the support of its "African brothers," she said. Earlier, United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon recommended deploying nearly 12,000 peacekeepers to re-establish order amid sectarian killings and chaos, which erupted after a March 2013 coup.

SIERRA LEONEAN *Peacemaker Dies at 82*

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, who as president was widely credited with returning peace to Sierra Leone after years of brutal civil war, died March 13, 2014, at his home in Freetown, the country's capital. He was 82.

Kabbah led Sierra Leone during and after an 11-year civil war in which 120,000 people were killed, many gruesomely. He was praised for instituting a disarmament program that led to the official end of the war in 2002, with the help of a United Nations peacekeeping force and British military trainers. But after the war, he was criticized for failing to lift his country out of poverty.

Born to a Muslim family in eastern Sierra Leone on February 16, 1932, Kabbah received a Christian education and joined the civil service in 1959. After the Sierra Leone People's Party, to which he belonged, was defeated in elections in 1968, he lost his job, and his property was confiscated. He moved to Britain, where he studied law and became a jurist.

In 1970, he joined the United Nations Development Programme, and for the next 22 years he worked in the United States and several African countries. In 1992, a year after the rebel Revolutionary United Front began a bloody insurrection, Kabbah quit the U.N. and was named president of a national council set up by a military junta to pave the way for a return to multiparty politics and draw up a new constitution.

Kabbah was elected president in March 1996, and he signed an accord the same year with the rebel leader Foday Sankoh. But in May 1997, he was overthrown in a coup and fled to Guinea. Sierra Leone's new junta allied itself with the Revolutionary United Front.

In February 1998, after fierce fighting, the troops of a West African regional force led by Nigeria chased the junta out of Freetown, paving the way for Kabbah's return.

In July 1999, Kabbah and Sankoh signed a peace accord and agreed to share power. About the same time, U.N. peacekeepers were dispatched to Sierra Leone. But in May 2000, the Revolutionary United Front reneged on its pledges by taking 500 peacekeepers hostage.

When the situation worsened, Britain sent troops to end the crisis. Sankoh was imprisoned, and Kabbah began a disarmament program that led to the official end of the war in January 2002. He stepped down in 2007.

MAURITANIAN CAPITAL CHOOSES
FIRST
Female Mayor

A former minister became Nouakchott's first female mayor in February 2014 after being voted in by councilors to head up the sprawling Mauritanian capital's local authority.

Maty Mint Hamady, 46, is an economics graduate from the University of Nouakchott and the Ecole Nationale d'Administration in Paris, one of Europe's most prestigious graduate schools.

A prominent member of the Union for the Republic, the ruling party of Mauritanian President Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz, she resigned as public services minister along with the rest of the cabinet, a routine step after national elections.

About 1 million people — almost a third of the population — live in Nouakchott, making the job one of the vast, West African desert nation's most high-profile political roles. Although many women have been elected to lead smaller councils across Mauritania, only men have occupied the top local government post in the capital.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Maty Mint Hamady became the first female mayor of Nouakchott, Mauritania, in February 2014.
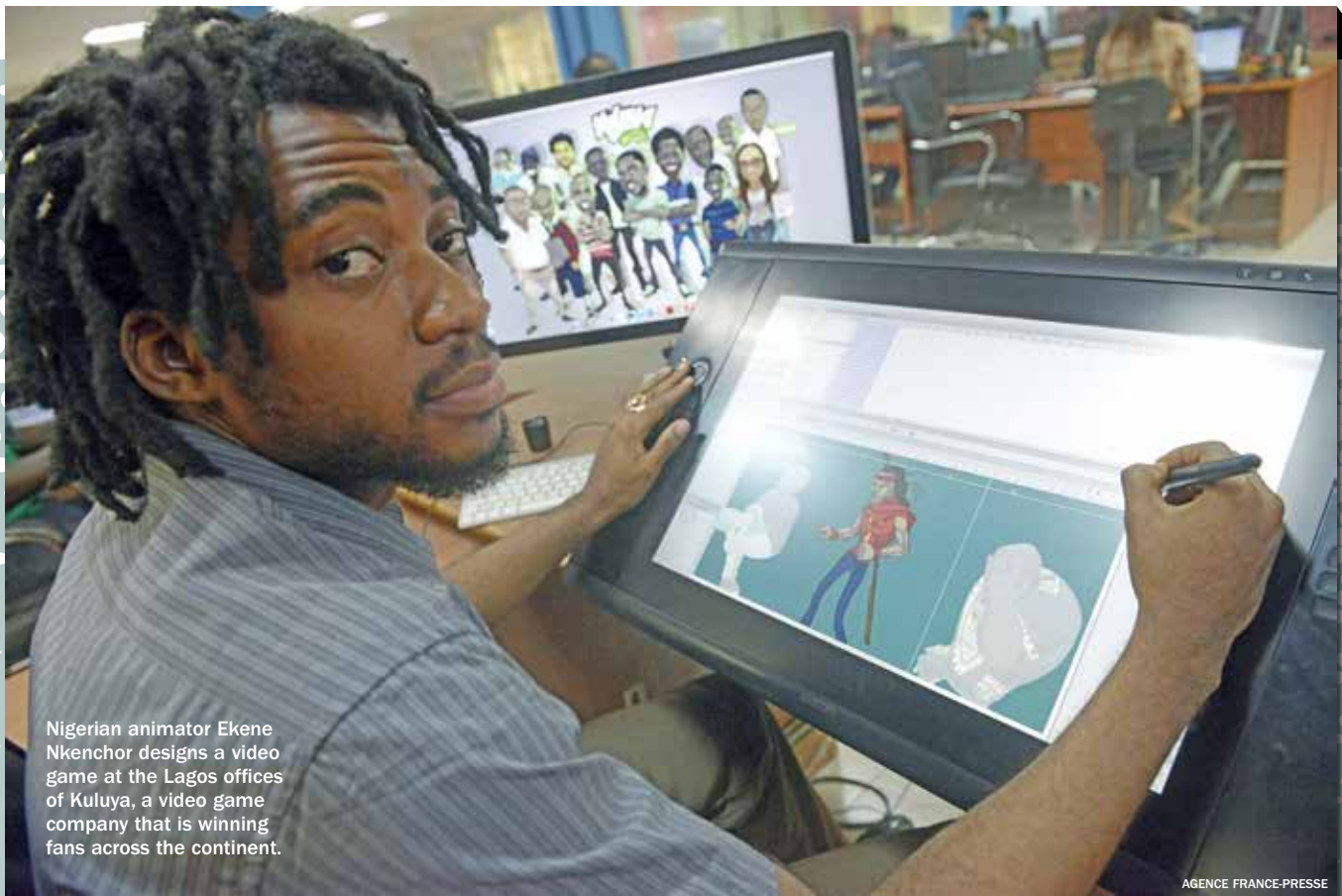
Nigerian animator Ekene Nkenchor designs a video game at the Lagos offices of Kuluya, a video game company that is winning fans across the continent.

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

NIGERIAN STARTUPS ENTER VIDEO GAME MARKET

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

It's a common challenge in Nigeria and across Africa: how to get rid of pesky mosquitoes whose buzzing disturbs sleep and whose bites can carry malaria and other diseases.

Two Nigerian startups have tapped this and other quirks of daily life in Africa to create online and mobile phone video games that are winning fans around the world.

It's easy to see why *Mosquito Smasher*, which has earned comparisons to the mobile app *Angry Birds*, might be a hit. The graphics are simple, the aim clear and the reward immediate: Users electronically squash as many of the blood-sucking parasites as possible under a thumb with a satisfying "splat!"

Another, the highly popular *Okada Ride*, has players guide a motorcycle-taxi driver around roadside street vendors, roadblocks and police in the notorious traffic of Lagos, a sprawling metropolis of nearly 20 million people. "What I like about Nigerian video games,

it's one: the local content, because it tends to give you that everyday feel," said fan Chucks Olloh, 32.

The worldwide video gaming industry, worth more than $63 billion in 2012, is expected to reach nearly $87 billion in 2017, PricewaterhouseCoopers said in a recent study.

Although the African market has not figured prominently on game developers' radar, the founders of Maliyo — the makers of *Mosquito Smasher* and *Okada Ride* — are hoping to change that.

Another company, Kuluya, which means "action" in the Igbo language of southern Nigeria, already has created 70 games.

It was hoping to reach 1 million mobile telephone users by the end of June 2014 and has fans well beyond Nigeria. "In Africa, we have a lot of downloads from Ghana, Kenya and South Africa," said Lakunle Ogungbamila, who runs Kuluya.

"There was a particular game that a lot of people downloaded in Ethiopia; I'm not sure why. It's called *Ma Hauchi*: It's a hunter who is shooting vultures. A very simple game. ... Also, we get a lot of downloads from China, India, Thailand, Taiwan."

Hugh Obi, who invented *Mosquito Smasher*, spent 10 years in Britain running a recruitment company before returning home in 2012 to set up his online games company. To share Nigeria's high operating costs, with daily power cuts the norm and investment in diesel-powered generators a must, his five-member company shares workspace with eight other companies.

From an office in the Lagos suburb of Yaba, Maliyo offers 10 free online games to 20,000 users across Nigeria, as well as in Britain and the United States. It is preparing to launch smartphone versions of its most popular games.

African Nations Race to Build Sovereign Funds

REUTERS

Resource-rich African countries are setting up sovereign wealth funds.

Oil producers Angola, Ghana and Nigeria started funds in the past two years. Before then, only Botswana, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon had them. Liberia and Zambia announced plans for funds in January 2014, and Kenya, Mauritius, Mozambique, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe have similar intentions.

The system is attractive because commodity earnings can be split into one fund for infrastructure and another for savings that can be used as collateral for bigger amounts.

"Africa needs higher savings," said Razia Khan, head of Africa research at Standard Chartered Bank. "If it is done properly, the sovereign wealth fund and the accumulation of long-term savings essentially means that countries are improving their creditworthiness and opening up access to bigger sources of financing on more favorable terms. It does not preclude investment in infrastructure."

Critics say Africa could reap more from its resources by investing in education, energy and transportation to feed other industries, rather than parking the money in liquid but low-yield assets in safe havens, as sovereign funds tend to do.

Uche Orji, CEO of Nigeria's Sovereign Wealth Fund, speaks at a philanthropy summit in Abuja. REUTERS

Liberia is looking at various wealth fund models, including one used in Norway, which is the world's most transparent sovereign wealth fund, Finance Minister Amara Konneh said. The West African country also wants to avoid the so-called Dutch disease, in which a dependence on resource extraction causes other industries to wither.

Angola's sovereign wealth fund, Africa's second-largest at $5 billion, is beginning to invest in hotels and commercial infrastructure across Sub-Saharan Africa, Bloomberg News reported.

Critics have urged countries setting up these sovereign funds to be as transparent as possible to prevent corruption. The most transparent fund on the continent is Botswana's $6.9 billion Pula Fund, which wins high marks from the Lindaburg-Maduell Transparency Index, a metric that grades funds for transparency.

SOUTH AFRICA'S
'RATTLETRAP' TAXIS
A MULTIBILLION-DOLLAR INDUSTRY

REUTERS

Zakes Hadebe's minibus taxi has nearly half a million kilometers on it, a broken speedometer and a fuel gauge he struggles to keep just above empty.

Yet by 8 a.m. one morning, Hadebe and his rattling Toyota already had overcome rain, traffic and an ever-rising petrol price to ferry nearly 40 commuters from South Africa's Soweto township to nearby Johannesburg.

South Africa's minibus taxi industry, scorned for reckless driving and dogged by a reputation for violence, moves 15 million people every day, most of them lower-income workers. More like buses than the taxis of New York or London, the rumbling 16-seaters are the wheels of one of Africa's largest economies. With an annual revenue estimated at $3.7 billion, the industry also is drawing attention from local finance companies and global automakers. Nissan recently began selling taxis in South Africa after an 18-year hiatus, challenging Toyota's dominance.

"If the taxi industry were to stop completely, there's no cleaner at your house, there's no coffee at work, there's no workers on the work floor," said Nkululeko Buthelezi, chief executive officer of the South African National Taxi Council.

Since the end of apartheid in 1994, taxis have grown into arguably South Africa's largest black-owned sector, with about 250,000 vehicles that directly employ 600,000. Although the average owner has 2.5 vehicles and employs drivers, some, like Hadebe, do the driving themselves.

"The petrol is the biggest problem," said the 33-year-old, whose daily revenue is at the bottom end of the industry average of 1,000 to 2,500 rand ($93 to $230), and that's before paying for fuel. "You have to make use of each and every cent that you get."

Passengers commuting from Soweto to Johannesburg hand their fares to the minibus taxi driver. The taxi industry transports 15 million people every day in South Africa. REUTERS

KWAME NKRUMAH

ADF STAFF

Kwame Nkrumah was Ghana's founding president and a leader who ascended to the heights of power and experienced the depths of failure. Today, despite his flaws, he is remembered as a hero in his home country and across the continent.

Born in 1909 in the British colony Gold Coast, Nkrumah went to one of his country's best schools before traveling to the United States in 1935. He graduated from Lincoln University, America's oldest black college, in Pennsylvania in 1939. He embraced America's black culture, making friends with its intellectuals. He was elected president of the African Students Organization of America and Canada.

Nkrumah moved on to London, where, inspired by India's independence, he became active in the movement to decolonize Africa. He helped organize the Fifth Pan-African Congress in 1945. Two years later, he returned to his homeland, where he found his country on the path to independence. But he thought it was moving too slowly. He formed the Convention People's Party and traveled throughout the country speaking and calling for strikes and boycotts. Violence followed, and the British arrested him, convicted him of incitement and sedition, and sentenced him to three years in prison.

His arrest made him a hero. British law allowed him to run for the legislature from behind bars. In 1951, he and his party scored overwhelming victories, winning 34 of 38 seats on the ballot. Days later, British authorities released him after he had served 14 months of his sentence. In less than a day, he became the country's new prime minister.

Martin Meredith wrote in his book, *The Fate of Africa*, that things were moving so fast, Nkrumah wondered at one point whether it was all a dream, and whether he might wake up and find himself "squatting on the prison floor eating a bowl of maize porridge."

While he was the prime minister, ultimate authority was still in the hands of the British governor. In July 1953, Nkrumah introduced a motion in Parliament demanding full self-government. The next year, the British agreed to a new constitution with an all-African cabinet.

At midnight March 6, 1957, Ghana was born, named for an 11th century African empire.

The new country had many advantages. It was one of the wealthiest countries on the continent, with good schools, an established middle class, and an honest and fair courts system. Its new leader was experienced and only 47 years old.

In 1961, Nkrumah visited the Soviet Union and studied its industrialization. He returned with a socialist seven-year plan and began building state-owned utilities and companies. But he moved too quickly, and his country soon was awash in mismanagement and corruption. He overspent his country's revenues and used Ghana's cocoa revenues to cover his country's losses, which did not go over well with cocoa farmers.

As a champion of independence, he had once called for boycotts and strikes. As president, he outlawed such tactics. He also wrote a Preventive Detention Act that allowed his administration to arrest and hold anyone considered to be a security risk, denying due process. He held prisoners without trial — something even his former British rulers had not done.

As he made grand plans for African unity, he appeared to have lost interest in running his own country. He turned Ghana into a one-party state in 1964 and began calling himself Osagyefo, "the Redeemer."

On February 24, 1966, he traveled to China with a grandiose plan to end the war in Vietnam. In his absence, his army officers rebelled and took over the government. He was forced to live in Guinea, another country experimenting with socialism. He believed that he would eventually return to power, but he died in exile in 1972.

Time has mended his reputation. His birthday is a national holiday in Ghana. The BBC has described him as "the leader of the first black African country to shake off the chains of colonial rule." He is remembered as a visionary and as a leader in African independence and African unity.

Ghana's first president, Kwame Nkrumah, is honored with a statue and a memorial park in Accra.
REUTERS
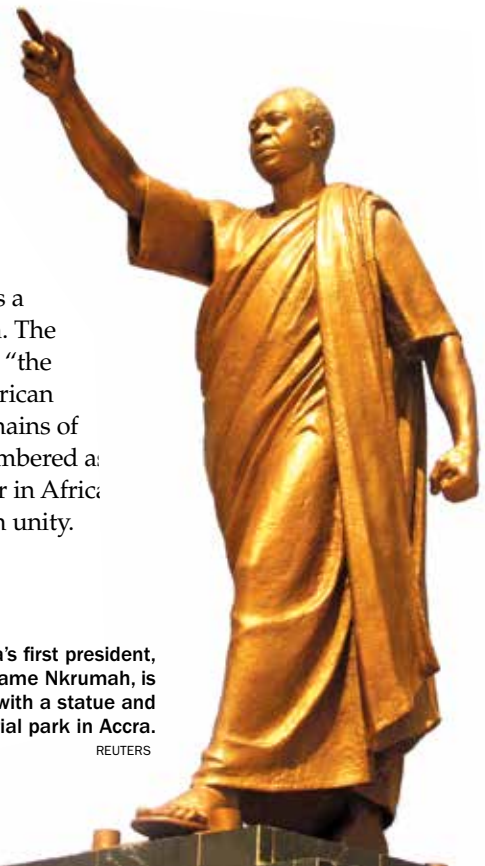
1 Founded at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., this city started out as a Phoenician port.

2 The city had existed for more than 600 years when one of its sons, Septimius Severus, became Roman emperor in 193 A.D.

3 The Romans quartered a garrison here during the war against Jugurtha, king of Numidia, a kingdom which included modern Algeria and Tunisia. Rome integrated this port city into the province of Africa in 46 B.C.

4 The ancient port, with its artificial basin, still exists with jetties, fortifications, storage areas and temples.

ANSWER: The ruins of Leptis Magna, 130 kilometers east of Tripoli, Libya

REUTERS

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· 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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