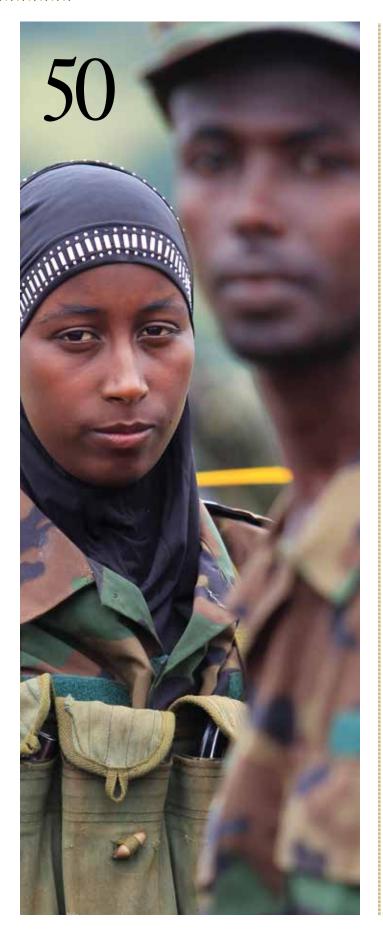


TABLE OF CONTENTS



features

- 8 Security Sector Reform: A Primer SSR offers stability for governments and protection for civilians.
- 14 Ghana Takes a 'People-Centric'
 Approach
 Vice Adm. Mathew Quashie, Ghana's
 chief of defence staff, speaks with ADF.
- **18** The Crisis at Home Population-centric security looks at defense from a new perspective.
- 28 Oil and Water
 A commitment to voluntary security principles in Ghana helps protect oil wealth and a way of life.
- 34 Codes of Conduct
 African nations move beyond their borders in adopting standards for their militaries and police forces.
- 38 Vigilantes or Allies?
 Security professionals weigh the risks and rewards of partnering with non-state security actors.
- 44 Sierra Leone Shows the Way for Security Sector Reform

 The country's rebirth after its civil war sets a new standard for reconstitution of the military.
- 50 Soldiers, Not Numbers
 Integrating women into African
 militaries must go beyond quotas
 and traditional roles.



departments

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



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ON THE COVER:

A special forces Soldier from Côte d'Ivoire marches during a ceremony in Abidjan to commemorate the country's 54th Independence Day on August 7, 2014.

WWW VIEWPOINT

ver the past two decades, security sector reform (SSR) has emerged as a principal means for promoting peace and stability in Africa. Now a newer concept known as population-centric security sector transformation (SST) seeks to advance the cause by establishing links between a nation's security sector and society at large, and by focusing on threats to individuals' socio-economic conditions and personal safety. For security professionals at all levels, this involves improving professionalism and ethics training, encouraging civil-military partnerships, supporting democratic governance, and examining how best to respond to the everyday security threats faced by citizens.

Although the lack of universally established SSR/T doctrines, manuals and templates can be daunting, this also can be viewed as an opportunity to tailor the program to a country's specific needs and culture. Doing so can only enhance the likelihood of success. Most helpful for security professionals is to review case studies, such as those in Sierra Leone and Liberia, to ensure that best practices are reinforced and bad practices are avoided.

SSR/T is not easy to implement or maintain. Political officials and security sector leaders need to work together to form a credible, holistic SSR/T road map. They also must have the political will to see it through to completion. Communication between civilian authorities and security professionals, respect for human rights, and partnerships with key local leaders are all necessary for success. Effective reforms will help build accountable governments and responsible security sectors that provide a foundation for economic development and opportunity.

U.S. Africa Command Staff



Ugandan police officers prepare to board a United Nations aircraft in Mogadishu, Somalia, after completing a yearlong tour as formed police units with the African Union Mission in Somalia. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Security Sector Transformation

Volume 7, Quarter 4

U.S. AFRICA COMMAND

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Burundi Embarks on

Security Sector Reform



ADF STAF

Maj. Gen. Cyprien Ndikuriyo

of Burundi's Ministry
of Defense and War
Veterans spoke on
June 24, 2014, at
the U.S. Africa
Command Academic
Symposium at the Kofi
Annan International
Peacekeeping Training
Centre in Accra,
Ghana. The following is a portion of his
remarks, edited and
translated from the
original French.

After a recent period of internal instability, Burundi has embarked on an important political transition with the goal of re-establishing the conditions for durable peace.



At the same time, the security environment in Burundi itself, as well as the whole region of Central Africa and the world, is changing. New

security challenges affecting the state and the people of Burundi are emerging that require new responses. This will require the defense forces of Burundi and other security actors to adapt to the environment, which is both unstable and unpredictable, so they can effectively perform their roles and

responsibilities.

To achieve this, Burundi has decided to conduct a strategic study to revise its national defense system. The approach that Burundi has adopted is influenced by the emergence in recent years of a larger concept of security at the international level.

The review has three principal objectives:

- First, develop an understanding shared by the government and the agencies charged with providing security of the current and future security concerns in Burundi, the needs of the population, and the principal challenges the country faces. It is in the interest of all parties to develop a common vision.
- Second, clarify the roles and specific missions of the National Defense Force (NDF) to respond to these needs and challenges and determine how its role can be coordinated better with other actors in the security sector.
- Third, identify the institutional and operational capacities necessary to allow the NDF to efficiently accomplish its roles and missions.

The approach must be global with the point of departure being a multidimensional concept of defense that has protecting the population as its fundamental principle. It must also be holistic, with the participation of citizens in the design, formulation and implementation of programs, as well as monitoring and evaluation. It must be inclusive, implicating all stakeholders in the security sector, within the government as well as stakeholders outside of the government. Finally, it must be transparent, with discussions held in an open manner and the widest possible diffusion of the results at each step of the process.

There is no guarantee of success in security sector reform. All the comparable experiences have been struck with reversals and failures. The essential thing is to reduce the risks. This, among other reasons, is why we must insist on the political will, the strategic framework and the rapid rollout of reform.

Even as Burundi has finished its defense review, the task of implementation has only just begun. This process will be long, complex and politically difficult. To maintain the momentum for change in the security sector, the government must take ownership of the



Burundian Soldiers arrive at the airport in Bangui, Central African Republic, in December 2013 to take part in a peacekeeping effort to restore security to the nation. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

recommendations made in the review, including the documents of the National Strategy for Defense and the white paper. They must clearly communicate a vision for change to the NDF, the other security agencies and the population, and prepare for implementation.

However, the key success factor remains national ownership, because without ownership of the reforms, the risk is that the country will not capitalize on this opportunity. Ownership by the public is the true gauge of durability.



KENYAN CHILDREN GET COMPUTERS ON A STICK

H

BBC NEWS AT BBC.CO.UK/NEWS

ntrepreneurs Nissan Bahar and Franky Imbesi are increasing computer access by providing an operating system on a USB thumb drive. They are testing the project in the slums of Nairobi, Kenya, and hope to sign up 150,000 people in the country.

Bahar and Imbesi's Keepod USB stick will revive old PCs and let users have their own computer experience — desktop layout, programs and data — at a fraction of the cost of providing a laptop, tablet or other machine to each person.

The pair have teamed up with LiveInSlums, a nongovernmental organization operating in the Nairobi neighborhood of Mathare, to introduce the flash drives at WhyNot Academy.

Bahar and Imbesi bought a router and a SIM card to connect classrooms to the Internet in March 2014. They also brought five old laptops with their hard drives removed. They gave each child a Keepod USB stick to keep and explained that the secondhand

computers would boot up directly from the flash drives. Each Keepod 8-gigabyte stick includes a unique desktop version of Google's Android 4.4 operating system. Even if a Keepod is infected with malware, it should not spread to the host computer.

Keepods make any computer as simple to use as a smartphone, with icons displayed for each task or saved website. Each encrypted Keepod remembers its owner's settings, passwords and websites visited, and stores downloaded files and programs. "Each child will see their own files and apps appear in exactly the same way each time, without the need to remember lots of passwords," Bahar said.

The aim is for Keepod to eventually support itself. Bahar and Imbesi want local workers to buy the flash drives on the open market, install the operating system and a few essential apps, and sell them for a small profit.

The \$7 price includes about \$2 in profit on each device to help cover wages and project expansion. The startup also plans to provide a Keepod backup facility, offering a way to protect owners from losing their files if the USB device is lost or corrupted.

Students at WhyNot Academy in Mathare, a community in Nairobi, Kenya, work on a laptop using a Keepod, a USB stick that gives each student a unique computer experience.

KEEPOD

Liberia on Crest of a Wave as

SURFING

Takes Off

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Sam Brown Jr. grins and flashes a thumbs-up as he snaps onto his longboard, taming the monstrous wave rearing up behind him. The 21-year-old Liberian has joined a growing number of surfers in the West African nation, attracted by one of the world's last unspoiled paradises for the sport.

Surf tourism is slowly picking up as the country gains a reputation for its faultless left-hand point breaks — locations where waves break offshore — its spectacular beaches and warm water.

It has been said that the first surfers appeared in Liberia in the 1970s, but it wasn't until a film about the sport began winning awards at festivals in 2008 that a steady stream of tourists began.

U.S. student filmmakers Nicholai Lidow and Britton Caillouette had come in 2006 to shoot *Sliding Liberia*, which tells the story of Alfred Lomax, who became the country's first surfer after finding a bodyboard in a Monrovia rubbish bin while fleeing rebels.

"We didn't know anything about surfing in Liberia during the war," Brown said, referencing civil wars between 1989 and 2003 that left more than 200,000 people dead. "It was tourists who introduced the game to Liberia. When they come, we sit with them and they talk to us about the game and we listen."

Liberia's best waves are found around Brown's village of Robertsport, near Sierra Leone on the Cape Mount peninsula. A deep underwater trench creates five perfect spots for waves within walking distance of each other.

The Atlantic swells up from the Southern Hemisphere, heaving itself onto the coast in a perfect peel, forming a wave surfers call a "pipeline," which they can ride for 200 meters or more.





Ethiopia Shoots for Stars; Aims to Be Space Science Hub

JAMES JEFFREY/IPS AFRICA

n the Entoto Mountains, workers are completing Ethiopia's first observatory. Studying stars and galaxies will be vital for this nation's development, scientists say.

"Space technology is often considered a luxury only for developed countries," said Solomon Belay, director of the \$4 million Entoto Observatory and Research Centre. "But it's actually a basic and vital need for development."

Ethiopia's topography and climate make it ideal for housing observatories. Another observatory is planned

near the historic city of Lalibela.

The observatories will provide training and research facilities for students at 33 Ethiopian universities and will attract international academics and scientists. Ethiopia hopes to one day become a global hub for astronomy and research.

The Entoto
Observatory houses two
1-meter-class telescopes.
Each one weighs 6 metric
tons and costs \$1.5
million. It is the result of



Solomon Belay, right, director of the Entoto Observatory and Research Centre, shows one of the observatory's two telescopes in the Entoto Mountains. James JEFFREY/JPS

work by the Ethiopian Space Science Society (ESSS).

So far only a handful of African countries — such as Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria and South Africa — have space programs that have launched satellites. But they're likely to have company soon. In addition to Ethiopia, Ghana and Uganda recently established space research programs and are thought to be several years from putting satellites into space.

The Entoto Observatory seeks to offer master's and doctoral training in observational and theoretical astronomy, space science, and earth observation.

ESSS is lobbying the government to get Ethiopian satellites into space within the next decade. These could improve telecommunications, and monitor mining, farming and infrastructure construction.

In 2015, a small satellite designed and constructed at Addis Ababa Institute of Technology will become the first Ethiopian satellite in space, sent with another 49 satellites as part of the European-based QB50 project.

SECURITY SECTOR REFORM



A PRIMER



SSR OFFERS STABILITY FOR GOVERNMENTS AND PROTECTION FOR CIVILIANS

ADF STAFF
PHOTOS BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

eaders considering the necessity of security sector reform (SSR) need look no farther than the small West African nation of Guinea-Bissau. Today the country of nearly 1.7 million is known primarily as a "narcostate" for the impunity with which South American drug traffickers push cocaine through the nation on the way to Europe.

Instability has plagued Guinea-Bissau since its independence from Portugal in 1974. No president has finished a full term in office. The European Union began SSR in 2008 but suspended the effort two years later after a coup. From 2009 to 2012 alone, there were six significant political assassinations and three attempted coups, according to the Security Sector Reform Resource Centre.

Four months after President Malam Bacai Sanhá died of natural causes in January 2012, Bissau-Guinean Soldiers arrested the leading presidential candidate and seized government and media operations. A few months later, the **Economic Community of West** African States (ECOWAS) worked with the transitional government on a plan that included SSR, rekindling the embers of hope that past intransigence would give way to real reform. Understandably, skepticism remains.

Two South African Soldiers look at a picture they took in front of a statue of Nelson Mandela in Pretoria. South Africa has had some notable success with security sector reform since the end of apartheid in 1994.

Conversely, in Africa's Great Lakes region, Burundi has achieved some success with its SSR efforts. A 2012 panel on SSR in East Africa found that Burundi's process was "at a crossroads." Security forces, once out of balance with regard to ethnicity, region and politics, have improved through integration and demobilization. Burundians serve in the African Union Mission in Somalia and other United Nations peacekeeping missions. But according to a 2012 Human Rights Watch report, work still is needed to prevent human rights violations and to strengthen civilian oversight.

SSR is underway across the continent: Burundi, the Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea (Conakry), Liberia, Libya, Somalia and South Sudan all have SSR efforts representing a range of progress and success. Nations serious about SSR will have to embrace some important principles and commit to a lengthy process requiring patience and discipline.

DEFINING SECURITY SECTOR REFORM

SSR is not easily defined, but is characterized by a series of overriding principles. Agencies and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have

APPROACH

- EFFECTIVENESS
- ACCOUNTABILITY

OBJECTIVES

- POLITICAL
- HOLISTIC
- TECHNICAL

TECHNICAL

Source: "SSR in a Nutshell: Manual for Introductory Training on Security Sector Reform," published by the International Security Sector Advisory Team, a division of the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces

applied their own interpretations to the term.

The United Nations says SSR is "a process of assessment, review and implementation as well as monitoring and evaluation led by national authorities that has as its goal the enhancement of effective and accountable security for the State and its peoples without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law."

The International Security Sector Advisory Team (ISSAT), a division of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, outlines one set of core principles.

ISSAT explains that effective SSR has these areas of focus: First, its **approach** is through local ownership. Its **two core objectives** are increased effectiveness, balanced with increased accountability. Finally, it has **three essential dimensions**: political sensitivity, a holistic vision and technical complexity. Here's a closer look at these areas.

Local ownership: Reform should be "designed, managed and implemented" by those in the nation undertaking SSR, not external actors. This is not synonymous with government ownership. Instead, it should involve people at all levels, especially those outside security and justice sectors. This ensures that SSR responds to local needs and bolsters the legitimacy of those in security and justice. ISSAT stresses this point: "Without local ownership, SSR is likely to fail."

Increased effectiveness and accountability: Effectiveness simply means improving security to enhance the well-being of the nation and its citizens. This can be accomplished in many ways, such as building skills through training, providing equipment, and improving organization and management. Accountability requires checks and balances to make sure those in the security sector follow laws and avoid abuses. Codes of conduct, parliamentary oversight, judicial review and civilian review can provide formal accountability. Civil society groups, religious groups, the media and NGOs can provide more informal accountability. However, ISSAT says accountability typically receives little attention. This can prevent SSR from functioning as it should and hamper long-term success.

Political sensitivity, holistic vision and technical complexity: SSR efforts are essentially political undertakings. SSR will require "political understanding and sensitivity, analytical, research and negotiation skills, tact and diplomacy," according to ISSAT. SSR must be inclusive and flexible. Time and patience are essential.

SSR is a holistic enterprise in that it involves multiple participants and stakeholders: defense, police, intelligence agencies, the court system, and public and government oversight, among other things. For example, if SSR tries to change

SECURITY SECTOR REFORM IN AFRICA

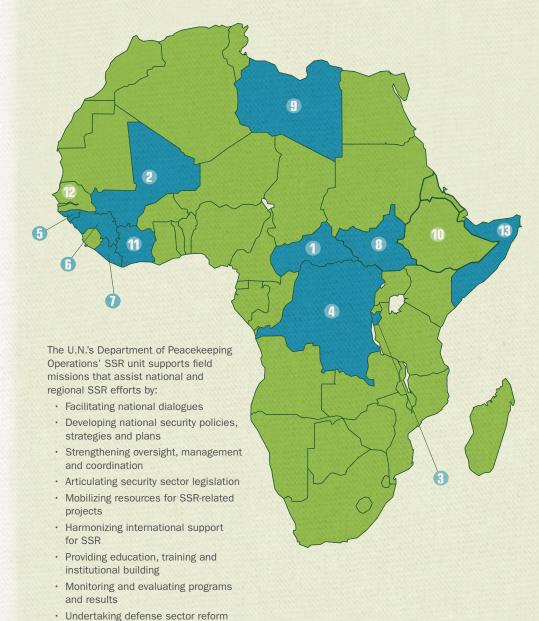
ADF STAFF

Security sector reform (SSR) typically gets underway once a conflict has ended. The United Nations' Department of Peacekeeping Operations' SSR unit has in recent years started supporting the process at every level, typically through U.N. peacekeeping missions. Those missions, each of which has an SSR component, are represented on the accompanying map.

The U.N. also offers assistance through the United Nations Office to the African Union in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and the United Nations Office for West Africa in Dakar, Senegal. The United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia advises the government and the African Union Mission in Somalia on various issues, including SSR and disengaging combatants.

The African Union also has joined the SSR effort. In January 2013, the AU adopted its "Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform," which seeks to establish objectives and principles for SSR in Africa, and offer Regional Economic Communities, member states and other actors guidelines for starting SSR programs. Other objectives include providing training and capacity building, and guiding partnerships between continental and international organizations.

Boubacar N'Diaye, chairman of the African Security Sector Network (ASSN) said the AU has been encouraging nations to embrace SSR. "I have just returned from the CAR, where our mission was led by the AU to assess the needs for SSR of that country," he said. The European Union, the ASSN and the U.N. are helping the AU improve its ability to follow through with implementing its new policy framework, N'Diaye said.



LEGEND

- United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic
- United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
- 3. United Nations Office in Burundi
- 4. United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
- 5. United Nations Integrated Peace-building Office in Guinea-Bissau
- 6. SSR is underway in Guinea (Conakry) through the United Nations Development Programme.
- 7. United Nations Mission in Liberia
- 8. United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan
- 9. United Nations Support Mission in Libya
- 10. United Nations Office to the African Union (The office is in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, but no SSR is ongoing in that country.)
- 11. United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
- 12. United Nations Office for West Africa (The office is in Dakar, Senegal, but no SSR is ongoing in that country.)
- 13. United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia

Source: The United Nations ADF ILLUSTRATION

"IT IS A POLITICAL PROCESS, AND SO I THINK THE BASIC CHARACTERISTIC OF A SUCCESSFUL SSR WOULD BE THE REAL, GENUINE EXISTENCE OF POLITICAL WILL TO CARRY IT OUT, TO CARRY IT THROUGH." — Boubacar N'Diaye, chairman of the African Security Sector Network





the police force, it must engage the justice and corrections sectors to ensure success.

SSR also is technically complex in that it requires knowledge and experience in multiple areas, including the various arms of the security sector, and budgeting, logistics, training and more. Nations attempting SSR will have to strike a balance between political and technical expertise.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SUCCESSFUL REFORM

Guinea-Bissau has been unsuccessful at SSR because it lacks some basic conditions necessary to flourish, according to Boubacar N'Diaye, chairman of the African Security Sector Network.

"It is a political process, and so I think the basic characteristic of a successful SSR would be the real, genuine existence of political will to carry it out, to carry it through," said N'Diaye, a native Mauritanian. "And when that obtains, typically, SSR has a good chance of succeeding." Absent that political will, he said, countries are destined to get stuck in an endless cycle of conflict and instability.

In addition to this national ownership, N'Diaye said nations must have the capability to mobilize their own resources to get the job done. "Unfortunately, many African countries cannot do that, and depend heavily — if not entirely — on foreign aid to be able to carry out SSR," he said.

Many countries that need SSR the most are coming out of conflict and civil wars. As a result, the demand for national resources — for humanitarian purposes and infrastructure — can be overwhelming, pushing SSR into the background. In some nations, hostilities continue to break out. South Sudan is an example of this. Although the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan has an SSR component, conditions there are not conducive to promoting it.

Add to these challenges the need for capable expertise on the ground and the support of those in the security forces, N'Diaye said. Successful SSR requires commitment on multiple levels and can take several years to bear fruit and even longer to complete. Africa's SSR success stories continue to be works in progress, N'Diaye said.

South Africa's program has achieved some success because the will, and need, to reform was strong as apartheid ended, he said. To an extent, the same is true for Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone. The context is different in that both nations undertook SSR after years of violent conflict. Côte d'Ivoire did so as part of the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire, and Sierra Leone did so with the help of the United Kingdom. Both have made significant

achievements, but much work remains.

"Success, as you know, is quite relative, first, and of course SSR is a long-term process," N'Diaye said. "And, of course, you can have dramatic reversals and you can have conditions that change to jeopardize even the most promising project." SSR generally began in the 1990s, so even older programs, such as the one in South Africa, are new enough that "the jury is out," he said.

THE BENEFITS OF REFORM

When done properly, effective SSR can lead to a professional, diverse military that respects civilian authority. Emile Ouédraogo, a parliamentarian in the National Assembly of Burkina Faso and with ECOWAS, wrote in "Advancing Military Professionalism in Africa" that military professionalism is grounded in "the subordination of the military to democratic civilian authority, allegiance to the state and a commitment to political neutrality, and an ethical institutional culture."

Perhaps no nation exemplifies that professional military ideal better than Senegal. Through its Armée-Nation model, the military has committed to safeguarding peace, protecting the people, and assisting in social and economic development. That commitment has lasted 54 years, as Senegal has never had a coup and always transferred power peacefully.

Botswana, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Namibia, Zambia and a few others are among a small group of African countries whose governments have never been toppled by a military coup.

Coups, such as those in Guinea-Bissau and elsewhere, have a cumulative negative effect on a nation's chance for stability. "Once the precedent of a coup has been established, the probability of subsequent coups rises dramatically," Ouédraogo writes. "In fact, while 65 percent of Sub-Saharan countries have experienced a coup, 42 percent have experienced multiple coups. ... In contrast, non-resource rich states that have realized the highest levels of sustained growth are almost uniformly those with few or no coups."

Ultimately, SSR acknowledges that citizens have a right to have a say in their security, N'Diaye said. It involves those who have been excluded — whether due to region, ethnicity or gender — and it empowers them.

Countries that do not carry out SSR are likely to continue excluding citizens and putting the security of the regime ahead of the security of citizens. That is not sustainable, N'Diaye said, and will lead to continued conflict and instability. "So that is the price that countries that do not carry out SSR will pay one day or the other."



GHANA TAKES A

'PEOPLE-CENTRIC' APPROACH



VICE ADM. MATHEW QUASHIE,

Ghana's chief of defence staff, spoke with ADF after he gave the keynote address on June 25, 2014, at the U.S. Africa Command Academic Symposium at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre in Accra, Ghana. The interview has been edited for length and clarity.

ADF: Perhaps we could start with a bit of background about yourself and some of the career posts that have led you to your current position.

QUASHIE: Like every one of us, I started from the basics. I did my basic-level naval course at the Britannia Royal Naval College in Dartmouth, Devon, U.K. In the Navy, you have to do a lot of technical courses in the beginning. I specialized in communication. Then, as I joined my fleet, I did whatever I had to do as a watchkeeping officer, and then eventually I became the second in command. I took command of several ships, but I think the most significant one was when I became the captain of our flagship, Achimota. At that time we had an appointment called the senior officer afloat, so I became the most senior seagoing officer. Significantly, this appointment took me to Liberia and then later to Sierra Leone for ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group] operations. I have been on the staff several times in the commands and also in the Navy headquarters. The top jobs were chief of staff of the Ghana

Navy Headquarters and the flag officer of the Eastern Naval Command from 2005 to 2009. After that I became the chief of naval staff of the Ghana Armed Forces from 2009 to 2013, and that was my last appointment before I became the chief of defence staff. I also taught in the staff college here and the staff college in Nigeria. I've done a couple of United Nations peacekeeping operations in Lebanon and Western Sahara. In Western Sahara, I became the chief military personnel officer, CMPO.

ADF: You have spoken about the need for "population-centric security sector transformation" in Ghana. What does that mean to you? It's not something often mentioned by the military.

QUASHIE: In the past, when we talked about national security, we only thought about the nation's territorial integrity. And more often than not, people forget the issues that impinge on national security, which are best described as "peoplecentric." If you have conflicts, the people suffer. In areas where there are conflicts, like in the northern part of our country and sometimes the eastern part, people are made





A Ghanaian peacekeeper in Côte d'Ivoire exits an army helicopter. Ghana has contributed about 80,000 peacekeepers to 31 U.N. missions in the past four decades.



A Ghanaian Soldier casts his ballot at a polling station in Accra on December 7, 2012, during national elections.

homeless. You have floods, which are a security threat that affect people. You have fires that affect people. If things are not going well and the economy is not right, it slows development. It affects people by way of education, health and maybe food. So if these things are not gotten right, it will affect the security of the state, because out of this there could be agitation and unemployment. So I think that, with time, the world has realized that security is not just the physical security that you see. The issue of health, the issue of education, the issue of employment, all these things, if they are not addressed properly, will cause security problems. There is a need for us to look at the needs of the human being and deal with these issues. I think if we are able to do that, then we'll have peace and tranquility, and the country can develop.

ADF: What is the role for the military in that?

QUASHIE: You know, more often than not, when conflicts happen it is not enough for the police alone to handle them. Most of the time they get overwhelmed and then, constitutionally, they can get support from the military. So any time it starts, we are on standby. When you have floods, we have our engineers who repair bridges and roads. We respond to fire outbreaks and the collapse of buildings. I would say that the military is always ready, professional and systematic. They do these types of things better than other organizations. This is the type of relationship we have for assistance to civil authority.

ADF: Of course, the military can't be everywhere, and the police can't be everywhere. In a lot of places, notably in northern Ghana, the most

important figures are traditional leaders. Is there an effort being made by the military to partner with these traditional leaders to provide security?

QUASHIE: We have different levels of security arrangements in the districts and the regions across the nation. We have DISEC [District Internal Security Committees], and we have REGSEC [Regional Security Committees]. The military has members on those committees. These are the people who collaborate with the chiefs. So the military doesn't go directly unless we are put in places where they need the military support, then we can deal with the chiefs. But generally it is the regional and the district bodies, of which the military is a part, that go to the chiefs initially and do the collaboration. For example, if the military is in Bawku [an area in northern Ghana where there has been ethnic fighting], we make sure that we are always in tune and in touch with the chief there so we can altogether assist to bring peace to that region.

ADF: Ghana has recently invested in added protection and surveillance of its exclusive economic zone. This includes protecting shipping lanes, protecting energy extraction and protecting fishing rights. Ghana has invested in high-tech tools for maritime domain awareness and is creating a naval special forces unit for rapid response to maritime threats. Could you describe these efforts and explain why they are important?

QUASHIE: I'd say about a decade ago we were struggling to maintain and manage the Navy, but in the process, the discovery of oil occurred. Countries like ours, even though we have a coastline, we were not too conversant with issues of maritime strategy

and maritime security. And therefore, [historically] mostly our issues of security have been land-centric. That was the case until the issues of narcotics by sea and poaching became prevalent. They had been there long ago, but the new threats, the new trends, like the narcotics traffickers using the vast sea, made it necessary to address it. And then, significantly, when we struck oil, we had already learned from other countries how the protection of oil reserves and oil resources can be a big [challenge for] a nation. So there was a reawakening and a bit of a paradigm shift from land-centric to focusing on maritime security issues. Based on that, we quickly had to resource the Navy to be able to meet these new, contemporary challenges. And that is how we came up with more ships; we built a Slipway [at the Western Naval Base in Sekondi], got a domain center for monitoring ships, and recently added the Vessel Traffic Management Information System, which was done by the Maritime Authority of Ghana in conjunction with the Navy, and the Air Force is also involved in maritime patrol. So we try to link all these maritime resources and the various stakeholders to be able to marshal resources and effectively patrol our waters.

ADF: What has been the impact?

QUASHIE: We've gained some dividends. Because recently, even though sea robbery is going on in the Gulf of Guinea, we see that they normally do it from our eastern border with Togo, and then they go way out of Ghana and by the time they are making landfall, they are in the other country. They do this because they know that we have got a formidable Navy that is patrolling our waters to keep it safe.

ADF: What is Ghana doing to secure its land borders?

QUASHIE: We have the Customs, Excise and Preventive Service, and we have the Immigration Service, which deals with the border mostly, and then the police who are everywhere. And so they collaborate to do searches, sometimes random searches and mandatory searches at the borders. Our president is the chairman of ECOWAS [the Economic Community of West African States] now, and, based on the issues in Mali and Boko Haram in Nigeria, he called the security chiefs of the subregion for a meeting. There, one of the main issues was we realized that there is a need for us to collaborate in terms of border patrols. This will be put in place and will really go a long way to putting the cross-border criminal activities at bay.

ADF: You have also mentioned peacekeeping. Ghana has a rich history of contributing to

peacekeeping operations. About 80,000 Ghanaian peacekeepers have served in 31 U.N. missions in the past four decades. What is Ghana's philosophy when it comes to deciding whether to participate in a peacekeeping mission, particularly on the African continent?

QUASHIE: Ghana has a foreign policy where it strives to be at peace and in a good relationship with all countries and to support subregional, regional and global bodies. That includes ECOWAS, the African Union and the U.N. So this is our main mandate and the philosophy of our foreign policy. So wherever there is a problem in the world, we put ourselves as ready to assist if it's possible. But the constraints are that we've also got to look at our home security. We are now in five countries: Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and South Sudan. So obviously we think we have enough for now, taking into consideration the strength of our military, our population and the resource level. Those are our considerations. As I've declared earlier, we want to be a global partner in peace support operations.

ADF: With President John Dramani Mahama taking over the chairmanship of ECOWAS, you have a leadership role in the regional organization. What will that mean?

QUASHIE: Yes, I automatically become the chairman of the ECOWAS Committee of Chiefs of Defence Staff. You see, all these institutions have been set up to facilitate subregional security. We have the ECOWAS Standby Force, which is evolving. It is this force that initiated the issue of going into Mali, AFISMA [African-led International Support Mission in Mali], before the U.N. came in and took over. So we try to be the first line. We try to find a domestic solution to the problems before you call the international body to assist.

ADF: Do you have a hope or a vision for the future of the ECOWAS Standby Force? Do you think that in the future, if there is a crisis like the one in Mali, there will be a West Africa force ready to deploy rapidly?

QUASHIE: This concept is still evolving. It's a new thing to take on. The challenges have to do with logistics. The GDPs of most African countries are limited. These are the challenges, but we never stop talking to the international communities to see how best they can help. And they've been doing that. The European Union assisted in support and training in Mali, plus the U.S. and the U.K. and other countries. They all came to provide the necessary support. \square

THE

CRISIS at HOME

Population-Centric Security Looks at Defense from a New Perspective

ADF STAFF

Construction of Ghana's Weija Dam has been one of the most successful public works projects in recent decades. Just west of the capital, Accra, the dam captures water from the Densu River that flows down 116 kilometers from the mountains to fill a reservoir, providing drinking water for 70 percent of the people in the capital. However, when the mountainous area is hit with a particularly intense rainy season, as happened in 2014, the reservoir fills to the brim and must be drained.

In June 2014 as water levels rose, Kofi Portuphy, director of the National Disaster Management Organization (NADMO), alerted those who live in the catchment area below the reservoir to evacuate because the government was preparing to open the spill gates. Portuphy said people had been warned repeatedly not to build homes there but had done so without permits.

Victims stand beside destroyed buildings after flooding hit Accra, Ghana, in 2010. VICKY MONAUGHT-DAVIS



o minimize the damage, Portuphy and his team decided to dredge and deepen the channels that lead from the dam out to the Atlantic Ocean. They needed to act quickly because water was endangering 5,000 people and 500 homes.

"For most of the year, the water does not travel into the ocean," Portuphy said. "There are sand deposits that bar the exit of the channel. So when you are spilling water and it cannot discharge into the ocean, then it spreads out into other areas and displaces many, many more people."

However, when workers arrived to dredge the channels, locals angrily resisted. Members of the Ga ethnic group had been told by their chieftains or traditional leaders that they should not allow the work to proceed.

Victims walk past destroyed

buildings after

flooding in Accra,

"They said they have a custom; it's a traditional area," Portuphy said. "So they brought their vigilantes. They

said, 'No, you can't do this now. Give us some time, we'll tell you when to come and do it.'"

The conflict became violent, and Ga men attacked NADMO workers and even broke the windows of an excavator as they tried to reach the driver inside. A riot appeared imminent.

Portuphy pulled back his team and called an emergency meeting with all security stakeholders, including members of the Air Force, Navy, police and the Army's 48 Engineer Regiment. At 2 a.m. the next day, with helicopters flying overhead to monitor the area and police in riot gear forming a protective circle, the NADMO team and Army engineers were able to complete the project, and water soon was redirected into the ocean.

"We did the dredging, water flowed down and it receded from some affected areas within 48 hours," Portuphy said.





Security That Puts People First

The story in Ghana illustrates certain truths about security in Africa. Threats to civilian safety don't usually come in the form of hostile foreign armies, terrorist attacks or piracy. The people living in Ghana's flood zones were at risk due to much more mundane factors. These include environmental problems, land rights/land use and a clash between traditional leaders and civilian governmental officials.

None of these factors is part of typical military training, but they all end up requiring the military's attention.

Increasingly, African militaries, police and governmental agencies are recognizing that focusing on traditional security threats is not enough. Instead, they must concentrate on the broader needs of people, a concept known as "population-centric security sector transformation." This encompasses everything from disease outbreaks to climate change to land rights, food security, and cooperation with non-state security actors and traditional leaders.

"The fact of the matter is that human security is not just about expanding the definition of security, it's about deepening the notion," said Ebenezer Okletey Teye Larbi, Ghana's deputy minister of defense. "We should think critically about transforming our security sector so it becomes relevant in the context in which it is operating today."

Population-centric security was the subject of an academic symposium held June 23-26, 2014, that was sponsored by U.S. Africa Command in partnership with the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) in Accra. Ambassador Phillip Carter III, Africa Command's deputy to the commander for civil-military engagement, kicked off the event by asking attendees to redirect their focus to the everyday concerns of the people they are sworn to protect.

"Overwhelmingly, Africans cite everyday struggles as their primary security concerns," Carter said. "When someone quietly suffers, it is in all of our interest to try and help. These types of everyday struggles cause more harm than all active kinetic conflicts by several orders of magnitude."

In the following pages, four topics are outlined that have not historically been part of security training, but which are central to population-centric security. They are likely to increase in importance in coming years.





Retired Brig. Gen. Joyce Ng'wane Puta of the Zambian Defence Force, is the former head of Zambia's HIV/AIDS special military unit. ADF STAFF

South African National Defence Force Soldiers were deployed to public hospitals in 2010 when a strike left a shortage of caregivers.

Health

Although life expectancy is improving across the continent and deadly diseases are being eradicated, there is still a long way to go. Africa remains the only region in the world where infectious and communicable diseases cause the majority of deaths. The recent outbreak of the Ebola virus in West Africa is a sobering reminder that deadly strains of diseases can emerge at any moment.

Militaries have long taken a keen interest in matters of public health because disease outbreaks in their ranks affect readiness. Militaries also play a vital role in maintaining quarantines and order during outbreaks. In fact, in many isolated outposts, military medical clinics are the only health providers for hundreds of kilometers.

In several places on the continent, African militaries are playing innovative roles in addressing the health concerns of their fellow citizens. In Zambia, the military became known for its leadership role during the HIV/AIDS crisis of the 1990s. In 1994, Zambia was among the first on the continent to launch a specialized HIV/AIDS unit that offered sensitization workshops and promoted condom use for all Soldiers, including new recruits and cadets.

The result was a steady decline in the infection rate. Once antiretroviral drugs became available, the Zambian Defence Force (ZDF) set a powerful

example by returning HIV-positive Soldiers to work. This showed the rest of the nation that being <u>HIV-positive</u> was not a death sentence.

"At first, everyone was thinking this is a civilian thing, it's about NGOs, it's not about the military, but it wasn't long before we saw a lot of forces losing their people," said retired ZDF Brig. Gen. Joyce Ng'wane Puta. "You could have a battalion, but maybe one-third of them are not fit to fight because they are either at home or in hospital or coming forward, but still not fit. That's when many commanders woke up and started addressing the issue."

The military has expanded its role. In cholera outbreaks, the ZDF has been asked to enforce quarantines and transport medicine. The government gives front-line drugs to ZDF clinics operating in isolated regions, and the ZDF has led vaccination drives to rural regions, sometimes landing with helicopters to vaccinate hundreds of children in a day.

"Any commander of a military force must be vigilant and must be strategic," Puta said. "And do a threat analysis. This threat analysis is not just focused on an armed invasion; it should encompass the entire environment that makes a place safe and secure."

Environment

Across the globe, security professionals are preparing for a changing climate and the conflicts that could ensue. It is impossible to state whether a particular natural disaster in a particular nation is related to a warming environment, but the consensus among people who study climate trends is that floods, droughts and wildfires are becoming more frequent and more intense.

Jeff Andrews, chief of the Environmental Security Division at U.S. Africa Command, said even moderate projections call for a 1.3 degree Celsius rise in temperature by 2040, water scarcity affecting 1.7 billion people worldwide, massive migrations of people away from dry areas, and more natural disasters. The World Bank predicts Africa is likely to be hit first and hit hardest by climate change.

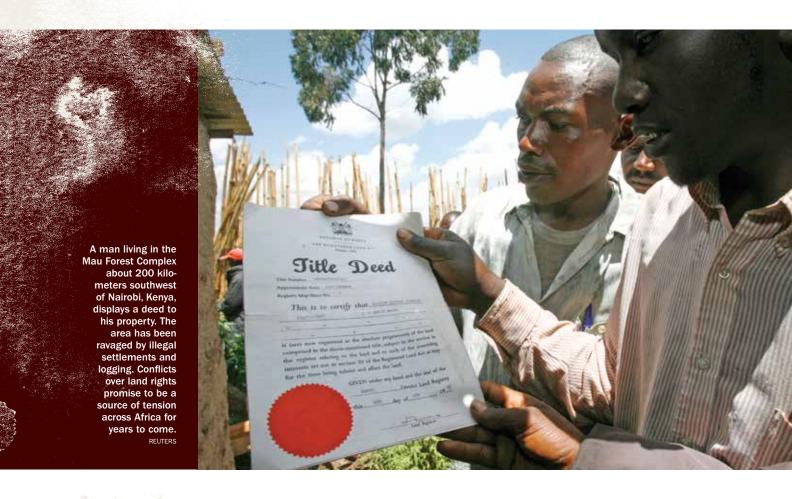
"Climate change is a threat multiplier,"
Andrews said. "We already have all these issues, but climate change has the potential to make all these issues a lot worse."

The early signs of conflict due to a changing environment already have arrived. In East Africa, a plan by Ethiopia to build the Renaissance Dam on the Nile River has drawn heated rhetoric and threats of war from Egypt, which worries about losing its main water source. In Central Africa, Lake Chad has been shrinking for years, leading to the migration of people away from lakeside villages and toward cities. This migration may be leading to increased crime and even driving recruitment by extremist groups. In semiarid parts of the Sahel, herders are moving farther afield to find grazing land and coming into conflict with farmers.

"There are going to be more conflicts over crops, land and resources," Andrews said. "The most vulnerable people are those most at risk."

African militaries will be asked to play a role. Projects like the Great Green Wall, a vegetation barrier across the continent to prevent desert encroachment southward, are underway. They will require millions of hours and millions of hands, and militaries will be asked to help. Militaries also are playing active roles in disaster management and disaster response. They are staffing high-tech emergency management operations centers, and engineering battalions are being asked to help fortify flood-prevention mechanisms and other barriers against nature's wrath.





Land Rights

Over the next 35 years, Africa's population is expected to double due to 2 percent annual population growth and longer life expectancy.

The growth will strain limited natural resources and land availability. This phenomenon already is taking place as people migrate from rural areas to urban centers. Those who are unable to find work often take up residence in slums or informal dwellings like the ones described earlier in the Ghanaian flood zone.

The African Union has said this trend is likely to continue. "Urbanization in Africa will continue to be characterized by informal settlement developments where over 60 percent of urban residents currently live," the AU wrote in a report on migration. "This is a phenomenon which will continue to compound inequalities in access to development resources in these areas; a factor which in turn has a direct impact on social and economic stability."

Dr. Ken Ahorsu, a professor at the University of Ghana's Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy, said many violent conflicts on the continent that are viewed from the outside as ethnic or religious are actually land disputes. "Family property, in Africa, it is sacrilegious to ever give it up," he said. "Everybody has roots; everybody has an ancestral home."

Although protecting land rights will continue to be the preserve of the state and judiciary systems, the military has a role to play in protecting natural resources. This includes preventing illegal mining, illegal logging and oil bunkering. African militaries also are ensuring that wildlife is not decimated by poaching and illegal fishing.

Ahorsu believes that as disputes over land rights become more common, the security sector and government agencies will have an equally important, yet unfamiliar role: mediators. Ahorsu said military leaders would be wise to be involved in early warning systems that detect signs of trouble and reach out to communities to prevent intercommunal clashes before they turn violent. Military commanders also can play a role in warning the state when informal developments leave residents exposed to natural disasters.

"I think what the military can do is probably have a human security sector, which moves away from the conventional military duties and reaches out to the communities," he said.

Traditional State vs. Modern State

As illustrated in the Ghana flood, traditional leaders still hold significant sway over the actions of people in many parts of Africa.

Dr. Thomas Jaye, deputy director for research at the KAIPTC, said traditional leaders can be major allies for security forces or impediments to security if they are not properly incorporated into decision-making. These chiefs and elders represent governance systems that predate modern states and still are vitally important in mediating land disputes, settling criminal cases, determining inheritance rights and other issues.

"The farther you go from the capital in most African countries, the more you realize that things like security are being handled more and more by traditional authorities," Jaye said.

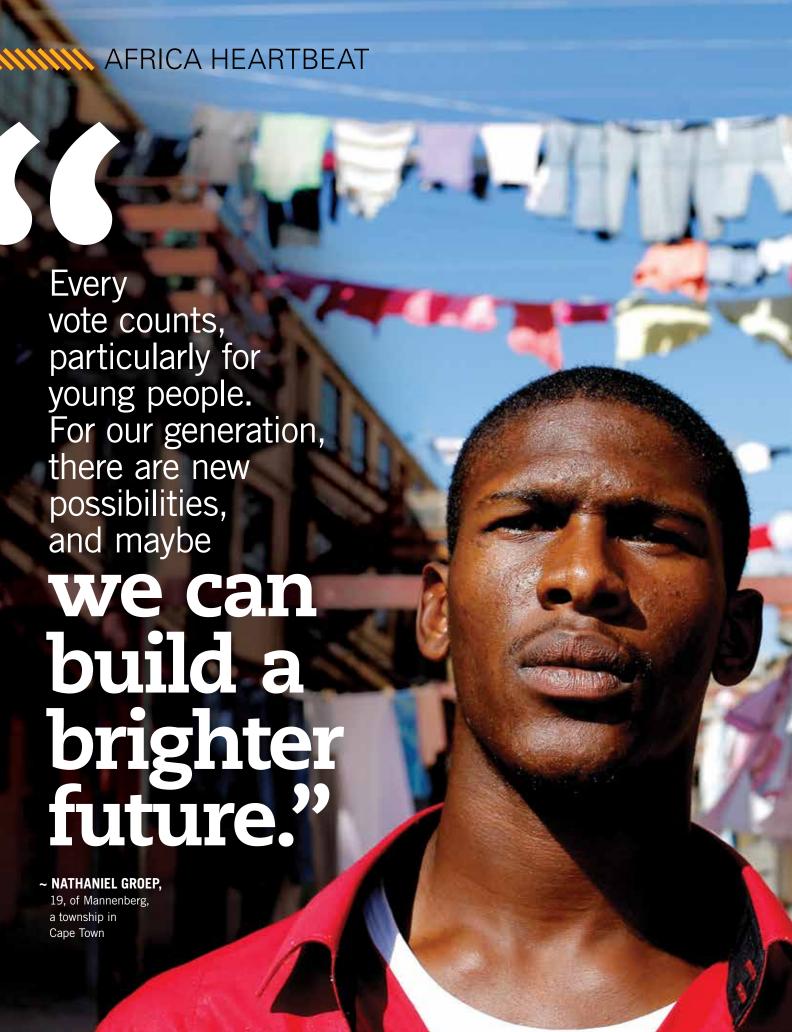
A 2008 survey of 40,000 people in 15 African countries found that traditional

leaders play a "pre-eminent" role in resolving conflicts in places where they are active. The survey, published by the research organization AfroBarometer, also found that traditional leaders are more respected than elected leaders among those surveyed.

With that in mind, Jaye said it is vital that military and police forces reach out to these figures.

"States are faced with complex security challenges, and state security institutions will have to build a partnership with these local actors," he said. "Today, everybody is talking about intelligence-led policing. So, how do you operationalize that? You build partnerships at various levels of society. And it can be very effective, because these people are at the local levels, and a lot of the things we're talking about like transnational crime are happening at the local level."







South Africa's 'Born Frees' Take Their Place at the Polls

ADF STAFF

They are called "born frees," South Africans born after the nation's transition from apartheid to democracy. On May 7, 2014, 20 years after Nelson Mandela became the first black president, the first group of born frees went to the polls to have their say in the country's future.

"It is great voting for the first time,"
18-year-old Mawande Nkoyi told Reuters in
the Cape Town township of Langa. "Now I
have a say in the country's election and what is
happening. It is something new in my life."

Twenty million South Africans — about 40 percent of the population — were born after apartheid. About 25 million voters were registered for the elections amid concerns about unemployment, inequality and corruption. Nearly 2 million South Africans are 18 or 19, and roughly 650,000 of them were registered to vote.

April 27, 2014, marked the 20th anniversary of South Africa's first multiracial elections, which ended three centuries of white domination and 46 years of apartheid. When the votes had been counted, the African National Congress (ANC) had taken 62 percent of the vote, according to the BBC. The Democratic Alliance took 22 percent, and the Economic Freedom Fighters party was third with 6 percent. The electoral commission said voting was peaceful at most of the nation's 22,263 polling stations. Turnout was just more than 73 percent.

Some born frees expressed gratitude to the ANC, the party of Nelson Mandela, and credited it with the freedom that occurred in their parents' generation.

"It feels good that I am voting for the first time, and I am proud that I will be voting for the ANC," 20-year-old Nonhlahla Nkomo, a beauty therapy student, told Agence France-Presse (AFP) just before the election. "It deserves my vote. I am in a free South Africa because of the ANC."

Youth worker Nathaniel Groep, 19, of Mannenberg, a township in Cape Town, told Reuters, "Every vote counts, particularly for young people. For our generation, there are new possibilities, and maybe we can build a brighter future." Groep was most concerned about gang activity and the lack of employment opportunities.

Lesedi Nene, 19, of Orlando West, told AFP: "I am kind of nervous, thinking, 'Have I made a good decision or not?' " Nene said his history studies guided him as he cast his vote. He, too, voted for the ANC.

White South African Thandi Mamacos, 18, of Cape Town, told Reuters that it was "definitely important for young people to vote because they are the ones who will have to live with the outcome the longest," she said. "It's more our country than the older generation, who may not want to change things that need to be changed because of what has happened in the past."



Two young voters take a photograph of themselves outside a polling station in Cape Town on May 7, 2014. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Mandela's legacy loomed large as born frees considered their first votes. First-time voter Sanele Chileze of Embo township, outside Durban, told Reuters, "We have to secure the legacy of Mandela. That's why it is very important for us to vote, for this nation to be straight and everyone can be free. If I don't vote, I can't say anything; if I vote, I can say something."





A Commitment to Voluntary Security Principles in Ghana Helps Protect Oil Wealth and a Way of Life

ADF STAFF

hen Ghana's Jubilee oil field was discovered in 2007, it had the potential to be a game changer for the West African nation. With as many as 3 billion barrels of sweet crude oil sitting just 60 kilometers offshore, Ghana had joined an exclusive club of oil-producing countries. Revenue from the site promised to pay for improved public services, infrastructure and to help lift many Ghanaians out of poverty.

Years later, oil has begun to flow at a rate of about 100,000 barrels per day, and all parties involved now have their attention focused squarely on security at the oil installations. After all, the Gulf of Guinea has a well-earned reputation for piracy, oil bunkering and other acts of lawlessness. But Tullow Oil, the British-based energy giant with extraction rights to the largest section of the oil field, does not believe the greatest threat to its work comes from an attack. Instead, Tullow has determined that the greatest long-term threat to the oil sector is resentment or loss of trust by the coastal people nearby who depend on fishing for their livelihoods. "From what I've seen in the last two years, the risks we face at Tullow offshore are community safety risks, they're not security risks," said Fidelix Datson, the security team leader for Tullow Ghana Ltd.

To combat this, Tullow has unveiled an innovative public-private security arrangement that involves partnerships with Ghana's Navy and other Ghanaian government agencies, as well as intense outreach to the communities of small-scale fishermen that dot the shoreline. It might be a model worth copying as African governments look to strike the right balance between private commerce and public welfare.

UNEASY NEIGHBORS

Tension between an oil extraction company and nearby communities might be inevitable. Massive rigs are fitted with lights that attract schools of fish, and fishermen tend to follow. This problem was illustrated in 2009, when an artisanal fishing canoe was pulled underneath one of Tullow's vessels. All fishermen aboard survived, but it was a wakeup call for Tullow of the need for better education about the dangers of fishing near the oil fields.

Adding to the risk, many fishermen tie up their boats close to floating production, storage and offloading (FPSO) vessels, which store crude oil before it is moved to tankers. The FPSOs burn off, or "flare," natural gas, meaning that if fishermen cook with coal pots and burning embers, explosions are possible.

For safety, the industry has instituted a 500-meter "no fishing" radius around rigs, but the restriction breeds resentment. This is particularly strong in Sekondi-Takoradi, a city of 400,000 people where fishing is a way of life. In Sekondi, the shoreline is filled with canoes painted with prayers asking for a bountiful catch and a safe return home for seagoers. A large sculpture of a tuna sits on a pedestal in the town's central square, symbolizing the importance of the sea to the people. "Most of the fish, especially the tuna and the herring, have gone where the rigs are, because of the lights," said the late Edlove Ouarshie of the Line Hook Canoe Fishermen's Association in a 2011 documentary by the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting. "We, the fishermen, what is our fate? Some people are getting jobs because of the oil industry, but we are now losing our jobs. Who is going to speak for us?"

Looking at the big picture, Tullow and the Ghanaian government agree that if











the fishermen's livelihood is jeopardized through loss of marine habitat, injury or oil spills, the communities soon will resent Tullow's presence and search for other sources of income. If Ghana wants a cautionary tale of the worst-case scenario, it need only look across the continent to Somalia.

"You have a bunch of disenfranchised fishermen who have to deal with illegal and unregulated fishing and marine pollution," Datson said. "They're going to have to find different ways of making their money, and that's where piracy comes in. So for me, as a security guy here in Ghana, I'm tracking that and trying to make sure that we don't end up causing an issue with fishermen, where they lose their traditional income and start looking for secondary and tertiary income."

STATE SECURITY AND PRIVATE MUSCLE

Private security companies are a fact of life across much of Africa. In South Africa alone, there are about 9,000 registered security companies employing 400,000 guards. Private guards outnumber police by a ratio of 2-to-1 there, and the largest company, G4S, has a presence in 29 African nations.

But much of the recent history for private security on the continent is mixed or decidedly negative. South Africa's now-defunct Executive Outcomes received international condemnation for playing a mercenary role in the civil wars of Sierra Leone and Angola. In Equatorial Guinea, a private security company owned by the brother of President Teodoro Obiang has been a proxy for bribery as oil companies were reportedly strongarmed into signing high-priced contracts for protection. In Nigeria, guards hired by oil companies have been accused of intimidation, torture and even murder.

Alex Vines, the head of the Africa Programme at Chatham House in London, said the need for private security companies isn't likely to diminish in coming years. In fact, the gap between the ability of many states to provide security and the security requirements on the ground is likely to grow.

"Many African states have accepted that private security will gap fill," Vines said. "Private security, therefore, is big business, and companies from the outside are looking at making fortunes in Africa."

Vines said the security gap in Africa exists in part because the continent is home to six of the world's 10 fastest-growing economies, and many Sub-Saharan nations are experiencing population booms of 5 percent or more per year. At the same time, the

- 1. A fish sculpture in Sekondi, Ghana, symbolizes the importance of sea-based commerce to the coastal town.
- 2. A man repairs fishing nets in Accra, Ghana. Ghanaian Sailors and private security companies are working together to secure oil interests and reach out to local fishing communities.
- 3. A fishing community in the Jamestown district of Accra. Ghana.
- 4. The Kwame Nkrumah, a floating production, storage and offloading vessel, anchors in the Jubilee Field in Ghana.

THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLES

The Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights (VPs) were established in 2000. They are meant to ensure that companies in the extraction industry (oil, gas and mining) act ethically, respect human rights and make payments that are transparent for the public to examine.

Signatories to the VPs include governments, companies and NGOs. In 2014, Ghana announced it would become the first country in Africa to adopt the VPs.

The VPs help stakeholders in the extractive industry:

- Evaluate risk. Companies conduct a risk assessment of the environment to determine the security risks posed by political, economic, civil or social factors. The assessment also looks at the strength of the rule of law in the country, the human rights records of security forces in the region and patterns of violence.
- Collaborate effectively with public security forces.
 This includes gathering input from multiple stakeholders including government agencies and civilian leaders, making a clear definition of roles and responsibilities and making strong efforts to prevent and address human rights abuses. The VPs also outline procedures for equipment or material transfer to host governments.
- Employ responsible private security forces. This
 includes screening for human rights abuses, and ensuring
 forces take a defensive posture and know the limited scope
 of their mission. Private forces are trained to concentrate
 on securing a facility and its personnel while leaving the
 rest of the work to public security forces.

extractive industries — oil, natural gas and mining — have become focal points for rage felt by the unemployed and disaffected.

When citizens protest or threaten extraction efforts, it places governmental forces in the awkward position of choosing to defend a corporation or their fellow citizens. "In the case where local and rebel groups clash with an expatriate company, the government finds itself in a conundrum," wrote Jodi Rosenstein, a former researcher at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre. "It is financially bound to the [oil company] and needs [it] to continue to operate in the host country, especially where it is in a joint venture contract; yet as the sovereign government, it has an obvious obligation and desire to protect the rights and well-being of its citizens."

This line is even more blurred in Nigeria where "supernumerary" police are paid and equipped by oil companies, but recruited and trained by the Nigerian police force.

Rosenstein calls it a system of "dual allegiance" that is "rife with tension."

For their part, many oil and mining companies are equally hesitant to get too cozy with the military and police in their host countries. "I don't want us to be seen as a proxy for government," Datson said. "The community is asking us to provide things that actually the government should be providing, so there's a bit of tension there."

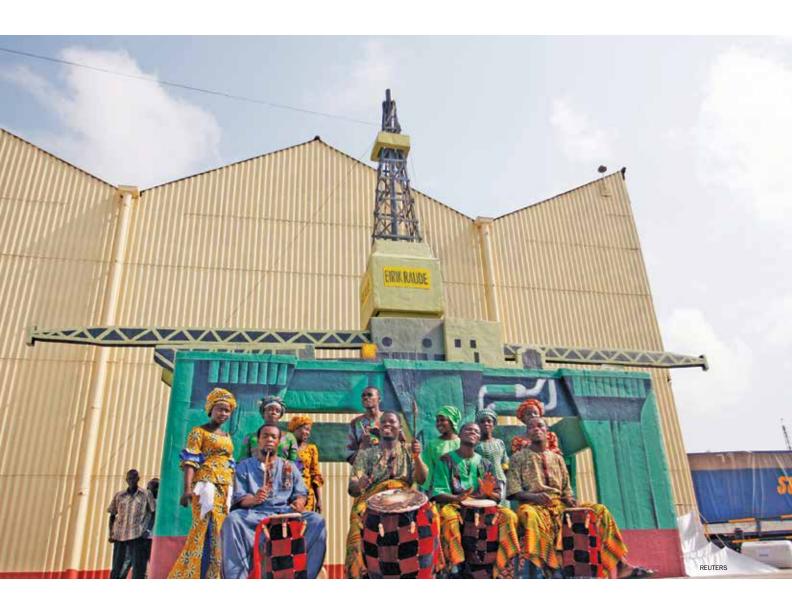
Vines said there needs to be transparency and a clear distinction of responsibilities between private security and the official police or military. "It is a blurring of a line," he said of public-private security partnerships. "That's why you need real clarity about the whole thing: who's paying them and why are they paying them. I think the way around this is transparency and full disclosure."

Vines said governments are at their best when playing a regulatory role for private guards, including vetting security personnel, overseeing stockpile management and firearms management, and offering training. Private security is at its best when it takes a defensive posture and focuses on protection of its facilities and personnel.

PUBLIC-PRIVATE-PARTNERSHIPS

Tullow Oil thinks it has come up with a solution to the private-public dilemma. In 2013, the company became a participant in the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights (VPs). The VPs were developed in 2000 as a set of guidelines for the extractive industry. They outline the ways signatories, which include companies, NGOs and governments, can operate ethically, safely and transparently. In the case of the interaction between oil companies and public security, the VPs call for regular consultation with host governments and local communities, well-defined roles, and the promotion of human rights. When extractive companies hire private security guards, the VPs lay out policies for technical proficiency, background checks of guards, investigation of alleged abuses and a defensive posture.

The VPs appear to be working in Ghana. A detachment of 24 Ghanaian Sailors now patrol in boats along with Tullow's Offshore Environmental Health and Safety Coordinator. On most occasions, weapons are kept locked away. In coastal communities, through an NGO, Tullow has launched the Jubilee Livelihood Enhancement and Enterprise Development project, in which



fishermen from 26 communities are trained in business management, ice box construction, fish smoking and other skills. The company also has collaborated with the Department of Fisheries and hosts radio programs to educate and take questions from concerned citizens.

For its part, the Ghanaian Navy has heightened its efforts to detect and deter large-scale illegal fishing vessels and traffickers. In 2013, the Navy halted two ships for illegal fishing, one ship for drug trafficking and another, the MT Mustard, for hijacking oil off the coast of Gabon. The Navy has updated its Maritime Domain Awareness capabilities and, in 2013, placed four new 46-meter fast-patrol boats and two 57-meter fast-attack boats at the naval base in Sekondi.

The public-private effort is intended to show fishermen that Ghana is just as serious about protecting its oil resources as it is about protecting its aquatic resources and the fishermen's way of life. In 2013, Ghana announced its intention to become the ninth country in the world — and the first in Africa — to sign on to the VPs on a governmental level.

"It is important that we support and contribute to processes that will enable us to maximize returns from our mineral resources while ensuring that it does not engender human rights abuses and poverty," said Alhaji Fuseini, Ghana's minister for lands and natural resources.

Datson said the VPs will be most effective when citizens see them in action.

"It's a comprehensive approach,"
Datson said. "We have to make sure that engagement with the communities is clear, communication is clear, and there are no gaps between what we say and what we do. ... We've found that, actually, it's common sense, and it makes business sense."

Dancers perform in front of a model oil rig in Takoradi, Ghana, at an event marking the beginning of oil production in 2010.



CODES of CONDUCT

ADF STAFF

African Nations
Move Beyond
Their Borders
in Adopting
Standards for
Their Militaries
and Police
Forces

In an impressive show of unity, more than 1,000 people representing 25 African Union nations met in Yaoundé, Cameroon, in June 2013. Their goal: Stop crime in the Gulf of Guinea.

The representatives, including 13 heads of state, adopted a document called "Code of Conduct Concerning the Repression of Piracy, Armed Robbery Against Ships, and Illicit Maritime Activity in West and Central Africa."

The document recognized codes of conduct already adopted by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Economic Community of Central African States, the Gulf of Guinea Commission, the United Nations, and the Maritime Organization for West and Central Africa. The code specifically addressed the nuances of pursuing ships and stopping crime outside a nation's territorial waters.

Countries signing the code resolved to share and report relevant information, stop ships and aircraft suspected of engaging in crime, prosecute people accused of crime, and protect innocent people aboard ships in the gulf. They resolved to carry out their obligations and duties "in a manner consistent with the principles of sovereign equality and territorial integrity of States and that of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States."

Nigerian troops, part of an Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) support mission to Mali, await deployment at a peacekeeping center in Kaduna, Nigeria. ECOWAS has established codes of conduct for the militaries of its member countries.



SPECIFIC CODES FOR SPECIFIC NEEDS

Although standards of behavior for members of the military and police are nothing new, specific codes of conduct for military institutions are a relatively recent innovation.

Codes of conduct are not laws; they are intended as ethical guidelines. They are often developed to meet special circumstances, such as sharing territories and patrol responsibilities in the Gulf of Guinea. ECOWAS developed a Code of Conduct in 1998 specifically to deal with the proliferation of illegal guns and small arms, and imposed a moratorium on buying more of these weapons. The code included such details as to how to make the public aware of the moratorium.

Other points of the ECOWAS code included development of an electronic database of registered weapons, regulation of cross-border weapons transactions, and the training of police and military personnel in regulating and administering weapons trading. The code had a provision that invited non-ECOWAS nations to participate.

ECOWAS also developed a Code of Conduct for its members' militaries in 2006. Panapress reported that the code's 34 principles were intended to help improve civilmilitary relations and civilian control of the armed forces in the region. The news agency said the code specifically defined "the regulatory framework governing civil military relations, relations between the armed forces and the security services as well as their obligations under international humanitarian law."

The code bans the military from using force to restrict the individual and collective rights of citizens as defined by the region's national constitutions.

The ECOWAS Defence and Security Commission adopted the draft Code of Conduct in October 2006. The ECOWAS Committee of Chiefs of Security Services adopted it in May 2009, and the ECOWAS Council of Ministers followed in August 2011.

At an October 2013 meeting, an ECOWAS official said the military Code of Conduct and other documents like it "underscore security as a subject that is not the exclusive preserve of the military and the political class, but also involves the participation of the civil society and other stakeholders as important partners in the process."

In 2012, ECOWAS began developing another Code of Conduct to address victims of natural disasters such as flooding. Citing the increasing occurrence of such disasters due to climate change, ECOWAS designed a rights-based Code of Conduct for Humanitarian Action for civilian humanitarian actors, to "complement the Code of Conduct of Armed Forces and Security Services in West Africa."

PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS

Some Codes of Conduct are aimed at setting uniform standards for a country, region or profession. One such code was adopted in 2001 by the 12 nations of the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation for its police forces. Officials developed the code from a range of international and regional guidelines. Its 13 articles are now regarded as a model for establishing professional standards:

- In the performance of their duties, police will show respect for human rights.
- Police will practice nondiscrimination, with all people treated fairly and equally.
- Force may be used only when it is strictly necessary, adhering to national legislation and practices.
- No officer, under any circumstances, can inflict torture or any other cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment.
- Police will protect people in their custody, including securing medical attention when needed.
- All crime victims are treated with compassion and respect.
- Police will respect and uphold the rule of law.
- Police will behave in a trustworthy manner, avoiding any conduct that might undercut the public's confidence.
- Officers must not abuse their power. They cannot accept bribes or favors or anything that might be interpreted as dishonest.
- Police will at all times fulfill their lawful duties responsibly and with integrity.
- Officers will be courteous at all times, with exemplary conduct
- Matters of a confidential nature will be kept private, unless the needs of justice demand otherwise.
- In the performance of their duties, police will respect and protect all property rights.

Since the adoption of the code, some countries have published pocket-size booklets for their officers. The booklets contain the code, along with police statements of values.

Principle-based codes of conduct for militaries and police have a common thread of professionalism, integrity, respect for all human life and reverence for the rule of law. Excellence in performance is also a common theme, as is earning the respect and support of the public.

The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces says that a well-planned code of conduct has the potential to "promote peace, security, stability and the well-being of African nations." And, the center said, a well-written code will be relevant to the particular needs of a specific country or region, "thereby helping to contribute to improved civil-military relations."



VIGLANIES ORALLES

SECURITY PROFESSIONALS WEIGH THE RISKS AND REWARDS OF PARTNERING WITH NON-STATE SECURITY ACTORS

n May 2013, a group of young men in northern Nigeria's Borno State decided to fight back against Boko Haram. Crudely armed with sticks, machetes and garden implements, they set up roadblocks and fanned out on foot patrol. They inspected cars for bombs or weapons and gathered information from the community to make "citizen's arrests" of suspected extremists.

Their formation roughly corresponded with the state of emergency declared in three northern states, so they decided to call themselves the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) in hopes that they could align their work with that of the military's Joint Task Force, which was fighting terrorism in the region.

Over time, the civilians made an impact. Briefly, they were credited with driving Boko Haram out of Maiduguri, the group's birthplace and the largest city in northeastern Nigeria. They fought hardened Boko Haram militants toe to toe despite being outgunned and outnumbered. They earned so much respect that the Borno State government reached into its threadbare pockets to pay members \$100 per month and even gave them pickup trucks for patrolling.

"Everyone trusts the Civilian JTF more than the military," said Agafi Kunduli, a resident of Maiduguri in an interview with *The Daily Beast* published in May 2014.

The group also drew criticism. Some CJTF members became frustrated with the slow pace of justice and conducted extrajudicial killings, even burning people alive.

"They take matters into their own hands," said Valkamiya Ahmadu-Haruna, a senior program officer for the CLEEN Foundation in Nigeria, a group that promotes justice sector reform. "They're saying [to the police], 'We handed this suspect over to you, we didn't get any official word back of what is happening. ... We might as well carry out instantaneous justice.'"

They also lost some credibility in July 2014 when Nigerian officials arrested Boko Haram leader Babuji Ya'ari, who had infiltrated the CJTF. Some in Maiduguri decided that a vigilante group made up of civilians was giving Boko Haram an opening to attack civilian targets such as schools and hospitals.

"The Civilian Joint Task Force has added a worrisome new dimension to the violence," wrote Human Rights Watch in a November 2013 report. "CJTF members inform security forces about



presumed local Boko Haram activity; the Islamist group then retaliates against both the neighborhood vigilante group and the broader community."

NO BADGE, NO UNIFORM, NO PROBLEM?

Across the continent, there are numerous examples of positive and negative outcomes when non-state security actors (NSSAs) like the CJTF appoint themselves protectors of the people.

In the most isolated parts of South Sudan, a group calling itself the Arrow Boys took up arms to protect villages against attacks by the Lord's Resistance Army. The members were hailed as saviors and touted as a homegrown solution.

Conversely, another group that emerged in South Sudan tells a much different story about NSSAs. In the early 1990s, young cattle herders called the Nuer White Army, a name taken from the white ash they spread on their faces to keep away insects, armed themselves to protect their cattle and communities. Over the years they have gathered more arms, have grown more aggressive, and have conducted raids on rivals. Today they are viewed as a driving force behind the ethnic conflict that is destabilizing South Sudan's



Jonglei State and pushing the nation to civil war.

What begins as a home-protection group can easily morph into a dangerous organization. "They need to be very careful of creating a monster that they can no longer control," said Dr. Mathurin Houngnikpo, an expert on civil-military relations. "We, as scholars, need to look at these boys and these militias and ask: 'Who is controlling them? What politics are involved?'"

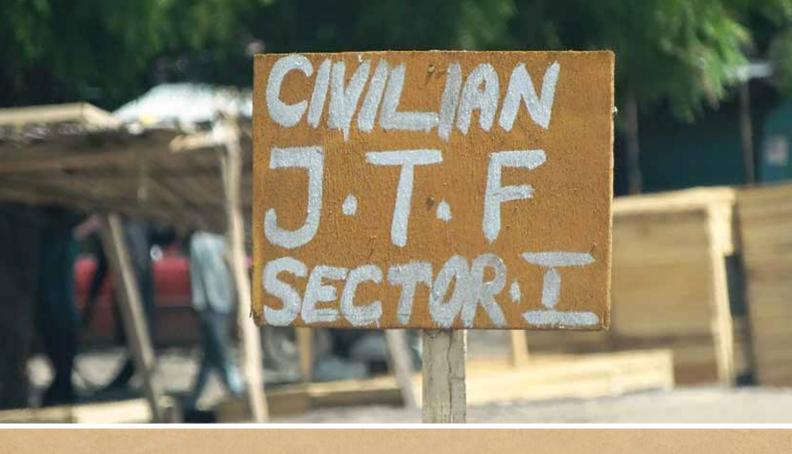
To evaluate how NSSAs operate and how they are perceived, the CLEEN Foundation launched an innovative research project, taking a census of the groups across eight Nigerian states.

"THEY NEED TO BE VERY CAREFUL OF CREATING A MONSTER THAT THEY CAN NO LONGER CONTROL."

— Dr. Mathurin Houngnikpo

Habiba Saadu, right, of the Civilian Joint Task Force, searches a woman at a checkpoint in Maiduguri, Nigeria. Saadu said she has lost her entire family to Boko Haram and the unrest it has caused in the area.

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"THEY LIVE IN THESE COMMUNITIES, THEY UNDERSTAND
THE TERRAIN BETTER, SINCE YOU MIGHT HAVE AN
OFFICER THAT HAS BEEN TRANSFERRED FROM A
DIFFERENT REGION, WHO DOESN'T SPEAK THE LANGUAGE
OR KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THAT REGION." — Valkamiya Ahmadu-Haruna
Senior Program Officer, CLEEN Foundation

A sign denotes the operating area of the Civilian Joint Task Force in Maiduguri, Nigeria.

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Ahmadu-Haruna said the study found that Nigerian NSSAs fall into three general categories:

- Religious or identity-based groups: An example of this is Hisbah, a group in the North formed to enforce Sharia, and the O'odua People's Congress, a group formed in the Southwest to promote Yoruba nationalism and protect Yoruba traders.
- Neighborhood watch/state-funded groups: These include the CJTF and others paid by the state to offer security.
- Village or community-based groups: These smaller groups typically are made up of men in the village who volunteer to offer protection and are paid through community donations, if at all.

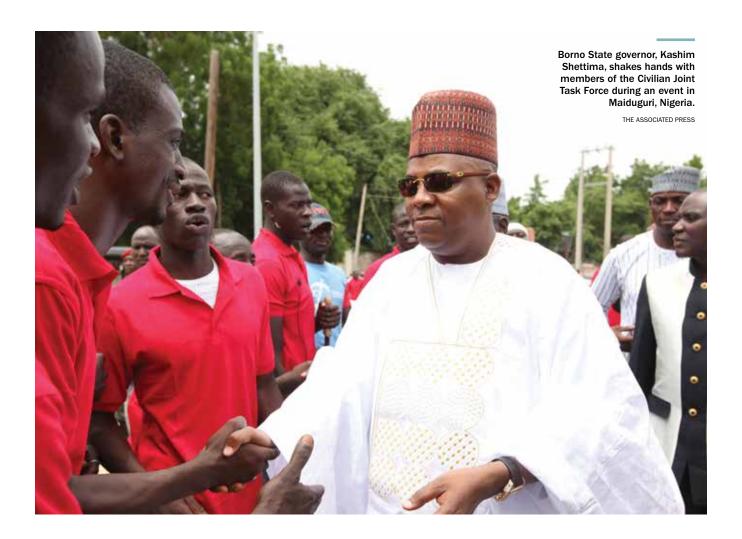
CLEEN also found that 64 percent of Nigerians see a role for NSSAs to offer protective services. Ahmadu-Haruna said their presence is most

appreciated in rural areas where the formal security sector is absent or in poor urban districts where citizens do not feel that security forces respond to their needs.

"The public feels that the formal institutions are not really living up to their responsibilities," she said.

The justice sector, Ahmadu-Haruna said, is like a tripod with three legs: police/security forces, the prison system and the court system. If any one of these legs is broken, the entire system collapses, and vigilantes sprout up to mete out their own form of justice.

NSSAs are sometimes viewed as more responsive and more in tune with what is going on in the communities. "They live in these communities, they understand the terrain better, since you might have an officer that has been transferred from a different region, who doesn't speak the language or know anything about that region," Ahmadu-Haruna said.



But it isn't all positive. CLEEN also heard horror stories from residents terrorized by vigilante justice. A group operating in southern Nigeria called the Bakassi Boys is known for catching suspected thieves and asking them whether they want to wear "short sleeves or long sleeves." This is code for whether they want part or all of their arm chopped off.

MILITARY PARTNERSHIP

Brig. Gen. Anthony Folorunsho of the Nigerian Army said the military is cautious about working with NSSAs. However, he said the dire circumstances in northeastern Nigeria necessitated a unique collaboration. This was especially true because members of the community were the only ones who could provide accurate intelligence about the movements of the extremists there.

"We don't encourage non-state security actors," Folorunsho said. "In all the zones that are violent in the nation, we don't encourage them; we try to discourage them. But we had a peculiar situation in the northeast, and we needed information. It's a security necessity now that's making us engage their services."

A better method of working with the civilian sector, he said, is what the Nigerian Army typically does in communities where it operates. The military holds community security meetings with town leaders, business owners,

members of the Armed Forces, police and government. "All of them are fully involved," he said. "The issues of concern are raised in that meeting. We resolve a lot of human security issues that would [otherwise] cause conflict through this collaboration."

Folorunsho also touted the civil-military organization at each of the military's formation headquarters, which works to improve relations with civilians and determines the most pressing community problems that need to be resolved.

For its part, CLEEN came up with a list of recommendations to improve the way NSSAs work and to separate the good actors from the bad. These include:

- Hold capacity-building workshops that emphasize ethical conduct.
- Encourage collaboration and exchanges among NSSAs, the police and military.
- Find a funding source so NSSAs are never financed by corrupt politicians or sectarian forces.
- Provide basic hardware such as walkie-talkies but not firearms.

"There is only one police force in the country; you cannot replace the functions of the police, but you can aid in their work," Ahmadu-Haruna said. "It can be a symbiotic relationship where both will benefit."



SIERRA LEONE

SHOWS THE WAY FOR SECURITY SECTOR RECTORING

The country's rebirth after its civil war sets a new standard for reconstitution of the military

ADF STAFF

January 2002, the country was in shambles. Some 50,000 people had died, and more than 2 million people — a third of the population — were refugees. There had been atrocities. Buildings and roads were destroyed. The country's records were gone. There was no intelligence and no security system. The level of infrastructure destruction was unprecedented; almost everything had to be rebuilt from scratch.

The war, which began in 1991, also left the country awash in ex-combatants, unresolved political tensions, high unemployment and small arms.

Five years after the war's end, for the first time in 20 years, Sierra Leone conducted peaceful national elections with no peacekeeping help. When no presidential candidate received the majority necessary to win, a runoff election was held the next month. The Economic Community of West African States declared the elections to be "free, fair and credible."

The country has since demonstrated that those elections were not an anomaly. In November 2012, the country had its third general election since the end of the civil war. Despite having 10 political parties, Sierra Leone conducted peaceful, successful elections at the presidential, parliamentary and local levels.

A 2009 report commissioned by the United Kingdom Global Conflict Prevention Pool credited the United Nations and the United Kingdom with intervening in the civil war and restoring order, but went on to say that successful elections were the work of the Sierra Leonean people.

The report said that the elections were evidence of the country's successful security sector reforms.

"The key to this security transformation has been, and continues to be, the leader-ship provided by a core of Sierra Leonean Government officials who have sustained the security reform effort over an extended period of time, often in difficult circumstances," the report said. The country's security sector reform (SSR) was praised as a prototype for other countries to follow.

Sierra Leonean policymakers, the report said, "were making extremely difficult decisions on short notice, in the field and within dysfunctional, at times non-existent, state institutions."

Researchers have concluded that the word "reform" does not go far enough in explaining what the country went through. One researcher referred to the process as a "comprehensive transformation of security structures" spread over a decade. The 2009 U.K. report said the transformation "reached deep into internal and external

security institutions, altered command structures, provided top-to-bottom training, and established staffing policies, procedures and behavior."

In December 2013, the Africa Center for Strategic Studies hosted a workshop of security sector leaders from 10 Central African countries. Speaker Ismail Tarawali of the Sierra Leone Office of National Security said his country's SSR began with the recognition that all citizens had to be involved.

"Sierra Leoneans were dissatisfied with what they saw as a corrupt definition of security, a concept of security which focused almost exclusively on regime survival," Tarawali said. "Equally problematic was the traditional approach to security, which is state-centric. Sierra Leoneans instead embraced a holistic understanding of security, a vision which placed the citizen at the center of the national security-making process."

To that end, the country created a civilian Office of National Security. The office established standards for the restructuring of the police, the Armed Forces and the intelligence network. Tarawali said the restructuring extended from the village level to the national level.

"To be frank, there was a very serious and popular push by Sierra Leoneans to follow the Liberian model of disbanding the entire military and building it anew," Tarawali said. "That, in and of itself, convinced the military and police of the

A Soldier patrols as election officials count ballots at a polling station during Sierra Leone's national presidential, parliamentary and local elections in 2012.





"THE KEY TO THIS SECURITY TRANSFORMATION

HAS BEEN, AND CONTINUES TO BE, THE LEADERSHIP PROVIDED BY A CORE OF SIERRA LEONEAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WHO HAVE SUSTAINED THE SECURITY REFORM EFFORT OVER AN EXTENDED PERIOD OF TIME, OFTEN IN DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES."

— United Kingdom Global Conflict Prevention Pool

need to embrace reform, if only to restore their badly damaged prestige in the eyes of their compatriots."

Sierra Leone is not an easy place to promote peace. The country has about 16 ethnic groups, each with its own customs and language. English is the country's official language, but it is not widely spoken. The country also has some cultural advantages. Although it is mostly Muslim, it has a significant Christian population, and a reputation throughout Africa for the two groups peacefully co-existing.

With so much ethnic diversity in Sierra Leone, Tarawali said it was imperative to include virtually everyone in the security sector reforms — reforms that are planned out well into the next decade.

"We brought representatives from police, military, local and international nongovernment organizations, traditional rulers, and broader structures of civil society together into a National Working Group to develop a strategic security vision for Sierra Leone out of which our new defense and national security policy framework was created," he said. "The national security assessments that emerged from this process were tied to Vision 2025, a guiding document which creates a vision for where the country should be in 2025."

A 'FAILED STATE'

Sierra Leone native Dr. Abu Bakarr Bah, an associate professor at Northern Illinois University in the United States, said that at the end of the civil war, his homeland was "a failed state."

"I often tell people that Sierra Leone reached rock bottom," Bah said. "And once you hit rock bottom, you can only shoot up." Bah said the military had "disappeared" by the end of the war. Its rebirth, he said, began with the demobilization of the combatants. "Those who gave up their weapons and agreed to peace — a group of them were actually accepted into the new force."

Next came training the new Army. "The training had two components," Bah said. "One was the technical, the military skills, such as shooting. The other was what they call the professionalism, instilling a vision of a force that is disciplined, controlled — that is, democratic and civilian controlled. They were trained in the basic management of a bureaucracy — how you handle promotions, how you handle salaries."

The country created the Sierra Leone Anti-Corruption Commission to deal with the very problems that led to the civil war.

"In practical terms, corruption really comes down to three kinds of activities," Bah said. "One is bribery — someone will ask you to pay them money for doing a job they are supposed to provide for free. I want to get my passport from the immigration office, and the immigration officer will say that you have to give me money before I give you your passport on time.

"Another type of corruption is discrimination," he said. "Two people will apply for a job. One is more qualified, but the less-qualified person gets the job because you know the person's uncle or because of your tribal ethnic background.

"The third type is actual embezzlement. For example, there's a fund with \$10,000 to build a school, and they spend \$3,000 on the school and then they find all kinds of accounting gimmicks to take the other \$7,000." Bah said



the Anti-Corruption Commission is devoting most of its energies to embezzlement.

"The strategy is to actually drag people to court, but do settlements instead of actually litigating the cases," he said. "The strategy is to actually recover money. The thinking is that litigating does not always lead to people paying money back."

Before the civil war, the Sierra Leonean Army was considered to be nothing more than the preserver of a corrupt regime. That, in part, led to the war.

"In a sense, it's the military's job to preserve the state," Bah said. "The problem is, what is the character of the regime? In the prewar, they had to preserve a regime that was one party, corrupt. Now their job should be to actually preserve a democratic regime. If they are to protect the institutions of democracy, the system of elections, that's fine."

MORE THAN THE ARMY

SSR involves more than just the Army. In the

later stages of Sierra Leone's reforms, the country began examining its Ministry of Internal Affairs and its prison services. Enough time has passed that observers are now documenting what worked and what didn't during the country's reform process. The 2009 U.K. report includes these findings:

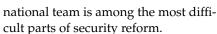
- Getting the right people in place and taking action "is more valuable than detailed, extensive and time-consuming planning." Give the right people the power to make decisions, and then let them do their jobs.
- National ownership is critical, even at the beginning of the process, when the government is in pieces. Outside help, such as the United Nations, should be as advisors, not implementers.
- Turnover is "chronically high" among outside advisors. Therefore, the establishment of a good national team that can weather a steady parade of advisors is critical. Building and retaining such a

Soldiers secure the area around the National Electoral Commission head-quarters in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in November 2012.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS



AU UN IST PHOTO/JACOB WILLMER



- The national team and outsiders must develop a good exit strategy for the advisors. Any reform plan must include a "late-stage" strategy.
- If the national team is too small, it can be misused if the country becomes unstable. The national team must reach a size of "critical mass" to sustain itself in the inevitable problem periods.

Bah points to Sierra Leone sending peacekeepers to other countries as proof of how far its reformed Army has come. The country has 850 Soldiers, including about 65 women, deployed in the African Union Mission in Somalia.

As of 2014, Sierra Leone had achieved

stunning results in security reform. But the country still faced major problems. As the U.N. pulled out of the country in March 2014 after 15 years of peace operations, officials warned that Sierra Leone still had to deal with poverty, unemployment, lingering corruption and upholding the rule of law. But hope remains.

In an April 2014 speech, Sierra Leonean President Ernest Bai Koroma said his country's reforms were an example for the rest of the world. "Today we are not only amongst the most peaceful of nations in the world, we are also exporting peace and security to other countries through their participation in peacekeeping operations in Somalia, Darfur and other parts of the world."

Building strong partnerships to shape and maintain security and stability in Africa.



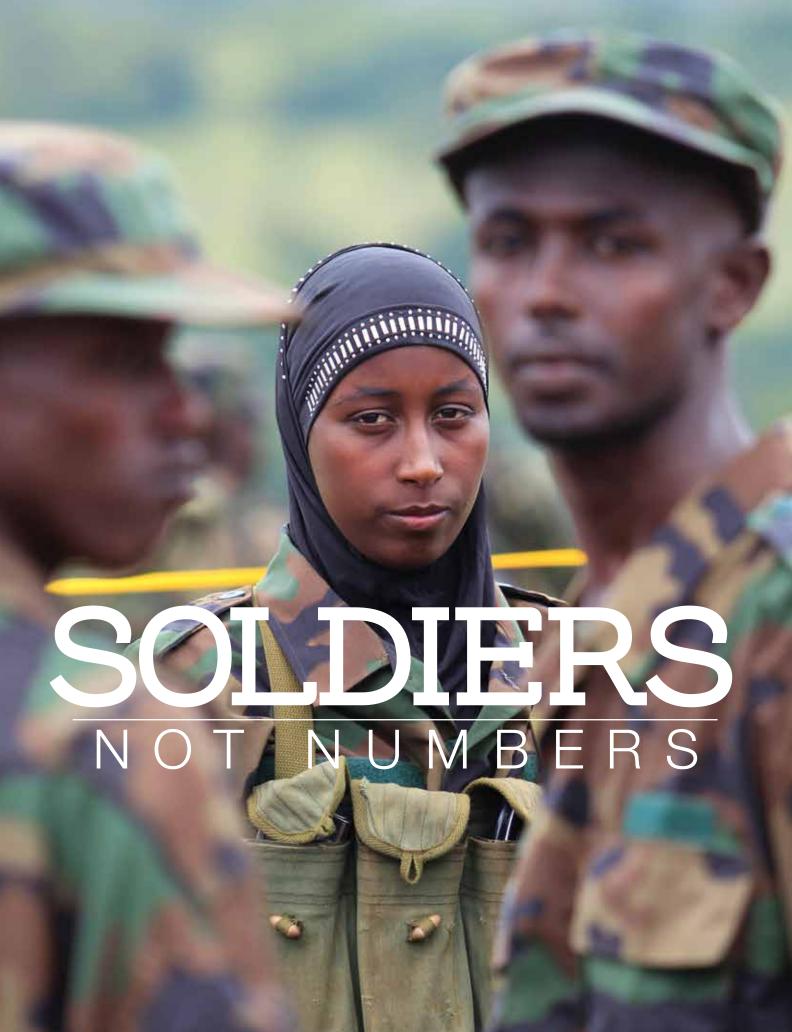
To promote cooperation and a common understanding of the security issues facing the continent, the Commander of U.S. Army Africa will host a symposium bringing together senior military leaders from across the continent.

AFRICAN LAND FORCES SUMMIT February 9-12, 2015 Dakar, Senegal

To see live video recordings and updates from ALFS, visit: www.usaraf.army.mil.

To view transcripts from the event or to participate in the ALFS BLOGGER ROUNDTABLE, visit: armylive.dodlive.mil.





INTEGRATING WOMEN INTO AFRICAN MILITARIES MUST GO BEYOND QUOTAS AND TRADITIONAL ROLES

ADF STAFF
PHOTOS BY REUTERS

At one time, some of the fiercest and most capable Soldiers in Africa were women: the Amazon warriors of the Dahomey Kingdom. The all-female fighting force, recruited from captives and the indigenous population, also served as royal bodyguards to the king.

The force was formed in the 17th century, growing out of a contingent created to hunt elephants. By the mid-19th century, the number of fighters had grown to between 1,000 and 6,000 women, comprising about a third of the Dahomey army. The kingdom, which was in what is now southern Benin, was fairly progressive for its time; women had rights not afforded in many other societies.

The Amazon women fought valiantly up to and through the Franco-Dahomean Wars in 1890 and 1892. By the time of French conquest in 1892, most of the Amazons had been wiped out. The Dahomey warriors are remembered with pride in modern-day Benin. In 2010, Benin was one of 13 former French colonies to send a military contingent to Paris for a parade marking Bastille Day. It chose to send its elite female Soldier corps known as *Le Benin Amazone*.

Left: A female Somali Soldier, trained by the European Union Training Mission team, participates in a passing out ceremony in Uganda on February 1, 2013. Somali women who join the military often face resistance from society and their families.

MORE THAN JUST NUMBERS

In the 21st century, women continue to serve with distinction in African security forces. Experts agree that having women in African military, police and security forces is a positive thing, because it provides representation to more than half of a nation's population. To that end, several nations, particularly in Southern Africa, have advanced the integration of women into security forces.

According to the Southern African Development Community Gender Protocol 2014 Barometer, women make up 28 percent of South Africa's defense forces, 38 percent of the Seychelles' police force and 52 percent of the Seychelles' correctional services. Zimbabwe has the highest proportion of women serving in peacekeeping forces at 35 percent. In 2013, Namibia led that category with 46 percent. The target for each of these categories in 2015 is 50 percent.

Somalia, a nation coming out of more than 20 years of lawlessness and terrorist attacks, has begun to bring women into its fledgling national Army. As of mid-2014, about 1,500 of the nation's 20,000 Soldiers were women. Twenty-five-year-old Naeemo Abdi is one of them. "It was difficult, but I must do this to serve my country unreservedly," she told The Associated Press. "Gender is not boundary. If committed, women can work far better than men."

Even so, her choice to leave domestic life in 2012 to join the Army was met with skepticism and, at times, hostility. Her husband and family opposed the decision. Once, as she frisked a man about to enter a Somali police station, he snapped: "Woman and Soldier?"

Others complain of discrimination, saying they are trapped in menial jobs. Many provide security at police stations. "The only problem is women get relegated and don't get promoted to higher roles," Soldier Shukri Hassan told the AP.

"Getting senior female officers would inspire more women to join the Army," said Soldier Halimo Maalin.

Amazon warriors of the Dahomey Kingdom.

TRANSFORMING LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES

Female leadership is among the top challenges for integration of women into military and police forces. A major theme at a regional gender conference in Windhoek, Namibia, in June 2014 was that mere numbers are not enough. Instead, nations should focus on involving women in gender issues at the decision-making level.

African nations are showing an interest in the topic. Representatives from Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Zambia attended the conference and shared strategies and best practices.

Some women already are serving in high levels of military command structures around the continent. Again, Southern Africa is notable. Maj. Gen. Nontsikelelo Memela-Motumi of the South African National Defence Force is deputy chief of human resources and the force's highest-ranking woman. She wrote about the need for women in decision-making positions in the September 2013 issue of *South African Soldier* magazine.

"We need more women at [the] leadership level to serve not only as role models, but to propel the transformation agenda towards non-sexism," she wrote. "Significantly, there is a pervasive gender gap in women's substantive and symbolic representation in the military command structures."

Cheryl Hendricks, professor of political science at the University of Johannesburg, agrees. But it will take time for women to rise to the levels necessary to have substantive influence. Women who enter security forces must be given reasons to stay in the form of training and opportunities for advancement, she said. With that advancement comes the possibility of having women in decision-making roles that can bring reform to the security sector.

"We've concentrated so much on just getting women in there, and so what you see is women go in, but they don't stay there for very long either," Hendricks told *ADF*. "So after three, four years, they move out to somewhere else. So retention, not just recruitment — retention is a big issue in the security sector."

Security forces must strike a balance between proper training and a commitment to advancing women. "You don't want to put people in positions that they're not capable of delivering on," Hendricks said. "That just shoots you in the foot. So you need to give people the requisite training to do so. But you can fast-track training as well. So instead of it taking you 20 years, it could take you 10 years if you have a concerted effort to do this. So you have to look out for capable women, identify them and make sure that you fast-track them."

AVOIDING THE GENDER TRAP

Hendricks says she always starts with the assumption that women are equal citizens in society and deserve an opportunity to pursue







"WE NEED MORE WOMEN at [the] leadership level to serve not only as role models, but to propel the transformation agenda towards non-sexism."

 Maj. Gen. NONTSIKELELO MEMELA-MOTUMI, South African National Defence Force

whatever service or employment interests them, as long as they are qualified for it. A more representative security sector will consider the needs of everyone in a society. Similar arguments have been made and acted upon across the continent with regard to integrating racial and ethnic groups into security forces. So the same kinds of arguments should hold true for women. Integrating women, like ethnic groups, achieves the basics of security sector reform, Hendricks said — "a more representative, legitimate, accountable and responsive security sector."

Where militaries must be careful, she said, is in presuming that women bring unique gender-based qualities to military and police service. For example, some assume that women are better communicators, more empathetic and more likely to seek peace. Sometimes it is assumed that they will be better at interacting with civilian women and children or be more likely to advocate against gender-based violence. Sometimes these assumptions are true, but there also are men who excel at such things. "So we can't just make a homogenous argument like that," Hendricks said. "What we need to do is to find out what are the skill sets that are necessary for a particular society's security sector or a particular peace mission, etc., and then look at how we can train everybody to fulfill those skill sets."

Hendricks calls this the "gender trap." If officials presume that women are

valuable only because they bring a particular set of skills, then only women will be left with the burden of transforming gender relations in the security sector. "That's why I tend to emphasize the rights-based argument," she said. "For any other sector, we don't have to go and look for the unique qualities of women to be in the business sector or in government, etc. It's taken as they belong there, too. But somehow when it comes to the security sector, we need to be finding these rationales for women to be in this particular sector."

Boubacar N'Diaye, chairman of the Africa Security Sector Network, said the issue is one of balance. Women should be included, welcome and in positions of authority. N'Diaye said he has had to address the question of why it's important for women to be in the security sector many times from African officials as he works on reform programs across the continent.

"I say, well, don't forget that not long ago during colonialism, Europeans thought that African men were not capable of being part of the military and could not be in combat positions, could not be in command positions," he said. "So how would you feel if that were to continue to exist right now as we speak? And I think that drives the point home that it is indefensible to continue to have security apparatuses that exclude more than half of the population, again, literally deprive itself of so much talent and so much energy."

MINNIN CULTURE & SPORTS

AMISOM USES

4,500 FOOTBALLS TO PROMOTE PEACE

AMISOM

The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) has given 4,500 durable footballs to the government of Somalia to promote peace and help teach life skills to children and youth groups throughout the country.

The One World Futbol Project donated the footballs to AMISOM through the United Nations Support Office.

Speaking at a ceremony in August 2014, Lydia Wanyoto Mutende, acting head of AMISOM, said sports is one of the key pillars of social transformation and development. Wanyoto said Somalia and the Somali Football Association will distribute the footballs to schools, youth groups and disadvantaged groups across the country to promote peace, education, human rights, equality and social inclusion, and to improve health.

community, national and global level have long been idealized as a way to heal wounds, mend fences, and rise above differences among cultures, religions and nations," she said. Football "is often viewed as so transcendent of politics and prejudice that even nations embroiled in war lay down their arms and come together to cheer on their teams. And this can be true in Somalia."

Sandra Cress, director of One World Futbol Project in Africa, said the organization distributes the nearly indestructible footballs to disadvantaged communities, where football can be used to teach life skills and foster social change. The group's footballs never need pumps and never go flat, even if punctured again and again. They allow for play almost anywhere, from beaches to rough landscapes.



AFRICAN MUSIC STARS PAY HOMAGE TO MANDELA

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

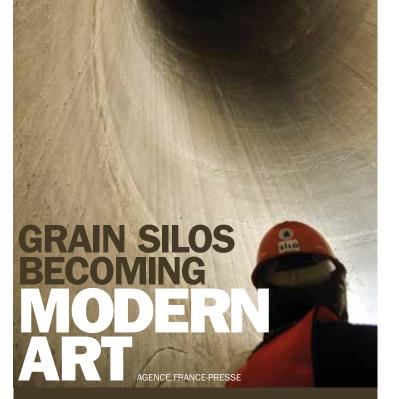
usic superstars Johnny
Clegg and Youssou
N'Dour paid homage
June 15, 2014, to
late South African icon Nelson
Mandela at the 20th edition of the
World Festival of Sacred Music in
Morocco.

The show in Fez, the spiritual capital of the North African nation, began with a reading of English poet William Ernest Henley's *Invictus*, often recited by Mandela while imprisoned by the apartheid government. Thousands of people then broke into dance as South Africa's Clegg, a musician internationally renowned as the "White Zulu" for mixing English and Zulu lyrics and rhythms, took to the stage.

"Thank you for this homage to a great man who played an important role in my life and in the world," Clegg, 61, said in French, after belting out his hit 1980s ode to Mandela, *Asimbonanga*, which means "we have not seen him."

He melded his voice with that of another great, Senegal's N'dour, in a medley including N'dour's song Nelson Mandela, which he wrote in 1985 after spending hours in Dakar "watching the news on apartheid with my mom."

The show fell on the day that Mandela's family marked the traditional end of mourning — six months after his death on December 5, 2013, at age 95, after a long illness.



On Cape Town's waterfront at the southern tip of Africa, the world's biggest museum of contemporary art from across the continent is being carved from a conglomeration of concrete tubes nine stories high.

The \$50 million project to transform the grim functionality of 42 unused colonial grain silos into an ultramodern tribute to African creativity is driven by an international team of art experts and architects.

A builder looks at a grain silo on the construction site of the new Zeitz Museum of Contemporary Art Africa in Cape Town, South Africa.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

For Mark Coetzee, executive director of the Zeitz Museum of Contemporary Art Africa, the project is the fulfilment of a pledge he made to himself a quarter century ago.

"It has been my life dream to build a contemporary art museum in Africa," said the South African-born former director of the Rubell Family Collection in Miami, United States. "When I left Cape Town 25 years ago, I vowed to return only when I had the skills and the relationships to make this happen."

For British architect Thomas Heatherwick, whose acclaimed projects include the Olympic Cauldron for the London Games in 2012, it was a stimulating challenge.

"How do you turn 42 vertical concrete tubes into a place to experience contemporary culture?" Heatherwick said. "We could either fight a building made of concrete tubes or enjoy its tube-iness."

An elliptical section will be hollowed out from the center of the nine-story building to create a grand atrium that will be filled with light from a glass roof overhead, designers say. Some silo chambers will be carved open at ground level to accommodate exhibition galleries; others will house elevators.

This vision is difficult to comprehend on a visit to the construction site on the Victoria and Albert Waterfront where workers are in the early stages of a project due for completion in late 2016.

"There is a growing interest in the visual arts in and from Africa," Coetzee said. "The market is booming, artists from Africa are included on all the major biennales, major gallerists and collectors include artists from Africa in their focus."

Apart from a permanent collection, the museum's 80 galleries will house temporary and traveling exhibitions. The museum will focus on the 21st century, with a collection policy of work from 2000 onward.

RWANDAN FILM INDUSTRY on the rise

THE EASTAFRICAN

After the 1994 Rwandan genocide that claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of people, some Rwandans began to tell their stories through film.

The first man to do so was Eric Kabera who, in 2001, teamed up with British filmmaker Nick Hughes to make 100 Days. His film not only had a successful premiere in Kampala, Uganda, but it also went on to win the Best Cinematography Award in India. The film, aptly titled, brought to light what happened during the genocide when 1 million Rwandans were killed in a span of 100 days, subsequently inspiring the making of other films about the genocide by local and international filmmakers.

Most notable were the epic *Sometimes in April*, the compelling documentary *Shake Hands With the Devil* and *Hotel Rwanda*, which was based on what happened inside the Hotel des Mille Collines during the genocide.

Dozens of films about Rwanda's 100 darkest days and the genocide became the defining element of the country's new film industry. But as the industry grew, Rwandan filmmakers realized the need to make films that portrayed Rwanda as it is today.



The film *Africa United* was screened at the 2014 Rwanda Film Festival. It tells the story of three Rwandan children trying to get to the opening ceremony of the 2010 World Cup.

For Kabera, the success of 100 Days became the inspiration for another project — the setting up of the Rwanda Cinema Centre to train upcoming filmmakers. The center, which opened in 2003, trained scriptwriters, producers, directors and editors, but still there was no film culture to speak of in Rwanda.

In 2005, Kabera started Rwanda's first film festival, which he nicknamed Hillywood.

"Hillywood stands for cinema in the hills of Rwanda," he said. The overriding aim of Hillywood, also known as the Rwanda Film Festival, was to serve as a platform for locally produced films and help local filmmakers interact with international filmmakers. During the annual festivals — the 10th edition was in July 2014 — local and international films are shown on big screens across the country.



FACEBOOK TO DEBUT INTERNET APP in Zambia AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

he social media giant Facebook has unveiled an app to allow people who have mobile phones but no Internet access to get online services for health, education and basic communications.

The Internet.org app was released first in Zambia and is to be rolled out in other countries where Internet access is lacking or unaffordable, the company said.

"Over 85 percent of the world's population lives in areas with existing cellular coverage, yet only about 30 percent of the total population accesses the Internet," Facebook's Guy Rosen said in a blog post. "Affordability and awareness are significant barriers to Internet adoption for many, and today we are introducing the Internet.org app to make the Internet accessible to more people by providing a set of free basic services."

The app allows people with Android-powered mobile phones to get free access to services including Wikipedia, Google Search, Facebook,

AccuWeather, and sites offering health and wellness information.

The effort already has helped 3 million people access the Internet who had no access before. Only 15 percent of Zambians have Internet access, but the program will help them find jobs, information on reproductive health and other health matters, and stay connected with loved ones.

Zambian users also will have access to services including Go Zambia Jobs, Mobile Alliance for Maternal Action, Women's Rights App and Zambia uReport. It will be available in partnership with the mobile carrier Airtel.

In 2013, Facebook Chief Executive Mark Zuckerberg announced the creation of Internet.org to help improve online access around the world, with partners including Ericsson, MediaTek, Nokia, Opera, Qualcomm and Samsung. Google has its own initiative aimed at boosting Internet access and is testing the use of balloons in areas without wireless networks.

A woman uses her mobile phone in Kigali, Rwanda, in March 2014.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

SUMMIT GARNERS MORE THAN \$17 BILLION IN INVESTMENT PLEDGES

REUTERS

U.S. and African companies and the World Bank on August 5, 2014, pledged more than \$17 billion in investments in construction, energy and information technology projects in Africa.

The previous day, General Electric announced \$2 billion in new investments in Africa through 2018 as Washington kicked off the U.S.-Africa Summit, aimed at boosting commercial relations.

GE told Agence France-Presse the new investments will include health training programs in several countries, including Ghana, Kenya and Nigeria; a new facility in Nigeria for manufacturing and assembling machinery, mainly for the oil sector; customer support systems in South Africa; and other operations.

The U.S.-Africa Business Forum, part of the threeday summit in Washington, has allowed dozens of African heads of state to meet with U.S. and African executives and has spotlighted projects to improve infrastructure, finance, supply chains and energy security. U.S. President Barack Obama met with corporate chief executives and government leaders at the event.

Dangote Group
President Aliko Dangote
signed an agreement to jointly
invest \$5 billion in energy
projects in Sub-Saharan Africa
with Blackstone Group funds,
saying nothing works if there
is no power.

The Nigerian company makes cement, mills flour and refines sugar, among other things. Dangote also called for the U.S. Export-Import Bank to remain open, praising its support for African companies buying U.S. goods.

The World Bank, which committed \$5 billion to support electricity generation, estimates one in three Africans, or 600 million people, lack access to electricity, despite rapid economic growth expected to top 5 percent in 2015 and 2016.

Africa is expected to have a larger workforce than China or India by 2040 and boasts the world's fastest-growing middle class, supporting demand for consumable goods.

The Coca-Cola Co. said it would invest \$5 billion with African bottling partners in new manufacturing lines over six years, and IBM CEO Ginni Rometty said the IT giant would plow more than \$2 billion into the region over seven years.



Ghanaian President John Dramani Mahama, left, and Jay Ireland, president and CEO of GE Africa, discuss expanding access to power sources across Africa. GETTY IMAGES

Wal-Mart Stores Inc. CEO Doug McMillon said the retailer had faith that regional governments would work to ensure a secure business environment and the rule of law.

The company's \$2.6 billion investment in the region in 2011, when it bought a majority stake in local Massmart Holdings Ltd., was "just the beginning," he said.



Nations Contribute Loan, Expertise for Kenyan

WIND PLANT

THE EASTAFRICAN

The Overseas Private Investment Corp. (OPIC) has approved a \$250 million loan for a 300 megawatt power plant in northern Kenya.

Funding agreements for the \$870 million Lake Turkana Wind Power project (LTWP) were signed in March 2014. The board of OPIC, an agency of the U.S. government, approved the \$250 million loan for development, construction, commissioning and operation of the wind farm in May 2014.

Lake Turkana
Wind Power
officials check
a mast that
measures wind
direction and
speed at a
study site in
Loiyangalani,
near Lake
Turkana in
northern Kenya,
in 2012.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Norway-based DNV GL is providing the Kenya Electricity Transmission Co. (KETRACO) technical expertise to build 426 kilometers of overhead cables to transfer 300 megawatts from the LTWP plant. The transmission line is expected to cost \$191.5 million.

"Our wind farm construction can start after KETRACO's transmission line has begun," project Chairman Carlo Van Wageningen said.

He said the first 50 megawatts of the LTWP project will be online 27 months after construction has begun, and the entire wind farm will be operational after 32 months.

DNV GL Chief Executive David Walker said electricity generated at the plant will be fed into the national grid at Suswa. "The 400-kilovolt transmission line will be an important part of the country's electricity generation infrastructure, allowing 300 megawatts of LTWP and planned future geothermal plants to deliver low-cost renewable power," he said.

The plant has signed a 20-year power purchase agreement with Kenya Power, the electricity distributor.

DEFENSE & SECURITY

MAURITANIA'S NAVY UNVEILS FIVE-YEAR PLAN The Mauritanian Navy offshore patrol vessel Limam el Hadrami.

DEFENCEWEB

vessel donated by the Chinese government in 2008. The Spanish government donated two Airbus Military C212-200 maritime patrol aircraft between 2008 and 2011, boosting the Mauritanian Navy's limited air-support capacity for search

and rescue missions.

undisclosed number of midsize vessels to secure the country's 754-kilometer Atlantic Ocean coastline. The government also wants to set up three new marine forces companies as the country tightens its maritime boundaries and conducts effective patrols within the

he Mauritanian Navy has unveiled a five-year

development plan that includes the acquisition of

two 60-meter offshore patrol vessels (OPVs) and an

boundaries and conducts effective patrols within the 235,000-square-kilometer exclusive economic zone, according to *IHS Jane's*.

Unveiling the plan during a ceremony at the Nouadhibou

Unveiling the plan during a ceremony at the Nouadhibou naval base, Mauritanian Navy Commander Adm. Isselkou Ould Cheik el-Weli said the two OPVs were already under construction. He did not disclose which company or country was contracted to build the vessels.

The Navy wants to boost its patrol fleet from an estimated 10 patrol and coastal craft, which includes the flagship Liman el Hadrami P-601, a Huang Class offshore patrol

The Navy operates from two bases — one in the capital, Nouakchott, and another in the coastal town of Nouadhibou. It employs up to 650 seamen, including a naval infantry division, and is set to benefit from the formation of three new marine corps companies.

The Navy is facing a number of maritime crimes, which include swells of rickety, overloaded boats transporting African illegal immigrants through its maritime domain en route to Spain. Because Mauritania has porous land and sea borders, the country also faces serious problems of trans-Atlantic drug trafficking, arms trafficking and goods smuggling by organized crime syndicates, some with alleged links to the financing of terrorist militias in North Africa.

West African Nations Track Small Arms

ADF STAFF

Several nations in West Africa are making major strides in complying with the Economic Community of West African States Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons by marking and tracking all arms within their borders.

In Ghana, the National Commission on Small Arms and Light Weapons announced plans to engrave the ECOWAS logo on all arms in the country as international standards demand.

The move is part of a wide range of measures to control movement of small arms in the country, commission Executive Secretary Jones Borteye Applerh announced in April 2014. "We are trying to put the ECOWAS logo on the guns ... so that when a state gun leaks, we can trace it to the source," he said.

Applerh added that the commission has begun registering guns within military and paramilitary bodies in the country, and that soon will be expanded to civilians.

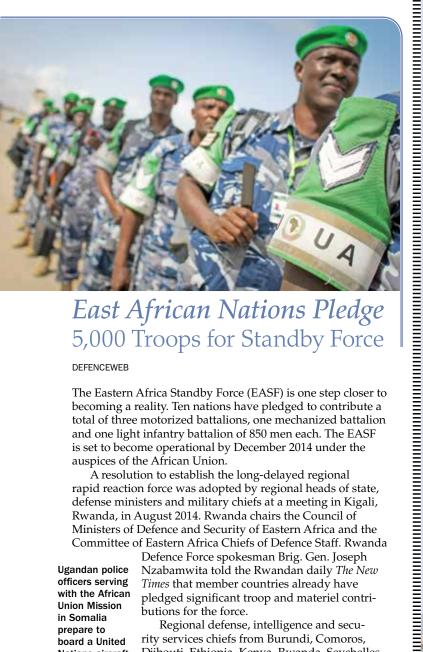
Similarly in Sierra Leone, the National Commission on Small Arms has instituted a computerization program to mark all state-owned and civilian weapons with registration codes. The process involves engraving weapons with unique, indentifiable information, including the ECOWAS logo, the Sierra Leone country code, security agency code, date and weapon serial number, according to reporting by the group

Action on Armed Violence. AOAV donated the machines and sponsored a member of the military and police to travel to the United States for training on operating the machines. These officers later returned to Sierra Leone and each trained 10 people.

Adopted in 2006, the ECOWAS Convention requires signatories to mark weapons and create a national database for all small arms and light weapons within their nations.



A rifle is engraved during the launch of the Sierra Leone Weapons Marking and Computerisation Programme. ACTION ON ARMED VIOLENCE



East African Nations Pledge 5,000 Troops for Standby Force

DEFENCEWEB

The Eastern Africa Standby Force (EASF) is one step closer to becoming a reality. Ten nations have pledged to contribute a total of three motorized battalions, one mechanized battalion and one light infantry battalion of 850 men each. The EASF is set to become operational by December 2014 under the auspices of the African Union.

A resolution to establish the long-delayed regional rapid reaction force was adopted by regional heads of state, defense ministers and military chiefs at a meeting in Kigali, Rwanda, in August 2014. Rwanda chairs the Council of Ministers of Defence and Security of Eastern Africa and the Committee of Eastern Africa Chiefs of Defence Staff. Rwanda

Ugandan police officers serving with the African Union Mission in Somalia prepare to board a United Nations aircraft in Mogadishu.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Defence Force spokesman Brig. Gen. Joseph Nzabamwita told the Rwandan daily The New Times that member countries already have pledged significant troop and materiel contributions for the force.

Regional defense, intelligence and security services chiefs from Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda who met in Kigali also agreed that each country would contribute four special police units of between 140 and 170 officers to support the civilian peacekeep-

ing component during active deployments. Other combat support services pledged include two hospitals, combat engineers and special forces.

"From the pledges made, we got all the troops and the police officers we needed to put at the disposal of the force to enable it to do rapid deployments, at any time," Nzabamwita said.

The EASF will not be based in one particular country; each country will host and sustain its own contingent and deploy it when required. The force will become the regional African Union crisis response force, with powers to intervene in regional conflicts to protect civilians, prevent loss of life, and contain regional armed insurgencies. Rwandan Minister of Defence Gen. James Kabarebe said the region should not wait for donors but quickly fund the initiative because the region is far behind the rest of Africa in terms of meeting the AU Peace and Security Council goal of having a peacekeeping force of 5,000 per regional bloc by December 2014.

AFRICA SURPASSES ASIA IN IVORY SEIZURES

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

frican countries are clamping down on ivory smuggling, with large seizures for the first time exceeding those made in prime destination Asia, U.N. wildlife regulators said in June 2014.

Until recently, seizures of half a metric ton or more of ivory were rarely, if ever, made before the illegal, precious material left Africa. That changed in 2013, according to research published by the secretariat of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES).

Since March 2013, for the first time, "more large-scale seizures were made in Africa than in Asia," CITES said in a report on elephant poaching and the illegal ivory trade. Eighty percent of the African seizures were made in three countries — Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda — which happen to figure among the eight nations ordered by the secretariat of CITES in March 2013 to create National Ivory Action Plans to tackle the problem.

The shift in where seizures are taking place is hugely significant, according to Ben Janse van Rensburg, a former South African police officer who heads CITES' enforcement support unit. "These large consignments up until now ... managed to leave the African continent without being detected at all," he said. "Now they are being detected, which actually shows that these countries have started to implement measures to combat this illegal trade."

The shift hints at what can be achieved with a "strong, coordinated, collective" effort to fight elephant poaching and ivory smuggling along the whole value chain, he added.

Togolese officials seized this ivory stock, shown in February 2014, at the port in Lomé. Togo is intensifying efforts to crack down on ivory trafficking after a number of large seizures, warning smugglers that the country will no longer be a staging post for the illegal trade.



NINN PATHS OF HOPE



Oral Cholera Vaccine is Success IN GUINEA

A health worker gives a

South Sudanese woman

an oral cholera vaccine in

March 2014 at a medical

camp run by Doctors

without Borders.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

VOICE OF AMERICA

An oral vaccine for cholera has proved to be highly effective and could change the way future outbreaks are controlled. The medical aid group Doctors Without Borders says the vaccine was used during a 2012 outbreak in Guinea.

The study of the oral cholera vaccine known as Shanchol was conducted by Epicentre, the research arm of Doctors Without Borders.

Cholera is a water-borne disease causing severe diarrhea. It's usually found in countries with poor sanitation and unsafe drinking water. The disease usually is treated with oral rehydration therapy.

Epidemiologist Rebecca Grais said, "I think what's interesting and what this study adds and that hasn't been shown up until now is the possibility to include oral cholera vaccine into the arsenal of the epidemic response to cholera. This is the first time that the vaccine was used in Sub-Saharan Africa in response to an epidemic."

The findings are published in the New England Journal of Medicine, and Grais said they dispel a number of myths about cholera control.

There was a fear that use of the vaccine would pull resources away from treatment — that it would be too logistically complicated — and potentially not have an impact. But the study concluded that the vaccine is effective.

The vaccine is administered in two doses spaced 14 days apart. It had an 86 percent protection rate in Guinea. More than 316,000 doses were administered over six weeks.

Grais said one advantage of an oral vaccine, as opposed to an injection, is that it can be administered by nonmedical personnel. The World Health Organization is now stockpiling Shanchol — one of two oral cholera vaccines it has approved for use. The study says Shanchol is better to use in developing countries because it's cheaper and easier to manufacture, transport and store.

Rwanda Introduces

Greenhouse Gas Monitoring

THE EASTAFRICAN

wanda's Ministry of Natural Resources has unveiled a new monitoring system to cut greenhouse gas emissions caused by deforestation and environmental degradation.

Adrie Mukashema, deputy director-general in charge of forests at the ministry, said the Greenhouse Gas Monitoring and Reporting Scheme was a reflection of Rwanda's commitment to protecting its forests and encouraging sustainable development.

"Even though we have little, we make sure that what we have is sustainably managed," she said.

The country has 700,000 hectares of forest, covering 28.8 percent of the total land area.

Members of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change developed a program to reduce emissions caused by deforestation and forest degradation in 2008.

Countries wanting to participate in the program are required to develop a national system for measuring, monitoring and reporting emissions, and are expected to periodically submit emissions information.



Almost 30 percent of Rwanda is forest. ISTOCK

Rwanda is among 10 Central African countries that received funding — \$400,000 from the Congo Basin Forest Fund — to develop a reporting system. It has been working on a reporting system since May 2013, and it was sent to the U.N. in June 2014 for approval, officials said.

Donat Nsabimana, one of six experts who created Rwanda's early plan, presented the framework to a group of environmental experts meeting in Kigali in June 2014.



+

UN Calls for End to Hunger in Africa by 2025

UNITED NATIONS NEWS CENTRE

he United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization has warned that despite notable recent economic progress, Africa remains the world's most food-insecure continent. It has called on all African agriculture ministers to focus investments and support efforts on smallholder farmers, including youth and women.

At the March 2014 28th Regional Conference for Africa in Tunis, Tunisia, the U.N. applauded the continent's

continuous growth since 1999 and called for providing an enabling environment to end hunger in the region by 2025.

With an average annual gross domestic product increase of 4.8 percent between 2000 and 2010 — up from 2.1 percent in the previous decade — Africa has seven out of the top 10 fastest-growing economies in the world.

The agricultural sector, in particular, has progressed considerably, with the intensification of staple food production, improved varieties of banana in East and Central Africa, high-yielding varieties of maize in East and Southern Africa, increased cotton production in Burkina Faso and Mali, and increased production of tea and flower farming in East Africa.

Eleven African countries already have met the first Millennium Development Goal to reduce by half the proportion of hungry people between 1990 and 2015. Three countries — Djibouti, Ghana, and São Tomé and Príncipe — also have met the even more ambitious 1996 World Food Summit goal to reduce hunger.

Despite all the progress, levels of hunger and undernourishment remain worrisome in Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly in the Sahel region and the Horn of Africa, the U.N. warned, estimating that of the 388 million who live in extreme poverty on the continent, 239 million are chronically undernourished.

The U.N. insists that there are significant opportunities for accelerating smallholder-driven agriculture and agribusiness in Africa as the basis for transforming and commercializing the sector. With 40 percent of Africa's population now living in cities and consuming half of the total food, the importance of rural-urban food supply chains should be acknowledged, the U.N. said. Policymakers should consider this urban market, which is more accessible to family farmers, at least as much as the export market.

Numerous examples of the dynamic growth of rural-urban supply chains can be found throughout the continent including: millers and retailers of teff in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; the millet supply chain in Senegal; the chicken supply chain in urban Nigeria, Mozambique and many other African countries; and the rapid rise of dairy processing companies linked to small farmers in Kenya and Zambia.

GROWTH & PROGRESS



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

surge in disposable income and the growth in Africa's middle class has led to an upswing in the number of shopping centers across the continent, a June 2014 report said.

With shoppers searching for new ways to spend their money, and investors keen to help them do it, 14 new shopping centers opened between 2012 and 2013, according to research by Sagaci, a market intelligence organization. Excluding South Africa, there were 242 shopping centers operating on the continent last year, the report said.

"The middle class is developing. And the people in it want to spend their money," Julien Garcier, a partner at Sagaci, told AFP. More than 180 other retail developments are in the pipeline, according to the researchers, funded "largely by local investors."

Just one shopping center closed in 2013, the Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi, Kenya, which was shut after an attack by the Somali extremist group al-Shabaab in which 67 people were killed.

According to the International Monetary Fund, 150 million people can be considered firmly in the continent's middle class. Another 150 million are part of the more-vulnerable "floating" middle class, whose members are susceptible to financial shocks that could push them back into poverty.

Sub-Saharan African economies are some of the fastest growing in the world and were expected to expand by more than 5 percent in 2014.

Although much of the continent's growth has come from oil, gas and other natural resources, the emergence of a middle class also has boosted consumer growth. According to a study by the African Development Bank published in 2011, nearly 34 percent of Africa's population is middle class, with the group almost tripling since 1980.

In May 2014, the accounting firm Ernst & Young published a report that said many investors are moving into "consumer-related sectors as Africa's middle class expands."

Garcier says his research suggests that 30 percent of households in the biggest African cities earn more than \$500 a month. He said that in all of the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the size of the middle class is "underestimated."



Honored Entrepreneur Introduces Second Company

Ethiopian work-

workshop set up

ers assemble

footwear at a

ADF STAFF

One of Africa's most acclaimed entrepreneurs, the founder of a shoe brand now selling in more than 55 countries globally, has announced the founding of a second company.

In 2004, Bethlehem Tilahun Alemu started soleRebels in Ethiopia with an investment of \$10,000 from her family. The company makes and sells footwear using traditional Ethiopian techniques and modern designs. Most of the shoes are redesigns and modern interpretations of a traditional recycled-tire-sole shoe long worn by Ethiopians.

As of 2014, the company had 100 employees and more than \$1 million in revenues. She expects sales to reach \$20 million by 2016.

She has been named by CNN as one of the 12 "smart women" entrepreneurs of the past century and has been featured on the cover of *Forbes* magazine. In July 2014, the pan-African media company Face2face Africa honored her for "Outstanding Achievement in Entrepreneurship."

In May 2014, Alemu launched her second company, Republic of Leather, an online company that will offer customers control over how and where leather products are produced. She told the business publication *How we made it in Africa* that customers will be able to order leather goods — such as jackets, bags and gloves — online and customize the details. They will also be able to choose where their designs will be manufactured.

"I saw that there were many areas around the globe where leather crafting and production had been undermined and had withered, despite its economic importance," she told the magazine. "I knew that a platform that tapped into these rich global talents and resources would have the power to reinvigorate these centers of production and create fantastic employment opportunities in communities around the planet."

Unemployed South Africans mmmmmmmm

Starting Their Own Businesses

VOICE OF AMERICA

nemployment remains stubbornly high in South Africa and is one of the greatest socio-economic problems facing the country's youth.

Job creation was a leading goal of government policy during the first decade of democracy in South Africa after the end of apartheid in 1994. However, little success has been achieved in the struggle to create sufficient jobs.

South Africa's unemployment rate stands at 25.2 percent, creeping up by 1.1 percent from 2013. As of the middle of 2014, more than 5 million people were without work. The expanded definition of unemployment, which includes people who have stopped looking for work, is at 35.1 percent.

But unemployment has one positive side effect; it is causing some South Africans to become entrepreneurs. Ludwick Marishane started businesses as a teenager in rural Limpopo, a northern province in South Africa with high poverty.

Some of his ideas failed, but Marishane's life-changing inspiration came during a lazy day of sunbathing. His friend did not want to take a bath and wondered why no one had invented a product to substitute for showering. A few years later, Marishane had created the Dry Bath Gel,



Ludwick Marishane

a waterless shower alternative that could save time for some, but also help those with no access to water.

Marishane drafted an 8,000-word business plan on a simple phone in his last year of high school and sent it to 80 venture capitalists. But none was willing to take a risk on a young inventor with a product thought to help mostly the poor, he said.

He entered the product into competitions and slowly gained some capital to develop his business. Marishane now is the youngest patent holder in South Africa. The company claims to have provided 445,590 baths, saving more than 35.6 million liters of water, crucial for a country facing a water crisis.

Marishane cites education as one of the biggest advantages in starting a business.

Jason Basel is founder and president of Åkro Organization, which aims to bring young entrepreneurs together and equip them with practical, actionoriented knowledge to help kick-start their businesses. "Entrepreneurship and education — that's how you solve unemployment," Basel said. He added that the lack of practical business education is hindering people from realizing their potential business ideas.

Africans Agree on Need for 'Transformation'

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

African governments and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have agreed on the urgent need to harness the continent's rapid economic growth, as unrest and a plethora of challenges temper exuberance about the continent's rise.

At a May 30, 2014, meeting in the Mozambique capital of Maputo, the IMF, finance ministers and central bank governors said a deeper "structural transformation" was needed so that ordinary citizens can benefit from the boom.

Although Sub-Saharan Africa is among the world's fastest-growing regions, pervasive poverty and recent serious unrest in Nigeria, South Sudan, the Sahel region and possible recession in South Africa have tempered previous exuberance about "Africa's rise."

"Policies need to be designed in such a way to ensure that a surge in growth can also spur structural transformation," according to the Maputo Joint Declaration.

Although government coffers have long been filled with the proceeds of mineral wealth, corruption, shady business contracts and mismanagement have meant that little filters down to people on the street. The continent still lacks adequate roads and energy supplies and needs more than \$90 billion a year to improve infrastructure, according to IMF Managing Director Christine Lagarde. The governments agreed,

saying "Sub-Saharan Africa will need to redouble efforts to harness the opportunities offered by its abundant natural resources and ensure that their fruits are equitably shared."

Lagarde said that policymakers had no illusions about the scale of the problems that Africa still faces.

"There has clearly been a solid trend of growth over the last few years, and obviously surprisingly so during the financial crisis," she said. "There are also big issues to be addressed, and potential risks on the horizon."

But she insisted the picture was better today than in previous decades.

"You have to flashback, what was it like 10 years ago?"

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR

ADF STAFF



éopold Sédar Senghor was an intellectual, a writer, a scholar, a statesman and the first president of Senegal. He wrote Senegal's national anthem and said he considered himself first and foremost a poet.

But his writings indicate that he was, above all other things, an African.

Senghor was born in 1906 in the town of Joal in coastal Senegal. He moved to a boarding school when he was 8 and quickly established himself as a dedicated student and scholar. After secondary school, he won

a partial scholarship to study in France. His trip to France began, as he put it, "16 years of wandering."

After graduating from the University of Paris, he stayed in France, where he taught and continued to study. But despite his accomplishments, he still experienced the ugliness of racism. It was during this time that he and other black intellectuals in Europe came up with the word "négritude," turning the racial slur *négre* into a positive statement about Africans. Négritude came to symbolize the celebration of African history, the embracing of traditional African culture and society, and the rejection of colonialism and racism.

In 1939, he was drafted into the French Army — he had become a French citizen in 1932 — and despite his academic achievements, he was not made an officer. A year later, when Germany invaded France, he became a prisoner of war. He spent his two years in captivity writing poetry.

After World War II, Senghor returned to teaching and entered politics, including election as a delegate to the French National Assembly. As the independence movement spread across Africa, he appealed in 1959 to French President Charles de Gaulle for Senegal's right to statehood.

The next year, Senegal became an independent republic, and on September 5, 1960, Senghor was elected president. His initial focus was on foreign relations, while his prime minister, Mamadou Dia, planned Senegal's long-term development. They quickly had a falling out, and in 1962, the prime minister was arrested and charged with planning to overthrow Senghor. He spent the next 12 years in prison.

After imprisoning Dia, Senghor established a one-party authoritarian system, like many other African countries. He tolerated no challenges to his authority and once said, "A country cannot be governed without prison walls."

But Senghor was capable of change. Fourteen years later, he decided that Senegal should become a true democracy, with three political parties set up initially. Along with his new democracy, Senghor gave the press new freedoms.

Senghor was a smart, visionary president. Although he was a socialist, he steered clear of the anti-Western ideology that was prevalent at the time. He maintained close ties to France and the West. His "African socialism" was democratic, pragmatic and based on the African tradition of sharing.

His presidency established Senegal's political stability, and it remains one of the few African nations to have never experienced a coup. Each transfer of the presidency — the country has had only four presidents — has been peaceful.

When Senghor decided to step down in 1980, he became the first African president to voluntarily leave office.



Senegalese President Léopold Sédar Senghor takes the oath of office during his inauguration on December 9, 1963, in Dakar. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

UPON HIS DEATH IN 2001, THE LIFELONG POET'S EPITAPH WAS A VERSE HE HAD WRITTEN:

When I'm dead, my friends, place me below Shadowy Joal,
On the hill, by the bank of the Mamanguedy,
near the ear of Serpents' Sanctuary.
But place me between the Lion and ancestral Tening-Ndyae.
When I'm dead, my friends, place me beneath Portuguese Joal.
Of stones from the Fort build my tomb, and cannons will keep quiet.
Two oleanders — white and pink — will perfume the Signare.

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

- Rome conquered this ancient Punic trading post and converted it into a base for the conquest of the kingdoms of Mauritania.
- The site comprises
 Byzantine,
 paleo-Christian,
 Phoenician and
 Roman ruins
 alongside other
 indigenous
 monuments.
- This coastal city has one of the oldest and most extensive burial grounds of the Punic world sixth to second century B.C.
- Vandals invaded in the 430s, and the Byzantines reconquered the city in 534. It fell into decline in the sixth century and never recovered.





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