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DEFENSE

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## Proudly Professional Building a Military Culture that Molds Leaders

**Col. Emmanuel Kotia  
of Ghana on Ethics  
in Peacekeeping**

**The Botswana  
Defence Force's  
Legacy of Stability**

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REUTERS

**ON THE COVER:**

Kenyan Airmen parade during the national celebration to mark Jamhuri Day at Nyayo Stadium in Nairobi.

The most successful militaries around the world hold a few things in common. They have high standards, they constantly look for ways to improve, and they place ethics at the center of all missions. In a word, they are professional.

Fostering a climate of military professionalism is the challenge. It is complicated by the fact that many nations have histories marked by political turmoil, ethnic conflict and corruption.

African militaries are rising to the challenge of instilling professionalism throughout their ranks. Some notable examples include:

- **Investing in staff colleges and centers of excellence:** The number of staff colleges in Africa has grown steadily since 2000 with Botswana, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda among those opening new institutions. The African Conference of Commandants, founded in 2007, has led the way in harmonizing training and promoting information exchanges among staff colleges.
- **Merit-based promotion:** Many African militaries are working to end the corrosive practice of filling their upper ranks with a single ethnic group. Militaries gain strength and credibility with the public through diversity.
- **Embracing oversight:** The South African National Defence Force has taken the lead in appointing a military ombudsman. This person, who is outside the chain of command, investigates all complaints lodged against the Armed Forces.
- **Ending corruption:** Unethical behavior can undermine the confidence of civilians and can siphon security resources needed to defend the country. Initiatives that let citizens report corruption and a military justice system that swiftly punishes those found guilty help enhance professionalism at all levels.

These and other measures allow a culture of professional excellence to take root in security forces. A driven, adaptive and persistent leadership push at the most senior levels also is required for professional excellence to grow and be sustained over time. Increasing the ranks of professional African security forces is necessary to achieve peace and security on the continent.

U.S. Africa Command Staff



Soldiers march at the Gashandhiga Academy in Mogadishu during a celebration of the 55th anniversary of the Somali Armed Forces. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



## Professionalism

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### U.S. AFRICA COMMAND

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# Military Leaders Must Embrace Human Security



**Retired Brig. Gen. Joyce Ng'wane Puta**

*of the Zambian Defence Force spoke at a panel of international officials at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies' 16th Annual Senior Leaders Seminar on June 9, 2014, in Washington, D.C. Her speech has been edited to fit this format.*

**Leadership is a process of exerting social influence to inspire others and enlist their support for accomplishment of a common goal. Strategic leadership provides sustainable visionary direction for the growth and success of an organization, meeting the aspirations of the led, and managing change effectively toward a desired future.**



Military leaders should not just focus on threats requiring hegemonic intervention, because threats have now shifted from state-centric

to human-centered. As such, a military leader should not be looked at as a specialist on violence alone.

A military leader should be looked at as a partner in sustainable development, but without compromising combat readiness. And military involvement in developmental tasks should not be seen as a threat to the civilian sector.

African strategic security leaders can play a cardinal role in this paradigm shift. We should try to move away from bombs and bullets and ballistics and look at this thing holistically. The people-centered view of security is necessary for every African strategic leader — for national, regional and global stability.

This includes looking at health security. How are these trends, especially health trends, going to affect the security of not only my troops, but of all people?

Look at food security. As a military, what can you do to ensure that there's food security, not only for your troops, but for everyone else in your nation?

Environmental security. You might want to say, "Well, we are in Africa, and our emissions are not as much as those being emitted in the Western countries." But when emissions are released, they don't know any boundary. What are you doing to make sure that the environment is protected?

Economic security. There are so many economic opportunities that strategic African military leaders

can look at to ensure that they harness resources, especially from the endowment that Africa has.

The human paradigm must be understood and adhered to by the security sector. Security sector leadership is strongest and most effective when it closely approaches the professional ideal of a military leader. And it is weakest and most defective when it falls short of that ideal.

Military involvement in infrastructure development projects will help redefine the role of the military by projecting a new image of public service. In Botswana, the military is working with the wildlife conservation. In Zambia, we have Zambia National Service, which is involved in food production. Senegal is also involved in doing a lot of civil and developmental projects.

Strategic African military leaders should adapt to these new challenges. They should endeavor to establish a strong civil-military relation component and interface at social developmental activities during



**A Nigerian Soldier talks with women and children who were freed from Boko Haram extremists in April 2015.** REUTERS

peacetime. They should be abreast of emerging human security threats and should be visionary with adequate knowledge, especially with the core competencies, and then they should be subject to democratic oversight.

We should remember that not every military leader at a strategic level is a strategic leader. There is need to train them. A strategic leader is not born, but built and designed through training and grooming. There should therefore be a succession plan. Remember that success without a successor is failure.

Zimbabwe plans to build a large tourist center at Victoria Falls that would cater to 120,000 visitors per year.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



## ‘AFRICAN VILLAGE’ TOURIST CENTER PLANNED FOR VICTORIA FALLS



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Zimbabwe soon could approve construction of a large tourist center at Victoria Falls to cater to 120,000 visitors per year, officials said in June 2015.

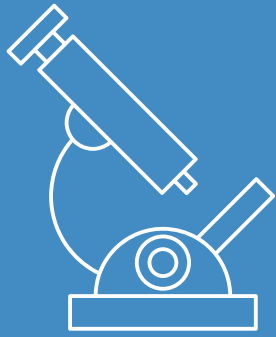
The \$18 million park at the UNESCO world heritage site will boast a replica African village and will use exhibits to tell the story of the waterfalls known locally as “Mosi-oa-Tunya,” which translates to “the smoke that thunders.”

“It will be a giant village, African in design and style, showcasing village scenes, traditional

customs and history,” said Dave Glynn, chairman of the developers Africa Albida Tourism. “This is not a theme park. This is strictly to tell the story of Victoria Falls.”

The 32-hectare park will have historical, cultural, wildlife and entertainment sections. The park is expected to open in 2017 and employ 150 people. The project is awaiting final approval after an environmental impact study.

The majestic waterfall on the border of Zimbabwe and Zambia is more than 2 kilometers wide and is formed as the Zambezi River plunges down a series of gorges and raises a mist that can be seen more than 20 kilometers away.



## KENYA GETS FORENSIC LAB

{ *to Help Fight  
Wildlife Crime* }

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Kenya opened a new forensic lab in May 2015, supported by foreign donors, in a bid to improve the country's record in prosecuting wildlife crimes.

Scientists at the forensic and genetics laboratory at the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) headquarters in Nairobi will be able to analyze and genetically trace seized items such as elephant ivory or rhino horn to provide more compelling evidence in court cases.

Construction of the 60 million shilling (\$623,000) facility has taken nearly three years. Tanzania opened a similar lab at a college in Moshi in 2013 to provide training in forensic science.

"The establishment of the laboratory is critical to yielding convictions in courts of law, and thus deter wildlife crimes," said KWS in a statement. It admitted that "prosecutions and convictions are rare" in wildlife crime cases and blamed this on a lack of accurate evidence.

Elephants and rhinos are under siege in Africa, their poaching driven by demand from Asia. Studies have found that the Kenyan port of Mombasa is the smugglers' exit point of choice for moving illegal wildlife products out of Africa. Kenya's most high-profile wildlife crime case to date is that of suspected ivory trafficking kingpin Feisal Mohammed Ali, who was wanted by Interpol and arrested in Tanzania in December 2014.

The case against him is ongoing. In August 2015, Kenya's *Daily Nation* reported that Ali had been released in lieu of 10 million shillings' bond.

## Burkina Faso-Niger Town Swap Settles Border Dispute

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Burkina Faso and Niger will exchange 18 towns to settle a long-running border dispute and end years of litigation. Burkina Faso will gain 14 towns, and Niger will receive four between May 2015 and the end of 2016, when the drawing of the boundary is complete, said Kouara Apiou Kabore of the Burkina Faso National Border Commission.

Niger and Burkina Faso, which were French colonies before independence in 1960, share a border of nearly 1,000 kilometers, about a third of which has been mapped. The rest of the border, which both countries have contested, was redefined in a 2013 decision from the International Court of Justice in the Hague.

That ruling ordered the exchange of vast swaths of territory, with 786 square kilometers handed to Burkina Faso and 277 square kilometers to Niger. The countries in 2015 agreed to implement the decision.

Once the territory has been exchanged, authorities will perform a census in the affected areas, and locals will be allowed to choose which nationality they would like to hold, Apiou said. "They will have five years to make their choice," she said.

Niger's justice minister and government spokesman Marou Amadou said the borders dated from 1926. "The borders were drawn by non-Africans," Amadou said. "Now we have settled this."

Burkina Faso has more than 3,000 kilometers of frontier with Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Mali, Niger and Togo. About a third of those boundaries need to be demarcated, authorities said. Discussions with Côte d'Ivoire have begun over a new common border, Apiou said.

**Nomadic herdsman return home after selling livestock at a market in Dori in eastern Burkina Faso. REUTERS**





# The PROFESSION *of* ARMS

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## BUILDING A MILITARY CULTURE THAT MOLDS ETHICAL LEADERS

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ADF STAFF

In a speech to graduating Air Force cadets, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, South Africa's minister of defense, told the audience they were about to embark on a career like no other. "You have accepted the highest call to duty any citizen can ever take," she said in June 2015. "As you pass out today, you join a unique group of South Africans, those who, instead of a normal job, have elected to serve as defenders of your country, its people and its resources."

But, she added, the true nature of a military professional can be revealed only when he or she is tested and meets the daily hardships and ethical requirements of service. "You have been drenched in these values of honor, discipline and patriotism," she told the graduates. "But what will they actually mean to you when you return into your world out there?"

What does it mean to be a professional? It is not a simple question. In the civilian world, a professional is someone who is trained in a field and paid to do specific work. A professional carpenter, for example, is different from someone who does a bit of woodwork around the house.

However, the term "military professional" has a more varied meaning. Professionalism begins with training and tactical expertise, but Soldiers say it goes beyond that. It also requires discipline and the ability to endure great hardships without breaking down. Some emphasize a commitment to ethics, and others point to honor, leadership qualities and a constant desire for self-improvement. These attributes and many more are part of the rich stew that makes up the professional Soldier.

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Kenyan Airmen parade during the nation's Jamhuri Day celebrations in 2014. REUTERS

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There is no simple formula for creating a military professional, but looking across the literature on military training and across the globe at some of the world's most respected fighting forces, certain commonalities arise.

### A SUPERIOR SELECTION PROCESS

In the essay, "Military Leadership Development: A Model for the South African National Defence Force," Willem Erasmus and Frederik Uys of Stellenbosch University argue that to produce great leaders, their country must start by placing a heavy emphasis on the selection of officer candidates. The researchers point to the fact that applicants to the United Kingdom's Royal Military Academy Sandhurst spend at least eight days undergoing a battery of psychological, aptitude and endurance tests to determine whether they are accepted. The U.K. has a dedicated organization, the Army Officer Selection Board, that focuses on finding the best-qualified candidates out of a large pool of applicants. Since the rates of dropout or expulsion are low at military academies, it is vital to get the selection process right at the beginning.

"The process is designed to select only those candidates whose intellect meets the required standard and, importantly, whose behavior and decision-making ability hold under conditions of stress," they wrote.

### MENTORING

Part of professional development comes from following the examples of others. In a survey of senior U.S. military officers conducted by the Center for Creative Leadership, the top developmental factor was "positive role models," listed by 37 percent of respondents.

*The U.S. Army Leadership Handbook* stresses the importance of forging mentor relationships. It says they do not need to be superior-subordinate relationships and often occur between peers or between senior noncommissioned officers and junior officers. The handbook encourages younger Soldiers to seek out mentors and nurture the relationship throughout their careers.

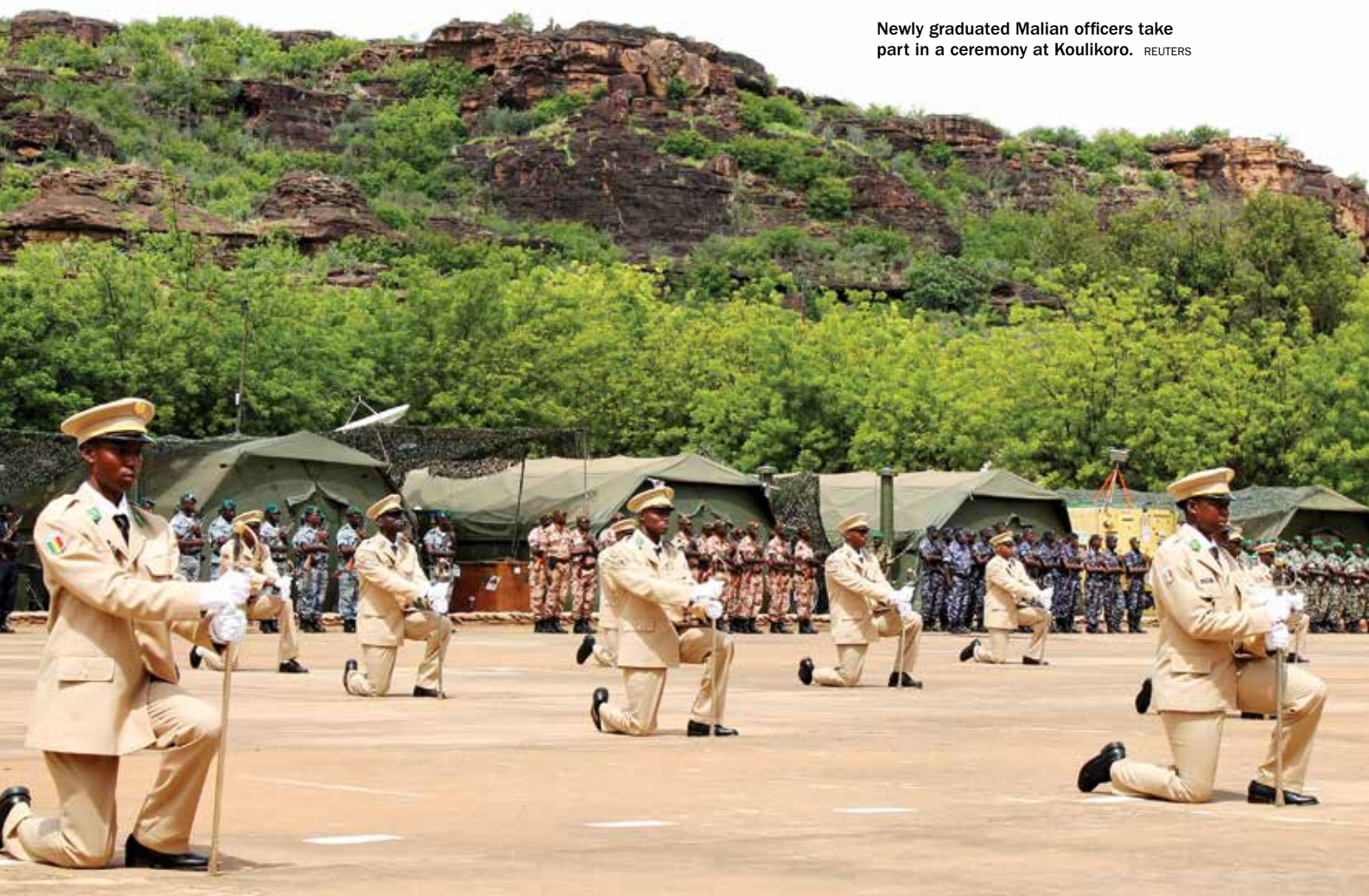
"Soldiers who seek feedback to focus their development, coupled with dedicated, well-informed mentors, will be the foundation for embedding the concepts of lifelong learning, self-development, and adaptability into the Army's culture," the handbook states.

### CONTINUOUS ETHICAL TRAINING

Classroom training for professionalism and ethics can go only so far. Commanders have found that it is important to replicate the stress of real-world scenarios when preparing Soldiers to meet ethical challenges.

In his essay "Military Ethics: From Theory to Practice,"

Newly graduated Malian officers take part in a ceremony at Koulikoro. REUTERS





Soldiers participate in a parade to mark Côte d'Ivoire's 54th Independence Day in 2014. REUTERS

Brig. Gen. Benoit Royal of France says that no field exercise should take place without an ethical component. “The aim is to accustom military personnel to embedding these moral reflections within their execution of tactical actions in the field, in the midst of difficulties, under the pressure of time, weather and real stress,” he wrote. “The behavior of a Soldier in combat must be constantly influenced by the spirit and the core values we have taught them.”

Recognizing this, military trainers in the European Union Training Mission in Mali in 2015 emphasized replicating real-world ethical and humanitarian scenarios when training Malian Soldiers. This included simulated checkpoints, command decisions on protecting schools and hospitals, and drills on responding to gender-based violence. The emphasis was a response to criticism that a lack of ethics training in the Malian Armed Forces led to a breakdown of discipline during Mali’s 2012 crisis.

Training cannot end after graduation from a military academy or after basic training. It is widely accepted that skills degrade over time if they are not reinforced and refreshed. According to the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, Soldiers lose about 60 percent of their skill proficiency after only 180 days without practice or retraining. “Military training is a continuous process that not only includes the learning or acquisition of initial skills ... but also frequent rehearsals and practice,” wrote Abel Esterhuyse of Stellenbosch University. “The daily life of Soldiers, Airmen and Sailors is itself a process of training in which they simultaneously do their job and learn to improve their performance.”

## SHARING KNOWLEDGE

Professionals in any field have the ability to contribute to the sum of knowledge used by others. This can be done through holding tutorial sessions for colleagues, writing for professional journals, or teaching at a staff college or other institution. This “feedback loop” is one way leaders are able to share best practices learned in the field.

Nigeria, for example, has made it a priority to identify exemplary students to return to its command and staff colleges to serve as instructors or “directing staff.” Candidates are evaluated based on grades, character, charisma, and mental and physical strength. Nigerian Commandant Air Vice Marshal John Ifemeje calls this rigorous process the best way for the system to regenerate itself and mold future leaders.

## OVERSIGHT

To ensure accountability, many militaries create an oversight position called the military ombudsman. This person, outside of the chain of command, is charged with investigating and proposing solutions for institutional or individual problems in the armed forces. Civilians or Soldiers can bring complaints to the ombudsman without fear of reprisal.

In 2012, South Africa established the office of the ombudsman for the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and fielded 500 complaints in its first two years

of operation. “My office is an independent and impartial watchdog that holds the SANDF to account, much like the media does with government,” said Ombudsman Temba Matanzima, a retired lieutenant general. “[It] is an independent, impartial third party that conducts an investigation in a fair and objective manner to ensure an accountable and transparent government.”

Retired Col. Emile Ouedraogo of Burkina Faso, an expert on military professionalism, observed that the best type of oversight is always that of a commander toward his troops. When commanders are separated by distance or do not closely supervise their subordinates, it leads to a breakdown in discipline. This phenomenon is referred to as a “gap in the chain of command.”

“A functional chain of command is a prerequisite for any military institution,” Ouedraogo wrote. “It reflects good leadership and discipline and promotes accountability.”

## MERIT-BASED PROMOTION

A recurring complaint in certain militaries is that promotion is tied to bloodlines and personal alliances instead of merit. Examples are countless, but Ouedraogo said the upper echelons of several prominent African militaries are filled with members of a single ethnicity, religion or regional affiliation.

“Officers under such a chain of command are more loyal to the president than to the constitution,” he wrote. “This practice undermines the professional standards of the armed forces while pitting the armed forces against one another on an ethnic basis.”

But it’s not just ethnic-bias that can be a problem. In many militaries around the world, promotion is based on years of service rather than achievement. This eliminates an incentive to excel and could actually lead high-performing officers to leave the service in frustration for not being recognized.

Professional militaries tend to have clear guidelines outlining the criteria for promotion and rules about Soldier pay, career trajectories and resource allotment, according to Natasha Ezrow and Erica Frantz, authors of the book *Failed States and Institutional Decay*. These standards help build bonds of trust between fellow Soldiers and with the military institution.

## ETHICAL DOCUMENTS

Professional militaries typically have a solid foundation of ethical theory enshrined in documents that instruct Soldiers on how to behave. Examples of this include the Military Covenant in the British Armed Forces and the *Innere Führung* (Self-Directed) in Germany. For lower-ranking Soldiers, Royal of France believes it is worthwhile to have an easy-to-remember honor code that synthesizes more complex messages. For instance, the U.S. “Soldier’s Creed” is only 121 words but includes references to professionalism and loyalty to country and to fellow Soldiers. The repetition of such creeds can reinforce the importance of core values in the mind of a Soldier.



Military officers salute during a parade commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Nigerian Army.

REUTERS

“This approach to inculcating moral values is often ritualized, but it is also directly comprehensible at even the lowest ranks, and by Soldiers on the ground, facing the complexity of combat action,” Royal wrote. The creed allows a “military organization to highlight what is considered essential ‘ground truth.’ ”

Many militaries, including the SANDF, require uniformed officers to sign a code of conduct swearing to eschew corruption, remain loyal to their country and be steadfastly nonpolitical.

## FAIR PAYMENT

It might sound obvious, but one of the main incentives to corruption and unprofessional behavior for Soldiers is lack of timely or sufficient pay. Soldiers who cannot support themselves through their salaries or who see higher-ranking officers enrich themselves are more likely to resort to unethical behavior.

Dan Henk, a military researcher who studied the Botswana Defence Force (BDF), noted that the BDF’s fair payment practices offer little incentive for Soldiers to break the rules. “BDF personnel are well- and reliably paid, affording a middle-class standard of living for officers and relative comfort for other ranks,” Henk wrote. “BDF personnel can retire at the end of twenty years of service with a reasonable pension. The regularity and adequacy of remuneration significantly reduces the incentive for graft that has afflicted many other African militaries.”

## CIVILIAN AUTHORITY

One of the hallmarks of a professional military is its refusal to be politicized. The legacy of military

interference in politics in Africa is a long and damaging one. According to Ouedraogo, 65 percent of Sub-Saharan countries have experienced a coup. Worse still, once the first coup occurs, it becomes increasingly likely that a second or third will follow.

Coups are not only damaging to governance and the democratic process in these countries, they are also damaging to the economy. Countries that experience military coups have a slower gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate than countries that do not. For example, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Nigeria each saw their real GDP decrease by 4.5 percent or more after coups.

“Military-led governance is likely to be ruinous for a country’s economy,” Ouedraogo wrote. “Instability deters investment and development. In contrast, non-resource-rich states that have realized the highest levels of sustained growth are almost uniformly those with few or no coups.”

Political scientist Samuel Huntington wrote that professionalism is the main factor that prevents the military from interfering in politics. In his book, *The Soldier and the State*, he argued that a well-functioning military should be allowed to cultivate expertise free from outside interference or political considerations. This, he wrote, will lead to greater autonomy, greater subservience to civilian rule and greater professionalism.

Esterhuysen said a professional fighting force should never get involved in politics, regardless of the temptation. “Armed forces are often seen, and regard themselves, as being above politics — apolitical in nature — since they are the repository of the national interest,” he wrote. “They guarantee the security and integrity of the state, not that of the government of the day.” □

# PROFESSIONALISM IN PEACEKEEPING

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In Multinational Missions, Preparation and Discipline Are Key

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COL. EMMANUEL KOTIA, PH.D.,

CHIEF INSTRUCTOR AT THE KOFI ANNAN INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING TRAINING CENTRE, ACCRA, GHANA

Military professionalism has three main characteristics: responsibility, corporate unity and expertise, according to Samuel Huntington in his book, *The Soldier and the State*. These should be at the core of all military functions. Their importance in peacekeeping dates back to 1948 when the military played a central role in the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in the Middle East, the first modern peacekeeping mission. Today, the U.N. leads 16 peacekeeping operations worldwide. All depend on the efforts of professional Soldiers.

The military typically is deployed as the immediate stabilizing force in conflict areas so the peace process can begin. To accomplish its mission, the military component relies on commanders, individual expertise and the force working together as an entity.

Although much has been written about professionalism in national militaries, relatively little has been written about professionalism in peacekeeping. This is a vitally important issue because a single unethical or undisciplined act by a peacekeeper can damage the effectiveness of an entire mission.

## **Liberia and Lebanon: Lessons from the Field**

The two peacekeeping missions with which I am most familiar are the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), in which I served as commander of the Ghana Battalion from 2006 to 2007, and the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) Mission in Liberia, in which I served in 1990. UNIFIL was established in 1978 to ensure the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory. In 2006, fighting resumed in Lebanon, leading to a 33-day war. The Security Council passed Resolution 1701 to strengthen the UNIFIL mandate with additional troops and robust rules of engagement.

Liberia, on the other hand, dissolved into a bloody civil war after Charles Taylor led the National Patriotic Front of Liberia in a December 1989 invasion. A number of West African nations played roles in the conflict and, in the absence of U.N. action, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) intervened in August 1990 with ECOMOG. The country relapsed into a civil war after an ECOWAS-organized election,



A Soldier with the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon participates in a ceremony marking the International Day of Peace at mission headquarters in Naqoura.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Peacekeeping forces with the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) land in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 1999.



ECOMOG peacekeepers land in Sierra Leone in 1999 to reinforce Nigerian troops who had been trying to recapture terrain from rebels.

due to Taylor's bad governance and inadequate post-conflict arrangements. Consequently, the U.N. Mission in Liberia was established in 2003 to keep the peace. Nearly 150,000 people died in the civil war, according to the U.N.

Military leaders have learned a number of lessons on professionalism and operations as a result of the deployment of troops in these two countries under various peace initiatives.

**Planning is essential:** Inadequate planning can seriously affect the professionalism of peacekeepers. This was evident in Liberia where, because of a rushed deployment, commanders and troops lacked information on the warring factions necessary to prepare for the mission. When the ECOWAS operation was transformed into a peace enforcement mission, Soldiers were not prepared psychologically to confront rebellious factions. They had no idea of the capability, equipment and strength of the rebel groups in Liberia. Many also lacked the necessary background on the ethnic, economic and political factors fueling the conflict. As a combatant myself, I saw that troops were ill-equipped to carry out their new role of peace enforcement. This led to a number of deaths at the initial stages of deployment and almost shook the professional foundation of the multinational force. The lesson is that a thorough knowledge of the dynamics and root causes of the conflict can help prepare troops psychologically for peace operations.

**Discipline must be enforced:** Some contingents of multinational forces have bluntly refused to obey commands to undertake operations until they receive clearance from their home governments. Such unprofessional behavior has been observed in

Lebanon and Liberia, although the operations are conducted under a unified international command. In Liberia, some individual combatants refused to participate in operations out of fear. Although they were severely disciplined by their various contingents, the clear lesson here is that troops should be prepared psychologically to operate under any condition and that military professionalism thrives on obeying orders and strict discipline. This is a challenge that seems to be increasing with the new generation of military personnel and peacekeepers. Some troops have become less willing to endure personal inconvenience and have become more concerned with remuneration than with the values of their profession. This makes the Soldier think of his or her profession as just a job, rather than a lifetime career. There have been increasing cases of unprofessionalism reported in a number of missions requiring commanders to isolate and discipline individuals.

**Respect local culture:** Gross negligence of or lack of understanding of cultural practices has serious consequences for peacekeepers. In Lebanon, for instance, religious sensitivity dictates that no male should have any direct communication or contact with a female in public. Women are generally regarded with extreme dignity in that part of the world. Also, open drinking or selling of alcohol in southern Lebanon is forbidden, according to Islamic tradition. There have been some isolated incidents in Lebanon in which peacekeepers have violated these cultural practices, resulting in retaliatory threats or attacks by militia groups. Although some of these situations have been resolved through dialogue and negotiations, this is a potentially explosive area that can restrict the operations of peacekeepers and affect

professionalism and discipline. The solution is to educate peacekeepers on cultural norms and practices before they are deployed. Disregard for the cultural practices of the people will generate hostility. In peacekeeping, understanding and coping with the sensitivities of the people should be a key measure of the professionalism of peacekeepers.

**Equipment must match the mandate:** A major lesson learned in the ECOWAS operation in Liberia relates to the irregular shifting of it to confront the threat of the warring forces at various times. A series of rebel attacks in 1990, including two assaults on the ECOMOG headquarters and the detainment of a platoon of peacekeepers by a rebel group, forced ECOWAS to change from traditional peacekeeping to peace enforcement operations. The multinational peacekeepers did not have the numbers and equipment to engage rebels in battle. The timely arrival of reinforcements from Nigeria and Ghana helped save the situation. Nigeria increased the firepower of the force with reinforced mechanized battalions and armor and artillery regiments. Similarly, in Lebanon, only two lightly equipped formed battalions (Ghana and India) with combat and support units from other multinational forces were effectively deployed in the operational sectors at the outbreak of the 33-day war in July 2006. UNIFIL, therefore, was unable to prevent incursions and attacks from both sides, although the force was responsible for patrolling southern Lebanon. Professionally, UNIFIL was ineffective in the midst of the confrontation except to assist in humanitarian activities. To cure the situation, the Security Council quickly passed Resolution 1701 for the cessation of hostilities and increased the size of the force with a robust mandate. The result was the deployment of well-equipped additional forces. In both scenarios, it's clear that peacekeepers must be

## MILITARY DISCIPLINE IS ACHIEVED THROUGH TRAINING, WHICH DEVELOPS SELF-CONTROL, STRONG CHARACTER, AND EFFICIENCY FOR THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE UNIT.



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

A Ghanaian Soldier serving with the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon attends a ceremony marking United Nations Day.



Peacekeepers from various countries serving in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon mark United Nations Day during a ceremony.

well-equipped to fulfill their mandate as professionals from the start. Without the requisite numbers of troops and equipment to match, peacekeepers will be undermined by serious challenges.

### Guiding Principles

Modern peace operations require a high level of discipline, professionalism and ethical comportment. Without these guiding principles, most peace operations will face serious setbacks and fail to enforce mission mandates. Military discipline is achieved through training, which develops self-control, strong character, and efficiency for the individual and the unit. Well-trained Soldiers understand the importance of subjection to control for the good of the group. Discipline is a prime differentiator between rebel forces and a regular military force, and its importance cannot be overstated. It is a behavior that is formed by proper training to ensure compliance with rules by individuals or groups and to create a cohesive military suited for modern multidimensional peace operations.

To ensure effective discipline, professionalism and ethical comportment in modern peace operations, military commanders can follow some basic principles.

- Be consistent and fair. All personnel should be aware that reward or punishment comes to them because of behavior and not because of favors, the mood or preferences of their superiors.
- Commanders must be loyal to their men and women and worthy of loyalty in return. They must take interest in them and make sure they are granted their rights and privileges in the theater of operations.
- Superiors must learn to commend publicly and reprove and reprimand subordinates privately to ensure loyalty and discipline.
- Superiors must lead by example. Confidence is boosted by the overall attainment of mission objectives, which the superiors must clearly explain. Commanders at all levels may lead patrols and other major operations to demonstrate these leadership traits.

## Conclusion: Maintaining Military Professionalism in Peace Operations

It is important for peacekeepers to be educated thoroughly on how bad behaviors and practices can affect peace operations. As practiced by some contingents, peacekeepers who break the rules are repatriated to their home countries to face **discipline**. Such personnel can be tried by disciplinary boards in the mission area and, if found guilty, repatriated immediately to serve sentences at home. This measure deters others from disobeying rules. The Ghana Battalions deployed in missions throughout the world have adopted such a measure to maintain discipline and professionalism among its peacekeepers. As a commanding officer with UNIFIL, I was faced with similar challenges, and my battalion adopted this strategy. Overcoming indiscipline among peacekeepers will help raise the standard of professionalism in modern peace operations.

It is vital that policymakers and military commanders understand the **background** of specific conflicts before deploying peacekeepers. Without this understanding, peacekeepers are bound to encounter challenges. The U.N., continental and regional organizations may be required to adopt measures for policymakers and commanders of troop-contributing countries to make a conscious effort to understand the background and history of the conflicts before deploying peacekeepers. Without the proper understanding of the dynamics of the conflict, there cannot be thorough preparations for any intervening military force in any peace operation. When troops are ill-prepared and lack the necessary **equipment** to match the feuding parties in a conflict, it could affect their professionalism. A thorough analysis of the concept of operations by policymakers will help to assess the appropriate type of force and equipment that peacekeepers require for the operations.



From 2006 to 2007, Col. Emmanuel Kotia of the Ghana Armed Forces was the commanding officer of the Ghana Battalion with the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon. He also has served in peacekeeping missions in Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Rwanda and Western Sahara. He is academic programs coordina-

tor and chief instructor at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre in Accra. He teaches at the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College's Master of Science program in Defence and International Politics, and he is a visiting professor at Kennesaw State University in the United States and the University of Bedfordshire in the United Kingdom. His book, *Ghana Armed Forces in Lebanon and Liberia Peace Operations*, was published in April 2015 by Lexington Books.

Well-coordinated **training** for peacekeepers is an essential element for maintaining and improving professionalism among multinational forces. Modern peacekeeping has taken on a multidimensional approach, which has made peace operations more complex. To maintain a high professional standard among peacekeepers, adequate training in the multidimensional approach is required for personnel before they are deployed. This includes guidance on cultural issues, civil-military engagement and psychological preparation for the peacekeeping environment. The training for integrated peace missions for U.N. operations is supposed to be coordinated by the U.N. Integrated Training Service (ITS). However, numerous other institutions have emerged without the recognition of the ITS and are using different methods and teaching different doctrines. The result is a wide disparity in training and preparedness among multinational forces. Better-coordinated training in modern peace operations under the recognition of the ITS would help boost and maintain professionalism.

The professionalism of military personnel deployed for modern peace operations plays an essential role in the success of such missions. The guiding principle should be to provide good leadership to ensure that discipline is maintained at the highest level to enable peacekeepers to perform optimally. Discipline is the bedrock of military profession. Training also is an important ingredient. Without the appropriate training, accompanied by the requisite logistics, peacekeepers do not have the tools they need to do their jobs. Studying valuable lessons from past missions can help peacekeepers attain a higher level of professionalism in the future. □

# A Legacy of SERVICE

One of Africa's youngest militaries, the Botswana Defence Force, was formed with professionalism at its core

ADF STAFF



LT. GEN. TEBOGO MASIRE

**Lt. Gen. Tebogo Masire** was commander of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF) until his retirement in 2012. During his 35-year military career, he served in a number of command positions, including air arm commander from 1989 to 2006. A pilot with more than 4,000 flying hours, Masire flew all four presidents of Botswana to destinations in 30 countries. At the time of his retirement, he was the last member of Botswana's first batch of military recruits to still be in active service. He spoke to *ADF* by phone in June 2015 from Gabarone, Botswana. His remarks have been edited to fit this format.

**ADF:** You were there when the BDF was first formed in 1977. What was that like?

**MASIRE:** I was one of the first officer cadets of the defense force, and that in itself makes it a very exciting career. We were sort of the rookies in the business. We went through training when everything was very rudimentary. It made it very difficult for us. After completing the officer cadet training, we started our flying training, which was interesting in the sense that we were the first local people to do it. The BDF was starting from nothing. The initial training was done by civilian pilots on civilian aircraft.

**ADF:** What was your background before joining the BDF?

**MASIRE:** I was in civil aviation as an air traffic controller. That's what influenced me going into the air wing of the defense force. From there I just

grew through the ranks. Lieutenant, captain, major. And every time you moved from one thing to another, you were thrust into higher responsibilities, much higher than a normal captain would have. We were the first people, so you were the leader and the learner at the same time. But we obviously excelled because we kept on being recognized by being promoted.

**ADF:** After Botswana gained its independence in 1966, it did not create a military right away. It relied on the national police for security. It wasn't until 1977 that the BDF was created. Why was the decision made to create the BDF, and what was done structurally to ensure it would act as a professional, ethical fighting force?

**MASIRE:** The situation in the region had been deteriorating. The security atmosphere was corrosive. We were

attacked from the South African side, the Rhodesian side, the Namibian side. I think it came to a point where the government said, "Look, talking to these guys is not going to help us; we need to have our own defense force that can defend our people." So, it was hastily put together. We didn't have the resources, we didn't have any of the expertise. We used the paramilitary police to start the defense force and brought in a few people for flight training. On the Air Force side, we had two retired Royal Air Force pilots called here. There were one or two former Nigerian military people. But the bulk of the training and assistance setting up the military was from the Indian Army.

**ADF:** According to a poll by Gallup, which evaluated several African countries, 86 percent of the public in Botswana has confidence in the military and views it as a respectable institution. That percentage was the highest of any of the 19 African countries evaluated. What specifically does the BDF do to build a positive civil-military relationship?

**MASIRE:** Because the BDF was formed at a time when the region was turbulent, the people welcomed the defense force as their savior and protector, and it did exactly that. To give you an example of something that is very rare in Africa, people feel more comfortable with the Soldiers than with the police. This was because the defense force was so committed to national defense, the defense of the people. So much so that it even went overboard in assisting people. Even on terms which were not really military. So if people were in the operational area, in the border areas where there were problems in northern Botswana, the people knew that it was not only the defense force protecting the border, but even helping with normal, mundane things at home. People saw us as parents, so to speak. I think that attitude and realization just grew on and on, and people became more comfortable and appreciated the help that they were getting from the defense force.

**ADF:** Can you give some examples of civil-military engagement?

**MASIRE:** Disaster response. If people are complaining about a road that is destroyed by floods, they would help. A school where the roof has been blown away by a storm, they would help put back the roof. If they find a village that is trying to set up a [livestock enclosure], they would help. All of these things that are not really their core business, if they are in the area and they hear about this problem, they will go out of their way to help.

**ADF:** Another thing that makes the BDF unique is that it has never stepped over its bounds and become enmeshed in politics. There has never been a military coup in Botswana. Is there anything done to ensure this is part of the training that military officers receive?

**MASIRE:** We as the military leadership inculcated in our officers and other ranks that we are apolitical. We are a defense force that's for the people and that is obedient to the government of the day, irrespective of who is there. But at the same time, our political leadership made sure that they told the political activists that they must keep politics out of the military. So it was two-way traffic. The military wanted to stay out of politics, and the politicians wanted to stay out of the military.

**ADF:** Transparency International has ranked Botswana among the least corrupt countries in Africa. It is even less corrupt than many European countries, according to TI. Are there measures put in place to ensure there is no corruption in the BDF?

**MASIRE:** The general officers and other ranks have always known that they have to toe the line. There is no playing tricks when you are manning a checkpoint or whatever. And that extends all the way up to the headquarters. The procurement officer is very aware that checks and balances must exist to ensure that all procurement is transparent, it's above board and there is no favoritism or kickbacks that are asked from

## BOTSWANA DEFENCE FORCE MILESTONES

**1966**

Botswana gains independence from Great Britain.

**1977**

Due to instability in neighboring countries and border tension, Botswana's Parliament votes to create the Botswana Defence Force (BDF) out of what had previously been the Botswana Police Mobile Unit.

**1988**

Botswana continues expanding its ground forces, organizing them into two infantry brigades — one based in the capital, Gaborone, and the other in Francistown, on the border with Zimbabwe.

**1992**

The BDF participates in its first external mission when it deploys a contingent to the U.S.-led humanitarian mission Operation Restore Hope in Somalia.

**1996**

The Thebephatshwa Airbase is completed about 50 kilometers northwest of Gaborone, giving the BDF Air Wing a modern facility.

**1998**

The BDF participates in Operation Boleas, a Southern African Development Community military intervention in Lesotho. BDF efforts include leading a training program for Soldiers in the Lesotho Defence Force.

**2007**

The first female officers are inducted into the BDF.

**2012**

The country opens the Botswana Defence Command and Staff College.

Sources: Dan Henk, [www.gov.bw](http://www.gov.bw)



Female cadets perform during their pass out parade at Sir Seretse Khama Barracks in Gaborone, Botswana.

any supplier. So it has always been a culture of everybody knowing that they have a role to play in keeping the military clean.

**ADF:** Transparency can be difficult, though, because sometimes the military insists on the need for confidentiality in terms of what it spends on its equipment for reasons of national security. Has there ever been a tension in terms of the need for secrecy but also the need for oversight?

**MASIRE:** The secrecy is there in the sense that you don't publicize defense procurement, especially of sensitive equipment. But the oversight is there because the Ministry of Finance is aware of what it is that you are buying. They are the ones who are going to pay, and they are the ones who, later, are going to audit what you have. So you always know that somebody is watching.

**ADF:** In 2007, you were in command when the first female officers were inducted into the BDF. Why was it important to include female Soldiers in the BDF, and how have they changed the BDF over the years?

**MASIRE:** There are two reasons. One, we wanted to break down the stereotype that women are not suitable for the military. Second, we wanted to give opportunity to the rest of the young people because everybody is supportive of the military, but the females were asking, "Why are we not allowed to take part in this organization?" So, we said, as a democracy that enshrines gender equality, we need to give women the opportunity to join. Prior to that there had been some constraints, especially logistics and accommodations. So we thought, "OK, let's start with a smaller number, officers only, so that culture starts to grow." And indeed we are now taking on other ranks,

which means it is working well. We started with the women officers who are going to be leaders of other women; now we are bringing other ranks into the defense force to complete the transition.

**ADF:** Are they distributed among all units and all branches of the military, or are they mostly concentrated in one area?

**MASIRE:** No, they are across every unit of the defense force.

**ADF:** If there was resistance at first, has that resistance evaporated? Are people mostly in favor of it now?

**MASIRE:** There was overwhelming excitement and support across all sectors of the community. Within the military, yes, there were a few who were saying, “Ah, are we ready? This is going to cause a lot of uncertainty; how’s the relationship going to be?” But that we overcame by making sure that there was a lot of public information. There was a lot of training for officers in other ranks; there was even a team of military officers from U.S. Africa Command, which came here and helped us lay the carpet for all of this.

**ADF:** Another achievement was the creation of the Botswana Defence Command and Staff College, which opened just before your retirement in 2012. What was the importance of the staff college, and how did that all come about?

**MASIRE:** This was a project that had been in the cards for a long time and didn’t have somebody to just push it through. I felt that it needed my attention. As you know, professionalizing the military requires professional officers. For you to get professional officers, you need to train them at the highest level, which is the staff college. Without your own staff college, you are depending on the generosity of your friendly countries. At that time, we could get, at best, maybe 20 training opportunities from the United States, the United Kingdom, Tanzania, Zambia and other friendly countries. But this is out of a pool

of about 120 officers who are due for training. I said, “Look, we need to have our own school so we can absorb everybody who is ready for staff college.” That way, we have a steady pool of professional men and women who can then impart that knowledge to others. So, I just decided to fast-track everything and make sure it got up and running.

**ADF:** How many officers graduate from the staff college per year now?

**MASIRE:** About 60 to 80.

**ADF:** Since your retirement you’ve dedicated a lot of your time to the THC Foundation that you formed to stop domestic violence. Could you describe this foundation, what its mission is and why you are so passionate about the work? (THC are Masire’s initials since his full name is Tebogo Horatious Carter Masire.)

**MASIRE:** You know, one of the things when you are Defence Force commander, it’s like you are head of a family. And there were instances where I was seeing that some of the wives of the military were having a difficult time. There were always complaints that, “I’ve been mistreated this way.” And, also being in the security community, we would get all these cases of spousal abuse or child abuse, and I always said to myself, “These people, some of them get lost in the mud because they don’t know where to go and they don’t have a hand to hold them.” So, when I retired, I wanted to form an organization that can reach out to these people who are hopeless or have given up on life. Therefore, I formed the THC Foundation, which is an advocacy group opposed to gender-based violence and child abuse. So far we have been offering training courses and seminars for students, for police officers, for civil society in general, just to try to sensitize people about gender-based violence. Most important, we are trying to coordinate all agencies that deal with gender-based violence to try to come together and have one common strategy. Because what I observed

was that everybody was doing their little thing, but the results were not what we all wanted. I knew that if we had one strong lobby group, one strong approach, the results would be much better and the impact would be significant.

**ADF:** So really it’s a matter of cultural change and education.

**MASIRE:** One other reason that I thought I could make a difference was that when women see a man sort of championing their cause, they tend to have hope that, OK, men do see that we are getting shortchanged here, and there are some who are prepared to chip in and help us get out of this. By so doing, you generate a lot of debate, activity, and hopefully the mindset changes.

**ADF:** What are your hopes for the future of BDF?

**MASIRE:** My hope is that the BDF will continue to be a professional military, but one area that I really know we need to work on, and I hope the government will help them, is equipment. People in this country tend to think that there is a lot of money being wasted on the military, but the reality is that the BDF is still using a lot of obsolete equipment. We have not kept pace with technological advancement. Being a small force, technology is a force multiplier. We need to follow that and really capitalize on that. One of the challenges that countries like Botswana have, since we’re not at war and we’re not faced with any threat of either terrorism or civil unrest, is we are expected not to get engaged in defense procurement, not to get engaged in force restructuring, and all those things that help you be prepared for any eventuality. People just think that, “Oh, come on, there’s no war, what do you need new equipment for, what is the money for?” But, I always try to tell people that wars start overnight. You’re not given six months’ notice or whatever. So, the defense force, for it to be of value to people, it has to be on its toes and ready to move at any time. □

# SOLDIERS TRAIN IN THE SHADOW OF A REAL THREAT

## FLINTLOCK 2015 HELPS THE LAKE CHAD REGION UNITE TO FIGHT BOKO HARAM

ADF STAFF

For nearly a decade, special operations Soldiers have gathered in the Sahel for Flintlock, the annual exercise designed to build partnerships and share tactics needed to rid the region of extremists and traffickers.

Flintlock 2015 was different. It involved a real and nearby threat: the extremist group Boko Haram. In fact, the Flintlock closing ceremony near N'Djamena, Chad, on March 9, 2015, was conducted as ground and air forces from Niger and Chad launched an offensive in northeastern Nigeria to dislodge the terror group from its stronghold.

Since its inception, Flintlock has never focused on any specific security threat or group. The intent has been to develop security capacity, build professionalism and craft lasting bonds among participating countries. The exercise has been about overcoming cultural, professional and technical barriers, be they language, fighting techniques, radio systems or customs.

In 2015, the largest Flintlock ever, host nation Chad had to deal with the terrorist organization Boko Haram in addition to the scheduled training. The singularity of the situation was not lost on anyone.

Experienced trainers said the mindset for Flintlock 2015 was different from past years. There was always a sense at other exercises, one military observer said, that they were training Soldiers to protect their own countries. For Flintlock 2015, there was a sense of training to protect the entire continent and beyond.

"When your neighbor's house is burning, you have to put it out, because if not, yours is next," said Chadian Lt. Col. Brahim Mahanat, referring to the threat Boko Haram poses to the region.



Soldiers cautiously approach a compound under a mock siege during a training session at Flintlock 2015 near Mao, Chad.



On one of the final days of Flintlock, Boko Haram pledged its allegiance to the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, the notorious extremist group that is occupying parts of Syria, Libya and Iraq. Boko Haram reportedly now refers to itself as the Islamic State's West African Province.

Much of the training was staged from military posts near Chad's capital, N'Djamena, little more than 50 kilometers from Boko Haram-held territory in Nigeria. Before the Flintlock training began, Cameroon, Chad and Niger already had dispatched thousands of Soldiers to Nigeria to take on the estimated 4,000 to 6,000 insurgents. The troops reclaimed some of the 30 Nigerian towns controlled by the extremists.

The proximity to an actual threat was not the only reason Chad was a particularly appropriate choice as the Flintlock host. Chadian troops bolstered their reputation internationally in 2013 when they joined French forces in fighting al-Qaida-linked rebels in northern Mali. But trainers noted that many of the Chadian troops, like Soldiers from other African nations, were young and inexperienced. They needed lessons in such basics as adjusting the sights on their rifles and the importance of properly cleaning their weapons.

Chadian Brig. Gen. Zakaria Ngobongue, exercise director for Flintlock 2015, said one of the most important parts of the training was its emphasis on building relationships among African nations. One training scenario involved cross-border fighting with a group modeled after Boko Haram. Other training emphasized using Soldiers from multiple countries, working as teams, and rescuing a village or compound under siege by invaders.

Officers stressed the need for their Soldiers to interact with civilians as often as possible. Ngobongue said his country's civilians needed to be better informed about security threats so they could help provide Soldiers with information on suspicious groups and activities. Even residents of N'Djamena did not understand the threat of Boko Haram, he said.

"They feel safe on this side of the river," he said. "We need a campaign to make them aware of the risk."

## TWENTY-THREE COUNTRIES

Nearly 1,300 people from 23 countries took part in the three-week exercise, with training in Chad, as well as Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria and Tunisia. About 700 of the troops were from African nations, with 365 European Soldiers and 250 American commandos participating. Flight crews from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom moved troops and nearly 230 metric tons of cargo on 113 flights. Each Soldier on the mission received 150 hours of training, and many received new military equipment along with their training.

Exercise trainers emphasized that, by default, Flintlock was largely about tactics and approaches to be used in the future to fight asymmetric threats such as Boko Haram. The training included staged ambushes, rescue missions,

shooting practice and patrols. Conditions were hot and dusty in the barren environment of the Sahel, which sits along the southern edge of the Sahara. Sandstorms — typical during February and March — lowered visibility. Some flights were grounded because of the omnipresent powdery sand.

"Given the austere nature of the environment, the lack of any previously established living or operating space, serious logistical complaints, and the participation of multiple nations, this exercise poses an immensely difficult problem," said one American major involved in logistics.

Preparations started three weeks before the exercise, with organizers arriving in areas offering little more than dirt roads and vast sweeps of sand. Working in the relentless heat and harsh sun, they brought in trucks and forklifts to set up fences, tents and supply depots. Generators provided power and air conditioning.

The heat was such that the meager shade of the occasional thorny acacia tree was never taken for granted. During meals and other off-times, plastic chairs were crowded beneath the scrawny trees to offer some relief from the sun.

## MEDICAL AID

To further reinforce civilian-military relations, military personnel provided medical assistance to local residents as part of the training exercise. Medical personnel treated 1,800 people in temporary clinics near Mao, Faya and Moussoro in Chad, and in Agadez, Niger. Medical workers observed that for many of the patients, the clinics were their first exposure to military personnel of any kind during peacetime.

The clinic in Mao was typical. The town of about 18,000 people is barren and, despite having an airport, remote. Some people on hand for the day of medical exercise readiness and training had traveled for days by donkeys and other types of transportation to get medical care. Exercise officials from seven countries, working with UNICEF and local leaders, coordinated medical screenings, treatment of ailments and injuries, and medicine distribution.

Patients were offered a range of services including dentistry, primary care, eye care and women's health care. Workers made a special effort to observe village and cultural protocols, including having women on hand to work with female patients. In some cases, patients were so ill that they were sent to the small Mao hospital for additional care.

Dental care was in particular demand, with workers pulling teeth, giving basic instructions on oral hygiene, and handing out dental supplies, including toothpaste and toothbrushes.

"We're prepared to do some tooth extractions, minor fillings and spot cleaning," U.S. Army Capt. Ross Cook, one of the dentists, told Flintlock staff members. "However, these missions are really more about what you leave behind with the local provider, being able to



SGT. TIMOTHY CLEGG/U.S. ARMY



STAFF SGT. AMBER MARTIN/U.S. ARMY



U.S. ARMY

Senegalese Soldiers march and sing in N'Djamena, Chad, during Flintlock 2015.

A Chadian platoon practices dismounting in Moussoro, Chad.

A U.S. Army Soldier, center, from 10th Special Forces Group (Airborne) demonstrates an assault position to Chadian Soldiers in Moussoro.



## SOCIAL MEDIA

Flintlock 2015 included a Facebook page devoted to reporting news about the exercise. Organizers said it was intended as a “wire service” for events in Flintlock, targeting those not involved in the exercise, such as family members and news consumers. Before the exercise was over, the Facebook page had been viewed by more than 125,000 people. There were no immediate plans, organizers said, for forays into other social media such as Twitter.

The Chadians also posted a Facebook page in French.



## EBOLA PREPARATION

Niger, one of the host countries for Flintlock training, took the added precaution of including the 2014 Ebola outbreak in its preparations. Although Niger was not one of the countries that had Ebola cases, it came up with procedures for handling a hypothetical outbreak. Nigerien officials devised a detailed plan for establishing and isolating emergency care centers. The plan included:

- Separate entrances for patients and personnel.
- One-way roads inside the care centers.
- A single exit for everyone in the centers, both patients and personnel.
- The installation of tents for all patient types: suspected Ebola cases, probable cases and confirmed cases.
- Installation of security fences with protected surveillance staffing.



understand what their primary care needs are, and being able to recommend solutions based on what they regularly have on hand.”

Veterinary help was available for animals. Workers offered antibiotics, vaccinations and wound treatments. In a region where goats and donkeys are a vital part of everyday life, veterinary workers were able to assess herds and suggest ways to improve animal health.

#### OVERCOMING DISTRUST

The military part of Flintlock included small-unit training with counterterrorism groups. The region’s armies traditionally have not worked well together, partially because of distrust and cultural rivalries, but also because of vast differences in military readiness and communications equipment.

The goal was, as always, to strengthen security institutions and partnerships, promote information and intelligence sharing, and improve interoperability among participating African countries in the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership. The partnership helps African governments control their territories and prevent parts of the region from becoming a haven for extremists. There are 20 African partner nations in the initiative.

Most days, each African nation partnered with a Western counterpart for tactical training. The ambush defense training was particularly useful, in light of Boko Haram. Other training included tactical patrol maneuvers and removing wounded Soldiers under fire. The sound of gunfire punctuated the day as troops took target practice.

Foreign trainers marveled at how Soldiers from the region, even weighted down with equipment and

running during tactical maneuvers, seemed impervious to the heat.

#### TALKING TO EACH OTHER

For as long as nations have been working together in military and police exercises, there have been communications problems. Flintlock 2015 sought to bridge some of the gaps.

Often, communications among partnering countries are impossible due to language barriers. With thousands of native dialects divided among six basic language “families” on the continent, even basic face-to-face communications can be a challenge. But there also is the problem of hardware. In years past, multicountry military exercises, and even actual military operations, were hampered by incompatible radios: different systems, different bandwidths, different radios.

Leaders at Flintlock 2015 said cellphones are now revolutionizing military communications in the field. They are enabling countries’ armies and police to communicate with each other without the need for bulky radio systems. But other technologies also are under development.

Some of that development has its origins in two disasters in the United States — the 9/11 terrorists attacks and Hurricane Katrina, which devastated part of the country’s Gulf of Mexico coast. In both instances, first responders struggled to communicate because radios used by different government agencies employed different bandwidths.

Using ordinary electronic components, American engineers developed a system to allow two commonly used bandwidths, UHF and VHF, as well as cellphones,



Soldiers carrying flags of participating nations pass in review during closing ceremonies at Flintlock 2015 in Chad. ADF STAFF

to communicate on a single network. In the field, the system operator can link any device that can send and receive transmissions to communicate with other devices, including cellphones, texting devices, computers and hand-held radios. Operators said the system will give linked armies the ability to communicate in real time, regardless of the kind of gear they are using.

At Flintlock, operators trained Soldiers to use the system in three stages: classrooms, hands-on practice and practical exercises. Trainers said that during the instructions, students repeatedly came up with new ways to use the equipment in the field.

The device itself is about the size of a suitcase and has been designed to withstand rough environments, including the sands of the Sahara. The system underwent real-world testing during the persistent dust storms in Chad.

The central device can be thought of as a wheel hub, with all devices connecting to it being spokes. The hub is in a central location, which can be just about anywhere, with the “spoke” devices scattered all around, at various distances. Operators explained that a Soldier could send a radio transmission to the hub, which would forward it on to a cellphone or another otherwise-incompatible device, in the form of Internet protocol packets. None of the spoke devices need an actual Internet connection to communicate, which gives the system an almost global reach.

The system can also receive and transmit text messages and photos from cellphones. As mobile network connections improve, live streaming video should become commonplace, operators said.

Google technology, including Google Maps, plays a key role in the technology. A smartphone equipped with

the proper technology can send coordinates to the hub, which plots the phone’s position on Google Maps. The operator can click on the icon for that position on the map and talk directly to the cellphone user.

The system is a work in progress. Testers say that a smaller backpack version is in the works. At the end of Flintlock, communications specialists were scheduled to meet to evaluate the equipment’s performance.

“This technology will allow African nations working together in combined operations to bridge their tactical and long-haul networks together,” said a warrant officer working on the project. “Not only will this solution bring internal communications together, but it will take comms a step further by expanding the ability to communicate in real time between forces from neighboring nations, regardless of what type of gear they’re using.”

Ngobongue, although impressed with the communications technology advances made at Flintlock 2015, said, “It all comes down to human contact in some way.”

“As a man in the field, when we’re stuck, we’re going to deal with the means we have,” he told *ADF*. He recalled a 2014 exercise in the Republic of the Congo, where his troops had some communications difficulties.

“We had radios, we had receptors, there was a problem, fine,” he said. “We had walkie-talkies. That didn’t work out too well; we went to cellphones. Finally, when they didn’t work, when the network went down, we did what we always do — we put someone on a motorcycle and sent them out there to get the message and pass on the information. All means are good.

“That’s the way equipment works,” he added. “When things break down, you’re going to have to use your own brains to figure things out. All equipment is capricious.” □

# AN INTERVIEW WITH BRIG. GEN. ZAKARIA NGOBONGUE

THE DIRECTOR OF FLINTLOCK 2015 TALKS ABOUT LEADING A MILITARY EXERCISE WITH MULTIPLE ARMIES AND MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

ADF STAFF

Chadian Brig. Gen. Zakaria Ngobongue served as the director for Exercise Flintlock 2015, with Chad as the host country. He is commander of his country's Joint Military Group of Schools. Although he has participated in several multinational military exercises, this was his first Flintlock. *Africa Defense Forum* interviewed the general twice at a camp near N'Djamena in the final days of the exercise in March 2015. The general spoke in French, with an English translator. These are excerpts of those interviews:

**Q: IT'S INTERESTING THAT THIS IS YOUR FIRST FLINTLOCK, AND YET YOU ARE IN CHARGE.**

**A:** Yes, as main director of Flintlock 2015, I play the role of coordinator. This is my first Flintlock, but I have participated in numerous multinational and multidimensional exercises. In Angola in Exercise Kwanza in 2010, I was the commander of multinational forces. This was an exercise with 4,000 men underneath me. In 2014, I had command and control for an exercise in Tanzania. Also in 2014, I participated in another exercise, Loango, in the Republic of the Congo.

In all of these different exercises, all are diverse. Flintlock is very focused on communication and sharing. That would be one thing that sticks out about this exercise — being able to exploit the high technology and communications equipment. In a lot of the other exercises, the communications equipment is not interoperable among the participating countries. That always creates a difficulty with the exercise. This exercise focuses more on the interoperability. But when it comes right down to it, maneuvers are maneuvers; they're the same.

As for the rest, there's always parachutes, supply and resupply drops, checkpoints and securing zones. It all builds up to a final exercise and demonstration. That is the same in every exercise.

**Q: IT HAS BEEN AN ONGOING CONCERN IN YEARS PAST THAT IN MILITARY EXERCISES, THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES OFTEN HAD RADIO SYSTEMS THAT WERE INCOMPATIBLE WITH EACH OTHER. DID THE USE OF CELLPHONES MAKE A DIFFERENCE THIS YEAR?**

**A:** Look at the realities in the theater. Yes, we have antennas; yes, we have different ways of transmitting information. And yes, the cellphone is now another quite

useful tool. But when it comes right down to it, it all comes down to human contact in some way. As a man in the field, when we're stuck, we're going to deal with it with the means we have.

**Q: BOKO HARAM FIGHTERS ARE KNOWN TO BE CLOSE TO HERE. DID THE PRESENCE OF BOKO HARAM CHANGE THE EXERCISE IN ANY WAY?**

**A:** No, this didn't have an effect. This exercise was planned for a long time. They came up with the concept of operations that were planned for this exercise. So, it's a simple coincidence. All of these events were happening between February and March. Historically, this is when Flintlock is scheduled. It's just a simple coincidence that this was when Boko Haram started to act up. It had no effect on us going about our exercise. Except, of course, the fact that this exercise takes place now in a more particular context. Yes, we have the context of a high visibility of certain actions conducted by Boko Haram; they have sown terror. They have sown disorder everywhere, especially in the subregion. But this exercise still gave us the proper occasion to get together and prepare together.

**Q: THERE SEEMS TO BE A REAL EMPHASIS ON PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES WORKING TOGETHER.**

**A:** Flintlock pulled us together; it gave us time together. Why is this important? This is a warmup — this is a warmup to deal with the reality we will have to deal with. The exercise didn't change; the context of the exercise did. It was a perfect warmup for real, live operations.

**Q: BY "LIVE OPERATIONS," YOU MEAN DEALING WITH EXTREMISTS?**

**A:** Terrorism — it's not a case for just one country. Terrorism has no face; it has no territory. It has no boundaries. It has no friends. This requires everyone to share the resources. We have to put our efforts together. We can all fight this together. Alone, we will never attain the



Brig. Gen. Zakaria Ngobongue of Chad meets with visitors during Exercise Flintlock 2015. ADF STAFF

state that we wish. It's going to require working together.

It's about our fundamental mission. The fundamental mission of a country and its armed forces is to protect the civilians on a long-term basis, to give them a secure environment. It's to give stability to our borders and what happens inside them. If Boko Haram or any other one rips the integrity of our nation, of our security, how can we ignore this? If someone comes in and attacks our population, our response will be measured and appropriate to that threat.

**Q: IN 2013, YOUR COUNTRY MADE HEADLINES AROUND THE WORLD BY SENDING TROOPS TO MALI TO HELP FIGHT AL-QAIDA-LINKED FIGHTERS. IS THAT THE KIND OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT?**

**A:** Our goal is to have an entire African continent that's stable. It's not just Chad, it's our continent. Yes, we are committed to sending our troops to help our brothers. It has nothing to do with whether it's Mali or another country. Terrorism has no face, and it has no boundaries. This is not just a limited, one-country issue. We are not a superpower. We are working among our brothers.

**Q: IS FLINTLOCK TRAINING MOSTLY TO PREPARE FOR ASYMMETRIC WARFARE?**

**A:** Flintlock has definitive objectives. The first one is a mutual sharing of resources and to have a synergy together. These mutual resources were to activate, put into action, and improve and reinforce interoperability. As you know, when you get this many people together, they all come with different insights and different experiences. And you get them together, and you mutually share. It's these differences and principles and values we have, our know-how, our culture, and our identity, all of this together. And if you now keep in mind, we've talked about elements of the exercise, but there's another aspect of Flintlock that can't be forgotten:

It's the humanitarian, the medical element. Civil-military actions. That was another thing that was concentrated on.

So we are responsible for protecting our citizens, and what is important when you are protecting citizens is also to strengthen the connection and the links between us and civilians. We need civilians to know that we are here and for them to be reassured of what our real role is.

**Q: A COUPLE OF THE THEMES OF THIS YEAR'S FLINTLOCK SEEM TO BE PRACTICE, AS IN FIREARMS TRAINING, AND ADAPTABILITY, SUCH AS NEW COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY.**

**A:** Soldiers need constant practice. They need to practice every day. Flintlock is a great framework for our training, to get all together, to adapt new techniques. Technology advances quickly. Terrorists are constantly changing their modes of action. We must have new operational actions. All of the armed forces should be interested and involved in this.

**Q: TELL US ABOUT THE TYPE OF EXTREMISTS YOU ARE USING IN YOUR TRAINING SCENARIOS.**

**A:** It's Boko Haram and other terrorists. Their source of recruitment is the population. What sort of population are we talking about? The poverty-ridden. The minors. People who have had a difficult life. Yes, these are the people that they target. They also tend to look for a certain age range — always the young. Why? Financial means. These young people don't understand the stakes. They don't understand the dangers. All they are looking for is right in front of their noses at easy streets.

**Q: DO YOU THINK THE LESSONS LEARNED AT FLINTLOCK WILL HELP IMPROVE INTELLIGENCE SHARING IN THE REGION?**

**A:** Something that's fundamental in the fight against terrorism is this information-sharing — it's essential. If we don't share information, we're never going to get to our final stage.

Flintlock is exactly what we needed, the right time and place, together. We share information and put into practice this sharing of information. As you've noticed, Boko Haram is in the subregion, and if we're going to fight against this, this sort of exercise that we just did is a perfect concrete example of what we need to do more of in the future.

If you look at, in the framework of this exercise, within the coordination center, there were two cells, the cell to deal with Boko Haram, and the one for al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb. These two cells with their work communicate among themselves, but not only among themselves. There was also a direct connection with national coordination centers, for example in Niger, Tunisia and Cameroon. In the framework of the exercise, there was communication, concrete communication. At the same time, it was sometimes exploited for the reality of what was taking place in the subregion. Just to give you a concrete example, the events that you saw on TV in Dikwa in Nigeria [Nigerian and Chadian forces recaptured the town from Boko Haram], that information sharing happened in real time during the exercise itself. □

Brig. Gen. Zakaria Ngobongue meets troops at the conclusion of a practice rescue mission in Chad during Exercise Flintlock 2015. ADF STAFF





# AFRICA HEARTBEAT

A young man mixes tea  
in the central Nigerien  
city of Agadez.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

THE TIMELESSNESS OF

# TEA

IN THE SAHARA



#### ADF STAFF

The historic city of Agadez, Niger, sits along the southern fringe of the Sahara, where nearly everything seems to take on the tan hue of the ubiquitous, powdery sand.

The city, known as the gateway to the desert, began developing in the 15th and 16th centuries with the establishment of the sultanate of Air. The center of the city served as a cross-roads for caravan traders and is divided into 11 irregular sections. Each section contains mud buildings and religious structures, including a 27-meter-tall minaret, the highest mud brick structure of its kind in the world.

Historic trading hubs such as Agadez are inevitably known for their social customs. Among those are the Tuareg tea ceremony. A young man relaxing on an Agadez street with friends demonstrates the age-old practice of brewing tea. It is a leisurely and time-consuming affair that lends itself to spending time with guests and loved ones.

A brewer sets a small teapot to boil on coals. He pours water into small glasses and transfers each glassful into the pot, one by one. He adds tea and sugar; then comes the elaborate pouring. The tea mixes as it is poured from glass to pot and back again. The brewer draws the pot away from the glass to get a long stream, and the process is repeated multiple times. The brewer tastes the tea a time or two throughout to measure progress.

When done, the brewer pours out the tea in a long stream into small glasses, kicking up a sudsy froth on the top, and then hands them out to friends and guests. The long pour tamps down the heat so the tea can be drunk immediately. Once the guests drink the tea, the brewers collect the empty glasses on silver metal trays, splash bottled water into them and scrub them out with their fingers. Then they brew another pot, and the age-old ritual begins again.

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# MILITARY ADJUSTS TRAINING FOR CHANGING TIMES

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THE AFRICAN CONFERENCE OF COMMANDANTS  
ENCOURAGES MILITARIES TO LEARN FROM EACH OTHER

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**D**ramatic changes in society used to be single events. The end of World War II. The collapse of the Soviet Union. The global financial crisis. Writer Joshua Cooper Ramo summed up the events of the 21st century as “an avalanche of ceaseless change.”

As is almost always the case, the military is called on to help manage the changes. Now, more than ever, a well-trained military is essential. That’s where African nation staff colleges, also known as war colleges, come in. They train army officers in the science of war and crisis management.

Typically, officer training begins with cadet school, or officers’ candidate school. But too often officer training ends at graduation. The staff colleges take that basic military training and expand it, going

beyond fundamental combat skills. As writer Milan Vego has said, a professional military education “should encourage the development of initiative, flexibility, decisiveness, and willingness to take responsibility.”

Africa’s staff colleges have a long tradition of exchanging students, instructors and administrators. Historically, such exchanges generally were limited to subregions. Representatives of staff colleges aspired to do more and formed the African Conference of Commandants (ACoC) in South Africa in November 2007.

Conference organizers studied similar organizations such as the North American Treaty Organization’s Conference of Commandants, the NATO Defense College and the Africa Center for Strategic Studies in the United States.

The conference has grown

steadily. Representatives from nine staff colleges attended the first meeting in 2007 in South Africa, with 11 the next year in Ghana. The third meeting, hosted by Egypt in 2009, was attended by representatives of 18 of Africa’s 25 staff colleges. The annual meetings also have been hosted by Botswana, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Uganda and Zambia.

The current roster of active members includes military representatives from Botswana, Cameroon, Côte d’Ivoire, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Libya, Malawi, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda and Zambia. Conference membership is evolving and can include representatives from nongovernmental organizations. Some countries, such as Egypt and Libya, have participated consistently in the conference, despite political upheavals.



FROM LEFT: Cadets attend a briefing at the Joint Military Academy in Arta, Djibouti. The African Conference of Commandants says that all levels of military education need to be included in curriculum planning.

STAFF SGT. CARLIN LESLIE/U.S. AIR FORCE

Officers enter the Malawi Armed Forces College Conference Center in August 2014.

U.S. AFRICA COMMAND

Zambian Brig. Gen. Dennis Alibuzwi, chairman of the African Conference of Commandants

AFRICAN CONFERENCE OF COMMANDANTS

Bob Janssen, secretary of the ACoC and a retired colonel who served in the South African National Defence Force, said that at the 2015 planning meeting, topics included operational research, war simulations, developing curriculums, critical thinking, scenarios, future methodologies and cost-benefit analysis.

"ACoC believes that highly professional officers can provide the necessary critical mass that inspires societies to respect societal values and contribute to the development of a culture of high moral and ethical standards," Janssen wrote. "The development of an ethos of excellence in a nation's officer corps will result in a better quality of military peace missions, which is in the interests of all stakeholders. The niche value of ACoC is in the diversity of the many African nations, cultures and various military backgrounds they represent, which they can share and learn from."

At the core of any staff college's curriculum are basic military principles, including:

- National defense structures
- Roles and missions of all services
- Joint operations and warfare
- Military leadership
- Regional knowledge and studies
- Military history
- Strategy

Modern staff colleges include training in conventional war, peace support operations, the handling of internal problems, and, increasingly among African nations, the use of the military in dealing with problems produced by environmental disasters.

In addition to those military principles, the ACoC has specific objectives that include:

- Contributing to African security by developing military training and education.
- Improving the understanding and coordination among Africa's staff colleges to develop the African Standby Force (ASF).
- Developing cooperation among the colleges by improving benchmarking, curriculum best practices, academic accreditations and exchange programs.

The ASF is of particular interest to the conference and was a focal point during the 2007 charter meeting. It continues to be an important piece of the conference's ongoing business. The Uganda Joint Command and Staff College, for example, offers peace support operation training, specifically taking into account the ASF's priority needs.

## TEACHING THINKING

Africa's militaries in the 21st century are dealing with asymmetric warfare more than conventional fighting. This type of warfare and enemy requires new thinking and training. In their book, *Transforming Strategic Leader Education for the 21st Century*, Jeffrey McCausland and Gregg Martin said a modern military education teaches disciplined thinking and problem-solving.

"Education has more to do with how to think about problems and how to deal with those things that may not lend themselves to outright solutions," they wrote. "It is a matter of intellect, thought, indirect leadership, advice and consensus-building."

Maren Leed and David Sokolow, writing in their book, *The Ingenuity Gap: Officer Management for the 21st Century*, say the job of modern officers is "part counter-terrorism, part counter-insurgency, and part stability and support activities."

"This diversity, while not unprecedented, has been relatively sudden in its onset and has taken place within a compressed time period," Leed and Sokolow wrote. They said that officers are going to have to be trained in new, advanced ways.

"First, the responsibilities of junior officers will continue to expand beyond the bounds of their traditional foundational skill sets. Second, officers at all ranks will increasingly confront wicked or ill-structured problems, confounded by incomplete information and with such a vast array of implications that traditional decision-making models will no longer apply."

Experienced military educators say that a one-size-fits-all technique for educating officers probably doesn't exist anymore, with different staff colleges needing different courses at different times. Certainly the current state of conflict in Africa requires an increased emphasis on dealing with asymmetric warfare. Wendell C. King of the U.S. Command and General Staff College said that anyone designing a staff college training program must ask three basic questions:

- What is it that graduates must be able to do in the performance of their duties as field grade officers?
- How do you design and manage a curriculum to best prepare young military leaders, knowing that you really have no idea what they will be asked to do in the future?
- How do you determine whether students have accomplished the objectives of the training?

In an ACoC conference report, King said that unlike a civilian university, change is a constant in military colleges. "The operational environment is changing and we need to adjust our learning outcomes to anticipate this change."

When a school decides that it is not reaching its teaching goals, King said, it needs to change its curriculum, change its teaching methods, or provide additional faculty development.

In a report after the sixth ACoC annual meeting, retired Nigerian Air Vice Marshal M.N. Umaru said officers must study strategy early in their military careers and continue to study it at the staff college level. But staff college training must expand to include national security strategy and national military strategy. He also noted that advanced military training must emphasize the effect of technology and global developments.



The African Conference of Commandants includes a troika system, with three members meeting annually to set the agenda for the full annual conference. The 2015 troika consisted of, from left, Air Vice Marshal John Chris Ifemeje of Nigeria, Brig. Gen. Dennis Alibuzwi of Zambia and Brig. Shadrack Moloi of Botswana. AFRICAN CONFERENCE OF COMMANDANTS

“Not only technology, but cyber warfare is a key threat today,” he reported. “People have to be trained and educated in defense against any attack on a cyber security infrastructure. The military must champion the cause of technological development and its impact on national security.”

#### A REGIONAL APPROACH

The ACoC has established a foundation for collaboration and cooperation, but the member staff colleges have limited time, resources and manpower. ACoC members have suggested that a regional approach could overcome some of these issues. There is some precedent for such cooperation, such as Kenya and Uganda working together through student exchange programs. The Uganda Joint Command and Staff College is typical of the schools in that it trains students from the 10 Eastern African Security Force member nations, as well as students from other African Union countries.

The conference also has discussed broadening its

membership to include higher and lower institutions. At least six countries have such institutions that do not participate in the conference. Adding the institutions could mean career-long officer development.

The conference has an ongoing interest in a common computer network for sharing training resources. Computer networking plays a key role in the annual Combined Joint African Exercise conducted by the Southern African Development Community on behalf of the ACoC and the African Union. Janssen said in his 2015 report that the exercise is one of the ways to develop cooperation among the African colleges, along with benchmarking, curriculum best practices, staff exchange programs and academic accreditation.

“The development of the military professional is a process involving lifelong learning and continuous growth,” Janssen wrote. “ACoC’s intent is to hone the skills of the select few who display the quality of leadership that would contribute to a safer, more stable and prosperous Africa.” □



TRUE

*or False?*

## INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY HELPS DISPEL RUMORS IN KENYA'S VOLATILE TANA DELTA ADF STAFF

Kenya's Tana River winds 1,000 kilometers out of the Aberdare Mountains. It twists and turns before making its way through the towns of Garissa, Hola and Garsen on its way to the Indian Ocean. It's the nation's longest river, and around it thrives a delta teeming with palm savannas, grasslands, forests and lakes.

The delta, rich with rice paddies and sugar crops, also is known for violence rooted in long-standing conflicts between two ethnic groups, the Pokomo and the Orma. The Pokomo people are mostly farmers who make their living with cash crops along the river. The Orma tend to be seminomadic herders in search of grazing land for their cattle. Farmers and herders often end up at odds in Africa.

In September 2012, a fierce clash between the two sides in Kilelengwani began when several hundred armed men poured into the village with guns, spears, machetes, and bows and arrows. They set fire to thatched-roof huts and hacked men, women and children to death.

"They were many," village resident Ismail Bodole told the BBC. "They had red scarves tied around their foreheads. They were shouting, 'Kill, kill, kill!' That was their roar."

**Jamila Yakobo, 9, was slashed with a machete while trying to flee an attack on her village, Kilelengwani, in September 2012.**

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

More than 100 people on both sides were killed in a month's time, and thousands more fled their villages, the BBC reported. A year later, at least 10 people were killed in the Tana Delta's Nduru village, according to Deutsche Welle. In both incidents, political interests were thought to be behind the violence.

"This is only election politics that is playing out," Coast Provincial Police Officer Aggrey Adoli told Deutsche Welle. "We know that there are a few people who are trying to incite people against each other just because of political expediency."

### A History of Violence, A Future in Technology

The Tana Delta spans more than 35,000 square kilometers and has a population approaching a quarter of a million people. A vast area like the delta, with its history of ethnic conflict, would be a challenge for any

professional security force. In September 2012, then-President Mwai Kibaki sent 1,000 police officers to the region in hopes of halting violence.

Villages are scattered throughout the delta, and few are on maps. Because of the area's history, rumors of violence are common. In fact, such rumors can spread from village to village and incite actual violence. Information and communications technology (ICT) offers a way to stop rumors in their tracks, while keeping villagers reliably informed of what's going on around them.



Timothy Quinn, Christopher Tuckwood, John Green Otunga and Christine Mutisya of the Sentinel Project listen to feedback from community ambassadors in Tarassa village in August 2014. THE SENTINEL PROJECT

ICT includes a broad range of applications and equipment such as cellphones, radios, television, computers, and related hardware and software. ICT offers the potential for expanding the reach of government agencies, restoring business activity, tracking violence, and avoiding tensions fed by rumor and misinformation. ICT can offer police and military officials low-cost technology options for dealing with security-related issues.

In the Tana Delta region, the Sentinel Project, a Canadian nongovernmental organization (NGO), has set up a cellphone-based system called Una Hakika, which means "Are you sure?" in Swahili. The NGO conducted research in the Tana Delta in 2012 and

2013 after election-related violence and found that misinformation was driving conflict in an area already prone to disputes. In response, the Sentinel Project teamed up with iHub Research in Kenya to devise Una Hakika.

“So what we do is we fight misinformation by giving people the correct information,” said Christine Mutisya, the NGO’s project coordinator in Nairobi, Kenya. “Therefore, before they take any action, they can ask themselves, ‘Is this true?’ ”

Even though the delta is remote and one of the least-developed parts of Kenya, 81 percent of residents own mobile phones, 45 percent of those devices can access the Internet, and 81 percent of residents live in households with multiple cellphone users, the Sentinel Project found. Nearly a third of the residents use the Internet and Facebook.

Developers decided to set up a pilot program that trained 193 “community ambassadors”

through phone calls or by contacting community ambassadors. So, even if villagers don’t have a phone, they can approach someone who does or talk to an ambassador.

Rumors are fed into the WikiRumours system, which was devised by the Sentinel Project.

WikiRumours is an information management tool that organizes, prioritizes and tracks rumors. “As you might expect, anything to do with security, whether it’s an impending attack, an attack that has allegedly already happened or is in progress, or anything relating to armed groups and so on moving through the area, that goes right to the top of our list,” said Christopher Tuckwood, executive director of the Sentinel Project.

**Verification:** Once rumors have been prioritized, staffers set out to determine whether they are true. This might be accomplished easily through community ambassadors or other trusted sources. “In some cases, things might be a bit more ambiguous, so we’ll engage the authorities, engage

community leaders, engage other NGOs in the area,” Tuckwood said. “For example, the Kenya Red Cross operates pretty widely and may have access to a lot of information that we don’t.”

**Intervention and countermessaging:** If a rumor is determined to be true, information can be forwarded to area police and subscribers. If it is misinformation, staffers can push out correct information using the same routes for receiving reports: SMS text messages, voice calls and community ambassadors.

Regardless of the veracity of rumors, results and responses go back only to the villages that reported them, Tuckwood said. This prevents the inadvertent spread of misinformation.



Drew Boyd, left, director of operations for the Sentinel Project, chats with residents of Hamesa village in Garsen, Kenya, in February 2014. | Una Hakika ambassador Martin Buna registers a rumor report. THE SENTINEL PROJECT

throughout 17 Tana Delta villages. The ambassadors are people with personal connections in the communities, often coming from peace groups, women’s groups and youth groups. They were interviewed and had to show a “desire to work for peace in the region,” Mutisya said.

Ambassadors are contact points for villagers who want to report or inquire about a rumor. They also allow Sentinel Project staffers to relay information back to the people about the validity of rumors.

Una Hakika uses three major steps to counter rumors and misinformation:

**Reporting and prioritization:** Una Hakika has about 1,200 subscribers who can report rumors using SMS text messages. Reports also can be made



Una Hakika staff members John Green Otunga, center, and Christine Mutisya, left, lead a training session for community ambassadors.

ADRIAN GREGORICH/THE SENTINEL PROJECT

*The group is exploring*

opportunities to address misinformation in public health, development and governance. West Africa's Ebola outbreak is an example of how misinformation can turn a health or humanitarian event into a serious security concern.

Una Hakika organizers intend to deploy multirotor and fixed-wing humanitarian drones in the Tana Delta, such as this one preparing for a test flight in Kibusu, Tana River County, Kenya. DREW BOYD/THE SENTINEL PROJECT



### Building on Success

After nearly two years in operation, Una Hakika has shown measurable success. People in the Tana Delta are engaged, and police generally support the effort.

"We have had a pretty positive response to Una Hakika from the local authorities because we're able to, of course, cut down on things like the number of responses that they have to do with their limited resources," Tuckwood said.

Using technology to stay in communication with remote or less-developed areas can help ensure that security forces respond only to the most credible incidents or reports of violence. This saves time, money and resources.

The pilot program, which began in early 2014, was slated to end in October 2015. Organizers hope to expand it. Word is getting out about the program, and surrounding counties have expressed interest in it.

"One thing, for example, in Kenya that's very big on our minds is the next election in 2017," Tuckwood said. Kenya has a recent history of violence around elections.

By that time, the Sentinel Project hopes to have Una Hakika covering the entire coastal region, as well as other hot spots around the country.

The group also is taking a preliminary look at other regions, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Africa and South Sudan. In addition, the group is exploring opportunities to address misinformation in public health, development and governance. West Africa's Ebola outbreak is an example of how misinformation can turn a health or humanitarian event into a serious security concern. Some public health workers were killed in Guinea because of misinformation and distrust among local people.

"So it stopped being just a public health issue, and the misinformation turned it into an actual security issue," Tuckwood said. "It would have been a great time to have something like Una Hakika up and running and integrated into that response."

In addition to expanding territory, the program seeks to add to the kind of technology it employs. In the fall of

# ICT SECURITY USES

As Internet access grows and mobile phone use continues to proliferate in Africa, information and communications technology (ICT) has the potential to improve safety and security for people all over the continent. ICT can take several forms:



## CROWDSOURCING

Crowdsourcing is the practice of obtaining services, ideas or information from large groups of people, typically through cellphones and computers. The website Ushahidi, which means “testimony” in Swahili, used crowdsourcing to gather information on postelection violence in Kenya in 2008.



## COUNTERMESSAGING

Cellphones, Internet sites and social media platforms can help security forces counter propaganda and messaging from extremists and others. The Sentinel Project’s Una Hakika platform takes in rumors from Kenya’s Tana Delta region, prioritizes them, verifies them and then pushes out correct information.



## EARLY-WARNING SYSTEMS

Early-warning systems can inform citizens of impending disasters, military action, extremist activity or health crises. The United Nations is setting up a system in northeastern Nigeria to ensure rapid response to Boko Haram, according to *Vanguard*. Residents can anonymously send real-time SMS, video or photo notifications. An operations staff will alert nearby police and security posts for action.



## SURVEILLANCE

Satellites, unmanned aerial vehicles, or drones, and other technology can be deployed to keep watch on remote areas or outbreaks of violence. In 2011, Nigerian police set up solar-powered cameras to watch high-crime areas in Abuja, Lagos, Port Harcourt and Yenagoa. A dozen police vehicles got locator technology to help with response when cameras detected crime, according to Nigeria’s *Daily Independent*.



Una Hakika subscribers in the Orma village of Kipao participate in a training session. ADRIAN GREGORICH/THE SENTINEL PROJECT

2014, a Sentinel Project team took a small humanitarian unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV), or drone, to the Tana Delta to demonstrate the security possibility of such a tool to villagers. The thinking is that a small fleet of multirotor and fixed-wing UAVs could go places people could not, either because of safety concerns or logistics. “I think we anticipated a lot more skepticism and were pleasantly surprised that it was an overwhelmingly positive reception,” said Drew Boyd, director of operations for the Sentinel Project. “People had concerns about security, but they were very minor concerns in light of the enthusiasm for using these systems for a human security element.”

The Sentinel Project is working with local and national authorities to acquire permission to fly the UAVs. If granted, multirotor UAVs would fly along a security perimeter, broadcasting high-definition video to the ground. Fixed-wing drones would be deployed to long-range areas of security risk to determine what might be going on in the event of an attack. Such a UAV could have been helpful in the Garissa University College attack by al-Shabaab militants that killed 147 in April 2015, Boyd said.

“When we spoke to the residents of the Tana Delta, on top of being supportive of the idea, they also came up with many other use cases we had not considered before,” Boyd said. “Things like land use or land misuse, development of large agricultural projects, which might be negatively impacting agricultural use or pastoral use in the area. Even things like lost heads of cattle have resulted in fights and attacks in the past.” □

# IT'S TIME TO TALK

RETHINKING CIVIL-MILITARY DIALOGUE IN NIGERIA



IDAMWENHOR NAPOLEON ENAYABA

Nigeria's long national crisis relating to Boko Haram has been devastating for many reasons. It cost thousands of innocent lives, caused 1.4 million people to flee their homes, and harmed the nation's image around the world. It also has increased mistrust between civilians and the Armed Forces.

Public confidence in the Nigerian military dropped from 78 percent to 57 percent between 2011 and 2014, according to a Gallup poll of Nigerians. Confidence in the police dropped from 49 percent to 33 percent.

Rebuilding this trust will be a long process and may require extensive security sector reform (SSR). One important facet of the reconstruction process must not be overlooked: dialogue. Nigeria needs a nationwide civil-military dialogue in which civilians and members of the Armed Forces can freely and openly express themselves to create mutual understanding.

## A DIFFICULT HISTORY

With the rise of terror groups and other violent nonstate actors in many parts of Africa, traditional civil security forces such as the police have found themselves underresourced and overmatched. Many countries have responded by deploying military forces into civil space for the purpose of re-establishing security. In Nigeria, government troops are

Police officers stand guard near the Independent National Electoral Commission in Kano, Nigeria, in March 2015.

REUTERS



a common sight in virtually all parts of the country. The performance of the military in this environment hinges on civil cooperation.

The problem is that mistrust exists between the military and civil society. In parts of Africa, this distrust has been caused by years of military domination, which included a culture of intimidation and a blatant disregard for human rights. The view in many young democracies is that the military acts more as an occupying force than a provider of security. Civilians are weary of a culture of impunity in conduct and a sheer lack of accountability and transparency by the senior echelon of the military under the guise of national security.

In Nigeria, this mistrust has a long history. During the colonial era, the British-trained Armed Forces were not designed to serve Nigerians. Violence and divide-and-rule tactics were employed to subjugate the population. Sir Ahmadu Bello, a premier of the northern region and a major figure in Nigerian history, spoke for many civilians when he said of the colonial-era forces: "We do not like the Soldiers; they were our people and had conquered us for strangers." The military system that emerged in Nigeria after independence followed a similar pattern. From 1966 to 1999, the country was plagued by a series of military coups and countercoups.

The psychological trauma shared by Nigerians has not been erased. It is no surprise that at the outbreak of the Boko Haram crisis, many people in the north, including

traditional rulers in Borno State, were against military deployment. They worried that the military would do more harm than good. This was only reinforced by reports of military high-handedness and human-rights violations.

These assumptions and suspicion are sometimes mutual. The military views civil society as not always sympathetic to its mission and believes some civil society organizations (CSOs) wait for every opportunity to criticize the military.

### THE IMPORTANCE OF DIALOGUE

Dialogue is a form of communication between people who are seeking the truth together. Dialogue clearly implies that neither side has a monopoly on the truth, but both need to work together to find it. In a nutshell, dialogue is a two-way conversation between people or groups holding significantly differing views but wanting to learn from one another. It is one of the ways parties in disagreement can find peace.

Dialogue should not be confused with debate, since the principle underlying debate is that one side believes it can persuade the other side to adopt a new position. Dialogue must be a shared process. Dialogue is also deeply rooted in African history. Village assemblies and open, public discourse have long been a part of conflict resolution in traditional African societies. A symbol of this dialogue is the baobab tree, which is sometimes the site of village discussions.

In many countries, CSOs are at the vanguard of harnessing dialogue to build working relations between

Nigerian Soldiers march during the inauguration ceremony of President Muhammadu Buhari on May 29, 2015. AFP/GETTY IMAGES





A group of civilians and senior officers of the Nigerian Armed Forces speak during a dialogue organized by Partners for Democratic Change and the CLEEN Foundation.

PARTNERS FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE

the military and the public. CSOs have become a source for linking the government, its institutions and the civilian community. This puts them in a unique position to promote dialogue between various stakeholders in the security sector and civil society.

#### GETTING THE DISCUSSION STARTED

One important way to make sure dialogue is successful is to hold pre-engagement meetings. These meetings can be used to educate civil society partners before direct dialogues to discuss issues that focus on the principles of citizen security, security management and SSR. These consultations improve the sophistication of the CSOs' contribution to the dialogues. Coordination among various SSR actors is crucial for the credibility and sustainability of SSR programs. Coordinated SSR interventions also help to increase cost-effectiveness, avoid duplication, manage interactions with a variety of stakeholders, and help to mainstream cross-cutting issues such as gender and human rights.

Another level of consultation is with the leadership of security institutions. Considering the overwhelming influence of security institution leaders, CSOs must galvanize leadership buy-in in a nonadversarial way. The leadership of these institutions must approve of the dialogue. Beginning slowly and focusing on relationship-building, rather than jumping immediately into issues with differing understanding, can soften hard-held views on both sides. Dialogues do not thrive in a tense or uneven atmosphere. The parties must all be willing to seek common ground.

Dialogue among the military, government institutions and civil society stakeholders constitutes a mechanism for addressing mistrust. To effectively entrench accountability and transparency in the military and other security sector institutions, an inclusive dialogue leading to a rapport between civil society and the military must be established.

Dialogue enables civil society to formulate an SSR agenda for engagement with the security forces. Nigeria today clamors for an inclusive reform, accountability and transparency of security sector institutions. For example, Nigeria's National Human Rights Commission has investigated alleged military misdeeds in the town of Baga and the Apo neighborhood of Abuja. Similarly, a number of civil society organizations are tracking and monitoring security sector spending. The military should embrace these efforts by CSOs and work with them to develop a road map for reform that improves transparency and prioritizes human rights. Success will be possible only if stakeholders within the military show commitment.

The CLEEN Foundation, a nongovernmental organization that promotes public safety, security and justice, has taken the lead on civil-military dialogue. With support from the National Endowment for Democracy, the CLEEN Foundation seeks to strengthen civil-military relations by fostering sustained dialogue and understanding to improve accountability, security and human rights. A list of issues to be addressed will be jointly developed. One state in each of Nigeria's six geopolitical zones has been selected for local CSOs to hold dialogue events and for the military formations in those states to implement the action. In dialogue, the civil society must understand that distrust is mutual. In some cases in which the military is facing internal and external guerrilla warfare, it has accused civilians of deliberately working to undermine its efforts. Civil society also has accused the military of excessive use of force, corruption and lack of transparency. The nation's security requires both sides to come to the table and develop a mutual understanding.

This process is continuous. To gain widespread buy-in and to promote local ownership, we must coordinate a series of strategic public dissemination events to inform the public. This coordination could be done through multilevel groups to develop mechanisms for monitoring the compliance and implementation of the plan. It also affords the public opportunities to ask questions and receive immediate answers. Public sensitization on an action plan offers parties the opportunity to harvest information for review and improvement.

Nigeria boasts a booming economy, a thriving democracy and a bright future. We can all help ensure its security by coming together through dialogue. □

Idamwenhor Napoleon Enayaba is a development practitioner with experience in conflict resolution, good governance, public oversight, accountability, safety and security. He holds a degree in history from the University of Benin and a degree in conflict, security and development from the Nigeria Defence Academy. Enayaba previously worked with the CLEEN Foundation as a program officer on public safety and security. He has been active in security sector reform in Nigeria and initiated a program area in the CLEEN Foundation that focuses on civil-military relations.



BUILDING PROFESSIONAL

# POLICE FORCES

ADF STAFF

Training and Strong Institutions  
Trump Mere Numbers

Kenya was still reeling from a bloody 2013 attack on Nairobi's Westgate Shopping Mall when al-Shabaab extremists unleashed another high-profile assault on the nation.

On April 2, 2015, the Somalia-based militants stormed the campus of Garissa University College. They immediately killed two security guards and then began indiscriminately murdering students.

"It was horrible; there was shooting everywhere," student Augustine Alanga told the BBC.

Student Eric Wekesa told Reuters that he locked himself in his room. "What I managed to hear from them is, 'We came to kill or finally be killed.' That's what they said."

Four gunmen, surrounded in a dormitory, died when they detonated suicide vests, the BBC reported. A fifth gunman was arrested. When the shooting ended, at least 147 university students had been killed, and more than 500 had managed to escape. Of those, 79 were injured.

In the days after the university massacre, Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta announced that the government would ramp up the recruitment of 10,000 new police officers for the National Police Service to bolster security across the nation. Inspector General of Police Joseph Boinett later told *The Star* of Nairobi that training time would be reduced from 15 months to nine months to streamline the process.

Kenya's 10,000 new recruits would consist of 6,000 new officers and 4,000 administrators. Hopeful crowds began showing up at 290 locations across Kenya in April 2015. "So far turnout is very good," Rashid Mohammed, police commander for Nairobi's Dagoretti area, told *World Bulletin*. "We have already received over 1,400 applicants."

"This year's recruitment is timely," Mohammed said. "Our country needs police officers to be able to effectively counter al-Shabaab attacks. We are currently facing a shortage of around 30,000 police officers."

Kenya's response to the attacks is understandable. More police officers can cover more ground, be in more places at once and respond with greater force should a catastrophe arise.

However, the need to balance the prevention of increasingly dangerous conditions on the ground with technical and educational proficiency is a delicate task.

### PRIORITIZING PROFESSIONALISM

Kenya is not the only African country facing threats from extremists. Nigeria is under constant pressure from Boko Haram, which has extended its reach throughout the Lake Chad region into Cameroon, Chad and Niger. Terrorists have attacked in Tunisia. Al-Shabaab also continues to stage violent attacks in its home country of Somalia.



A Kenyan police officer stands guard at the entrance to Nairobi's Westgate Shopping Mall in July 2015. The mall reopened nearly two years after an al-Shabaab siege in which 67 people died. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Because of these growing threats, and common crime and traffic patrols, police are the most likely security force to interact with the public day in and day out. Such contact will only increase as nations such as Kenya seek to bolster their forces. Ensuring a professional force that follows the rule of law and makes protecting the public its first priority will be essential.

Dr. Sayibu Gariba, assistant commissioner of

the Ghana Police Service, is finishing a seven-year stint at the African Union in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where he serves as chief police training officer for the African Standby Force. Among his duties are monitoring and programming courses and “exercise design, delivery and coordination” for events such as the Amani Africa II field training exercise that was set for October/November 2015 in South Africa.

When it comes to police professionalism, Gariba told *ADF*, a few points must be stressed: Police work always should be directed toward the core functions of safety and security; police should be accountable to the people and the government; and police officers should be innovative and subjected to practical and continuing education because “knowledge is never static.”

Officers also must know police work. The profession has a defined body of knowledge that includes investigations, patrols, weapons handling, counterterrorism and more. “You cannot just wake up one day and say, ‘I am a police officer,’ ” Gariba said. “There are some issues, there are some skills that one needs to understand and appreciate before you can be a police officer.”

Police officers also need to be able to respond to changing security dynamics by updating their skills. “So if the police have the skills, the competencies to be able to conduct all of these businesses, within the framework of ethical conduct, then we can say that police organization is professional,” he said. “But if they are unable to do this, then I don’t think that this organization is professional.”

One of the problems in Africa, Gariba said, is that sometimes politicians manipulate or disregard the criteria for entry into police forces, particularly as it pertains to education. Sometimes recruits enter the training process with substandard levels of education; some even are illiterate. This makes proper training difficult. The problem is a result of weak government institutions. “A professional organization should have some clear-cut established principles for which everybody can enter into the profession,” Gariba said.

Ultimately, however, qualifications are not the most important thing about being a police officer. “The most important thing is the commitment to duty,” Gariba said. “Commitment to serve the people. Serving them, providing safety and security. Providing them with policing services in an accountable and transparent manner.

“But what I’ve seen is that we have issues where people actually come from the basic level, not because they are committed actually to their job, but one of the key parameters is just to get a job. And this is one of the problems that we have. Such people are not committed to the job.”

Sometimes this lack of commitment can lead people into the system because they believe they can enrich

themselves through corruption. For example, Gariba said some officers may seek appointments to traffic divisions so they can extort money from drivers.

## THE BENEFITS OF COMMUNITY POLICING

One approach that requires a serious commitment to the ideals of effective police work is community-based policing (CBP). It is a philosophy and a way of organizing police work so that officers and communities team up to provide security and solve crime. In 2003, London-based Saferworld began working with PeaceNet, a national network of Kenyan nongovernmental organizations, to provide CBP in two pilot areas: the Makina village of Nairobi’s densely populated Kibera area, and the Bulla-Pesa area of Isiolo, in Kenya’s former Eastern province.

Saferworld worked with various government and educational institutions to develop a CBP training curriculum. According to its 2008 report, “Implementing community-based policing in Kenya,” CBP comprises these basic principles:

- Policing will be by consent, not coercion.
- Police officers should be a part of the community, not apart from it.
- Officers will work with the community to determine its needs.
- Police will partner with the public and other agencies.
- Policing will be tailored to the community’s needs.
- Police will be accountable for the service they provide.
- Officers will provide top-quality service.

Activities at each pilot site differed according to local needs, but they included raising awareness among police and communities about CBP, establishing community safety and information centers, support for projects, and anonymous information boxes to encourage information sharing on community security. The effort helped build trust and reduced crime.

“Police have held awareness campaigns and open days through which we interact with them,” a CBP steering committee member told Saferworld. “This reduces fear of police and enables us to feel free to report criminal activities in Kenya.”

In at least one case, crime rates went down by 40 percent, and businesses and schools reopened. “This is underpinned by increased trust between police officers and residents, and increased accountability of the police to the participating communities,” the report states.

Gariba said CBP is used in various places across the continent, including Ghana and in the African Union/United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur. Although he agrees with the philosophy behind CBP, he said the approach can present challenges.

“You know in Ghana there is a language that we call Akan, which is Twi. They have a term; they call



DR. SAYIBU GARIBA



Armed police patrol Marhaba beach in Sousse, Tunisia, in June 2015 after a terrorist attack there killed 38 people. AFP/GETTY IMAGES  
South African police officers conduct searches and identity checks in Johannesburg in 2015. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

the policeman ‘aban.’ Aban is a Twi word that means ‘government,’ ” he said. “It is the perception of the people that the police is behind the government.”

If police are to overcome this perception and make inroads in communities where clan loyalties and relationships are strong, they will have to work to be seen as part of the community, not solely the government.

### STRONG INSTITUTIONS ARE VITAL

In the more than 10 years since the CBP program began, the context of police work has changed significantly in Kenya. At the end of 2014, the government was spending more than \$655 million on policing, compared to \$264 million in 2004, according to a Saferworld report. In that time, the number of police officers grew from 44,000 to 89,000, and the number of police stations increased from 340 to 547.

Officials have instituted a number of reforms, including changes in the way the national police force is structured and supervised. The Kenya Police Service and Administration Police Service forces merged to create the National Police Service under the authority of an inspector general of police. This added independence and freedom from political interference in recruitment, according to Saferworld. The creation of the Independent Police Oversight Authority bolstered accountability.

To improve security, some countries may have to

increase the number of people in the police force. But numbers aren’t always the answer. Numbers without proper training won’t solve security problems. Countries will have to maximize the effectiveness of their existing police forces. Questions to consider are: Can officers be deployed more effectively? Can training facilities be expanded? Can new ones be built to handle additional recruits? Can counterterrorism and other skills be added to the training curriculum?

Gariba said sometimes the solution is as simple as having well-trained commanders directing police officers, because “a good commander is the person who uses the resources that he has to achieve objectives.”

Citizens in some rural areas use local, unofficial police services because the state police does not have a presence there. This can present a problem because criminals, drug barons and other bad actors could end up in control of security, Gariba said.

Ultimately, however, good policing is rooted in strong institutions. Strong institutions exist when politicians and leaders have the political will necessary to build and sustain them.

“If African governments would perform well, and then they would do their job well, and then also respect the mandate of the people to provide services, I think they should be able to actually spread and cover everywhere that needs policing services,” Gariba said. □



NAVIGATING  
**THE HUMAN TERRAIN**

# SUCCESS FOR SOLDIERS MUST INCLUDE EDUCATION IN ADDITION TO BASIC MILITARY TRAINING

ADF STAFF

An African Soldier deployed to the United Nations mission in the Central African Republic will have to know far more than the boundaries of his patrol area or how to clean his gun.

If, say, he is from South Africa or Ghana, he will face an immediate language barrier. Most people in the country speak French or Sangho, an African-based Creole language. Others speak a variety of disparate tribal dialects.

The peacekeeper will encounter more than seven prominent ethnic groups, three major religions and multiple indigenous belief systems, as well as local and regional cultures too numerous to mention. He will not know the local leaders. Regarding culture, it's unlikely that he will know anything at all.

This puts him and fellow peacekeepers at an immediate disadvantage. He will arrive in the country with hard skills that are tested and reliable. Still, in some ways, he is likely to be considerably unprepared for the job before him.



Peacekeepers patrol Zam in North Darfur in March 2015. The African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur operates in a complex religious and ethnic environment. UNAMID

Pre-deployment training for peacekeepers typically involves four to six weeks of administrative or combat-related tasks and skills, Nana Odoi wrote in a paper for the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre in Ghana. However, for most African nations, "the cultural component within this pre-deployment training tends to be neglected, as most of the four weeks are spent on

general administration and combat tasks and thus the training of 'hard skills,' " Odoi wrote. "Thus there seems to be a lack of understanding within the military that cultural competencies, so-called 'soft skills' actually support the functional implementation of 'hard skills.' "

## WHAT IS THE HUMAN TERRAIN?

Terrain is an everyday concern for Soldiers in any deployment, be it domestic or foreign, in conflict areas or during peacetime. Trucks and tanks need to navigate roads effectively. Soldiers must know what to expect from the climate and where best to set up bases and camps. All of this is the stuff of basic military training and operations.

But there's a second type of terrain that can't be seen on any map or satellite image. Dr. Lindy Heinecken, professor of sociology at Stellenbosch University in South Africa, and others call it the "human terrain." This encompasses legal, political, social, gender and economic matters. Heinecken told a Land Forces Africa conference in 2012 that understanding these matters helps Soldiers see things from a local perspective. Only then can they understand the "culture, traditions, practices [and] power structures of the host country they are trying to assist and not to be seen as an intervening force, pushing an agenda down on the population."

Warfare is "unconventional, irregular and population-centric," Heinecken said. "So this implies that the personnel have to operate in largely civilian contexts, firstly, and then secondly that there is a greater need to understand the indigenous power structures and the socio-economic considerations that affect these missions."

The difference in the two terrains underscores the differences between training and education. "Training is the how to do it," Heinecken told ADF. "Military training imparts particular skills that are directly relevant to the conduct of military operations, such as weapon handling, strategies of warfare and what is required."

"Education is really the why rather than the how," she said. It seeks to instill critical thinking and problem-solving skills. The challenge arises when trying to integrate it into training.

## THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE TERRAIN

The human terrain includes several rocky issues. Despite their prominence in conflicts and peacekeeping missions all over the continent, efforts to educate Soldiers in how to deal with them are not always common. Among the major categories are:

**Women:** One example Heinecken used from the African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) is the gender context of military operations, particularly how conflict affects men and women differently.

“In my conversations with the peacekeepers, all of them said to me that they only ever had pure military training,” Heinecken said. “They have not been given the training to understand why it is that women are affected so severely by these wars. They don’t even really understand how rape as a weapon of war can be used so effectively. ... They don’t understand how patriarchy works. ... They also don’t understand, for example, how these type of wars, by targeting women in the wars, can destroy the entire social fabric of society and how effective this is in destroying communities.”

The U.N. has made a concerted effort to increase the representation of women in peacekeeping operations. The number of female uniformed Soldiers is 3 percent, the number of female police personnel is 10 percent, and the number of civilians serving in missions who are women is now nearly 30 percent, according to 2012 figures published by United Nations University. In 2014, Maj. Gen. Kristin Lund of Norway became the first woman to serve as force commander in a U.N. peacekeeping operation when she took charge of the Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus.



Women welcome government forces in Tabit village in North Darfur in 2014. A special prosecutor arrived to investigate the rape of 200 women and girls there. REUTERS

**Race and religion:** In UNAMID, a lack of understanding about why people in Darfur are fighting has led to blunders. Such mistakes can confound tactical operations. Heinecken tells of a time when peacekeepers sent a black Muslim to a meeting with representatives of the Janjaweed, a nomadic Arab militia that is at odds with farmers in Darfur. Although the Darfuri conflict often is oversimplified into being merely a dispute between blacks and Arabs, it does hinge largely on clashes between darker-skinned farmers and lighter-skinned Arab herders. She said it would have made more sense to send an Arab Muslim, or even a Christian, because the conflict essentially is rooted in ethnic, as opposed to religious, differences. On the surface, however, commanders mistakenly thought sending a Muslim to hold discussions with other Muslims made the most sense.

These problems are not unique to peacekeeping missions. They can arise any time Soldiers are deployed to a place where they must interact with civilian populations and other groups, such as nongovernmental organizations.

**History and culture:** For troops deployed outside their home countries, knowledge and proficiency with regional history and local culture is important. Understanding the roots of a conflict is vital to resolving it. For example, U.N. peacekeepers operating in Mali would be well-served to know that the nation’s Tuareg population has long sought independence from the government in Bamako. In Sudan, a peacekeeper must know how the country was founded and the history of the fraught relationship between the central government in Khartoum and outlying areas.

The U.N. Infantry Battalion Manual recommends that “all peacekeeping personnel have a thorough understanding of the history and prevailing customs and culture in the mission area, as well as the capacity to assess the evolving interests and motivation of the parties.”

## INTEGRATING MILITARY EDUCATION, TRAINING

The list of courses for one African nation’s recruit training program highlights the focus of most basic military instruction: Drill and Duties Advance Course, Drill and Duties Basic, Skill at Arms advance, Skill at Arms basic, and Recruits Basic Military Training.

That’s not to say that there are no educational opportunities for African military professionals that address the issues of the human terrain. The Kenya



Soldiers serving with the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic are confronted with demonstrators outside their headquarters in Bangui after the death of two civilians. Soldiers serving in other countries often find themselves operating in complex religious and cultural settings. MINUSCA

Military Academy offers “excellent courses,” Heinecken said, and the International Peace Support Training Centre says it aims “to provide peace operations training and advice to all Kenya Armed Forces, Police and civilian establishments.” The South African Military Academy also is revamping its courses. Often, however, these services are most available to an elite corps of Soldiers. How much of the knowledge filters down to the rank and file is unclear.

Dr. Abel Esterhuyse, associate professor of strategy at the South African Military Academy, told *ADF* that when it comes to education, it’s best to do as much as possible as early as possible. “If you don’t open the minds of the military before they enter their careers, there’s no foundation to work with in the provision of this education,” Esterhuyse said. “And it’s very difficult to educate a trained mind. ... You need to open somebody’s mind before you can train him. If you train him, if you box his mind before you’ve educated him, it is very, very difficult to provide this education, this contextual education, that you are talking about.”

What African nations are missing, Esterhuyse said, is a “feedback loop” through which senior, experienced officers can come back from deployments and share knowledge, experiences and lessons learned with younger, less-experienced Soldiers.

“They are educated, they served in high command and then they disappear,” he said. “We don’t bring officers back into the system to teach again. So we don’t have a full-circle educational process; it’s a one-dimensional way. We educate them, and we phase them out. And I think that’s a critical problem in African militaries.”

Such a process would fill in the gaps left by conventional military training. Heinecken said militaries operate as hierarchies: Orders are given, then followed. The culture doesn’t promote lateral decision-making, critical thinking, problem-solving or analysis. “You need more of that to be developed at the lower levels so that when they see a situation, they can understand it, make sense, draw lessons learned, draw sort of intelligence and make intelligent and informed decisions.” □

## Ethiopia HAS FIRST FILM AT CANNES

A.D. MCKENZIE/IPS

A boy, a sheep and a stunning mountain landscape. These are the three stars of *Lamb*, a poignant film directed by 36-year-old Yared Zeleke. In May 2015, it became Ethiopia's first entry in France's prestigious Cannes International Film Festival.

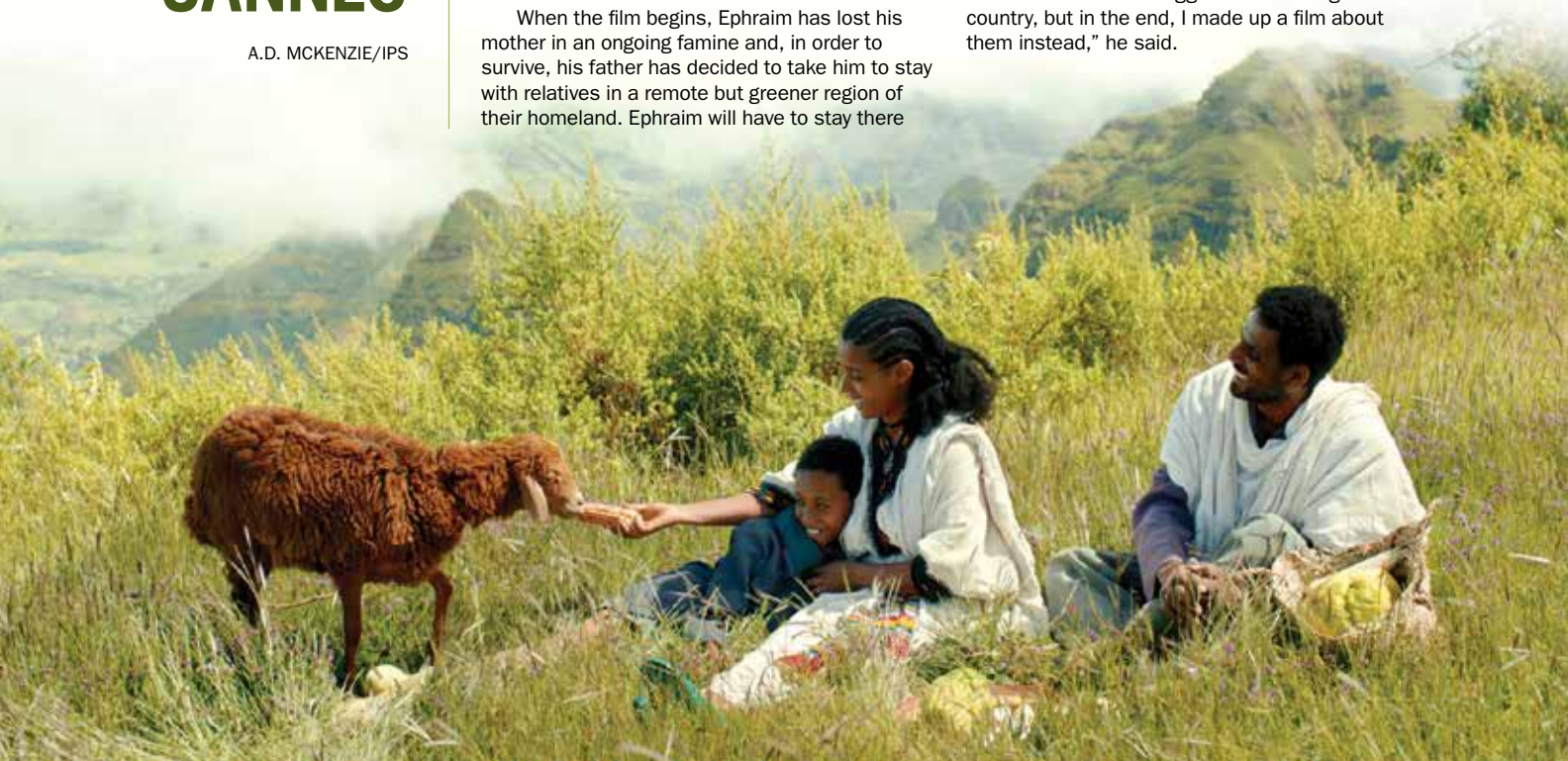
Shot in the highlands and forests of northern and central Ethiopia, *Lamb* tells the story of 9-year-old Ephraim and his beloved pet, a sheep named Chuni. The animal follows Ephraim around like a devoted dog and plays the role of best friend.

When the film begins, Ephraim has lost his mother in an ongoing famine and, in order to survive, his father has decided to take him to stay with relatives in a remote but greener region of their homeland. Ephraim will have to stay there

while his father seeks work in the city, not knowing when he can return.

The film subtly highlights gender issues, the ravages of drought and the isolation that comes from the feeling of not belonging. As a first feature, *Lamb* is a glowing success for Yared, who grew up in central Addis Ababa and went on to study filmmaking at New York University, after earning a degree in natural resource management at a Norwegian university.

"I always wanted to work with Ethiopian farmers and to tackle the biggest issue facing our country, but in the end, I made up a film about them instead," he said.



SLUM KID FILMS

## Kenyan Athletes Walk for Peace

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

**T**op Kenyan athletes, including former world marathon record holders Wilson Kipsang and Tegla Loroupe, staged a 22-day "Walk for Peace" against ethnic violence.

Cattle rustling and revenge killings among rival communities are common in Kenya's remote and impoverished northern regions, an area awash with automatic weapons. The 836-kilometer walk was organized by former Commonwealth Games marathon champion John Kelai, who marched in memory of three of his uncles who were killed in cattle raids when he was a teenager. The walk began in July 2015.

Ethiopia borders northern Kenya, and armed cattle herders launch raids on each side of the porous frontier. The marathon march began in the northern Kenyan town of Lodwar in the volatile Turkana region, heading south for 40 kilometers every day through the vast Rift Valley to Lake Bogoria.

The athletes carried an Olympic-style torch, which was passed from walker to walker as they trekked southward through some of Kenya's most volatile regions.



WALK FOR PEACE

The athletes, who encouraged people to join them in their walk, hoped to raise more than \$250,000 to fund a peace-building program, said the Aegis Trust, which works to rebuild communities riven by conflict, notably in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide.

Aegis Trust helped to organize the walk and said the program "will engage at least 10,000 young people at risk of being drawn into the ethnic violence, saving lives."

In May 2015, 75 people were killed in just four days of cattle raids and revenge attacks. In 2014, at least 310 people were killed, and more than 220,000 fled their homes as a result of intercommunal conflicts attributed to competition over land and water resources, cattle rustling, and struggles over political representation.



## ERITREAN RIDER is 'King of the Mountains'

ADF STAFF

A 26-year-old bicyclist from Eritrea was honored as the *King of the Mountains* during the sixth stage of the Tour de France in July 2015.

Daniel Teklehaimanot proudly put on the *mail-lot à pois rouges*, also known as the polka dot jersey, symbolizing his victory in the stage. He took the jersey after surging to the top of the three small climbs that made up the 190-kilometer stretch from Abbeville to Le Havre.

"What a moment for African cycling! What a moment for Eritrea, and what a moment for Daniel Teklehaimanot as he gives the thumbs up!" shouted a BBC announcer as Teklehaimanot reached the top of the stage.

During a news conference later, the cyclist said his stage win was a victory for Africa.

"I am proud to be African, and I am proud to be Eritrean," he said.

"This is a day I will never forget. It's really important for us, for Eritrea, and for my teammates, and for all of Africa."

Teklehaimanot was the first black African to wear a leader's jersey in the Tour de France, and he rode on the first African team to compete there, the South Africa-based MTN-Qhubeka. The team finished fifth overall in the race.

Qhubeka is a Nguni word meaning "carry on" or "move forward."

Teklehaimanot, who finished 49th overall in the Tour, is one of the most accomplished riders in Africa's history. He won the Tour of Rwanda and the Kwita Izina Cycling Tour on the 2010-2011 UCI Africa Tour. He was the first Eritrean rider to compete in the 2012 Summer Olympics. That same year, he was the first Eritrean to compete in La Vuelta, one of the three major European tours.

## Musicians Fight Back Against Extremism

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BBC NEWS AT [BBC.CO.UK/NEWS](http://BBC.CO.UK/NEWS)

Morocco's Gnawa festival attracts hundreds of thousands of people — but it's about more than music and color. It has come to symbolize the fight against ISIS and extremism.

Each Gnawa group, or Islamic "brotherhood," is dressed in different, elaborate, colored robes. They sing, breaking off for whirling dance routines, and are accompanied by hand drums and deafening metal castanets. The Gnawa are devout Muslims, but their religion, like their music, is something of a fusion. Their belief in the spirit world and in the power of music to heal through trance ceremonies is a reminder of their links to West Africa.

When the festival started, the aim was simple — to help the Gnawa and to boost tourism. An estimated 250,000 people visited the festival over four days in June 2015. The government provides nearly a third of the funding for the free event, and the rest comes from corporate and private sponsors. "Every euro put in as sponsorship generates 17 euros spent in Essaouira — and tourism has brought more jobs," said festival director Neila Tazi.

But in 2015, the festival had a new significance, showing that music and Islam can coexist at a time when ISIS and its supporters aim to destroy musical events. Across the Sahara, in northern Mali, the celebrated Festival in the Desert has been postponed since 2012 because of security concerns after the Islamist uprising. Along the Mediterranean in Libya, ISIS militants this year burned musical instruments — drums, brass and woodwinds — that they had confiscated under their interpretation of sharia.

The Gnawa were horrified. "They are ignorant," said Maalem Abdelslam Alikkane, a musical instrument maker from the region. "They don't know what they are doing. They are stupid. Islam is not that. It's peace, music, color, respect ... it respects other religions."

Neila Tazi sees the situation in broader terms. Born in the United States, she produces music and film events, and for her, the Gnawa festival and similar events have come to symbolize contemporary Morocco and its place in the Islamic world.

"People are afraid of Islam," she said. "But this kind of event shows the real Islam in Morocco, the positive Islam. When we started 18 years ago, we were criticized by the Islamists in Morocco; they didn't like the way young people were dressing, or the dancing. But now some of them are in the government, and they support what we do. It's a popular event."

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



A musician from the group Maalem Reda Stitou performs during the Gnawa World Music Festival.

## U.S./AU JOIN TO CREATE DISEASE PREVENTION CENTER

REUTERS

**T**he United States and the African Union signed an agreement on April 13, 2015, to create the African Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, chairwoman of the African Union Commission, signed a memorandum of cooperation formalizing the collaboration between the AU and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the nation's top agency for studying and fighting disease.

detect, and respond to any disease outbreak," U.S. CDC Director Thomas Frieden said in a statement.

The African CDC is slated to launch in 2015 with the opening of a surveillance and response unit, which will provide technical expertise and help coordinate responses to health emergencies.

As part of the agreement, the U.S. CDC will send two public health experts to serve as long-term technical advisors to the African CDC. The United States also will support fellowships for



## PEUGEOTS TO ROLL OUT OF MOROCCAN PLANT IN 2019

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

French automotive giant PSA Peugeot Citroen announced it will build a \$632 million car factory in Morocco with an annual production capacity of 90,000 units.

The plant, due to open in 2019 north of Rabat, will address "the needs of the region and of Moroccan customers," a company statement said. Chairman Carlos Tavares signed an official agreement with Moroccan Industry Minister Moulay Hafid Elalamy in the presence of King Mohammed VI at his palace in the capital.

The group said the plant will assemble engines and vehicles in the compact and midsize segment, the mainstay of Morocco's car industry.

"With a capacity of 90,000 engines and vehicles to begin with, this industrial unit will eventually produce 200,000 units a year, when demand requires," the statement said.

Alamy said the new factory would create 4,500 full-time jobs and provide indirect employment for up to 20,000 workers. Peugeot said it was "preparing the conditions to realize its commercial ambition [to produce] a million vehicles in the Middle East and Africa region by 2025."

**Morocco's King Mohammed VI, right, and Carlos Tavares, chief executive officer of PSA Peugeot Citroen, greet each other at the royal palace in Rabat. REUTERS**



African Union Commission Chairwoman Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma and U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry celebrate the signing of a memorandum of cooperation to support the African Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

"The West African Ebola epidemic reaffirmed the need for a public health institute to support African ministries of health and other health agencies in their efforts to prevent,

10 African epidemiologists to help staff five regional African CDC coordinating centers, which are being established to help monitor disease on the continent.



Baskets of freshly caught sardines are sold at the port in Nouackchott, Mauritania. REUTERS

# MAURITANIA Signs Historic Fishing Accord with EU

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Mauritania and the European Union (EU) announced in July 2015 that they had signed a “win-win” fishing accord after 16 months of heated debate.

The EU bloc will contribute \$112 million per year to Mauritania’s fishing industry, down from the \$120 million it gave under the previous deal. The European fleet’s quota is reduced from an annual 300,000 metric tons of fish to 225,000 over the four-year contract.

Stefaan Depypere, EU international affairs and markets director, said during a ceremony that the deal benefits both sides. Mauritanian negotiator Cheikh Ould Baya said exclusive rights on octopus and sardinella for local fishermen would create jobs.

The two sides agreed that the EU boats fishing in Mauritanian waters would continue to be staffed 60 percent by locals. According to official statistics, the fishing sector represents more than 20 percent of the nation’s budget revenue and employs more than 36,000 people in Mauritania.



Fishermen haul a boat to shore outside Nouakchott. REUTERS



## MOROCCO TAKES DOWN TERROR CELL

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Morocco has dismantled a seven-member terrorist cell linked to ISIS that was planning to abduct and murder tourists, the Interior Ministry said.

The suspects, whose identities were not revealed, had pledged allegiance to ISIS, the ministry said in a statement carried by the MAP news agency. They were planning to “abduct and physically liquidate” tourists at seaside resorts, the statement added.

The suspects had undertaken

“intensive paramilitary training” in a mountainous region of Morocco, according to the Interior Ministry. The June 11, 2015, arrests were made by the Central Bureau of Judicial Investigations, inaugurated in March as part of the kingdom’s beefed-up war against extremism.

Morocco frequently has announced the arrest of terrorist cells and reported seizing weapons from groups that authorities say have vowed allegiance to ISIS. According to the British-based International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, about 2,000 Moroccans are estimated to be fighting with ISIS in Iraq and Syria.

**A Moroccan special forces guard stands outside the Central Bureau of Judicial Investigation in Rabat.** AFP/GETTY IMAGES

## KENYA TO CURB SUGAR SMUGGLING THAT FUNDS EXTREMISM

REUTERS

**W**hen Kenyan police arrested six men in the vast Dadaab refugee camp near the Somali border in April 2015, their aim was to dismantle a decades-old sugar-smuggling trade that is funding Somali militants waging war on Kenya.

The arrests, coming weeks after four al-Shabaab gunmen massacred 148 people at nearby Garissa University College, were part of Nairobi’s new strategy to choke off the flow of money to militants whose cross-border raids have hammered Kenya and its tourism industry.

Although cash from sugar smuggling may amount to only a few million dollars, experts say such sums are enough for attacks that need just a few assault rifles, transport and loyalists ready to die.

“It’s like the government is awakening,” said a senior Kenyan security source from Garissa region, adding that authorities had previously often “turned a blind eye to all these things because a lot of people were benefiting — but at a cost of security.”

However, if a lasting impact is to be secured, more must be done, say security and diplomatic sources. That includes rooting out corruption in the police force and going after smuggling cartel bosses, as well as the middle men detained so far.

“Unless al-Shabaab sources of revenue are chopped off, we are not going to see the end of instability in south Somalia



**Workers stand on top of bags of sugar at the Mumias sugar factory in western Kenya. Sugar smuggling has funded extremism in the region.**

REUTERS

and the region,” said Rashid Abdi, a Somalia expert based in Nairobi.

President Uhuru Kenyatta’s government has taken steps to halt the trafficking of sugar from the southern Somali port of Kismayo to Kenya’s frontier and has set up a special unit in the National Intelligence Service to dismantle smuggling cartels, the security source said.

U.S. SENDS

# PROTECTIVE GEAR

TO ZAMBIAN PEACEKEEPERS

ADF STAFF

The U.S. donated \$850,000 worth of military gear to Zambia to help protect the country's peacekeepers during their deployment in the Central African Republic.

The gear includes uniforms, helmets, boots and other protective items, the *Times of Zambia* reported. The donation was made by U.S. Ambassador to Zambia Eric Schultz at an event in March 2015 at the Arakan Barracks in Lusaka.

"Zambia's commitment to peace in Africa is admirable, and the United States salutes Zambia's decision to join the United Nations

mission in protecting innocent civilians, women and children in the Central African Republic," Schultz said, according to mwebantu.com.

In May 2015, Zambia sent 750 peacekeepers to join the U.N. mission in the troubled African nation. The CAR has been mired in violence since 2013 when a coalition of rebel groups known as the Seleka overthrew the government. In response, another militia group known as the anti-Balaka began launching attacks. The violence displaced about one-quarter of the population, according to U.N. figures.



U.S. Ambassador to Zambia Eric Schultz, center, and Zambian Defence Deputy Minister Christopher Mulenga, right, inspect military equipment donated by the United States. ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL

## NIGERIA

Moves Military HQ to the

## FRONT LINES



Soldiers are transported in Maiduguri in Borno State on May 14, 2015. REUTERS

BBC NEWS AT BBC.CO.UK/NEWS

Nigeria's military has moved its headquarters to the northern town of Maiduguri, close to the center of the Boko Haram Islamist insurgency.

The move will "add impetus and renewed vigor" to the fight against terrorism, a military statement said in June 2015. A military advance team began work in Maiduguri as part of plans to move the command and control center from Abuja.

Upon taking office in May, President Muhammadu Buhari vowed to defeat Boko Haram. He announced that the military would move its headquarters to Maiduguri, in the northeastern state of Borno, in his inaugural speech on May 29.

The aim is to centralize operations close to the action, cut bureaucracy and speed up decision-making. The policy and administrative arms of the military have been accused of being detached from the reality of the Soldiers on the front line.

For example, authorities often denied, downplayed or ignored complaints from troops about their inadequate supplies, equipment and welfare. This led to disgruntlement among Soldiers, with some refusing to fight and even shooting at their own commanding officers.

The move would boost the campaign against Boko Haram, known as Operation Restore Peace, without creating "another layer of command structure," the statement said. A similar command structure is being established in nearby Yola. Air Force operations are expected to be launched from the town.



## TANZANIAN WINS INNOVATION PRIZE FOR WATER FILTER



BBC NEWS AT [BBC.CO.UK/NEWS](http://BBC.CO.UK/NEWS)

A water filter that absorbs anything from copper and fluoride to bacteria, viruses and pesticides has won a prestigious innovation prize.

Its inventor, Tanzanian chemical engineer Askwar Hilonga, uses nanotechnology and sand to clean water. He told the BBC his invention should help the 70 percent of households in Tanzania that do not have clean drinking water. The water filter already has been trademarked.

The Africa Prize for Engineering Innovation, worth \$38,000, was the first of its kind from the United Kingdom's Royal Academy of Engineering. Head judge Malcolm Brinded said, "His innovation could change the lives of many Africans

and people all over the world."

"I put water through sand to trap debris and bacteria," Hilonga said. "But sand cannot remove contaminants like fluoride and other heavy metals, so I put them through nanomaterials to remove chemical contaminants."

He said that one filter costs \$130, but, after winning the award, he will buy materials in bulk and the cost will go down. "For people who cannot afford water filters, we have established water stations where people come and buy water at a very, very low, affordable price," he said.

While he was growing up in rural Tanzania, Hilonga's family regularly suffered from water-borne diseases. So when he got his doctorate in nanotechnology in South Korea, Hilonga started looking at nanomaterials that would be suitable for water purification.

**Africa Prize for Engineering Innovation winner Dr. Askwar Hilonga**

GEORGINA GOODWIN

## INTERNET PHONES CHANGING AFRICA

MEDIA CLUB SOUTH AFRICA

There is abundant evidence that poorer people in Africa are now using the Internet. In South Africa, many new users live in poverty.

Declining costs are driving the trend. Most people in Africa connect to the Internet with mobile devices, and the price of these is falling. Nokia, for example, launched a \$29 Internet phone in 2015. Pay-as-you-go data can be purchased in small bundles in many African countries, sometimes in 10-cent increments.

The most reliable survey conducted in 11 countries in 2011 and 2012 found that about one in three South Africans, one in four Kenyans and fewer than one in 20 Ethiopians used the Internet. But it appears clear that where networks are available and prices are affordable, people will use Internet services.

Low-income users appear increasingly aware of the benefits of Internet access. A 2015 study of South African users on low incomes found that many were aware of and used sophisticated online tools.

For many of Africa's new users, the Internet means access to instant messaging, which is a cheaper substitute for expensive SMS text messaging, and some social media via a mobile phone. It is rationed and slow.

This research, and the work of others, point to the fact that for the poor, in Africa and elsewhere, the Internet is a mobile-centric world. So people on low incomes are benefiting from Internet access. But the experience is a long way from the visions of broadband for all, to which more than 20 African countries have made commitments.

**A Maasai tribesman uses a mobile phone in his village in Kenya.**



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

# Tutu Supports CAMPAIGN FOR OLDER PEOPLE

VOICE OF AMERICA

Retired Archbishop Desmond Tutu is lending his support to a campaign to ensure the rights of older people. The Nobel laureate wants the issue included in the new United Nations Sustainable Development Goals scheduled to be finished in late 2015.

Nearly 900 million people are age 60 and over, representing 12 percent of the world's population, Help Age International estimated. Tutu, 84, joined the organization's Action 2015 campaign.

"As we get older, our bodies change," he said. "We lose some of our dexterity and physical strength. But our rights do not change. We may have fewer teeth, but we are no less human. We do not and should not become invisible."



Desmond Tutu AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Tutu has released a video message supporting the campaign to influence the Sustainable Development Goals. They will replace the Millennium Development Goals and be in effect for the next 15 years.

Help Age International said the over-60 demographic is on the rise. By 2030, the age group is projected to represent 1.3 billion people and 16 percent of the global population.

"We'd like to tell the world that we count," Tutu said. "That older people everywhere count. And that people of all ages should be considered when we set our Sustainable Development Goals."

Tutu, one of the leaders in the fight against apartheid in South Africa, said, "No future development goals can be considered legitimate or sustainable unless they include people of all ages."



## KENYAN MALL REOPENS Nearly 2 Years After Attack

BBC NEWS AT BBC.CO.UK/NEWS

**T**he Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi, where 67 people were killed in an attack by al-Shabaab militants, has reopened.

Gunmen entered the Kenyan mall in September 2013 and fired on shoppers, leading to a four-day siege. As of mid-July 2015, about half the shops were opening again after an extensive refurbishment.

"Exactly 22 months ago we had one of the saddest days in Kenyan history," Nairobi City County Gov. Evans Kidero said. "As a nation we cried, we mourned, but Westgate is back."

Parts of the mall were badly damaged by fire and remained off-limits as journalists toured the building after the shops reopened. It was not clear whether those sections are reopening.

It was one of the boldest attempts by the armed militants to target foreign nationals as well as Kenyans, but mall management says security has been dramatically improved.

Two Kenyan children look out from an upper level in the reopened Westgate Shopping Mall in Kenya 22 months after a terrorist attack. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS



## AFRICAN NATIONS WANT FREE TRADE AREA

BOTSWANA GAZETTE

**T**wenty-six African countries have launched a framework to create a free trade area by integrating three trade blocs to boost regional trade and investment.

The tripartite area announced in June 2015 will include the East African Community, the Southern African Development Community, and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa. It will boast a combined gross domestic product of more than \$1 trillion. Some of Africa's largest economies, including South Africa and Kenya, are among the 26 nations.

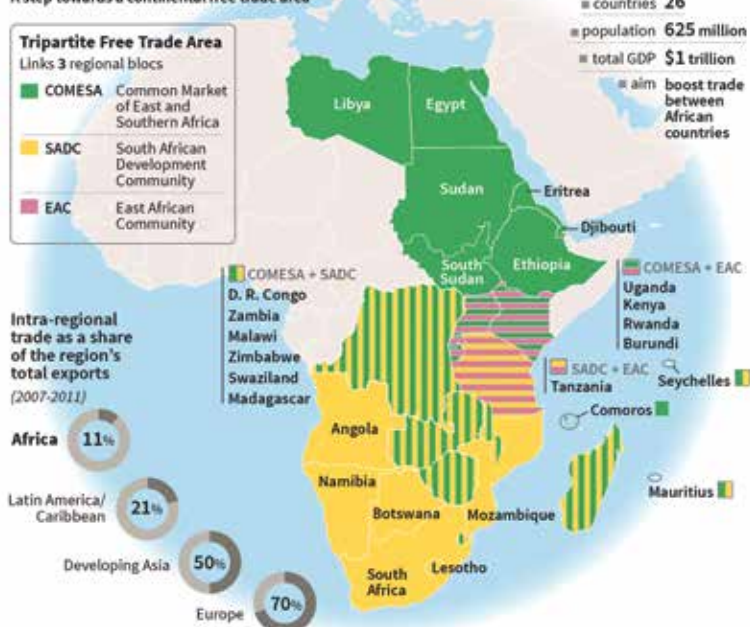
Official negotiations have also begun for the establishment of a free trade area to embrace the entire continent of 54 countries, opening up a market of 1.3 billion people with a combined gross domestic product of more than \$2 trillion.

The tripartite, named the African Free Trade Zone, was first envisioned at an economic summit in October 2008. It was conceived to ease access to markets within the zone and end problems due to several of the member countries in the zone belonging to multiple regional groups. It will also strengthen the bloc's bargaining power when negotiating international deals.

Countries within a free-trade zone agree to reduce or do away with certain trade barriers but remain free to devise their own individual trade policies when dealing with outside countries.

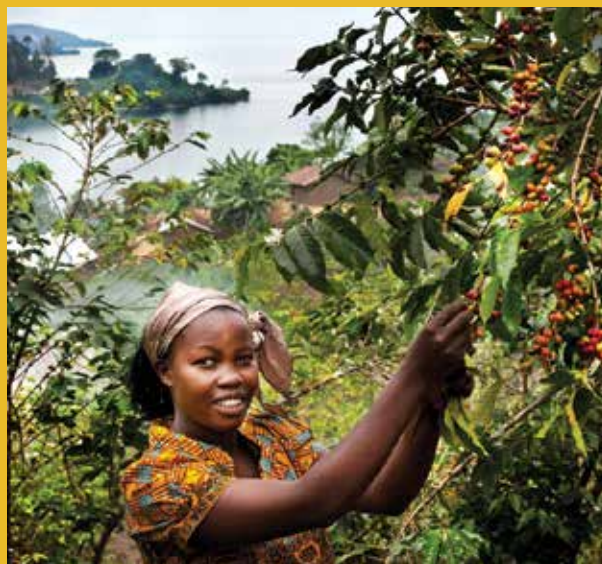
### A common market spanning half of Africa

A step towards a continental free trade area



SOURCE: UNCTAD

AFP



UNESCO

## Congo Coffee Looks to Make a Comeback

VOICE OF AMERICA

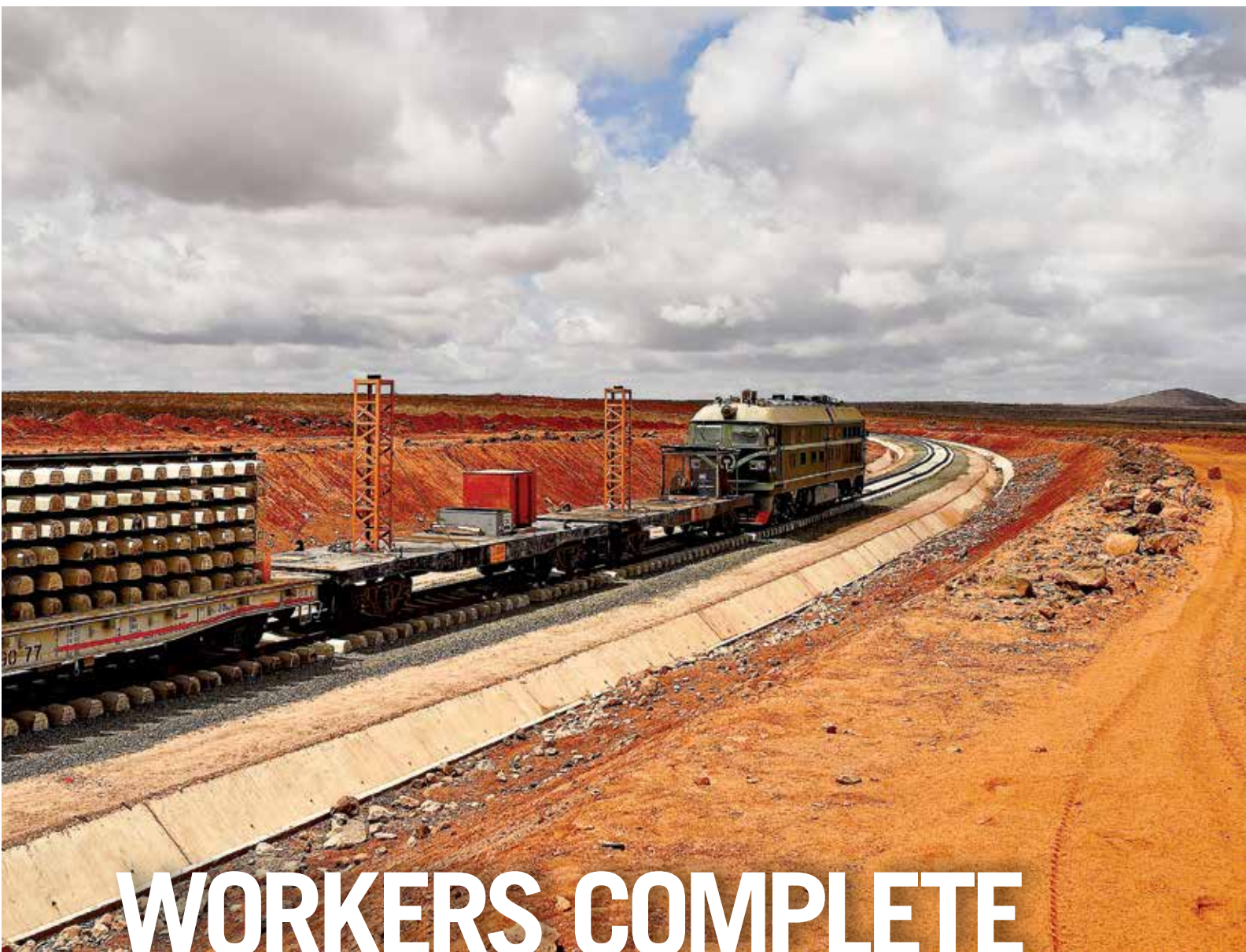
**I**n the mid-1980s, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) was officially exporting up to 130,000 tons of coffee per year, but by 2012 that figure had shriveled to 8,000 tons, owing to war, coffee disease, low prices and smuggling.

But international buyers of specialty, high-quality coffee started to realize they had been missing out. In 2012, the World Coffee Research Institute, after doing a survey of the two Kivu provinces in eastern DRC, described the area as "a paradise for coffee."

That same year saw a Congolese coffee cooperative break into the world specialty market, helped by the United Kingdom-based fair trade organization called Twin. In June 2015, international experts held a specialty-coffee tasting competition in the eastern city of Bukavu to grade 30 coffee cooperatives.

According to the organizers, it was the first specialty-coffee competition ever in the DRC. The winning cooperative, like several other entrants, had been helped by consultants working for the nongovernmental organization Eastern Congo Initiative. Nonprofits get involved in the sector because much of eastern DRC's coffee is produced by small farms under difficult conditions.

One of the ways Eastern Congo Initiative tries to help farmers is to lobby the DRC government on their behalf. In particular, coffee farmers are looking for tax breaks. The DRC's export tax on coffee is 12 percent, compared with 1 percent in neighboring countries.



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

# WORKERS COMPLETE

## DJIBOUTI-ETHIOPIA RAIL LINE

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Djibouti and Ethiopia have completed a railway linking their two capitals, with the hope that the link might eventually extend across the continent to West Africa.

In June 2015, Djiboutian President Ismail Omar Guelleh and Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn attended the ceremonial laying of the last track in the 752-kilometer railway, linking the port capital of Djibouti with landlocked Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa.

The first scheduled train was expected to use the desert line in October 2015, reducing transport time between the capitals to less than 10 hours, rather than the two days it had taken for trucks using a congested mountain road.

"Some 1,500 trucks use the road every day between Djibouti and Ethiopia," said Abubaker Hadi, chairman of Djibouti's Port Authority. "In five years, this figure will rise to 8,000. This is not possible; this is why we need the railway."

With a capacity of 3,500 tons — seven times the capacity of the old line at its peak — the new electrified line will mainly be used for transporting goods to Africa's second-most-populous nation.

Ethiopia's economy is growing fast, with almost 90 percent of its imports going through Djibouti. Both countries benefit from economic integration, with Ethiopia gaining access to the sea and Djibouti gaining access to Ethiopia's emerging market of 95 million people.

"Ethiopia is an important country for us," said Djiboutian Transport Minister Ahmed Moussa Hassan. "It is the main customer for our logistics facilities, and this new railway line will strengthen trade."

Djibouti, the smallest nation in the Horn of Africa, is embarking on large infrastructure projects, building six new ports and two airports in the hope of becoming the commercial hub of East Africa.

# SAMORI TOURÉ

## ✦ *Resistance Leader* ✦

ADF STAFF

Samori Touré was a great warrior, a natural leader and an empire builder. But he is perhaps best remembered, and honored, for his role in his later years — defiant to the end to his would-be conquerors. Almost 60 years after his death, his grandson was equally defiant.

Touré was born in about 1830 in what is now Guinea. Like his father, he became a merchant. That ended when he was 20 and his mother was kidnapped in a slave raid. The young but already-skilled merchant-negotiator bargained with her captor, offering to serve in his army in exchange for his mother's release. The offer was accepted, and Touré's life was forever changed, as he proved to have extraordinary military and leadership skills. After a time, King Sori Birami relieved him from further service and released his mother.

Touré was keenly aware that his people, the Malinke, lacked discipline and leadership. There was no single chief with the authority to take charge. He declared himself independent of King Birami and began building an army of his own. His Soldiers were well-disciplined, and he began expanding his territory, using his considerable negotiating skills — along with threats of war.

He established a new empire called Mandinka, declaring himself its king and commander in chief. He won the nickname "Napoleon of the Sudan" from his opponents as he established his capital in what is now The Gambia and continued to expand his empire. If it still existed today, it would include parts of Guinea, Liberia, Mali and Sierra Leone.

After the partitioning of Africa in 1884, European powers began colonizing West Africa. They had no tolerance for strong rulers such as Touré and did not recognize his authority. When he refused to submit, they began military action.

Touré's estimated 35,000 skilled warriors, armed with modern European weapons, initially stopped French invaders. France responded with more forces, which included Senegalese fighters. After more battles, Touré signed treaties with the French in 1889.

Within two years, the French had broken the treaties and were sowing rebellion within Touré's territory. He took up arms again and signed a treaty with the British, obtaining additional modern weapons in the process. As the French continued to advance into his territory, he moved his entire empire east, conquering large parts of what is now Côte d'Ivoire. He established his new capital there.

On May 1, 1898, French forces invaded a town just north of the new capital. Touré positioned his fighters in the Liberian forests to stop the French troops. It became a war of attrition, with Touré's troops starving and deserting. The French captured Touré and exiled him to Gabon, where he died of pneumonia two years later, on June 2, 1900.

In 1959, Charles de Gaulle became president of France and proposed the creation of the French Community, similar to the British Commonwealth. In exchange for accepting the new authority, the French territories would receive financial aid. All the territories but one voted to accept the new arrangement. The lone exception was Guinea — led by Touré's grandson, Sekou Touré.



WHERE AM I? 

S

This attraction is part of Africa's largest conservation area.

E

The name of this area translates literally as "dead-end marsh."

U

A nearby river fills the large salt-and-clay pan during exceptional rainy seasons.

L

C

Surrounding dunes can be up to 400 meters tall, making them some of the highest in the world.



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- Include a short biography of yourself with contact information.
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