



Recruiting the Youth How Terrorists Tap into Teen Isolation

PLUS Dr. Hussein Solomon on ISIS' Africa Strategy

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ADF ILLUSTRATION

ON THE COVER:

Extremist groups such as ISIS and al-Qaida are using social media platforms to recruit vulnerable youths. Strong counternarratives can combat these efforts.



ome problems don't have simple solutions. The confounding decision by a young man or woman to leave home and join a terror group such as ISIS, al-Shabaab or Boko Haram is one of those problems.

An estimated 5,600 people have left Africa to fight in Iraq and Syria. ISIS and other terror groups with similarly twisted ideologies have successfully recruited on the continent and as far away as Western Europe and North America. These recruiters inhabit cyberspace, schools and places of worship. They promise all sorts of things, including a thrilling adventure and eternal salvation. A recent recruiting video by al-Shabaab even compared life inside the terror group to a safari, complete with biggame hunting.

Recruits are the lifeblood of these terror organizations, and without a steady stream of new members, they wither and die. So it is essential to understand recruiting tactics and the groups' appeal to their target audiences. This is a tough task, but with so much at stake, security professionals cannot cede ground on this ideological battlefield.

Fortunately, African nations are answering the call. In Kenya, community policing programs are asking law enforcement officers to work hand in hand with citizen groups to weed out extremists and make the streets safer. In Morocco, the kingdom has financed a \$20 million center to train religious scholars and imams from around the world in moderate religious practices. In Somalia and Algeria, governments are investing money in deradicalization programs to reform and heal young people who have become entangled in the web of terror. In Djibouti, a center of excellence to counter violent extremism is in the works. All over the continent, good people are looking at the underlying causes of teen anger and trying to show an alternate path to extremism.

The good news is that extremists cannot win in a head-to-head battle of ideas. They have nothing to offer. The brutal reality inside groups such as ISIS does not match the rhetoric. If everyone works to expose the lies used by extremists for recruitment, these malign forces don't stand a chance.

U.S. Africa Command Staff



Tunisian security forces stand guard as demonstrators wave the national flag during a march against extremism outside the National Bardo Museum in Tunis on March 29, 2015. REUTERS



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Radical Recruitment

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Kenya Takes Stand

Against Violent Extremism



Joseph Ole Nkaissery, Kenya's Cabinet secretary for the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, spoke at the White House Summit to Counter Violent Extremism on February 19, 2015, in Washington, D.C. His remarks have been edited to fit this format.

Kenya is experiencing a growing threat of terrorism and violent extremism due to a number of factors. One: We share a border of approximately 700 kilometers with Somalia, where al-Shabaab bases are located. The al-Shabaab are luring Kenyan youth and are using these bases in Somalia to recruit, radicalize, train and plan terrorist attacks against Kenya and the region. Two: We are subject to infiltration by extremists, a challenge that is complicated by the realities of our large, indigenous Somali population.



Three: We have also seen the use of protected spaces to foment violent extremism. Refugee camps are particularly

vulnerable to radicalization. Today, Kenya is host to more than 600,000 refugees, a majority of them in camps. Other protected spaces that are being used include education institutions, most prisons and welfare assistance centers. It is therefore critical that this meeting addresses ways to insulate protected spaces from becoming breeding grounds for extremism.

Significantly, we must hold to account institutions and organizations that receive resources for local development and activities but instead use them to promote extremism.

Four: Our vulnerability is also accentuated by our expanded democratic nature, which is exploited and appropriated by perpetrators of violent extremism. We see a growing use of electronic media to recruit, incite and even train candidates for extremism. I hope that there will be some deep reflection on

how we can secure our democratic space, aspirations and values that are being threatened by these phenomena.

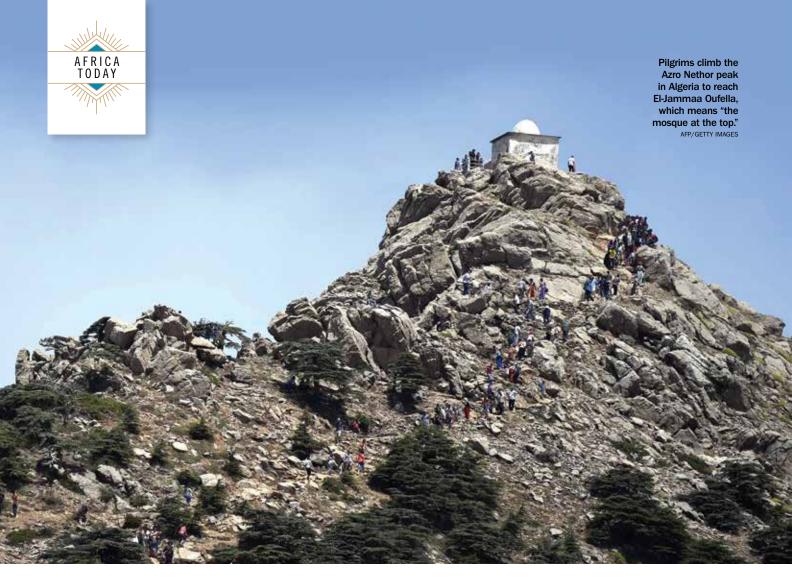
In response to this threat, Kenya is implementing a number of programs. First, we have a national counterradicalization strategy, which focuses on seven areas, namely the messaging, psycho-social rehabilitation, religion, tolerance, capacity building, political re-education and security aspects.



A Kenyan police officer directs subordinates at Nyayo stadium in Nairobi as relatives meet students rescued from al-Shabaab's attack on Garissa University College in April 2015. REUTERS

We also have a joint initiative with civil society and faith-based organizations, as well as development partners, including the United States, the European Union, governments of Denmark and Japan, among others. We seek to invest more in programs that enhance synergy of all actors dealing with violent extremism and the management of foreign terrorist fighters. We also intend to improve our data capture, profiling and our tailor-made programs. In this respect, we welcome any partner and expert who may help us improve our national strategy.

Finally, I wish to restate Kenya's commitment to continue to play its active role as a frontier state in conquering violent extremism. We welcome the proposal for continued engagement and consultation. In this case, we offer our availability to host a follow-up meeting in the East Africa region.



PILGRIMS CAST PRAYERS TO SKIES FROM ALGERIAN MOUNTAIN PEAK

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

n the heart of Algeria's northern Kabylie region, Azro Nethor — the zenith prayer rock — towers 1,884 meters above sea level, at the end of a steep path in the Atlas Mountains.

On the rock's summit sits El-Jammaa Oufella, which means "the mosque at the top." It's a small, stark place of worship. Inside, slim candles light the alcoves in its white walls.

For three successive Fridays each August, thousands of people from Kabylie and Algiers flock to the mountain peak, wheezing in the suffocating heat, for a pilgrimage rooted in a belief in the powers of holy men.

Azro Nethor is named after a legend that says an elderly wise man topped the

mountain peak just as the sun reached its zenith and died there as he finished his midday prayer. The wise man, said to have received God's blessing, has since been spotted in nearby villages.

His blessing has saved numerous local residents from grief, according to the legend, and even allowed a plate of couscous to hurtle all the way down the mountain without losing a single grain. Since then, a giant plate of couscous has been offered up

to visitors at each pilgrimage. Pilgrims quench their thirst at a spring said to have purifying properties.

At the foot of the mountain, faith healers offer hope to those who consult them. Couples, young women and children place their heads under a piece of fabric to hear a prayer.

"Next year, you will come back here with a husband on your arm, and in two years' time you will return with a child," one healer promises a young woman, who bursts into a smile.

Women make up the majority of those who come to climb the mountain, some launching calls to children who have left for lives abroad, convinced that their voices will travel across the mountains and the nearby Mediterranean Sea.

Young people huddling in groups nearby do not believe in these tall tales. Many here say the annual pilgrimages were actually established as a pretext for matchmaking.

"The legend was made up by a feminist before his time, in revolt at the fate of young women in these mountains," one explains. "They were prisoners inside their fathers' homes and had little chance of marrying outside their tribe's circle. With the start of the legend, they could finally come to Azro Nethor, where they could be seen by men from other villages and increase their chances of marrying.

"Today, we also come hoping to meet someone nice."



NIGERIAN PRESIDENT

Appoints Anti-Corruption Advisors

BBC NEWS AT BBC.CO.UK/NEWS

Nigeria's President Muhammadu Buhari has appointed a committee to advise him on how best to tackle corruption and reform the legal system. The seven-member Presidential Advisory Committee on Anti-Corruption is made up mostly of academics.

Buhari was elected in May 2015, largely on promises of good governance and security. He has said he believes government officials have stolen about \$150 billion from the public purse over the past decade.



The All Progressives Congress, the political party of Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari, set up an anti-corruption billboard on a Lagos highway in January 2015. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

"The committee's brief is to advise the present administration on the prosecution of the war against corruption and the implementation of required reforms in Nigeria's criminal justice system," presidential spokesman Femi Adesina said.

Adesina was unable to say when the committee would report back to the president with recommendations.

In a meeting with U.S. President Barack Obama in July 2015, Buhari appealed for help in finding and returning government money he said had been stolen and was being held in foreign bank accounts.

Tunisian Group Wins Nobel Peace Prize RELITERS

unisia's National Dialogue Quartet won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2015 for helping to build democracy in the birthplace of the Arab Spring. The nation is held up as an example of a peaceful transition in a region otherwise struggling with violence and upheaval.

The quartet of the Tunisian General Labour Union (UGTT); the Tunisian Confederation of Industry, Trade and Handicrafts; the Tunisian Human Rights League; and the Tunisian Order of Lawyers was formed in the summer of 2013. It helped support the democratization process when it was in danger of collapsing, the Norwegian Nobel committee said in its citation.

"This is a great joy and pride for Tunisia, but also a hope for the Arab World," said UGTT chief Houcine Abbassi. "It's a message that dialogue can lead us on the right path. This prize is a message for our region to put down arms and sit and talk at the negotiation table."

With a new Constitution, free elections and a political compromise between Islamist and secular leaders, Tunisia has been held up as a model of how to transition from dictatorship to democracy.

The Nobel Peace Prize, worth 8 million Swedish crowns (\$972,000), was presented in Oslo on December 10, 2015. When the award was announced, the Norwegian Nobel Committee praised the quartet for providing an alternative, peaceful political process at a time when the country was on the brink of civil war. "More than anything, the prize is intended as an encouragement to the Tunisian people, who despite major challenges have laid the groundwork for a national fraternity, which the Committee hopes will serve as an example to be followed by other countries," it said.

After an uprising that led to the ousting of autocrat Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali in 2011 and inspired the Arab Spring protests, Tunisia now has a new Constitution, free elections and a coalition government with secular and Islamist parties. But in 2013, Tunisia appeared to be sliding into a political crisis that would end its transition, with secular opponents demanding that an Islamist-led government step down.

The UGTT, with other civil society partners, negotiated between the two sides, helping to form a caretaker government to hold power until new elections were held. The crisis ended and, in 2014, Tunisia held successful legislative and presidential elections to complete its transition.



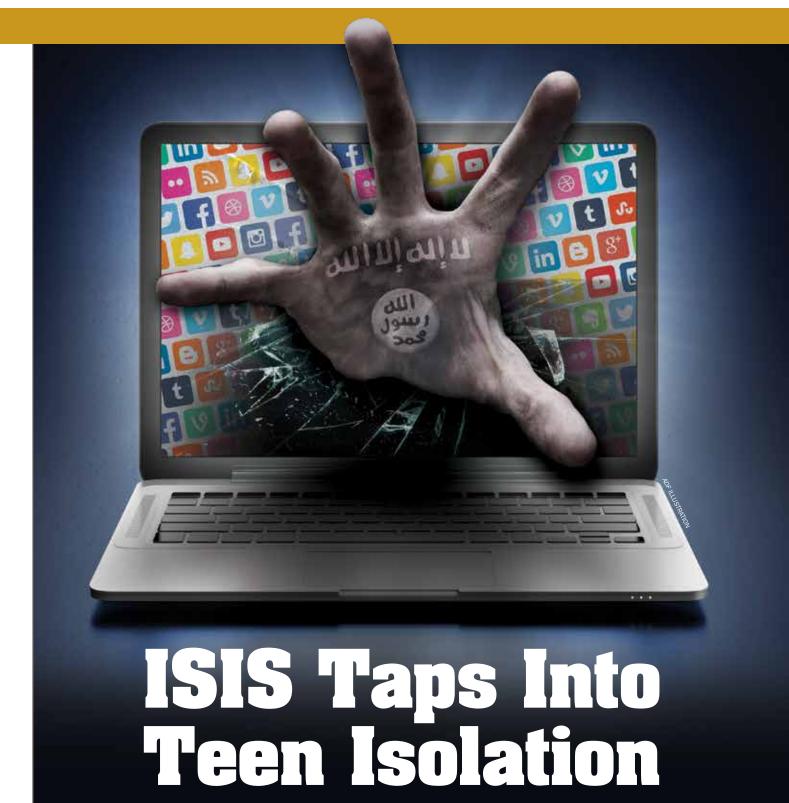






Tunisian mediators of the National Dialogue Quartet are, from left: Houcine Abbassi of the Tunisian General Labour Union; Wided Bouchamaoui of the Tunisian Confederation of Industry, Trade and Handicrafts; Abdessattar ben Moussa of the Tunisian Human Rights League; and Fadhel Mahfoudh of the Tunisian Order of Lawyers.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



The extremist group skillfully uses the Internet and social network tools to attract people living on the margins of society.

ADF STAF

t's happening almost all over the world:

Teenagers are lying to their parents, secretly saving up money, getting passports and sneaking away in the night to join an extremist group.

Some 20,000 foreign fighters have left their homes to join ISIS. Regardless of what country they come from, there are some patterns to these enlistments:

Via the Internet and social media, young people — sometimes called "bedroom radicals" — have been recruited by skillful, tech-savvy ISIS fanatics. The recruits often are not sure exactly what they can do for ISIS. Some say they want to serve in a benign way, such as delivering food and supplies. Some envision themselves in a vague combat role, although many have never actually held a gun. Many are looking for adventure. One nearly universal conviction: They want to "help Muslims."

These young recruits are adept at lying and living a double life. They have been hiding their extremist views from their families and hiding their online activity. If they are interacting with extremists in their communities, they hide it in a cloak of newfound piety.

Many of the recruits have come to believe that because ISIS has proclaimed itself to be a caliphate, all able-bodied Muslims are obligated to enlist in the cause. The recruiters speak of a utopia where all devout Muslims will be protected. The young recruits typically adopt the philosophy of *takfir*, requiring that they cut all ties to nonbelievers, including their parents.

Some recruits, particularly those from Western countries, believe they are being discriminated against, that Christians in particular do not trust them. They say that in their home countries, they have become afraid to speak their beliefs or even go out in public in clothes that are identified with their religion. They repeatedly use the word "evil" in reference to nonbelievers — an indication that they have been coached online by recruiters working from a script.

"They will cite scripture that says you shouldn't live with unbelievers, they will cite religious rulings about how you need to make *hijrah* and immigrate to an Islamic land, they will describe any of the rulers who don't enforce sharia as unbelievers and you can't live under their yoke," said Rashad Ali, a fellow at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue who works to reform radicalized youth in the United Kingdom. "They say ISIS are the only people enforcing sharia and, therefore, you can only live under their political authority."

ISIS' penchant for almost indescribable violence — beheadings, burning people alive — is curiously compelling to many young recruits. ISIS videos have unusually high production values, modeled after movie trailers in terms of the use of effects and timing. The message of the

violent videos is clear: All opponents of ISIS, including fellow Muslims, are infidels and must be punished by any and all means possible.

The zealous new recruits often try to entice their siblings and try to get their parents to at least share their beliefs. If one recruit is killed, recruiters often prey upon other members of his or her family.

HOW ISIS DOES IT

ISIS isn't the first extremist group to recruit via the Internet. Al-Qaida posted videos on the Internet showing angry men with long beards standing in front of a black flag. Al-Qaida also posted ponderous, long sermons. ISIS, however, produces short, punchy, high-energy videos. ISIS also uses Twitter, Facebook and WhatsApp, a texting application, to reach out to potential recruits.

Propagandists such as ISIS use the latest methods of digital marketing to emotionally manipulate young men and women with conflicted identities.

Authorities agree that ISIS is far more advanced than its foes in the use of social media. They can't adequately police it, and they can't compete with it. One U.S. State Department official said that her agency sees 90,000 ISIS tweets per day.

Recruiters are believed to be operating from Iraq, Syria and Turkey. In some ISIS-held territories the group uses billboards and hands out fliers to recruits. Even if specific recruiters could be identified, they would be out of reach of most law enforcement.

ISIS often tailors its message to suit the wants and needs of its young potential recruits. Some want nothing more than to be able to send photos to their friends of them holding an AK-47. Others want sex, and ISIS has promoted its sex slave doctrine, that the rape of a slave is not a sin, and is, in fact, encouraged by the Quran, as long as the soldier prays before and after the act.

Once ISIS convinces recruits that they are the sole authority on religion and the only authentic Muslims, recruits believe they have no choice but to follow instructions.

"They will argue against anyone presenting an alternative point of view," Ali said. "It's a circular set of reasoning that 'these are the only people who are authentic, so

they're the only people who I can listen to and, therefore, I should do what they say.'"

Sometimes recruits worry about creature comforts. If recruits express concerns about living conditions under ISIS, they are promised rent-free homes, along with amenities they are used to. Young women are told that they will have access to grooming products.

In courting teenage girls, ISIS uses a different tactic: A recruiter makes contact with the girl, earns her trust over the course of months, and persuades the girl to keep their relationship a secret from her family. Finally, he gets the girl to sneak away from her family and join him.

Some authorities say that although ISIS recruiters are skillful, they are preying on a relatively easy audience.



Bodies are covered on a beach in Sousse, Tunisia. An extremist with ISIS ties killed 38 people in June 2015. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence contends there is "little evidence to support the contention that the Internet plays a dominant role in the process of radicalization." In other words, teenagers and young adults already were ISIS sympathizers; all they needed was some online encouragement.

ALIENATING FACTORS

Many young people who join ISIS and other extremist groups express a sense of isolation from their families and communities. Ian Robertson, author of *The Winner Effect: How Power Affects Your Brain*, said there are seven alienating factors for young people that are perhaps unique to this century:

A sense of belonging: People identify themselves as parts of multiple groups, such as a nationality or

a religion. These shared identities reduce intergroup hatred. Robertson said that when young people spend all their free time staring at a computer screen, they tend to become isolated and lose their sense of community.

Them and us: The stronger you feel about being a member of a cultural group, the less connection you feel with people outside that group. ISIS has fostered a "the world is out to get us" mentality among its converts.

Mass-marketing technologies: Propagandists such as ISIS use the latest methods of digital marketing to emotionally manipulate young men and women with conflicted identities.

Off-the-shelf comrades: Before modern communications systems, people had to engage each other face to face to form bonds and unite in a common cause. Today, you can meet people who share your precise views easily on the Internet. "Peer groups are the greatest influence on what teenagers do and think," Robertson said, "and social media can cement them into homogenous cells where no dissenting view on the world can break through."

Web anonymity: Being faceless and nameless on the Internet lets people do things that are out of character, such as express hatred. This triggers a phenomenon called "cognitive dissonance," in which the mind tries to find consistency between what is being expressed and what is actually believed. In other words, you come to believe the things you say.

Rebellion: Teenagers rebel as a means of trying to create their own identities. Muslim teenagers are denied the usual rebellion outlets — drugs, alcohol, sex — so they look for "safer," more culturally acceptable forms, such as the glamor of ISIS. William McCants, author of *The ISIS Apocalypse*, said the group has a counterculture appeal analogous to rock stars of previous decades. "If you're going to rebel against your parents and your society, what could be more rebellious than this?" he said.

Pornographic violence: Widely distributed videos like those of ISIS soldiers beheading their victims are designed to both titillate and desensitize young minds. Robertson said, "The still-developing teenage brain is particularly sensitive to the corrosion of such images."

Researchers agree that the Internet and social media must be used to decrease the lure of groups such as ISIS. But effective digital countermeasures will have to be as skillful and polished as the videos on extremist websites. Otherwise, the countermeasures will be regarded as just another thing to rebel against.

Robertson said teenagers will need to have a sense of nationalism, such as pride in being Tunisian or Algerian, in addition to being proud of their Muslim heritage. The sense of national pride must be genuine, with teenagers and young adults feeling respected by their countrymen.

Anti-Muslim rhetoric plays directly into the hands of the extremist movement.

STOPPING THE RECRUITS

Humera Khan, executive director of Muflehun, a Washington-based think tank, said that dealing with ISIS recruits is a four-step process. Writing for *Foreign Affairs* magazine, she said the steps are:

- Preventing radicalization.
- Intervening on behalf of individuals who have been radicalized.
- Interdicting or finding and prosecuting those who have engaged in criminal behavior.
- Reintegrating into society those offenders who are in prison, have served their term or are returning from conflict zones.

"In many countries, practitioners focus on strengthening communities to reduce their vulnerability towards radicalization," she added. "But there are very few countries that have programs addressing all four aspects — especially intervention and reintegration. As a result of this gap, individuals who have begun to radicalize are not turned around, and those who have acted violently are not rehabilitated."

There is no shortage of ideas for stopping the recruitments. Some countries have passed new laws regarding electronic surveillance, allowing the surveilling of private communications that support terrorism.

Counselor Daniel Koehler, who specializes in deradicalization, said there are two kinds of people who are particularly good at dealing with young radicals: their mothers and former radicals. But former radicals can be hard to come by, and even if they are available, it may be too late.

Mothers are particularly important to young extremist Muslims, who often seem to need their permission, or some kind of forgiveness, before they leave to join ISIS. Koehler said it is not unusual for a young radical to try one last time to convert his mother before leaving for ISIS so that they will be able to meet in the afterlife.

An organization called Women without Borders is starting "mothers' schools" in countries affected by Islamist extremism to teach women how to keep their children from being radicalized. When Boko Haram kidnapped hundreds of young girls in northern Nigeria in April 2014, police acted as guards for a protest march by a local chapter of the group. "To have Nigerian police and women as well in one place was unheard of," said the organizer of the Nigerian chapter. In Kenya, women associated with the group organized after al-Shabaab extremists attacked Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi in 2013.

Experts struggle with finding ways to prevent young people from joining extremists. In most countries

throughout the world, it is difficult to get governments to intervene, even when families report their children as recruits. It isn't illegal in most countries to travel to Syria. And even when authorities are aware of a new recruit, the European Union's open borders make it relatively easy to drive to Turkey through Bulgaria.

Still, there are steps that governments can take. Young people who have defected from ISIS are a valuable resource, with often unique stories about how they were recruited and why they chose to desert. Authorities should interview each ISIS defector in great detail. When feasible, ISIS defectors should be used in anti-ISIS advertising campaigns and public service announcements.

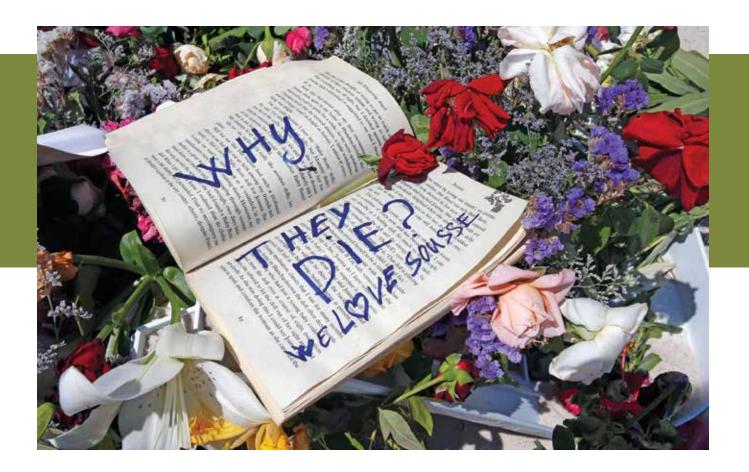
The Washington Post reports that some European cities



Flags, photographs and tributes are attached to the graves of 21 victims of an ISIS suicide bombing in Qudeeh, Saudi Arabia. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

are now offering training to police officers, educators, health professionals, social workers, housing officers and community leaders in recognizing the signs of radicalization. But that is only the starting point. Once potential young extremists are identified, there must be a way to take action without incarcerating them, except under extreme circumstances. Mentoring, counseling and monitoring should be part of any such mechanism.

"Young people undergoing a process of radicalization are seen as vulnerable individuals harming themselves and ultimately in need of help," wrote researchers Lorenzo Vidino and Seamus Hughes for the *Post*. "Radicalization is presented as a problem like gang recruitment or drugs. Just as they would do if they detected young people falling prey to such social ills, community leaders have a responsibility to report cases of radicalization."



TUNISIA AT A CROSSROADS

ADF STAFF

unisia was the birthplace of the Arab Spring and has long been held up as a model of stability and pluralism in volatile North Africa. But in 2015, a series of attacks sent shockwaves around the world. On March 18, 2015, three gunmen shot 22 people, most of them foreign tourists, at the Bardo National Museum in Tunis. Just three months later, a 23-year-old gunman opened fire at a beach resort near the city of Sousse, killing 38 vacationers. In November, a suicide attack against a military bus in the nation's capital took the lives of 12 members of the presidential guard. In each case, ISIS quickly claimed responsibility.

The violence is symptomatic of a larger problem. An estimated 1,500 to 3,000 Tunisians have left home and traveled to Iraq or Syria to fight. That figure is the highest of any African country, and the phenomenon is causing some to worry that the promise of the Arab Spring will be snuffed out by extremists. "The Arab world is like a big

forest, and in this forest Tunisia is the only flower of democracy," resort worker Habib Daguib told *The Guardian* after the Sousse attack. "The terrorists want to cut this flower."

A book and flowers are placed at the scene of an ISIS-connected shooting in Sousse, Tunisia. The gunman killed 38 people in June 2015.

Tunisian Minister of Defense

Farhat Horchani took office in February 2015 and has made it a priority to steer young Tunisians away from terrorism. A lawyer by training who specialized in constitutional and international law, Horchani told *ADF* in a written statement that he firmly believes his country will return to peace. He pointed out that Tunisia has a long history of practicing moderate Islam and a tradition of multiculturalism dating back nearly 3,000 years to the time of the Carthaginians.

"Temperance is the hallmark of Tunisia's ancient and contemporary history," Horchani wrote. "It was known for

"Temperance is the hallmark of Tunisia's ancient and contemporary history. It was known for its role in spreading the values of cooperation, solidarity, dialogue and peace in the whole Mediterranean basin."

Tunisian Minister of Defense Farhat Horchani

its role in spreading the values of cooperation, solidarity, dialogue and peace in the whole Mediterranean basin."

But Horchani acknowledged that those values are now under attack. During the long rule of Tunisian dictator Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, religion of all types was closely regulated. All imams at major mosques were appointed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and Friday prayer sermons were approved by the government. According to a December 2015 report by the website Al-Monitor, radical clerics took advantage of the loosening of control after the Arab Spring uprisings to expand their influence. The report said that within one year of the fall of Ben Ali, about 400 mosques came under the control of Salafist clerics, and about 50 were advocating violence.

Extremist preachers found a receptive audience in educated young Tunisians who were unable to find a job. According to the African Development Bank, the unemployment rate among the country's young college graduates known as the "jeunes diplômés en chômage" generally hovers at 20 percent.

Horchani sees young people who are frustrated and aimless as a major threat to stability. "Joblessness, marginalization, poverty, and the absence of guidance and education are the reasons that young people are transformed into terrorists," he wrote. "Extremists position themselves as the 'saving cord' from this disappointment."

To reverse this trend, the Tunisian government has launched a number of initiatives. Mosques are being brought back under the supervision of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, imams who advocated violence have been removed, and a team of 600 officials is working to monitor religious extremism in the country's mosques, Al-Monitor reported.

The country also is beginning to make progress militarily against ISIS affiliates. During 2014 and 2015, Soldiers located and cleared 79 terrorist encampments, the largest number of them in Mount Chaambi, near the country's western border.

Horchani said Tunisia has been a victim of regional instability, most notably from Libya, which has lacked a central government since 2011. "It provides a fertile climate for the growth of terrorism and trafficking, which are two sides of the same coin," he wrote.

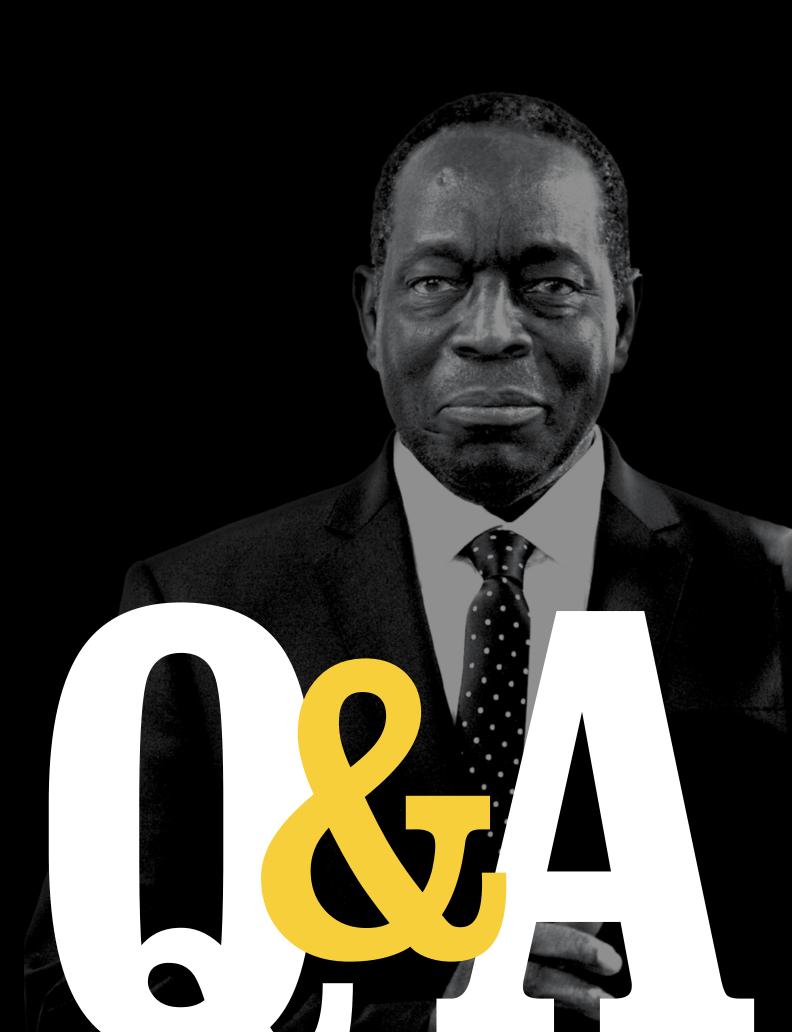


To secure the border, Tunisia reinforced a natural land barrier between the two countries, using excavators to pile dirt and dig trenches filled with saltwater. Horchani said at the end of 2015 that the natural barrier was 87 percent complete, and the two nations' shared border was secure and reinforced by electronic surveillance.

The military is continuing to emphasize professionalism, and Horchani noted that the institution gains credibility by being politically neutral and subordinate to civilian officials. "The power of the military stems from neutrality, patriotic belief and loyalty to the country," he wrote.

As for the threat of terrorism, Horchani believes the nation needs a holistic approach that includes the military but also emphasizes education, democracy and responsiveness to social problems. "Fighting terrorism is a complete cultural project," he wrote. He noted that the attacks on Tunisia have had a major impact on the nation's tourism sector, which accounts for 14.5 percent of the nation's gross domestic product, but the people of Tunisia remain unbowed.

"In spite of these operations and their negative impacts, life continues in our country in the economic, social and cultural domains," he wrote. "Neighboring and partner countries are supporting us in countering terrorism and working to sensitize businessmen in investing in Tunisia and choosing it as a tourist destination. Despite these brutal attacks, terrorism cannot touch the unity of the state and its people."



Veteran Peacemaker Takes on New Challenge

A Conversation with **Ambassador Francisco Madeira**, head of the African Union Mission in Somalia PHOTOS BY AMISOM

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Ambassador Francisco Madeira took over in December 2015 as the African Union's special representative for Somalia and the head of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). A native of Mozambique, Madeira is one of Africa's most distinguished diplomats. He served on the delegation that negotiated the end to the civil war in Mozambique in 1992. He was special envoy of the AU chairperson to São Tomé and Príncipe after the July 2003 coup d'état in that country. From 1999 to 2010, he was special envoy for the Comoros. He served in the National Parliament of Mozambique from 2005 to 2010. Since 2010, he has been the AU special representative for Counter-Terrorism Cooperation and director of the Algiers-based African Centre on the Study and Research on Terrorism. In 2011, he was named the AU special envoy for the issue of the Lord's Resistance Army. This interview has been edited to fit this format.

ADF: Your career has spanned decades, and you have mediated conflicts across the continent. What have you learned are the essential skills of a mediator?

MADEIRA: What I have learned very clearly is that no matter what persuasive approaches you might take, no matter how good you are, no matter how firm you might be, if either party is not yet ready for the negotiation, you won't get anywhere. They will play around, they will bide their time and employ stalling tactics. They need to be ready for the negotiations. And being ready might mean coming to the conclusion that the way they are pursuing it won't get them what they want. Or you may have to show them that whatever they're doing is a nonstarter, and they are playing a losing game. Sometimes that's why I feel that some kind of pressure — diplomatic, through the help of strategic partners — can play a role. We cannot automatically just call for negotiations. The other side needs to feel the need to negotiate. If he feels no pressure, then he has no interest in negotiating. If he feels that by continuing to do what he's doing he might weaken the other side, he will do that. So we must be able to show both sides that they have an interest in finding a negotiated solution because otherwise nobody will prevail. If they understand that, maybe you will have a breakthrough.

ADF: How does your previous experience prepare you for your new role as head of AMISOM?

MADEIRA: I will try to use whatever skills I have, but I am very clear that this is not a one-man band. We need to work with everybody who can make a contribution

to this effort. I will look for people with experience in all walks of life: people in the economy, politics, civil society and all that. I know this has to involve the military, the diplomats, the politicians, and it has to involve the elders, the clan leaders, the women and children. And we have to have very good technical experts, civil servants, with the knowledge of the situation. We meet with them, get their advice and then check that advice based on the reality and the facts on the ground.

ADF: The core of the ongoing instability in Somalia is the destabilizing effect of the terrorist group al-Shabaab. From your experience as director of the African Centre on the Study and Research on Terrorism, what have you learned about why young people join extremist groups?

MADEIRA: What is important to keep in mind is that terrorism is a political crime. Being a political crime, it pursues political objectives. So these people are individuals who want to access power to exert influence or, in this case, implant the so-called Islamic caliphate that would stretch from the Middle East all over the world. It is a political objective. As such, they need recruits to work for them. They cannot do it by themselves. So they exploit anything they can to persuade people to join them. The youth are the most [numerous] section of the population, and at the same time some are naïve. They can easily be persuaded, whether they are educated or uneducated. Particularly if they don't fit into the society they find themselves in. If they're not integrated, they feel disenfranchised, isolated and excluded. These things can lead to them being radicalized. Unfortunately, these

extremist groups have developed a lot of skills in terms of how to approach, groom and eventually win these youths to their side. So we need to open a front to reduce the number of youths that are vulnerable to radicalization and violent extremism. We cannot do that, in the case of Somalia, unless we have a functioning government.

ADF: It sounds like you believe that radicalization thrives in the absence of a viable state. When the state isn't present and isn't fulfilling its duties, radical groups have more credibility.

MADEIRA: That's the message I'm trying to convey. We need the government of Somalia to be a viable and present entity that can be felt in each region and district, and respond to the needs and the requirements of the population. The state must be in a position to train troops, to train intelligence officers, to train the police to maintain law and order, and also to pay salaries to these people. Because if you don't pay salaries, these people just take the skills you've given them and go somewhere else. Only a viable government with working institutions can do these things. It has to be seen as something that is part of the population and not an alien entity that will impose itself on them or be used to impose one clan against the other clan.

ADF: One disturbing phenomenon is that teenagers from the U.S., Canada and Europe have traveled to Somalia to join al-Shabaab. These radicalized youths don't fit a standard profile. Many are from educated, middle-class families with much to live for. Many have had little to no religious training prior to radicalization. What can governments do to address this problem?

MADEIRA: My strong impression is that we are not yet winning the battle of counternarratives. We have to develop convincing counternarratives that show that what these radical groups are transmitting are lies, manipulations, and they should not be believed. Unfortunately, our propaganda machine is not sophisticated enough to be able to persuade these youths otherwise. These radical groups succeed because, in our societies, there are situations of unjustness and unfairness that, once exploited by these extremists, we are not in a position to contradict because they are true. There is corruption in our societies. There is lack of food when a few have so much. We practice democracy, but what our leaders are doing is a completely different thing. Instead of one man, one vote, they buy votes; they manipulate and they extend their terms when their terms have ended. These things affect our capacity and the seriousness with which we can be seen by the youth. We want to say that our democratic system is far better than what these violent individuals are doing. What I have learned is that the fight against terrorism is a fight against all these evils in our society, which terrorist groups exploit to have the youths on their side.

ADF: So to combat the effectiveness of some

extremist propaganda, you have to improve the conditions on the ground?

MADEIRA: Radicalization is an extremely individual, personal process. But if you go and talk with some of those people that have been caught in this situation, they tell you, "I joined this group because one ethnic group has committed crimes against my ethnic group." Or they say, "I joined because my father was jailed without justification; I joined because I want justice." Some say, "I joined because I was expelled from my job because one leader wanted that place for his son." They say, "I came out of the university, I am roaming the roads of my city and I see that only the ones who have connections are getting jobs." These are things that we need to correct. It's not that everyone who experiences these things turns to terrorism, but in certain conditions when these things get together and we find radicalizing agents like ISIS, these can lead to terrorism.

ADF: As al-Shabaab is defeated on the battlefield or fighters choose to lay down weapons and defect, there will be a large number of people who need to be deradicalized and reintegrated into society. How do you think this should be accomplished?

MADEIRA: First of all, we need to look into the process of DDR [disarmament, demobilization and reintegration]. We have to disarm these youths. Then we need to find psychologists to look into each one of them and see what their background has been and try to win them over, back into society so they can become useful citizens of their own community. For that, we need to have downstream deradicalization resources that address the ideological factors, the social factors and also address the economic factors. We need to give these individuals the skills to discern what is good and what is evil, to understand the way they were being deceived by these terrorist groups, see that the ideology they adhered to is a false thing, that life is only possible with mutual tolerance. They need to see that we are a society not only made of one type of individual. You have Christians, you have Muslims, you have animists, you have atheists, so you have to accept each other and not try to impose your will on each other. We need social reintegration programs and a strong partnership between the government, the civil society, the intellectuals, the scholars, the media. All must be brought together, and it must be done now. Because, as I'm talking to you, there are some al-Shabaab members who have surrendered, but they come, they're received, we try to deradicalize them, but then there are no means and they don't even know if they'll have anything to eat for the evening. So, after some time, they go back. We need to address this now.

ADF: For several years, al-Shabaab has declared its allegiance to al-Qaida. However, there have been some overtures from ISIS that it would like to form an alliance with al-Shabaab and expand its reach in Somalia. How concerned are you that this may happen and escalate the conflict?

MADEIRA: Every day in Mogadishu I hear of confrontations between two factions of al-Shabaab because some want to join ISIS and the others want to remain with al-Qaida. This is an ongoing situation. So it is possible, and it should not be surprising to us that sooner or later one of these groups will formally pledge allegiance to ISIS. Now, if ISIS comes into Somalia and it becomes what they call a province of the caliphate, that is a serious problem. We know that ISIS has fighting skills, they have capacity to make bombs, and they have money. That could strengthen al-Shabaab's hand. We need to do our best to prevent this from happening. We

need to improve our capacity at collecting intelligence, infiltrating al-Shabaab and knowing where this contact with ISIS is done. Especially now that ISIS is suffering defeats in Syria and Iraq, these people might try to come to Somalia and elsewhere in Africa to run away from the pressure. So we need to be better prepared, be better armed, more mobile and have more enablers to face this coming and potential danger.

ADF: AMISOM is nearing the end of its ninth year and has had many successes. What are your primary goals for your time as head of AMISOM?

MADEIRA: First of all, I want to thank my predecessors for the good work that they have done. Second, the issue of Somalia has two important fronts.

One is the political front. We need to continue to pursue the issue of political reconciliation, national reintegration and unity. We need to take the country to elections that are credible. Of course, it's a bit difficult, and bear in mind that the first elections were divided on the clan basis. We need to make sure that this coming election [in 2016] is an improvement over the previous electoral approach. Something that becomes more democratic or at least is on the path to a better democratic approach. Something that is more inclusive in the sense that it is not only the clan leaders that command everything, but also other sections of the society like the youth and women. People must be

legitimized, and governance must be legitimized, so we must push the agenda towards that.

The second is continued stabilization of the country in order to be able to have these government institutions present, relevant and reactive in different regions of the country. Of course we're happy that the interim administrations are becoming components of the federal state of Somalia. Now we want those interim administrations to become an entity that is acceptable by the people they represent. For that, we need a strengthening and stabilization of the country. That means AMISOM must be

capacitated to continue to carry out decisive military operations against al-Shabaab in order to degrade it to an extent in which governance is possible. We need to capacitate the regional police, the Somali National Army, the intelligence services, for them to provide people the security they need. Of course, we are here. We are African troops from a number

intelligence services, for them provide people the security the need. Of course, we are here. It are African troops from a num

Ambassador Francisco Madeira and his deputy, Lydia Wanyoto, leave the presidential palace in Mogadishu on December 17, 2015.

African Union Mission in

Somalia Soldiers mark the

on December 4, 2015.

in the country.

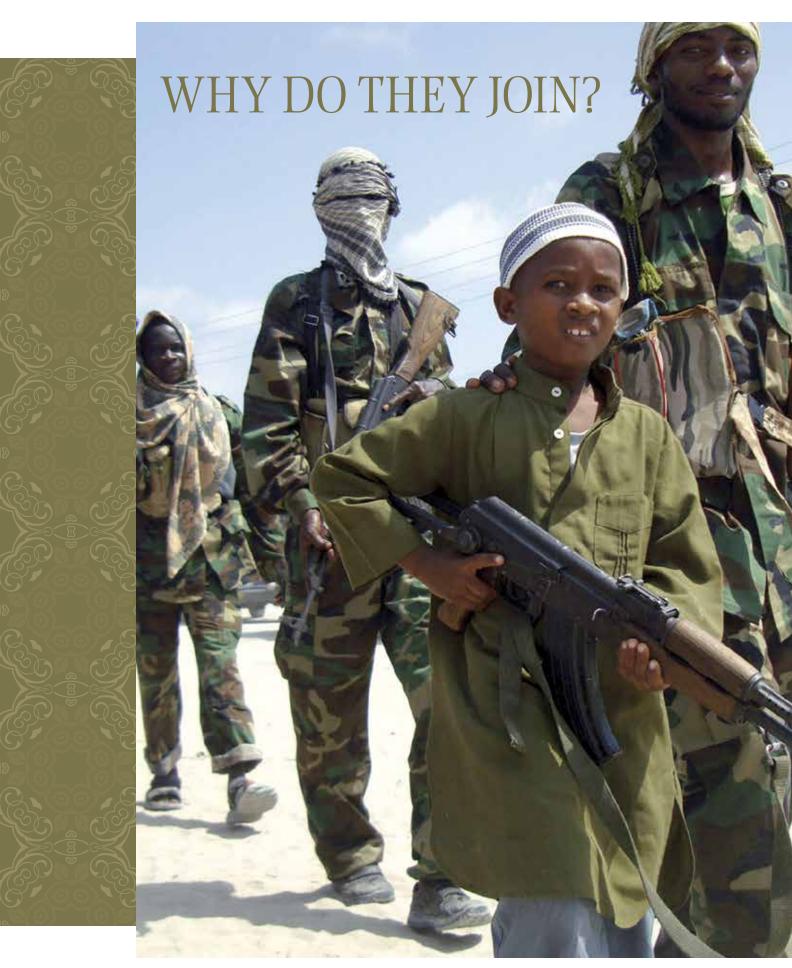
arrival of Madeira at Aden Adde International Airport in Mogadishu

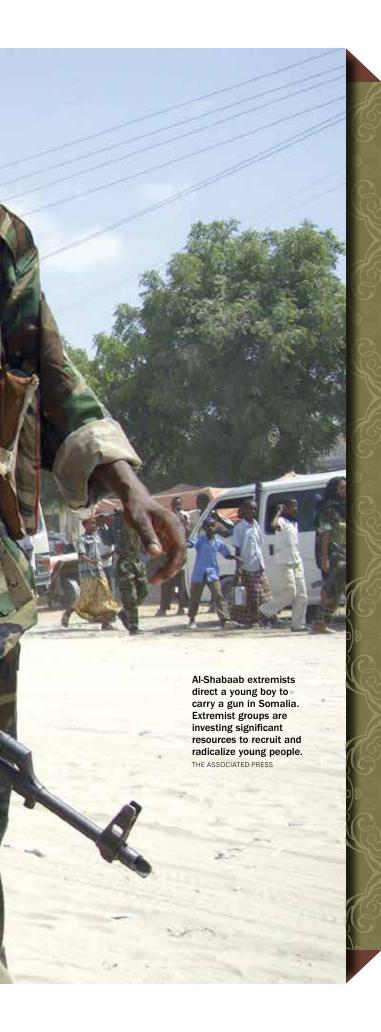


of African countries. But sooner or later we will have to leave Somalia, so we need to prepare Somalia to take over and maintain law and order and stability

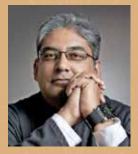
For quite some time AMISOM has been able to dismantle and take al-Shabaab positions when they were administering territory, and they were visible so you could target them and uproot them. Today, al-Shabaab has changed

tactics. It has split into small groups. It has created a mobile, active and resilient intelligence group, the Amniyat; it has a sophisticated spy network. We in AMISOM, in the SNA [Somali National Army] and NISA [National Intelligence and Security Agency] need to raise our skills much higher than al-Shabaab. We need to penetrate them when they mingle amongst the population, to identify them and know where their hideouts are and dismantle them, to pursue them and not let them have a minute of rest wherever they are. Unless we develop this capacity, we will face difficulties. I intend as much as I can to work with all partners to ensure that we get this capacity. \square





UNDERSTANDING ISLAMIST RADICALIZATION AND RECRUITMENT IN AFRICA



DR. HUSSEIN SOLOMON UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE

His name was Seifeddine Rezqui, a 23-year-old engineering student from the rather ordinary

town of Gaafour, 50 miles from Tunisia's capital, Tunis. He had a passion for football and was a Real Madrid supporter. Rezqui also had a penchant for rap music and participated in break-dance competitions. Yet Rezqui went under another name — Abu Yahya al-Qayrawani — and ISIS labeled him a "Soldier of the Caliphate." On June 26, 2015, he hid his AK-47 in an umbrella and proceeded to mow down tourists at a beach resort in Sousse, Tunisia. Thirty-eight were killed — mostly British tourists — and scores more were injured. In the days that followed, investigators uncovered a trail of evidence pointing to the fact that Rezqui was radicalized online by ISIS social media propaganda.

For many commentators, a key to ISIS' ability to spread radical ideology is its savvy approach to social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Instagram. By June 2015, ISIS had 90,000 Twitter accounts. The use of rap music in its recruitment videos is especially appealing to young alienated youths and is a far cry from the staid videos in which the older generation of



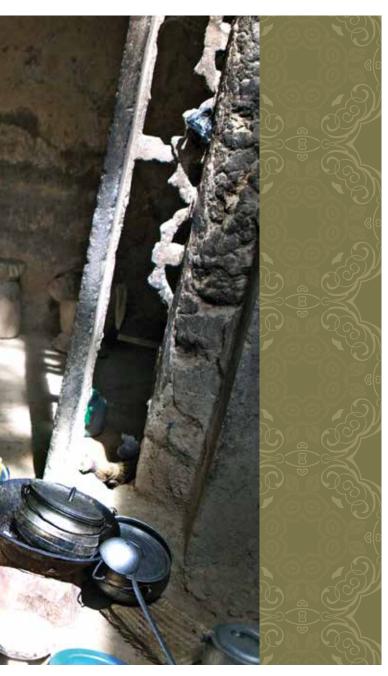
A 16-year-old boy sits in the home of a friend in Mopti, Mali, in 2012 after fleeing the northern part of the country due to fighting. Extremist groups, including ISIS, have sought to radicalize young, marginalized men across Africa. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

al-Qaida jihadis such as Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri delivered long sermons. To give an idea of the scale of ISIS' social media outreach, consider this: In a single week, ISIS produces 123 media releases in six languages. Of that total, 24 are videos.

The penetration of ISIS ideology even in far-away South Africa is evident in the writing of an 18-year-old from Johannesburg. Using the pseudonym of Abu Huraya al-Afriki, he wrote: "I joined the Islamic State because their aim is to establish the word of Allah (There is no God, but Allah) as the highest, and the word of Kufr (disbelief) as lowest, and this is what Allah tells us in the Quran to do. So it is a compulsory duty upon all the Muslims around the world to

join the jihad." The power of ISIS social media also is evident in Nigeria, where 24,000 young people were stopped from leaving the country between January 2014 and March 2015. The majority of them, authorities feared, planned to join ISIS.

Since 2014, ISIS has spawned local franchises across Africa. In Algeria, al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) commander Abdelmalek Gouri announced that he and his men were breaking away from AQIM, which, he stated, had "deviated from the true path." He sought to position his group as the Jund al-Khilafah, or Soldiers of the Caliphate, and made clear it was aligned with ISIS. In Tunisia, the Uqba ibn Nafi Brigade also split from AQIM and has



pledged its allegiance to ISIS. In strife-torn Libya, meanwhile, returning ISIS members from Syria established the ISIS-aligned al-Battar Brigade. With its military successes, as witnessed with the recent capture of Sirte, the hometown of former Libyan strongman Moammar Gadhafi, this group has grown increasingly confident and has renamed itself the Islamic State of Libya (ISL). Nigeria's Boko Haram, which increasingly casts its shadow across West Africa, has now aligned itself with ISIS, and there are disagreements within Somalia's al-Qaida-aligned al-Shabaab as to whether it should be part of the ISIS franchise.

This raises an intriguing question: What accounts for the spread of the radical Wahhabist-Salafist

ideology of ISIS, with its emphasis on hatred for the proverbial other, while the majority of African Muslims are actually Sufi in orientation? Sufi brotherhoods (*tariqa* in Arabic) stress the need to bridge the gap between God and man through love and knowledge of the true inner self. This form of the Islamic faith is more personal and more emotional, stressing the love of God as opposed to the fear of God. Moreover, Sufi Islam has long coexisted with the richness of pre-Islamic folk customs, which, of course, added to its popularity.

The answer is that, for years, charities operating in countries such as Saudi Arabia and Qatar have been funding Islamist extremism in Africa and eroding the appeal of Sufism. Consider the thousands of students who have traveled over the years to further their Islamic studies at such institutions of higher learning as Al-Azhar in Egypt, Al-Uzai in Lebanon, the University of Damascus in Syria and scores of such institutions in Saudi Arabia. It has been noted that most of these students upon their return to their respective countries are more radical than those who remained behind. Indeed, according to John Yoh in his book Reflections on Afro-Arab Relations: An African Perspective: "Most of the students from Africa who studied in the Middle East are accused of being behind the religious conflicts that have been going on in Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, and Tanzania. ... It is this group of students that is considered to be the source of the Islamic radicalism in Africa. Some of these groups are said to be connected with Islamic organizations operating in Africa under the guise of religious agencies."

Students, however, are not the only conduit for radical thought entering Africa. The annual pilgrimage that sees tens of thousands of Africans going to Mecca can help spread radical Islam. In West Africa, the introduction of Wahhabi classics such as An Explanation of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab's Kitab al Tawhid (The Book about the Oneness of God) by Abd al-Rahman al-Sadi had such a profound impact on al-Qaida-aligned extremists in Mali that they took inspiration from the title of this book to name themselves the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO). Under the circumstances, should we be surprised when groups like Boko Haram rant against secular states, or the extremists of Ansar al-Dine and al-Shabaab violently tear down Sufi shrines in Mali and Somalia? The recent penetration of ISIS ideology into Africa is a logical outgrowth of these developments.

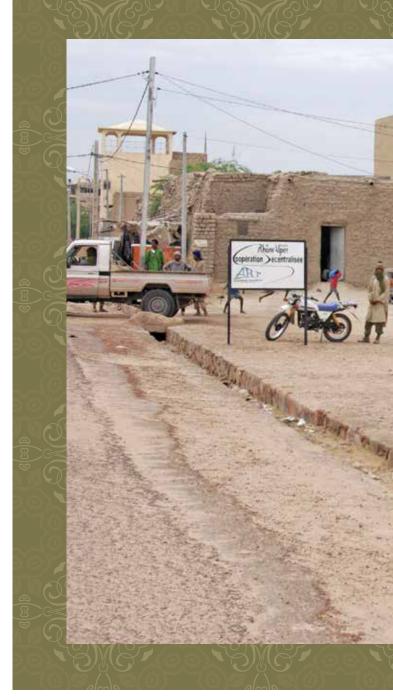
Islamic extremists have exploited the deteriorating economic and political conditions in African countries to expand their reach among the disaffected. Because of their superior organization (relative to the ineptitude and corruption of many government bureaucracies), their use of volunteers, and their access to funds from the Gulf states, Salafists have been able to step

in and assist desperate communities across Africa. In Mali, for instance, extreme Islamists and their grassroots economic development have been able to establish mosques, modern schools, clinics, pharmacies and cultural centers since the 1980s. In the process they have won the loyalty of citizens in these areas.

A good example of a group exploiting economic conditions can be seen in the emergence of the Lebanese terrorist movement and Iranian-funded Hezbollah (Party of God) on the African continent. As U.S. Army Maj. James Love notes in his incisive Hezbollah: Social Services as a Source of Power (2010), Hezbollah's tried and tested modus operandi is used on the African continent to great effect. Fledgling Hezbollah cells use subtle infiltration techniques to gain access to an area without drawing attention. They gain the trust of the local populace by conducting charity fundraising activities and other social welfare programs. This resonates with Africa's poor, whose own politicians seem unresponsive to the needs of their citizens and are more concerned with accumulating wealth. Having gained the trust of the locals, the Hezbollah cell commences to recruit from the local population, allowing the cell to begin operations. Cells can operate only after they have built a popular support base.

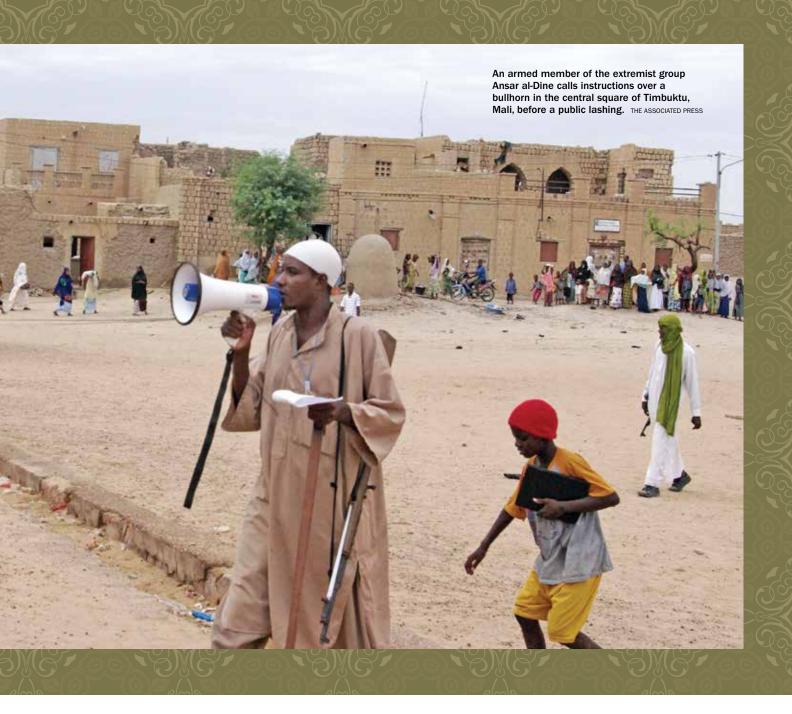
Another factor undermining tolerant Sufism and bolstering the appeal of radical Islam is the close cooperation between Sufi orders and the respective authorities, with many Sufi leaders receiving financial benefits from government. The proximity of Sufi leaders to generally corrupt and authoritarian governments caused them to lose credibility and popularity in the eyes of ordinary citizens and formed the basis of vehement attacks on them by hard-line Islamists. Consequently, moderate Sufi Islam could not serve as a bulwark to radical Islam because the Sufi leadership was perceived to be an extension of a corrupt state.

In similar fashion, other Muslim organizations aiming to foster peace and tolerance between faiths were tarnished due to their proximity to an often predatory and authoritarian state. In Nigeria in the 1980s, an Advisory Committee of Religious Affairs representing Muslims and Christians was established to mitigate religious tensions. Similar structures came into being across the continent: the Supreme Council of Muslims in Tanzania, the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council, the Rwandan Muslim Association and the Muslim Association of Malawi. Few of these have been able to mitigate sectarian strife. Because of their perceived ties to regimes viewed as illegitimate, those Muslims who participate in these structures were viewed as co-opted. The fact that these Muslims often defended the incumbent governments merely served to reinforce this perception. With moderate Muslims discredited, it left the door open for extremists to spread their message of hate.



Looking forward, what can be done to reduce radicalization and recruitment of Africans into the fold of militant Islam? First, more can be done to disrupt ISIS' social media outreach by bringing down Twitter accounts and taking off their gruesome YouTube videos, as well as robust efforts at countermessaging. Although efforts are underway to do this, they need to be more aggressive. Second, more pressure needs to be placed on Gulf countries to stop funding Wahhabist and Salafist forms of Islam on the continent. It also is disconcerting that countries in which extremist ideology is allowed to flourish, including Saudi Arabia, continue to receive support from Western countries.

In addition, more needs to be done on the part of African states to strengthen moderate, tolerant Sufi



Islam so it can serve as a bulwark to the Salafist juggernaut. However, a Sufi Islam uncritical of the West and serving as praise singers for incumbent governments will only serve to undermine Sufism further and reinforce radical viewpoints. What is needed is a Sufi Islam that articulates the concerns of ordinary Muslims even when those concerns mean criticizing incumbent governments. Where moderate Muslims prop up corrupt governments, it will only serve to further delegitimize moderate forces.

Extremism also spreads on the continent in the context of rapacious state elites who are more concerned about their own personal wealth than about the lot of ordinary citizens. In this context, Islamic extremist groups provide a number of short-term solutions to increase the security of citizens — clinics, schools, food and money. In the process, they gain support for their cause. As the international community aims to assist African governments with training their security forces and providing military equipment to fight the likes of al-Shabaab, so too must it use that assistance to pressure African governments to be more responsive to ordinary citizens' needs, thereby denying extremists the grievances they exploit for their own nefarious ends.

□

Dr. Hussein Solomon is senior professor in the Department of Political Studies and Governance at the University of the Free State, South Africa. He is the author of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Africa: Fighting Insurgency from AI Shabaab, Ansar Dine and Boko Haram, published in 2015 by Paligrave Macmillan.



AFRICA

PART OF ISIS' GLOBAL STRATEGY

THE CONTINENT IS AT THE CENTER OF A THREE-PRONGED QUEST FOR WORLDWIDE JIHAD

ADF STAFF

SIS is advancing its plans for a world-wide caliphate on three simultaneous fronts. Imagine, says Harleen Gambhir, a counterterrorism analyst at the Institute for the Study of War (ISW), a strategy organized in three concentric rings. First, the group is fighting to hold and expand its territory in Iraq and Syria. Next, it is fostering disorder and standing up affiliates in what she calls the "Near Abroad" of the wider Middle East and North Africa. Finally, ISIS militants plan to launch terrorist attacks in the "Far Abroad" of the West, Australia and Southeast Asia.

"ISIS gains influence in areas of disorder and conflict by exacerbating existing fissures in states and communities," Gambhir wrote in "ISIS's Global Strategy: A Wargame." "ISIS's opponents thus are forced to counter the organization's ground presence in Iraq and Syria as well as its ability to expand and recruit across the globe. This is a substantial task that involves coherent,

yet geographically dispersed efforts, likely coordinated among multiple allies."

ISIS sees the center of its plan in Iraq and Syria. It was for this reason that the group named itself the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham. Other nations in this inner ring are Jordan, Lebanon and Israel. Moving outward, ISIS is working in the Near Abroad ring, which includes the rest of the Middle East and North Africa, and goes as far east as Afghanistan and Pakistan, according to Gambhir. Expansion in these areas has come as ISIS declares satellite operations by the establishment of "wilayat," or governed regions. As of September 2015, ISIS claimed wilayats in Algeria, Egypt's Sinai and Libya.

The process that brought Nigeria-based Boko Haram into ISIS' orbit was not typical. Typically, Gambhir said, ISIS announces the creation of a wilayat after a group has "coalesced under one leader," who then reaches out to ISIS with an operating plan for the group's area. Only then does ISIS approve it and make the affiliation



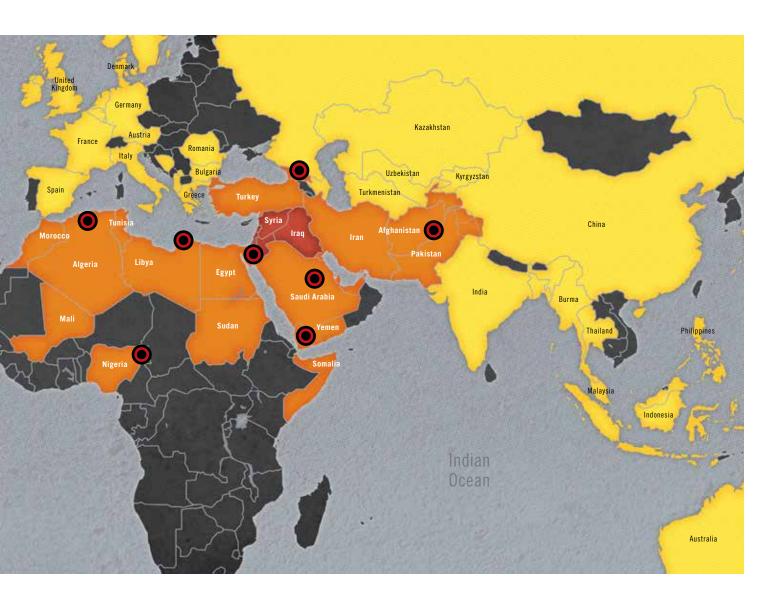


A victim is transported on a stretcher after a terror attack in March 2015 at Bardo National Museum in Tunis, Tunisia. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

public. Boko Haram, she said, "jumped the gun" on a developing relationship when it pledged its allegiance to ISIS and declared itself the group's West Africa Province in March 2015. Boko Haram now is known as Wilayat Gharb Ifriqiyya.

Gambhir, who specializes in ISIS' global strategy and operations, asserts that the Near Abroad, which includes North Africa, is likely to be where ISIS will "strategically surprise" anti-ISIS forces. Such an attack is likely to come in Libya, the country in Africa where ISIS is strongest. Militants already control terrain along the central coast and are imposing sharia and running training camps. In early 2016, ISIS is likely to launch an offensive against Libya's oil resources, she said.

The third element of ISIS' global plan goes beyond regions where it has an active presence and affiliate organizations. This so-called Far Abroad includes the rest of the world, especially Asia, Europe and the United



States. "Of these, ISIS is most focused on Europe, which contains a sizeable Muslim population and is physically more proximate to ISIS' main effort than Asia or the Americas," Gambhir wrote.

ISIS wants to defend territory in the Interior and Near Abroad while perpetrating terrorism in the Far Abroad in hopes of "encouraging and resourcing terrorist attacks in the Western world." By doing so, ISIS hopes that Western governments will alienate Muslims, thus pushing them toward the caliphate, Gambhir wrote. All of these actions are intended to prompt an apocalyptic global war.

AFRICA, A LAND OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ISIS?

Michael Horowitz, senior analyst at the geopolitical risk consultancy Max Security Solutions, told Europe's edition of *Newsweek* that ISIS places a significant focus on Africa.

"It has been one of the strategic objectives of IS since the beginning because the problem with IS is that it needs to convey this image of extension," Horowitz said in April 2015. "Africa is an opportunity because you have a lot of countries that are destabilised, you have existing groups that have drifted away from al-Qaeda.

"They want to keep expanding, they want to hedge their bets," he said. "What they are saying is that they are making Africa as a place for jihadists. They want to convey to jihadists that Africa is the new Syria, the new Iraq. That's what they have been doing with Libya for a while."

Gambhir told *ADF* that ISIS now is telling recruits that if they cannot reach Iraq and Syria, they should immigrate to Libya and other African countries. The fact that ISIS has affiliates in North Africa operating militarily now widens the possibilities for new recruits, especially those from Africa. "Militant recruitment, I think, is also going to be on an upward trajectory for ISIS in Africa simply because it now has military operations that require fighters that are outside of Iraq and Syria," she said.

ISIS' RECRUITMENT IN AFRICA

Some of that potential for new recruits already is being seen. At least a dozen students from the University



Source: The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence

of Medical Sciences and Technology in Khartoum left Sudan for Turkey on their way to Syria in June 2015. The students — citizens of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States — are considered prime pickings for ISIS because they are well-educated, do not need money and carry foreign passports, according to an August 2015 article in *The National Interest*.

"THEY WANT TO CONVEY TO JIHADISTS THAT AFRICA IS THE NEW SYRIA, THE NEW IRAQ."

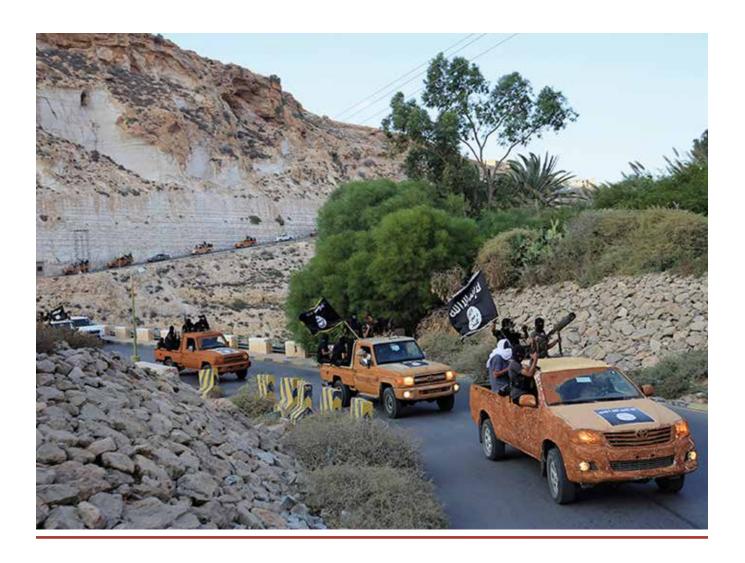
- Michael Horowitz, Max Security Solutions

"Recruiting 'foreign fighters,' as they are called, has been one of the many keys to the success of ISIS," the article states, "It is also something the group boasts about because its leaders believe it is a major insult to Western governments if their own citizens, who presumably lead fulfilling lives in the West, risk it all to fight with ISIS in Syria and Iraq. The ISIS leadership also uses foreign fighters as evidence that their so-called Caliphate is a viable alternative to Western ideology."

More than 5,600 people may have left African nations to fight in Iraq or Syria, according to a January 2015 report from the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence. That total represents more than 25 percent of the global sum.

Most foreign fighters leaving the continent for Iraq or Syria have come from North Africa. Smaller numbers of fighters have left other African nations such as Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Eritrea and Mauritania, according to the June 2014 report, "Foreign Fighters in Syria," published by The Soufan Group. News reports in August 2015 stated that ISIS had recruited up to 10 people from Ghana.

ISIS, seeing evidence that some al-Shabaab factions have begun to favor the group, began



an effort to recruit Somalis. The outreach includes videos aimed at the Somali "mujahideen" — Arabic for "holy warriors" — and a media outlet set to produce Somalilanguage content.

WHAT CAN AFRICAN NATIONS DO?

Countering ISIS in Africa will not be easy. Libya

Militia members who have pledged allegiance to ISIS drive along a road in Derna in eastern Libya.

REUTERS

complicates matters by not having a unified military or government. ISIS has been able to take advantage of the chaos to establish safe havens. Other countries, including Nigeria

and Somalia, have their hands full battling domestic insurgencies such as Boko Haram and al-Shabaab, respectively.

Morocco has had some success in the past year, regularly raiding terrorist cells with links to ISIS. In June 2015, the nation's Central Bureau of Judicial Investigations, established the same year as part of the kingdom's beefed-up war against extremism, broke up a seven-member terrorist cell aligned with ISIS. The government said the group intended to kidnap

and murder tourists at seaside resorts, the Daily Mail reported.

Nations such as Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia will need to continue to degrade terrorist networks while trying to prevent a major attack, Gambhir said. If a significant terrorist attack does get through, as happened in Tunisia when a gunman killed 38 and wounded nearly 40 others at a resort near Sousse, authorities will need to manage the national reaction to prevent ISIS from using the attack to destabilize the country.

ISIS is an organization with an apocalyptic narrative. It is trying to incite disorder, and eventually war, with those not a part of its self-proclaimed caliphate. Although military action may seem to play into extremists' hands, inaction also gives ISIS a reason to claim victory, Gambhir said.

"Rather, I think what we need to do from that narrative perspective is compete, to create a narrative that actually challenges ISIS in terms of what it says that it's doing," she said. "It says it's established a state; we should have a narrative campaign that's focused on proving that ISIS has not done that. ... We should be constructing a narrative that can compete with ISIS' narrative." □



MALIANS **LOOK FOR OPPORTUNITY**

ADF STAFF

group of Malian children playfully peer through holes in a wall that surrounds the United Nations mission camp in Goundam, in the

Timbuktu region.

As the children play, Malian and French security forces participate in the joint operation La Madine 3, part of Operation Barkhane. The French-led 3,000-member counterterrorism force spreads across five Sahel countries: Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger. Barkhane supersedes France's Operation Serval, which worked to restore order in Mali after an Islamist uprising that began in 2012. The U.N. Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) deployed in July 2013.

Unrest in Mali is entering its fourth year. In 2012, several jihadist groups — chiefly al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, Ansar al-Dine, and the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa — took control of several cities in northern Mali, wresting them from armed Tuareg separatist groups such as the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad that were demanding autonomy from the government in Bamako.

Since that time, hot spots have arisen across West Africa and the

Sahel. Growing youth populations in the region are vulnerable to radicalization. In Mali alone, two-thirds of the population are under age 25, and the number of people under 35 is expected to nearly double by 2030. Those demographics, mixed with poverty and a lack of jobs, provide extremists with prime recruiting opportunities.

Many young people in Timbuktu, in northern Mali, are choosing crime and radicalization to make a living, according to an article for The Broker website by Marije Balt, a Dutch former diplomat in Africa.

A lack of economic opportunities "provides a breeding ground for wellfunded criminal and radical groups, which is penetrating further into Mali despite the presence of the 12,000strong MINUSMA mission," Balt wrote. "Viable economic alternatives such as formal jobs and businesses are needed to prepare Mali for the youth bulge expected in 2030.

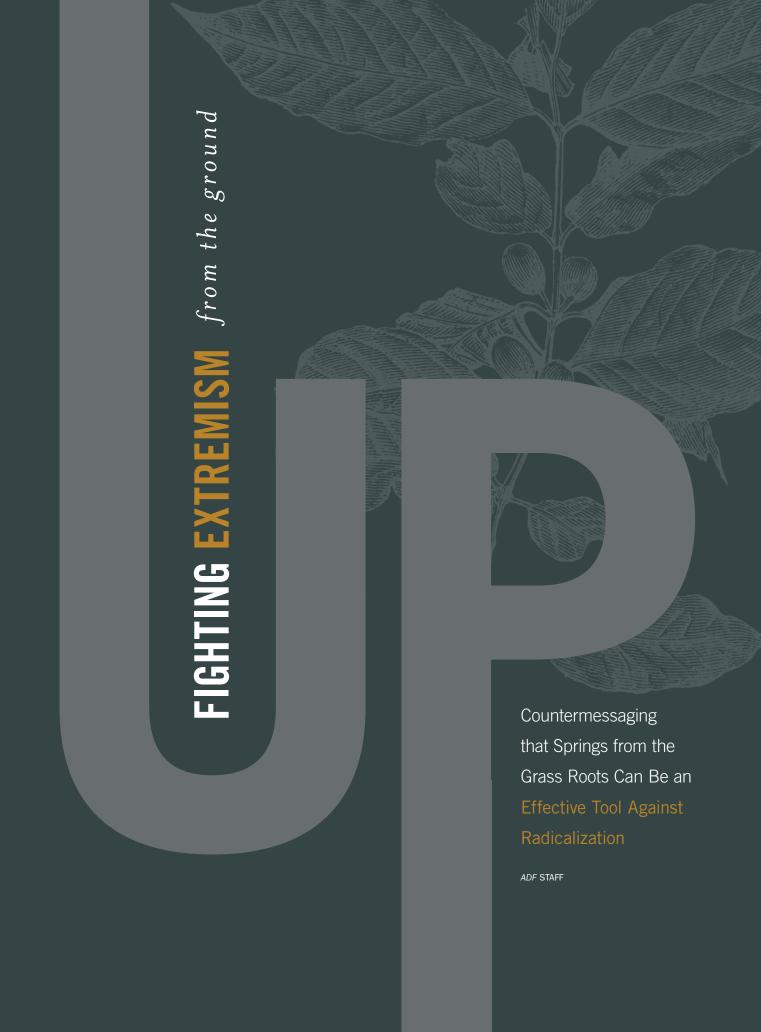
Balt points to agriculture development, infrastructure investments and tailored training as ways to help young Malians.

"There are no shortcuts for achieving this outcome," she wrote. "It requires a holistic, long-term and politically courageous approach from both the Malian government and the international community."









ar and civil strife have surrounded Ghana for years. Neighbor Côte d'Ivoire has fought two bloody civil wars since 2002. Liberia has fought two civil wars since 1989, and Sierra Leone was at war in the same period.

More recently, northern Nigeria has been plagued by the Boko Haram insurgency that has spilled into Cameroon, Chad and Niger. Mali and Burkina Faso also have experienced coups and upheaval.

All the while, Ghana has remained an island of stability. But in August 2015, fear rippled through the nation as news emerged that a young

Ghanaian man had left to join ISIS.
Ghanaian media outlets were abuzz with the news. On August 26, the newspaper *Daily Guide* reflected the concern:

"News about a 25-year-old graduate of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and

Technology (KNUST), Nazir Nortei Alema, purportedly joining the terrorist group recently spread like wild fire and it has attracted both national and international concerns. The National Security as a result, has reportedly commenced investigations into activities of the would-be terrorists and the Ghana Police Service is deeply involved."

The incident raises questions of just how pervasive ISIS recruitment efforts are in Ghana, and how peaceful societies can effectively counter the narratives of violent extremists.



Even as Ghana was reeling from the news of Alema's decision to join ISIS, a fledgling group was continuing its work to counter violent extremist messaging. The Accra-based West Africa Centre for Counter-Extremism (WACCE), founded in November 2014, seeks to respond to the growing influence among West Africans of groups such as ISIS, Boko Haram, and the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa.

"I have always been interested in security, and after coming close to the verge of radicalization as a teenager, I realized that this is a threat that could be affecting many other individuals," Mutaru Mumuni Muqthar,

founder and executive director of WACCE, told *ADF*.

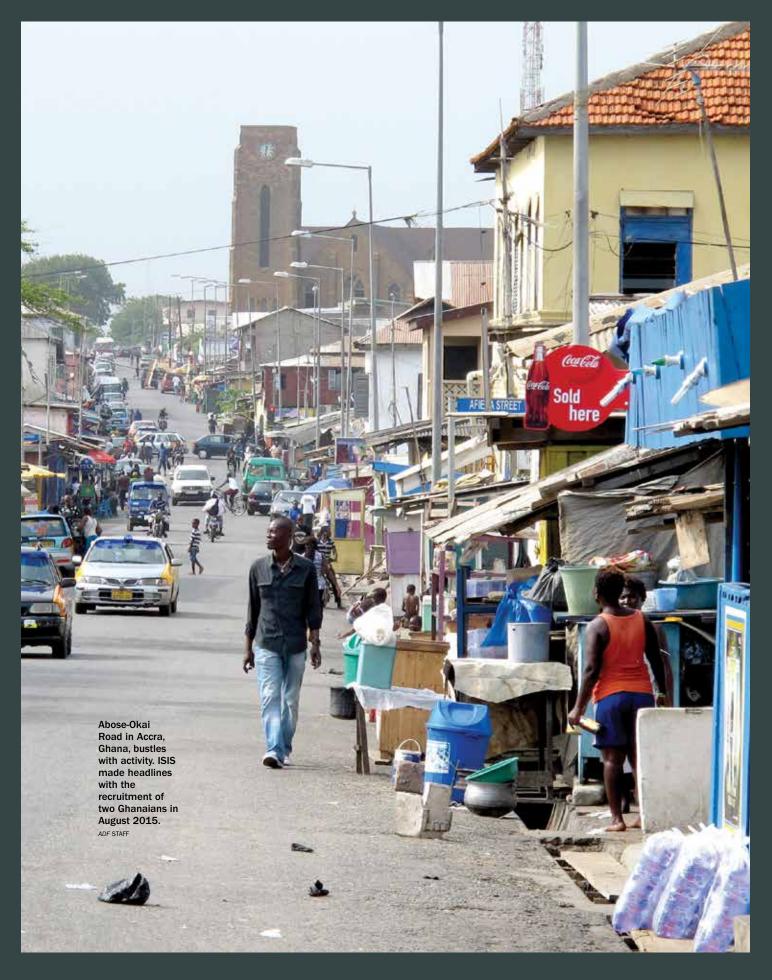
Since its inception, WACCE has marshaled the work and talents of up to seven people, mostly volunteers, to hold half a dozen community engagements. WACCE personnel have expertise in information communications technology, management, security and terrorism. Two program officers, an administrative assistant, and an

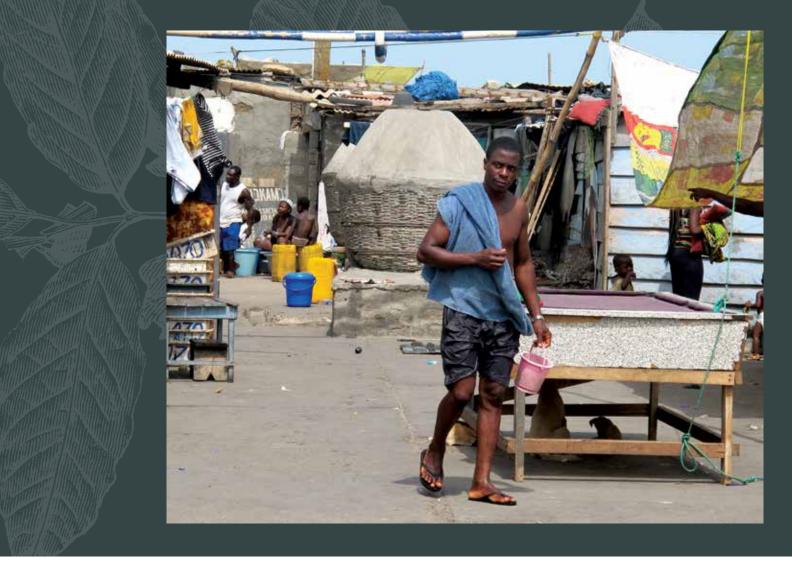
ad-hoc team of three people who help design projects, proposals and events work alongside Muqthar. There are plans to recruit five permanent employees over the next year, and WACCE hopes eventually to open three additional offices in neighboring West African countries over the next five years.

"As a new organization, it is not easy to organize an engagement because we have critical logistical constraints," Muqthar said. "At the moment, our activities are funded by ourselves, small contributions from friends and the volunteers who choose to work with us."



Mutaru Mumuni
Muqthar, executive
director of the West
Africa Centre for
Counter-Extremism
(WACCE), left, and
staff member Abdul
Hakeem Badawi at
the WACCE office in
Accra, Ghana





A young man walks through the Jamestown fishing village in Accra, Ghana.

Despite challenges common to many new grass-roots organizations, WACCE has reached an average of 12 people — men and women ages 20 to 50 — at each of its community engagements, often in its Accra office. Going forward, Muqthar hopes most of the engagements are in places of worship, youth clubs and community centers.

"We emphasize counternarratives," Muqthar said. "This is because we consider our audience as powerful agents in terms of altering radicalizing narratives and the deconstruction of messages that influence the individual's propensity to endure in violence and extremist ideals. They can challenge the terror-inducing narratives of radicalizers and put in its stead positive alternatives. Such countermessages are often more powerful and effective when they come from community leaders and members themselves rather than organizations or even the state."

BATTLING ISIS' TWISTED VERSION OF ISLAM

Ghanaian National Security Coordinator Yaw Donkor told state media in August 2015 that Alema and one other person who has not been identified likely traveled through Burkina Faso or Nigeria on their way to an ISIS training camp in Niger before continuing on to Turkey or Syria.

Donkor said that as a result of Alema's case, Ghanaian authorities are investigating possible links between the nation's universities and ISIS. But he also said there have been only a handful of cases in Ghana and that there is no reason to fear that widespread radicalization is going on.

Even so, ISIS and other extremist groups often draw in youths with rhetoric that exploits the commonly held notion that governments are corrupt and that radicalization is required of devout Muslims. Alema, who earned a degree in geography and rural development, was no exception. He is thought to have left for ISIS training grounds

on August 2, 2015, soon after he completed mandatory national service in Ghana, StarAfrica.com reported.

An unidentified friend of Alema's told Accra-based Joy FM in August 2015 that Alema tried to persuade him to join ISIS, too. "From our interaction, I realized that he had many things going wrong with his understanding of the Quran," the friend said, according to StarFMOnline.com. "He was always quoting the Quran out of context, and you could realize that he has been massively brainwashed by the group."

Once he left, Alema contacted his family in Ghana through the social media app called WhatsApp on August 16, 2015. It was then that he mentioned his negative views of the government.

"Pray for me, for I will never forget you in my prayer, and it's my hope and prayer that we meet again, if not in this world then in Jannah (paradise). I love you all. May Allah grant us understanding and guide us all to the straight path. Asalaamu alaikum," he wrote, according to StarFMOnline.com.

"I told you a lie to please my Allah. The deception was to go do some research work in faraway Prestea [a town in southwest Ghana] while the main idea was to move far away from you all to the Islamic State. I know it might sound kind of crazy for you, but your son really had to take this bold step to get out of the corrupt system of Ghana which has democracy first on its list."

CRAFTING NARRATIVES FROM THE BOTTOM UP

Experience shows that government voices do not always carry the most credibility when countering extremist narratives. Muqthar of WACCE said despite generally supportive comments from the communities with whom his group engages, some remain skeptical. "There have been many others who question us, asking who we work for or work with — the state or a religious group?" he said. "Others are dismissive of the existence of any vulnerability for radical extremism and reduce the discourse to anti-West sentiments — propaganda we are so familiar with."

Muqthar and some of his colleagues are Muslims, which gives them added credibility when countering extremist narratives in Ghana, where nearly a fifth of the nation's 27 million people are Muslim. WACCE audiences are predominantly, but not exclusively, Muslim. Outreach programs are aimed at helping people understand "the character of extremism and the underpinnings of radicalization," he said.

Although WACCE works well with various government and civil-society organizations, Muqthar said, countermessages often are more powerful and effective when they come from community leaders and civilians rather than organizations or the state. WACCE contacts imams in local mosques to reach out to the local community. "They have been very supportive and wonderfully helpful to our cause," he said. "We see them as key partners and agents for our cause, and we intend to engage them more and to make them a central part of our work."

THE POWER OF NARRATIVES

In June 2014, Hedayah, the International Center of Excellence for Countering Violent Extremism, and the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism — The Hague (ICCT) organized a round-table meeting on "Developing Effective Counter-Narrative Frameworks for Countering Violent Extremism."

Participants discussed a range of potential counternarratives, according to a report from the meeting:

- **Positive/alternative narratives:** These focus on creating "proactive, positive and alternative narratives."
- Strategic counternarratives: These can be used by governments and large organizations, but they may not be as effective in reaching people already supporting violent extremist organizations.
- Ethical counternarratives: These show the lack of morality in violent action and may be useful for messengers who have moral influence on the audience.
- Ideological and religious counternarratives: This approach will be most useful for messengers who have religious authority over the audience, such as imams, Islamic scholars and other religious figures.
- Tactical counternarratives: These teach that violence is less effective than more peaceful methods in the long run. Government and community organizations that use these counternarratives also should provide ideas for how audiences can achieve goals without violence.
- Humor and sarcasm: This approach may help delegitimize violent extremist narratives, but it may not reach the target audience, instead only reinforcing "the absurdity of terrorism to the general public," which already doesn't support extremist organizations.

Meeting participants recommended that the private sector work with policymakers and the community to create effective counternarratives.

"Participants generally agreed that credible voices at the grassroots level are needed to counter the everyday messaging of violent extremist organizations," a meeting report said. "Participants also emphasized that face-toface interactions are still very important, even in a society where Internet access is high."

Among its multiple layers of suggestions, the report from the Hedayah and ICCT meeting underscores the value of having positive narratives that originate at the community level.

"Attractive alternative narratives can contribute to the prevention of radicalization and recruitment if they are delivered to the target audience by trusted sources," the report states. "It was agreed that working on the community level was key; community leaders that are informed of potential radicalization and recruitment to violent extremism in their own communities are better partners in efforts to counter violent extremism in those communities."





he idealized version of deradicalization is that it happens in an instant. A dedicated jihadist sees the light and chooses to walk away. In this version, he becomes horrified by the violence all around him and decides to abandon the cause. Unfortunately, the reality is much more complex.

Just as people join extremist groups for many reasons, they leave for equally complex reasons. Economic incentives, theological persuasion, disillusionment or the death of a charismatic leader all can cause someone to turn his back on terror. And once he chooses to leave, the real work begins.

Although there is no blueprint for deradicalization, governments are examining what has worked historically in order to implement strategies to deal with radicals at home and battle-hardened fighters returning from abroad. North African countries in particular are grappling with the phenomenon of "radical returnees," young people who left to fight in Iraq and Syria and return, in many cases, to continue extremism at home. In Tunisia alone, an estimated 1,500 to 3,000 people have left the country to join ISIS. Most will return home at some point.

A starting point for understanding deradicalization is realizing that it doesn't necessarily mean that a total transformation occurs. Dr. Omar Ashour, an Egyptian-born expert in deradicalization who teaches at the University of Exeter in the United Kingdom, said the core element of deradicalization is that someone renounces violence as a means to accomplish his goals.

"It's a transition from armed to unarmed activism," he told *ADF*. "It means that using violence as a tool for social and political change is a foregone behavior. They shun it, and also they take the extra step of delegitimizing it."



Men learn to make crafts at a deradicalization center in Pakistan's Swat Valley. REUTERS

This does not mean the reformed radical completely changes his worldview. "It's not a change towards moderation or accepting everybody into the fold," Ashour said.

Some scholars draw a sharp distinction between the deradicalized individual who renounces hard-line beliefs and accepts democratic, pluralistic values and the merely "disengaged" individual who leaves a terror group and forswears violence.

Rashad Ali, a fellow at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue who works to reform radicalized youth in the United Kingdom, said it is dangerous to stop the process at disengagement. A program has to address the ideology as well. Otherwise, he said, "you're just containing it and incubating it. You need to have some level of engagement, even if it's minimal, on understanding the issues that drove them, the issues that pulled them [to extremism]."

SCOPE OF THE PROGRAMS

There are three general types of deradicalization programs, according to Ashour's research:

Comprehensive programs are the total package. They include changing the ideology of individual extremists, changing their behavior, and dismantling the structure of

a terror group. These are the most difficult and costly, but they have the highest long-term success rate.

Substantive programs work with individuals to change their ideology and behavior while not necessarily working with the group as a whole. This can sap the momentum and energy of a group, but it does not get to the root of the problem.

Pragmatic programs do not seek to change the ideology of an extremist but work to change only behavior. This involves pushing the extremist to make a calculated choice to improve his life by abandoning radical behavior to receive certain benefits.

STRATEGIES

In an ideal world, all deradicalization programs would be comprehensive. In reality, a pragmatic approach often is the only available option. Below are some strategies that have worked in various parts of the world. Experts say it is important to use as many strategies as possible because each one confronts the deradicalized person with a barrier to returning to old ways.

Theological intervention: Radicals often are indoctrinated with religious views that are simply not correct. In fact, many young people recruited into extremist groups have had little or no exposure to religion before joining. This makes them vulnerable to accepting warped teachings.

Deradicalization programs rely on moderate Islamic scholars and imams to sit face to face with these young people and explain that what they have been taught is false. This typically occurs in prison. Ali said theological intervention is effective when it shows a radicalized person that what he is espousing actually violates Islamic tradition. For instance, he said, an extremist book known as the *Management of Savagery*, which espouses the need to massacre unbelievers — including fellow Muslims — is used by ISIS to justify killings, and is easily refutable by an Islamic scholar.

"You show them that they're not following the transmitted religious teachings that they claim to be," Ali told *ADF*. "That's our process of engagement. It's kind of Socratic, questioning, demonstrating, dismantling the falsehood as opposed to trying to persuade them to think something else. When they go through that process, they eventually come to a decision that either the whole thing falls apart, or they've had enough of it or they need to move away."

Some governments, including Saudi Arabia, which purports to have a 90 percent or higher success rate, have institutionalized theological interventions. In 2013, the Saudi government opened a lavish 76,000-square-meter facility that hosts suspected extremists from 41 countries. The rehabilitation program is comprehensive and includes psychological treatment, religious instruction, and help with social reintegration and family reconciliation. This method may be effective, but it is also costly and can be challenging for governments with limited means and a large pool of extremists.

THE ALGERIAN EXPERIENCE

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nown as the "Black Decade," the 1990s in Algeria were devastating. After a decision by the military to intervene and cancel elections in 1992, insurgents unleashed near-daily attacks against civilian and governmental targets that were met by violent crack-downs from security forces. An estimated 200,000 people died in the civil war.

When President Abdelaziz Bouteflika took power in 1999, he pledged to restore peace and make reconciliation a cornerstone of his administration. Efforts by the Algerian government to deradicalize two groups, the Islamic Salvation Army (AIS) and the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), illustrate the promise and the difficulty of the process. Leaders of the AIS agreed to disarm, and nearly all foot soldiers followed their lead. Members entered deradicalization programs, and most eventually reintegrated into civilian life. By contrast, the GIA leaders refused government peace overtures. Although GIA leadership was quickly dismantled, the group splintered and metastasized. Former GIA fighters continue to fight today and were key to the rise of international terror groups including al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb. As such, the Algerian deradicalization effort makes an interesting case study, according to Dr. Omar Ashour, who studied the Algerian model and wrote the book The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements.

"Algeria offers the two models," Ashour said. "There's the model where the leadership either fails or is unwilling to deradicalize, and the other model where the leadership was willing to do so. Each of them went in very different directions."

Algeria's deradicalization program was comprehensive. It included efforts to counter extremist ideology, efforts to reintegrate former fighters, and efforts to dismantle leadership structures. Among the strategies used by Algeria in its deradicalization program were:

PROTECTION FOR THOSE WHO AGREE TO RENOUNCE VIOLENCE: Leaving a terror group is dangerous. In Algeria, for instance, one of the founders of the Islamic Salvation Front survived four assassination attempts after agreeing to negotiate with the government. Others faced car bombs or attacks against family members. Consequently, Algeria offered relocation and protection to those who left and, in some cases, even issued them licensed handguns for

self-protection. "The ones who came down, many of them were perceived as traitors by those who remained fighting in the mountains," Ashour said. "It was very clear. This threat has been created, and the ones who came down are now targeted."

RADIO BROADCASTS: To reach hard-liners in the mountains, the Algerian Ministry of Religious Affairs broadcast messages from ex-fighters and from religious scholars. Ashour said the messages from religious scholars had a particular impact because they undermined the ideological confidence of the fighters. "It was good in shaking their beliefs, because, before that, they were very determined that they were doing the right thing," Ashour said. "But now you have this authority who

generated by their unjust losses," wrote Justin Duvall, Lee Novy and Calvin Knox in a 2012 U.S. Naval Postgraduate School report. "This program was not oriented on any specific group. Any individuals who felt their loved ones were wrongly killed/disappeared by the state could apply for compensation. Arguably, these payments diminished many families' justification for the use of violence."

TRAINING IMAMS: Algerian officials discovered that a small number of mosques led by fanatical imams were the source of many radicals. By law, the country can summon any imam suspected of giving incorrect sermons and have him answer before a council of Islamic law scholars. If found guilty, the imam is subject to retraining. Furthermore, those found to be



Mourners hold an Algerian flag near the grave of former President Mohamed Boudiaf, who was assassinated in 1992 during a rally against Islamic fundamentalism. The 1990s became known as the "Black Decade" in Algeria. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

knows 100 times more about theology telling you that what you're doing has nothing to do with religion."

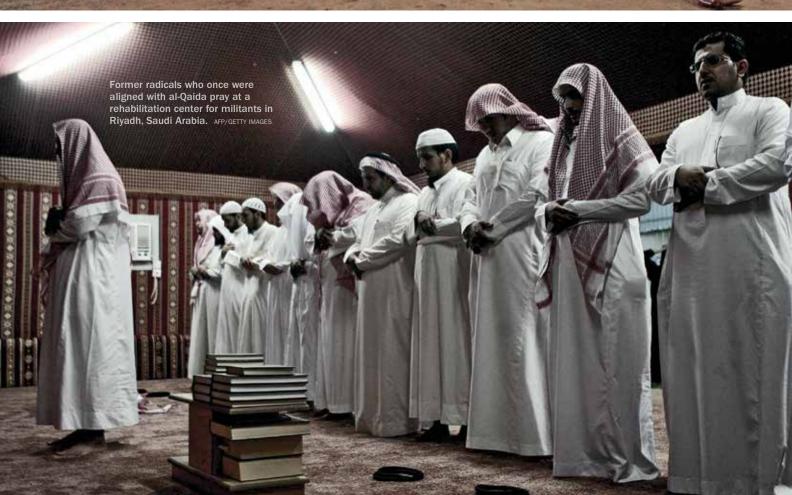
DEATH GRATUITY PAYMENTS: In the Algerian experience, one of the things that tended to perpetuate violence was the cycle of retribution. When a fighter was killed, it prompted family members to take up arms to avenge the death. To intercede in this cycle, the Ministry of National Solidarity spent about \$50 million between 2005 and 2007 to pay the families of those killed by government forces. "These payments were an effort to reconcile with the people most likely to embrace violence as a result of the anger

preaching without government permission face fines and prison sentences.

None of these deradicalization methods was a "silver bullet," and deep ideological differences and occasional terrorist activity still exist in Algeria. But, Ashour said, the government has mostly succeeded in persuading people who have religious or political grievances to voice them peacefully.

"I think the main lesson from the Algerian model is to know how to transform the conflict from an armed ugly one in the mountains into more or less a structured one in the media and the courts as opposed to a war with bullets."





To maximize their impact, other governments are taking a macro approach. Countries are closing down radical mosques and playing a more active role in training moderate imams. For example, in early 2015 Morocco opened a \$20 million center to train religious scholars and imams from around the world.

Some have also sought to amplify positive voices and crack down on those who preach hate. After two terror attacks in 2015, Tunisia shut down 80 radical mosques. To delegitimize violence, several countries have sponsored efforts to televise pronouncements by clerics stating that violent acts are against the teachings of Islam.

Idayat Hassan, director for the Centre for Democracy and Development in Nigeria, pointed out that among the first people attacked by Boko Haram in northern Nigeria were clerics and others who disputed the group's theological teachings. An effective role of a government program could be to help spread the message of those who expose the falsehoods in radical theology.

"There are lots of clerics that have preached against these sects, but who knows about it? There are cassettes, there is video, there are books all over Nigeria actually disputing most of the teachings of this sect [Boko Haram]," she said. "How to scale it up is the challenge."

Psychological intervention: Although religious war is the prism through which extremists channel their rage, religion does not define it. Syrian journalist Hassan Hassan, who interviewed numerous members of ISIS, said he found that there were six reasons people became radicalized, and only two had anything to do with religion. The most common reasons people join fall into two general categories: First, they want to feel significant, and, second, they want to follow a leader with a clear ideology and who offers them a sense of purpose.

Conversely, a common reason that radicals choose to leave a terror group is disillusionment, according to Dr. John Horgan, who has interviewed more than 150 former terrorists. This feeling stems from a disparity between the imagined life of a jihadist and the brutal, deprayed life found inside a terror group.

"Some of the former terrorists I've interviewed told me they were deeply disillusioned with their groups long before they took steps to leave," Horgan wrote. "Their reluctance to walk away was, in large part, because they saw no way out. In many countries, de-radicalization is a true second chance at life — the only real alternative to a lifetime in prison or a life on the run."

This generally means that those who leave or are captured are primed to put their previous life behind them. Psychological counseling can help this process. This one-on-one therapy includes examining the motivations that led to violence, exploring empathy for victims and teaching the person new ways to channel a desire to effect change in the world.

Inducements: Deradicalization programs cannot appeal only to a person's philosophical and religious

beliefs. They also must appeal to cool calculation and self-interest. A wide variety of inducements or incentive programs have proven to be effective at getting radicals to abandon violence. These include offers of amnesty, prisoner release, payments, family protection and job assistance.

Although some may find it distasteful to reward people for violent behavior, experts say it is vitally important. "I don't know of any successful [deradicalization] case that omitted inducements," Ashour said. "All the successful cases from Indonesia to Morocco employed inducements. It ranged from better prison conditions at a minimum all the way to a power-sharing formula at the maximum." Ashour added that inducements are best used selectively and as part of a comprehensive deradicalization package.

One inducement that is often overlooked, but is highly effective, is protection for families. In Algeria in the early 2000s, some members stayed inside extremist groups out of fear that their cohorts would take vengeance on their families if they left. Similarly, Boko Haram has blackmailed young people into joining the group by threatening family members. If governments can offer protection or relocation services to families of defectors, those defectors are less likely to return to the group or "reradicalize."

Leadership: When the power structure of an extremist group is dismantled and charismatic leaders are co-opted or removed from the battlefield, it becomes far easier to deradicalize foot soldiers. This has been proven time and again. In 1997 in Algeria, Army Gen. Isma'il Lamari risked his life and his professional credibility when he traveled to the mountain stronghold of the Islamic Salvation Army (AIS) to hold direct peace negotiations with its leader. The gambit worked, and he was able to get AIS leadership to renounce violence, which proved to be the first step in getting the entire organization to lay down arms. In the 1990s in Egypt, the imprisoned leaders of two groups, al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya and Egyptian Islamic Jihad, underwent theological interventions with respected scholars and imams, and they decided to renounce violence. This message was relayed to fighters across the country who followed suit.

In each case, the lesson is that leadership matters in deradicalization, and persuading leaders to lay down arms is a game-changer. A study by the Rand Corp. of 268 terrorist groups that were active between 1968 and 2006 found that only 7 percent of them were ever defeated militarily. A much higher number, 43 percent, chose to lay down arms and pursue their causes through the political system or through direct negotiations with the government.

"You deal with the commanders, the selected few, and the commanders themselves sell the idea to the mid ranks and the grass roots," Ashour said. "If they are charismatic enough and the grass roots believe in them enough, it usually becomes quite successful."





AFRICA AFRICA

Coalesces Against Extremism

The Region Commits to a Center of Excellence to Help Counter the Terrorist Threat

ADF STAFF

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ast Africa often is touted for its economic growth and infrastructure development. Ethiopia had the fastest-growing economy in the world in 2015, according to the World Bank. A new railroad has been built between Djibouti and Addis Ababa. To the south, Kenya has

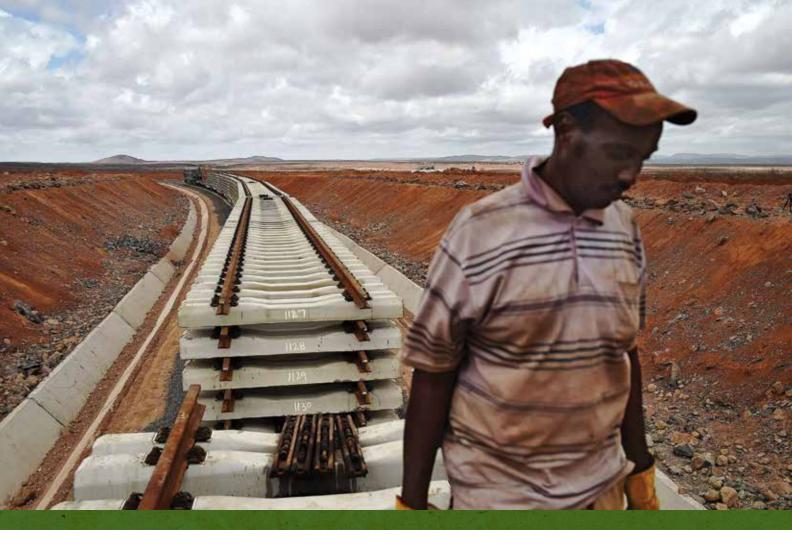
welcomed a steady flow of tourists eager to go on safari and visit its beaches.

However, two major al-Shabaab terrorist attacks since 2013 have dealt a major blow to Kenya's robust tourism industry. The number of visitors dropped 25 percent in the first five months of 2015, according to a Reuters report. Visitor

numbers had fallen 4.3 percent a year earlier. The two-year slump has caused hotels to close, people to lose jobs and the nation's currency, the shilling, to slide in value.

A Somali Soldier guards a military intelligence base in Mogadishu, which al-Shabaab militants struck in a June 2015 suicide attack.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Somali-based al-Shabaab militants also have launched attacks in Uganda, and the threat appears to be spreading: In October 2015, South Sudanese officials announced the arrest of 76 suspected members of al-Shabaab, the first arrest of its kind in the young and troubled nation. "South Sudan

Recent East African economic growth includes a new railroad that links Djibouti with Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The railway may eventually extend to West Africa.

is home to many armed groups that are involved in a lot of criminal activity, brutality and violence, but the possible presence of al-Shabaab active cells in the country could pose a

new threat to the already vulnerable security state in the country," according to Strategic Intelligence News. "The current delicate security climate is [a] favorable element likely to be exploited by the militants to build cells."

Reuters reported that Henry Rotich, Kenya's finance minister, explained in his 2015-16 budget speech that tackling insecurity is the "top priority of the government's strategy to sustain the growth momentum of the economy while creating jobs and reducing poverty."

Now, that commitment to countering violent extremism (CVE) is showing signs of moving beyond the borders of individual countries toward more structured regional cooperation. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) is working with other partners to get the greater Horn of Africa to cooperate more formally in addressing the problem.

CVE COOPERATION TAKES SHAPE IN EAST AFRICA

The White House Summit on Countering Violent Extremism in February 2015 and a subsequent regional conference on CVE in Nairobi, Kenya, in June 2015 laid the groundwork for conversations that continued throughout the year.

IGAD officials convened meetings in Nairobi and Djibouti in August 2015 that brought together diplomatic, government and nongovernmental organizations to talk about ways to institutionalize CVE efforts in the region. The IGAD Security Sector Program (ISSP) is working with the Global Center on Cooperative Security to address CVE in the member states of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda.

"Over the last decade, a consensus has grown among governments, experts, and civil society actors that efforts to counter terrorism without acknowledging and addressing the drivers of violent extremism are likely to be counterproductive, and could increase political marginalization of communities and make vulnerable segments of those communities (such as un- or under-employed youth) susceptible to the allure of violent ideologies," says a Global Center project description.

The idea is to focus on comprehensive strategies that put more emphasis on addressing extremism on the front end. The region has been dealing with CVE for quite some time, but since the White House summit, "there is sort of a reinvigorated effort across the region to get more focused on the preventative side of the coin," said Eelco Kessels, London office director and senior analyst for the Global Center. Historically, he said, the fight against violent extremism has been rooted in police and military responses.

"There is a growing understanding that this is a problem that you cannot fight your way out of," Kessels told *ADF*. "We need to be ahead of the issue and focusing more and more on prevention, which by its very nature includes an involvement of a far broader spectrum of actors beyond the traditional security actors."

EUROPE PROVIDES A MODEL FOR AFRICA

Terrorism and extremist activity are in no way unique to Africa. European Union (EU) nations dealt with 1,010 "failed, foiled or completed attacks" that resulted in 38 deaths between 2009 and 2013 alone, according to the EU. In 2005, the EU adopted its Counter-Terrorism Strategy, which is built on four pillars: prevent, protect, pursue and respond (see information box).

Stemming from the "prevent" pillar is the Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN), which the European Commission set up in 2011. The EU recognized that extremists now often work in small cells or as "lone wolves" and not just as part of organized, hierarchical organizations such as al-Qaida. Extremists also are globally connected.

"Consequently, terrorist or violent extremist actions are becoming harder to detect and predict by the authorities, making traditional law enforcement techniques alone insufficient to deal with these evolving trends, particularly in relation to tackling the root causes of the problem," according to a 2015 RAN report. "There is a need for a broader approach, aimed at earlier intervention and prevention and engaging a wide spectrum of actors throughout society."

The RAN is a network of practitioners and local groups that work to prevent and counter radicalization. They participate in working groups to exchange experiences, knowledge and practices in different areas of counterradicalization. "Participants include NGOs, representatives of different communities, think tanks, academia, law enforcement agencies, government representatives and consultancies," according to the RAN.

The RAN brings together practitioners from across Europe to discuss CVE from "an on-the-ground perspective," Kessels

STRATEGIC COMMITMENT Europe has enacted a four-pronged counterterror strategy to stop attacks while respecting human rights. PREVENT To prevent people from causes that can lead to in Europe and internationally PROTECT our vulnerability to attack, including through improved security of borders, transport PURSUE To pursue and investigate terrorists across our borders and globally; to impede planning, travel, and communications; to disrupt funding and access to attack materials; and bring terrorists to justice RESPOND the spirit of solidarity, to manage and minimize capabilities to deal with: the of victims SOURCE: EUROPEAN UNION



said. It is an informal, changing group that keeps an eye on new developments and shares good practices and approaches in a structure that feeds into the EU at the policy level. The RAN now is becoming more institutionalized and may look at European experiences and how they may apply elsewhere.

"There is a need for a broader approach, aimed at earlier intervention and prevention and engaging a wide spectrum of actors throughout society."

- Radicalisation Awareness Network

Although the RAN is built upon a formal cross-border structure that does not exist in East Africa, it can serve as "an interesting model" for the region in that the issues with which it deals, its principles and best practices are the types of things officials would want to address in the greater Horn of Africa, Kessels said.

AN EAST AFRICAN CENTER OF EXCELLENCE

One of the top priorities to come out of regional meetings in Nairobi and Djibouti was the desire to establish a CVE Center of Excellence and Counter Messaging Hub for the IGAD region. Dr. Simon K. Nyambura, a Kenyan who serves as the head of counterterrorism for ISSP, told *ADF* the center's goal would be to coordinate the activities of state and nonstate actors in the IGAD region and in greater East Africa.

Up until now, the region has approached CVE in an ad hoc, piecemeal way. That has to change, Nyambura said. "What is lacking is a mechanism that is able to mobilize people, and mobilize the people in the region in a more organized way."

The center would be a "dedicated venue for expertise and experience in training, dialogue, and research related to CVE under IGAD's auspices in Djibouti," according to an outcomes document from the August 2015 meeting in Djibouti. "The governments of Djibouti, Kenya, Ethiopia, Somalia, Tanzania, and Uganda, as well as the African Union are full partners for this center."

The center will generate and share best practices, and engage stakeholders such as local and national governments, key government partners from outside the region, multilateral bodies, women, youth, the





FROM LEFT: Participants attend a seminar at Hedayah, an international center of excellence in the United Arab Emirates, on how communications can support efforts to counter violent extremism.

ALBANY ASSOCIATES

Passengers disembark from an Ethiopian Airlines plane at Bole International Airport in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in August 2015. The airline is expanding its fleet and route network after exceeding its 2014-15 profit target. REUTERS

private sector, and religious and other civil society leaders, the document said.

The center would address topics such as how to:

- Empower youth, women, religious leaders and civil society more broadly to counter violent extremism.
- Counter the violent extremist message via social media.
- Generate positive alternatives for young people who are vulnerable to extremist recruiters.
- Improve the way police and military forces engage with local communities.
- Amplify influential religious voices and critical thinking skills.
- Prevent radicalization in prisons.
- Rehabilitate and reintegrate disengaged fighters, including foreign terrorist fighters.

The center also would focus on training and learning to help stakeholders design programs to counter violent extremism; build connectivity by providing a platform for discussion and collaboration; enhance countermessaging by helping local partners develop and disseminate alternative narratives or amplify existing ones; and foster research and innovation to gain a better understanding of local drivers of violent extremism.

Nyambura said the center will be headquartered in Djibouti. Organizers were working on logistics, staffing and funding in late 2015. The plan is to have it up and running before the middle of 2016.

The RAN also is in the process of being transformed into the "RAN Centre of Excellence," which will be an "institutionalization of an already-existing network," Kessels said. With its center, the RAN moves from a secretariat that supports a stakeholder network and runs meetings to a new phase in which there will be more emphasis on sharing best practices, training and counseling, including in priority third-party countries.

The center in Djibouti will likely resemble Hedayah, the first international center of excellence for CVE, which was started in 2012 in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, inspired by the Global Counterterrorism Forum. Hedayah is "devoted to training, dialogue, collaboration, and research to counter violent extremism in all of its forms and manifestations" by bringing together experts from all over the world, according to its website.

The Djibouti center will focus on East Africa and, according to a 2015 White House news release, "provide dedicated support, training, and research related to CVE, and serve as a resource for governments and civil society from across the region." □



POLICE ASK

CITIZENS

to Help with INFORMATION GATHERING

Everyone agrees on the principles of community policing; implementing it is the hard part.

ADF STAFF · PHOTOS BY AMISOM

Even before Tanzanians had heard of community policing, they were already practicing it.

In the 1980s, Tanzania's Sukuma and Nyamwezi ethnic groups formed *sungusungu* village defense groups to protect their property, particularly their cattle. The Tanzanian government officially recognized the groups in 1989 as a form of community law enforcement.

The groups have not been without problems. Zealots have led some in the groups to vigilantism, and there have been beatings and violence as a form of reprisal in cattle thefts. Now Tanzanian officials are trying to harness the defense groups and make them a part of the "official" police — in other words, community policing.

Community policing, also known as community-based policing, is a philosophy and a way of organizing police work so that officers, local businesses and the communities they serve work together as a team, whether it is solving a crime, providing security, or reporting and investigating suspicious activity.

Since the increased aggression of religious extremists, community

policing has taken on new importance, as police and other security officials try to identify militants and would-be militants within their neighborhoods. Information gathering has become a key component of modern community policing.

In many parts of the continent, as well as parts of the rest of the world, community policing is more of a goal than a reality. It has its critics. And when it is successful, its successes are often only temporary. But its supporters say that in this age of violent religious extremists, it is more important than ever to get communities to look for and report suspicious activity.

Few nations can claim as much of a commitment to understanding and implementing community policing as Tanzania. The country's residents, particularly its women, have a propensity for working together in groups, such as savings clubs and study clubs. Community policing fits in as a similar group activity.

Charlotte Cross of the University of Sussex in the United Kingdom wrote a research paper on Tanzania's attempts at community policing.

"IT IS ONLY WHEN PEOPLE GIVE INFORMATION TO THE POLICE THAT THEY CAN BE EFFECTIVE; OTHERWISE, THE POLICE ALONE CANNOT DO THE WORK."

RANDOLPH SUMIAH, AMISOM POLICE

"Community policing (polisi jamii) was officially introduced in Tanzania in 2006 as part of an ongoing police reform program," Cross wrote in 2013. "In addition to attempting to improve communication between police and the public, the police have promoted *ulinzi shirikishi* (participatory security),

whereby citizens are encouraged to form neighborhood policing institutions to prevent and detect crime."

Tanzanian officials had long recognized that the public lacked confidence in the police, so police officers set out to improve their image by improving communications with the public. One of the community policing initiatives is called Nyumba *Kumi*, which means "10 Households" in Swahili. The plan organizes 10 households in each

neighborhood to act as a community watch team. Suspicious or odd activity is then reported to the police. So far, it has been one of the successes of community policing in Tanzania.

INFORMATION GATHERING

In neighboring Kenya, officials have taken notice of *Nyumba Kumi*. They adopted it after the arrest in late 2014 of 76 Chinese nationals charged with committing cyber crimes in a Nairobi neighborhood.

Kenyan officials discovered the suspicious activity by accident, Voice of America (VOA) reported. One of the houses being used for the cyber crimes caught fire, and in the ensuing rescue, Kenyan investigators figured out what was going on.

"The incident created uproar as to how the government could have missed such a potentially huge criminal threat in the heart of Nairobi," VOA

> reported. "It is one in a long string of incidents where the government has been accused of intelligence failures."

Kenyan officials said that community policing can unite neighbors in the common goal of reducing crime and warning of extremist attacks. Residents know their own neighborhoods better than police officers can know them.

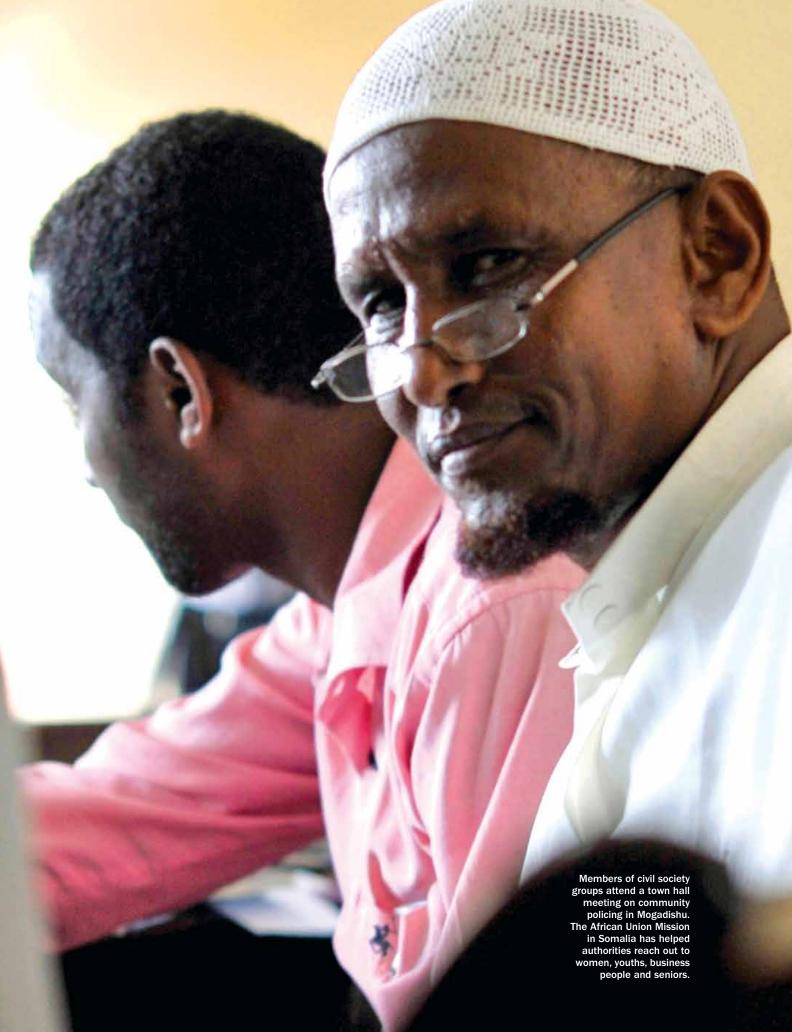
The Kenyan government announced in October 2015 that it would buy 1,000 additional vehicles for the national police service. Along with the vehicles, 10,000 additional officers were in training

and were expected to join the national force by the end of the year. A spokesman for the national police told a reporter for the Kenya Broadcasting Corp. that Kenyan citizens will be called on to work with the expanded police force to improve community policing.

Veteran Kenyan administrator Mohamud Saleh has brought community policing to the town of Garissa, which sits 200 kilometers from the Somali border and, in April 2015, was the site of a terror attack that left 147 people dead. Saleh is launching a program that calls on traditional clan leaders to play an active role in providing security in the town. He is



Col. Yousef Mohamed Farah of the Somali Police Force speaks at a town hall meeting on community policing in Mogadishu.





A resident holds a poster encouraging civilian involvement during a community policing meeting in Mogadishu. Somali police have recruited neighborhood volunteers to report suspicious behavior.

working hard to build trust with the city's elders so they will blow the whistle on terror activity before an attack occurs.

"The clan networks and the elder system ... are highly respected," Saleh told National Public Radio in the U.S. "If they say we don't want this to happen, it can't happen."

Neighboring Somalia, particularly Mogadishu, is proving to be equally

receptive to the idea of community policing. The country had been in a state of turmoil and civil war, dating back to 1991. In recent years, Mogadishu was controlled by the extremist group al-Shabaab. Since ousting the extremists, the country has had the beginnings of stable government for the first time in years.

Throughout Somalia, authorities are introducing community policing with help from the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). In an effort to include everyone, authorities have been reaching out to women, youth groups, members of the

business community and seniors. The initiative first was introduced in the cities of Baidoa, Beletweyne and Kismayo. It has since been rolled out in Mogadishu.

Somali police and their AMISOM partners have been recruiting volunteers in neighborhoods throughout the country to serve as liaisons between the officers and the communities and to report any suspicious behavior.

AMISOM clearly wants community policing to succeed and has carefully documented community meetings throughout the country.

"It is only when people give information to the police that they can be effective; otherwise, the police alone cannot do the work," said Randolph Sumiah of AMISOM Police. "We continue to sensitize them that the police officers are not magicians. They cannot know where and when crimes are being committed unless the community members tell them before they can take action."

KEEPING THE PEACE IN UGANDA

There is no one-size-fits-all brand of community policing. In some countries and regions, community policing means making the police more aware of the cultures and ethnic makeups of the neighborhoods and regions they serve. In northeastern Uganda, cattle rustling is a problem. For decades, the Karamoja region has had cattle raids, retaliatory sex crimes, gunfire and bloodshed. Ugandan herders have had rivalries with herders across the border in Kenya.

In 2012, the government successfully set up a disarmament program, bringing relative peace to the region. That peace has been delicate, because of the region's reliance on cattle and the few job prospects for young adults.

The United Nations Development Program is training police officers in rural Uganda to intervene in such disputes and negotiate truces. As of mid-2015, 100 police officers had been trained in Karamoja alone. In all, the program had trained 300 officers in the northern part of the country.

"Without community policing, it is impossible

to provide security to millions of community members with a small police force in the region," one officer told United Nations officials.

As of mid-2015, six community-based security groups had been formed in the region to continue the training when U.N. funding ends.

Here are some other ways African countries are experimenting with community policing:

NAMIBIA — City police in the capital of Windhoek have partnered with the Namibian Police Force to form Community-Oriented Policing and Problem-Solving, or COPPS. Under the program, the police are trained to be proactive, roaming the communities they serve. The approach asks police to stay physically present in the neighborhoods they serve.

Windhoek is divided into 19 zones. Now, each zone has a 24-hour "mobile station" for patrolling, visibility, and prompt response to complaints and emergencies.

COPPS also includes neighborhood watches for monitoring and information gathering.

BOTSWANA — In late 2013, the Botswana Police Service began a house-to-house campaign to increase crime prevention, improve road safety, and resuscitate dormant "cluster committees" that promote collaboration between the police and the communities they serve.

The country had 674 cluster committees at the time of the 2013 campaign. The committee system was established in 2008 to get neighborhoods, school

officials, police and political leaders more involved in the safety of their communities.

ETHIOPIA — The Addis Ababa Police Commission is using community policing to mobilize the public, the Ethiopian News Agency reported. Officials said the new policing had cut serious crime by 35 percent from 2013 to 2014.

Specifically, Commander Solomon Fantahun said community policing has produced better results in fighting crimes, including murder, weapons smuggling and drugs smuggling. The program began in 2012. The goal is for the police to know the communities they serve and work with

the residents to identify basic problems. All 10 of Addis Ababa's sub-cities now participate.

NIGER — Niger's community policing is loosely based on Western models. The National Police are responsible for the maintenance of law and order, public safety, public health, immigration, protection and intelligence.

Nigerien police work with the population, traditional chiefs, religious leaders, opinion setters, union representatives and locally elected officials. The 2013 book, *Community Policing in Indigenous Communities*, edited by Mahesh Nalla and Graeme Newman, says that although community policing has existed in Niger for a long time, it is becoming increasingly structured. Mayors are now including community policing in their annual budgets, and the police meet regularly with religious leaders, who are a powerful force. The police also supervise volunteer patrols.

IN SOME COUNTRIES AND REGIONS, COMMUNITY POLICING MEANS MAKING THE POLICE MORE AWARE OF THE CULTURES AND ETHNIC MAKEUPS OF THE NEIGHBORHOODS AND REGIONS THEY SERVE.



SUDANESE WRESTLERS TRAIN FOR THE OLYMPICS

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Spectators watch a Nubian wrestling tournament in Khartoum, Sudan. n a crumbling Khartoum sports hall, a dozen Nuba men in sweat-faded singlets practiced wrestling moves under the critical gaze of their Japanese coach, 23-year-old Kosuke Sunagawa.

Wrestling has been a part of the religiously and ethnically diverse area around the Nuba Mountains for millennia, and many of

Nuba Mountains for millennia, and many of the sinewy young athletes entered the ring as soon as they were old enough to walk.

But coach Suna, as he is known, a Japanese youth wrestling champion, was tasked by his country's Khartoum embassy with delivering a first in Nuba history — building a medal-winning Olympic team in time for Tokyo 2020.

The wrestlers "really have excellent physical strength," the coach said.

Olympic wrestling is well-established in Japan, which has won a number of medals at recent games. But Tokyo's interest in Nuba wrestling started in 2013, when a diplomat from its embassy challenged some of the local champions.

Yasuhiro Murotatsu lost all six of his matches, but the bouts proved popular, attracting hundreds of spectators. Japan seized on the interest he created to try to build ties with Sudan. The embassy invested \$50,000 in the program, in a country with a government that has been wary of foreign influence.

Suna's task is no small order. Sudan has won just one Olympic medal since 1960, and although Suna's squad members have wrestled since they could walk, the Olympic rules are new to them. In Nuba wrestling, a competitor wins simply by throwing his opponent to the ground. The Olympic version awards points for different moves, and a player wins automatically by pinning his opponent to the mat.

"I am exerting every effort to unlock their potential as much as possible through creating tailor-made programs," Suna said at the session, the last of his monthlong visit to Khartoum. Six of the best wrestlers traveled to Japan for training later, but much needs to be done to nurture a full team.

The Nuba in Khartoum originally came from Sudan's war-torn South Kordofan region. Finding time for training has been difficult, because the wrestlers must work to

support themselves.

"There is a lack of adequate training; there is a lack of facilities," said Ahmed Hashim, secretary general of Sudan's Olympic committee.



Nigeria," the four-time African player of the year and twotime African **Nations Cup** winner told the Thomson Reuters Foundation.

"When you see the population in refugee camps growing from 6,000 to 50,000 people in less than a year, you realize how

Blower Football Club initiative in March 2015. The money raised is being used by the nongovernmental organization Oxfam and the United Nations refugee agency to help those displaced and provide food, water and medicine to people living in

voices and faces to all the Boko Haram victims," the former Real Madrid, Barcelona, Inter Milan and Chelsea striker said. "The media only talks about the conflict, not the

Boko Haram controlled swaths of territory in three states in northeastern Nigeria at the start of 2015 but was pushed out by Nigerian troops with the help of Cameroon, Chad and Niger. Now factions of the heavily splintered militant group have reverted to guerrilla tactics, raiding villages for supplies and bombing places of worship, markets and bus stations.

Hope for Tourism

CAMEROON

Rebounds in Troubled DRC

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Tourists perch on a volcano's edge as smoke swirls from the fiery cauldron of lava in the war-torn Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Molten rock spurts into the air as one of the world's largest lava lakes and most active volcanos puts on its mesmerizing show.

Eastern DRC has been mired for decades in rebel battles, but such sights are helping bring back tourists to Virunga National Park, which reopened in 2014 as violence receded.

Mount Nyiragongo, which is 3,470 meters tall, is part of a chain of volcanoes in one of the world's most active regions.

Hills that surround the 7,800-squarekilometer park are home to a quarter of the world's critically endangered mountain gorillas. Tourism - needed to keep the UNESCO world heritage site running and its animal inhabitants safe — collapsed in 2012.

Militia forces remain active, and Virunga's chief warden, Emmanuel de Merode, himself was wounded by gunmen by 2014. But the well-trained and armed guides say it is now safe, and visitors are coming back.

Tourism revenue benefits the 4 million people in and around the park, as well as "peace and prosperity" in general, Merode said. It gives people an alternative to cutting down forests for charcoal, and a motivation to protect the park.

In 2011, more than 3,000 visitors came to Virunga, but violence forced the park to shut the next year. It fully reopened in late 2014. Tourist numbers have bounced back, with almost 3,000 visiting as of August 2015. The Oscar-nominated 2014 documentary Virunga, which showed efforts to protect Africa's oldest national park from war, poachers and oil companies, also has brought back tourists.

As night falls and temperatures drop below freezing, the

warmth from the molten lava warms the hands of the tourists, who dangle their legs over the sheer drop into the crater.

"I saw how the Earth was born," one entry from an American couple read in the park's visitor's book. "How often can you climb a mountain and come back with an understand-

ing of how we are all here?"

A ferry on Lake Kivu approaches the active Nyiragongo Volcano in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. The volcano is one of many natural wonders attracting tourists to the DRC. AFP/GETTY IMAGES





South Africa Partners with France to Patrol Remote Waters

DEFENCEWER

South Africa and France announced an agreement for cooperative patrols in the southern Indian Ocean against illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing in each country's exclusive economic zone (EEZ).

The EEZ is the area extending 200 nautical miles from the coast. Within the EEZ, a coastal state has sovereign rights in accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea over living and nonliving resources of the sea and the seabed. South Africa's EEZ includes the water next to the African mainland and around the Prince Edward Islands, uninhabited islands 955 kilometers off the coast. The total surface of the EEZ is 1.5 million square kilometers.

Of the monitoring and surveillance fleet operated by South Africa's Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Directorate, only one is capable of patrolling the remote offshore parts of South Africa's EEZ. The other three patrol vessels were built to patrol only up to the 200-nautical-mile limit.

However, French naval vessels, based in Port-des-Galets, Reunion Island, regularly patrol the French EEZ in the southern Indian Ocean, north of the Antarctic in the French Southern and Antarctic Lands. These vessels also frequently visit Cape Town during these patrols for resupply, rest and routine maintenance. With South Africa and France having neighboring EEZs in the Southern Ocean, the two countries share a common interest in protecting the valuable fisheries resources within them.

The proposed agreement, which was finished but awaiting signatures during a high-level ministerial visit to Europe later in 2015, will be similar to the Australia-France Cooperative Enforcement Agreement signed in 2011. That agreement allows joint Australian and French

patrols to enforce each other's fishing laws in their respective EEZs and territorial seas in the Southern Ocean.

The cooperative enforcement allows for the exchange of personnel necessary to apply and enforce each country's laws. For French vessels to enforce South African fisheries laws in South African waters, a South African officer must be aboard and vice versa when South African vessels are in French waters. Measures include the boarding, inspection, hot pursuit, apprehension, seizure and investigation of fishing vessels believed to have breached fisheries laws.

"The sovereignty on our EEZ cannot be enforced by each nation in isolation, and only the sharing of the devoted maritime [resources] is the solution to be more present in these outside territories and fight against illegal activities," a French naval official told defenceWeb.



U.S. EXTENDS AFRICAN TRADE ACT BY 10 YEARS



Men soften dyed cloth in Bouaké, Côte d'Ivoire. The extension of the African Growth and Opportunity Act will give 38 countries duty-free access to U.S. markets for goods such as textiles. REUTERS

THE EAST AFRICAN

In a long-awaited vote, the U.S. Congress moved to extend the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) by 10 years.

"AGOA has been called 'the cornerstone' of the U.S.-Africa economic relationship, and on this stone we will build an even more lasting and stronger commitment," reads a statement issued by U.S. Congresswoman Karen Bass, who is the ranking member of the Africa subcommittee.

The House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate voted "overwhelmingly to reauthorize AGOA [in June 2015], sending the legislation to the President and guaranteeing a seamless and long-term extension of this vitally important law," Bass said.

The renewal and extension of AGOA is expected to give African countries ample time to build competitive capacity in the global market. It accords preferential market status to 38 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, giving them duty-free access to U.S. markets for certain goods such as textiles.

The initiative was signed into law in 2000 to allow African countries to export a wide range of products to the United States. The agreement allows African countries to export more than 6,000 products to the U.S. duty free.

Tanzanian Net Snares 'Queen of Ivory'

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS/ADF STAFF

n what is being lauded as a major crackdown on the illegal ivory trade, Tanzanian officials have arrested and charged a Chinese woman, dubbed the "Queen of Ivory," with smuggling ivory worth \$2.7 million.

Yang Feng Glan, 66, is among the most prolific traffickers ever brought to justice in the war against elephant poaching. She is believed to be behind a network that trafficked a massive quantity of ivory over the past several years, according to Elephant Action League, a conservation group.

"It's the news that we all have been waiting for, for years," said Andrea Crosta, co-founder of the Elephant Action League and WildLeaks. "Finally, a high-profile Chinese trafficker is in jail."

According to the Tanzanian government, the elephant population plummeted from an estimated 109,051 in 2009 to 43,330 in 2014. A task force from Tanzania's National and Transnational Serious Crimes Investigation Unit called Operation Spider Net followed Yang for a year as she moved back and forth between China, Uganda and Tanzania.

According to charging papers, the "Queen of Ivory" was alleged to be operating in Tanzania for 14 years as the main link between internal and international poachers, traders and buyers.

"She has been financing people who have been killing elephants in protected areas, and she buys elephant tusks and supplies them to other people engaged in the illegal trade," said Nassoro Katuga, Tanzania's state attorney.

Katuga said Yang was involved in the smuggling and trading of 706 elephant tusks from about 350 slain elephants.



Yang Feng Glan, left, is escorted by police from Kisutu Resident's Magistrate Court in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on October 7, 2015.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS



SOUTH AFRICA TO TRAIN DRC SOLDIERS

DEFENCEWEB

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has asked the South African military to help train Soldiers.

It is not a new task for South African Army instructors, who have been training Soldiers from the DRC's Army for at least four years as part of an agreement. Operation Thebe, as it is known, is separate from South Africa's involvement in and commitment to the United Nations Mission in the DRC — MONUSCO — and the mission's Force Intervention Brigade.

The issue of more training was raised in August 2015 when Congolese Army commander Gen. Etumba Didier called on South African National Defence Force chief Gen. Solly Shoke in Pretoria. One of the points on their agenda was the training of recruits to the DRC Army, known by the abbreviation FARDC, at Mura Base near Likasi, DRC. Earlier in 2015, Operation Thebe had trained and handed over more than 9,000 recruits and Soldiers for the DRC.

Soldiers from the Democratic Republic of the Congo parade in Goma to mark the country's Independence Day. $\ensuremath{\mathsf{REUTERS}}$

TUNISIA MARKS NEW ERA

with Locally Built Vessel DEFENCEWEB

■ he Tunisian Navy has commissioned its first locally built patrol boat, the product of a partnership between the government and a shipbuilding company. The boat, named Al Istiklal (Independence), was

launched by Defense Minister Farhat Horchani at a ceremony in the Gulf of Tunis on August 21, 2015. Horchani told guests that the boat was built entirely by Tunisian engineers. He added that the country was the first to develop a successful shipbuilding industry in the Arab world and among the first in Africa.

The government partnered with Société de Construction Industrielle et Navale, based in Sfax, to start the construction in March 2013. The boat was handed over to the Ministry of Defence in July 2015. Horchani said the partnership hopes to build and export more patrol boats to African and Middle Eastern countries.

Horchani said building the patrol boat cost about 40 percent less than buying the vessel on the international market. The 80-ton boat is 26.5 meters long and 5.8 meters wide. It is powered by two Rolls-Royce engines, each of which produces 3,200 horsepower, giving a top speed of 25 knots and



Tunisian President Beji Caid Essebsi, right, tours the locally built vessel, Al Istiklal. OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, TUNISIA

a range of 600 nautical miles. It is armed with a 20 mm cannon and two machine guns, and it can accommodate a 12-person crew. It also is fitted with a thermal-imaging camera.



BENIN Joins Fight Against BOKO HARAM

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

enin's president vowed to contribute 800 troops to a regional force to combat the Nigeria-based Islamic extremist group Boko Haram.

Thomas Boni Yayi made the announcement in August 2015 during a visit from Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari that coincided with Benin's independence celebration.

"This is an opportunity for Benin to express solidarity with countries on the front line against the Islamic sect, Boko Haram," Boni Yayi said. "This solidarity will result in the sending of a contingent of 800 men from Benin's Army."

At a meeting in Cameroon in February 2015, Nigeria and a group of neighboring countries that includes Cameroon, Chad and Niger agreed to deploy about 8,700 troops.

The 6-year-old uprising has killed 20,000 people and driven nearly 2.2 million from their homes. Multinational troops earlier this year forced the extremists out of towns they had held, but Nigerian politicians say Boko Haram began seizing territory again late in 2015.

The uprising has taken on a regional dimension with regular attacks in Cameroon, Chad and Niger. Boko Haram became an affiliate of the Islamic State group in April 2015. In a separate event in August 2015, Guinean President Alpha Condé pledged his country's assistance in the regional fight.

Above: A Beninese Soldier practices sighting his rifle during a weapons-handling class. sgt. Marco Mancha/u.s. Marine corps

STANDBY FORCE

Launches Training Exercise, Sets Operational Date

BBC NEWS AT BBC.CO.UK/NEWS

embers of the African Union's new 25,000strong multinational standby force gathered in South Africa in October 2015 to begin field training for the first time.

The exercises, known as Amani Africa II, aimed to make sure the force was ready by January 2016 to respond to crises across the continent. The force consists of five brigades from Africa's economic blocs.

The logistical base for the African Standby Force (ASF) will be in Douala, Cameroon, after a deal signed in October 2015. The training began at the South African Army Combat Training Centre in Lohatla with an opening ceremony. The next day, 5,000 officers from the military and police officers went into the field for the exercise, which replicated an event in which the ASF is called upon to intervene in a fictitious country. The operation continued until November 5, 2015, and was intended to help evaluate the force's readiness to respond to crises and monitor peacekeeping missions.



Soldiers sing and dance as they get ready for the official opening of Amani Africa II, the first military exercise of the African Union's African Standby Force, on October 19, 2015, in Lohatla, South Africa.

Leaders expected the ASF to be fully operational by early 2016. But BBC Monitoring's Africa security correspondent Tomi Oladipo said the African Union (AU) will have to ask donors for money because it has said that it needs \$1 billion to make the force operational.

There are also challenges relating to poor coordination and the lack of political will among member states, he said.

The AU has become much more willing to intervene in countries over the past 15 years, said Hallelujah Lulie, an Ethiopian-based researcher for the Institute for Security Studies. Once the force is set up, it will be able go into an AU member country uninvited in cases of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, he said.



Power Cuts Becoming 'Exception' in Sub-Saharan Africa REUTERS

ower cuts in 15 Sub-Saharan African countries could become an exception rather than the norm in 10 years, with private

capital expected to play an increasingly bigger role, PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC) said in an August 2015 survey. Africa's power generation

capacity is expected to quadruple from 90 gigawatts in 2012 to 380 gigawatts in 2040, boosted by private investment, green energy initiatives

and cross-border energy trade, the survey showed. Three-quarters of respondents said there was "a medium to high probability that the private sector will own and operate" more than half of powergenerating projects by 2025. The continent needs about \$450 billion over the next 25 years to electrify all urban areas, the report said.

"In Africa, the challenges of financing infrastructure

are compounded by limited institutional capacity, fragmented regulatory systems, and often underdeveloped banking and capital markets outside of the larger economies of South Africa and Nigeria," the survey said.

PwC surveyed 51 senior officials from governments, power utilities, regulators and independent power producers in some of the worst affected countries in Africa, where electricity constraints cause frequent power cuts and hamper economic growth.

"They felt that there are a lot of opportunities for Africa to leapfrog forward," said Angeli Hoekstra, PwC's Africa Power and Utility leader, presenting the findings of the first Africa Power and Utilities Sector Survey.

Hoekstra said governments were hoping to take advantage of cost reductions in green energy generation.

The survey found that 96 percent of the officials from Botswana, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe believed power cuts will be an "exception rather than the norm" by 2025.

Namibian Doctor Wins

MANDELA PRIZE PS

Dr. Helena Ndume of Namibia was one of two people honored with the first United Nations Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela Prize on July 24, 2015.

Ndume has performed 30,000 pro bono surgeries for sufferers of eye-related illnesses in Namibia, according to the nonprofit Surgical Eye Expeditions (SEE) International. The blind patients are fitted with intraocular lens implants free of charge.

In 2015, she collaborated with SEE on three programs in Namibia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The organization expected 700 patients to regain their eyesight in the programs.

Ndume left Namibia for exile at age 15. She lived in Zambia and The Gambia, where she completed secondary school, and Angola, before going to Germany to study medicine.

Growing up, she wanted to be a fashion designer, but she was encouraged to take another path. "The secretary of education in our refugee camp said, 'No way! We do not need fashion designers in an independent Namibia. To come make clothes for who? We need doctors, and I want you to be a doctor.'"

She is now the head of the Ophthalmology Department at Windhoek Central Hospital, Namibia's largest hospital, and is one of only six Namibian ophthalmologists.

The other 2015 winner was Jorge Fernando Branco Sampaio of Portugal. The award is presented every five years to mark the outstanding achievements and contributions of two people — one male and one female — from different geographic regions. The United Nations established the award in honor of Mandela, the first president under a multiethnic government in South Africa.



UNITED NATIONS

FISH FARMING CHANGES LIVES IN AFRICA

STORY AND PHOTO BY JEFFREY MOYO/IPS



illary Thompson throws leftover rice, mixed with some beer dregs from his sorghum brew, into a swimming pool he has converted into a fish pond.

"For over a decade, fish farming has become a hobby that has earned me a fortune," Thompson, of Harare, Zimbabwe, said in August 2015. In fact, he has been so successful that he acquired a number of properties that he rents out.

African fish farming is growing as the United Nations urges nations to ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns as part of its proposed new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which will replace the Millennium Development Goals that expired in 2015. The SDGs are 17 goals, targets and indicators that U.N. member states are expected to use as development benchmarks in framing their agendas and political policies over the next 15 years.

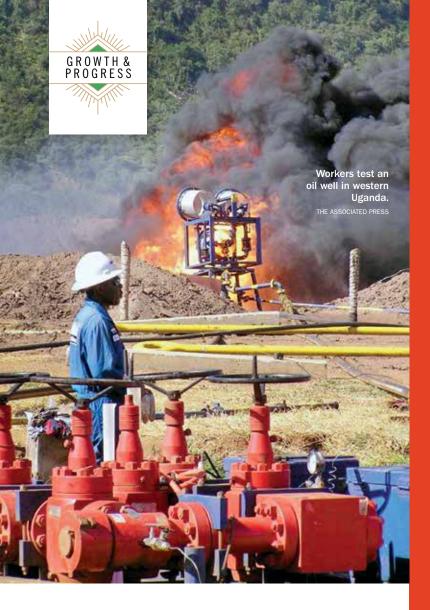
In Zimbabwe, an estimated 22,000 people are involved in fish farming, according to the Ministry of Agriculture. In Malawi, 30,000 people are active in fish farming. Fisheries provide the food that supplies about 70 percent of the protein intake of the country's estimated 14 million people.

"I was destitute when I came to Blantyre eight years ago, but now thanks to fish farming, I have become a proud owner of home rights in the city," Lewis Banda of Blantyre, Malawi, said.

Across Africa, fishing provides direct incomes for about 10 million people — half of whom are women — and contributes to the food supply of 200 million more. In Uganda, for example, lake fishing yields catches worth more than \$200 million a year. Fish farming employs about 135,000 fishermen and 700,000 more in processing and trading.

Citing a growing shortage of traditionally harvested fish, the South African government invested \$7.8 million in 2014 in aquaculture projects in the country's four coastal provinces. That year, 71,000 South Africans were involved in fish farming, according to the Department of Environmental Affairs.

Studies show that 9.2 million square kilometers — 31 percent of the land area — of Sub-Saharan Africa is suitable for smallholder fish farming. Twenty-four countries in the region are battling food crises, twice as many as in 1990. Fish farming could be the only means for many Africans to beat poverty and hunger. "Fish breeding has emancipated many of us from poverty," Banda said.



Kenya, Uganda Partner on

PIPELINE ROUTE

VOICE OF AMERICA

Kenya and Uganda have agreed on the route for a pipeline that will carry crude oil from Ugandan oilfields to the Kenyan coast.

The pipeline, when built, will run about 1,500 kilometers from Uganda's Hoima district through the Lokichar basin in northern Kenya and to the Kenyan coastal town of Lamu.

The East African neighbors also had considered building the pipeline through southern Kenya. Proponents of that route said the northern route is more vulnerable to

attacks by the Somali militant group al-Shabaab.

The decision was announced in August 2015, after talks between Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta in the Ugandan capital of Kampala.

British-based Tullow Oil has found oil in both countries. Uganda's reserves are estimated at 6.5 billion barrels, and Kenya is believed to have at least 600 million barrels. The project depends on financing and security guarantees from Kenya.



Djibouti Restarts National Airline

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

he Horn of Africa nation of Djibouti has relaunched its national airline.

Air Djibouti, which went bankrupt in 2002, recommenced flights in August 2015 with a cargo plane carrying 6 metric tons from Djibouti

to Somalia.

"This is the link in the chain that was missing from Djibouti," said Abubaker Omar Hadi, chairman of Djibouti Ports and Free Zones Authority, who said he hoped the airline will help ferry cargo onward from Djibouti's key seaport. "We need a national company to ensure our ambitions."

The airline is backed by British company Cardiff Aviation, whose chairman is Bruce Dickinson, a Boeing 757 and 737 pilot and instructor, and who also is the lead vocalist of the heavy metal rock band Iron Maiden.

He used to pilot the British band's plane during their world tours. Dickinson's company, based in Cardiff in Wales, signed a deal in May 2015 to provide airline support to the carrier, including management, maintenance and staff training.

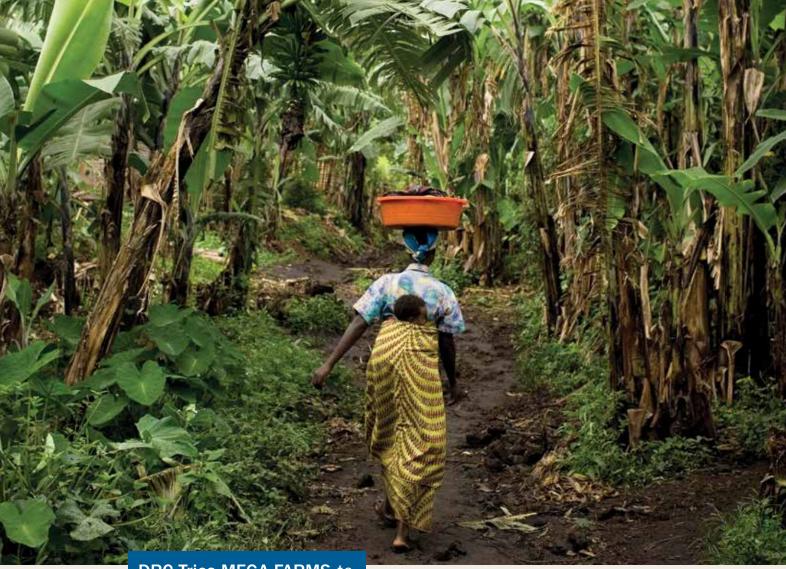
Dickinson said, "Djibouti is uniquely placed to provide a hub for investment from Europe, the Middle East and Asia into Africa." He said his company would "bring a wealth of industry expertise and capability to one of the most exciting aviation markets in the world."

Djibouti, which hosts several foreign military bases, aims to become a regional hub for air cargo transport, to forward sea cargo arriving in its port.

Cardiff Aviation said Air Djibouti had asked for support in developing its key markets, which it said were "based on the needs of landlocked neighboring countries, governmental aid programs around Africa, the support of military installations currently based in Djibouti, and the need to deliver passengers to major international business hubs."

The port is in a key position on one of the world's busiest shipping lanes, the gateway to the Suez Canal, and offers an African base across from the Arabian Peninsula at the crossroads for cargo traffic between Asia and Europe.

With only one aircraft, the company was due to take delivery of five aircraft before the end of 2015, including a Boeing 767, 737 and 757.



DRC Tries MEGA-FARMS to

feed the Population VOICE OF AMERICA

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is developing plans for mega-farms of 50,000 to 150,000 hectares per province — producing food for local consumption and export. The government says the aim is to promote food security.

A park at Boukanga Lonzo, in the western end of the country, has 5,000 hectares under cultivation. The site is on a plateau, and crops already stretch as far as the eye can see.

Isaac Saleh, an economist in the prime minister's office, said crops are being harvested on about 3,300 hectares of that land. Most of the production at the mega-farms will be mechanized, but 7,000 jobs will be created on the farm in the near future, according to the government.

On 1,000 hectares, the employees will work full time to cultivate and harvest vegetables irrigated by sprinklers rotating on 20 huge pivots. "Each pivot is the length of a football pitch [field]," Saleh said, "and it's big enough that vegetables under the pivot can be planted

and harvested every day."

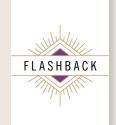
The DRC government says the food is intended for Kinshasa and should help cut down on the \$1.5 billion the DRC pays each year for food imports.

Under the plans, Boukanga Lonzo also will be a new town, with processing industries and many other jobs. The government says it already has spent \$100 million on infrastructure for the park and the town, mainly on a power grid, a water-pumping station and productive machinery.

John Ülimwengu, the prime minister's chief agricultural advisor, said the agro-industrial park model will be replicated in other provinces. The government is the majority shareholder at Boukanga Lonzo, and it is leasing land to investors for 25 years.

Beyond having up to 11 mega-farms, the government also plans to have smaller agricultural development centers of 200 hectares to 300 hectares across the country.

A woman walks through a banana plantation near the town of Rangira in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. REUTERS





This mural in Accra, Ghana, depicts a feast scene from the Kingdom of Ghana.

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KING TENKAMENIN

ADF STAFF =

Ruler of Ancient Ghana

King Tenkamenin ruled the Kingdom of Ghana with style. He insisted on good etiquette. His airy, windowed court was built with teak and stone and filled with paintings and sculptures. The king wore fine clothes and a tall gold cap, and he adorned himself with gold necklaces and bracelets. In his court, 10 pages carrying gold shields and swords stood behind him. Ten horses were nearby, each with a gold-trimmed cloth. Finely dressed sons of lesser kings stood at his right, each with gold-braided hair.

His subjects approached him on their knees, sprinkling dirt on their heads as a show of humility and respect. When he traveled, it was to the accompaniment of beating drums.

But appearances can be deceiving. Despite his lavish, expensive lifestyle, he was in many ways a fair and visionary ruler. And under his rule, his country prospered.

In Tenkamenin's time, the Kingdom of Ghana, in what are now parts of Mali and Mauritania, was one of the richest, most powerful regions on earth. It was said that there were no poor people in his kingdom, and few uneducated ones. The king encouraged his subjects to learn about the outside world.

He personally visited his subjects on horseback to hear their grievances and was adamant in hammering out solutions. When he conquered surrounding states, he let them continue with self-governance, as long as they paid taxes — and attention — to him.

Tenkamenin was born in 1037. As was the custom of his

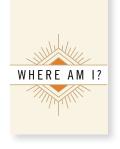
kingdom, he was heir to the throne by virtue of being the son of the king's sister. He was crowned at age 25.

Spanish historian Al-Bakri never visited the kingdom, or any part of Africa, but wrote detailed accounts of Tenkamenin's rule that are used in research to this day. Based on travelers' accounts, he explained Tenkamenin's system of governing and finance:

The king imposed an import-export tax, payable in gold, on spices, copper, ivory and ebony. He controlled, and taxed, the sale of salt, a critical commodity. The king guaranteed the safety of merchants who paid their taxes. Ghana became the hub for trade throughout Western Africa.

Tenkamenin helped establish an honor system of trade in his kingdom that encouraged fairness. He also had a form of tax on the region's gold mines — all gold nuggets found went to him, while all gold dust was traded. Under that system, gold inflation was kept in check, and he controlled the reserves.

Ghana's time as a powerful nation did not endure. After Tenkamenin's death in 1075, the kingdom's central power diminished somewhat as wealthy merchant families intermarried and became larger players in governance. Muslims in the region became more influential, and some took up arms against their rulers. Trade routes were cut off. The subjects of the kingdom became disenchanted with their rulers. And finally, the region was decimated by a series of droughts. Ghana's era as the "Kingdom of Gold" came to an end.



CLUES

- 1. The dunes here have red, brown, violet, green, blue, purple and yellow sand.
- 2. This is the only place in the world that has earth in seven colors.
- 3. The sands settle into layers to show bands of colors.
- 4. Weathered volcanic basalt and the formation of secondary iron oxides and hydroxides produce the range of colors.



ANSWER: The Seven Coloured Earths in Mauritius

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