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WARRIOR VALUES

What Drives
Soldiers to Serve

PLUS The Benefits of Educated, Well-Trained NCOs

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ON THE COVER:

This ADF illustration highlights the qualities inherent in a professional African Soldier.

Long deployments, physical strain and extreme risk. These are the hazards that military professionals know well. They shoulder these burdens gladly because, for them, the work is more than just a career. It's a calling.

When asked why they joined, Soldiers often cite ideals such as "service to country" and a "desire to protect others." They also strive for an ideal of professionalism.

Being a professional means a lifelong dedication to learning and the perfection of one's craft. To support this development, countries are investing in professional military education institutions, particularly command and staff colleges designed to train officers at the strategic level. Countries also are opening the door for the training of noncommissioned officers, who are eager to play a leadership role and get access to advanced skills.

Surveys show that Africa's militaries are among the most respected institutions in the eyes of the people they serve. A legacy of accomplishments and sacrifice has won them this reputation, and keeping this esteemed position is a top priority.

Maintaining a high standard requires an investment. Members of Africa's militaries say they want adequate equipment, timely pay, affordable housing and retirement benefits. They say these things reduce the incentive to corruption that sometimes has stained the military's reputation.

Being a professional also means respecting constitutional order and civilian oversight of the armed forces. After years of instability on many parts of the African continent, instances of military interference in politics are becoming rarer, and good governance is becoming the norm rather than the exception.

The challenges of 21st-century warfare put a premium on professionalism. They require military officers to make a wide range of tactical and ethical decisions, often at lightning speed. By committing themselves to careerlong education and holding fast to the core values of their institutions, these professionals will be prepared to handle the toughest challenges.

U.S. Africa Command Staff



Members of Kenya's Air Force march during a celebration of independence known as Jamhuri Day. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Professionalism and the Rule of Law Volume 11, Quarter 2

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‘The Sky Must Be Your Limit’



**Ghanaian President
Nana Addo Dankwa
Akufo-Addo**

*spoke during the
commissioning of officer
cadets at the 2017 Ghana
Military Academy
Graduation Parade
of the Regular Career
Course 57 and Short
Service Commission at
Teshie Military Camp
on October 20, 2017. His
remarks have been edited
to fit this format.*

It is important that our new graduates remain conscious of their responsibilities toward the people of the nation whose security you will be charged to protect. As you enjoy the euphoria that surrounds your achievements on this memorable occasion, do not forget that a responsibility has been thrust on your shoulders. Your commission into the Armed Forces is the beginning of your careers as professional officers and leaders. And you are expected to exhibit exemplary conduct. You must at all times discharge your duties professionally and diligently.



You are to safeguard and protect the territorial integrity of the nation and its citizens and not use your position to antagonize

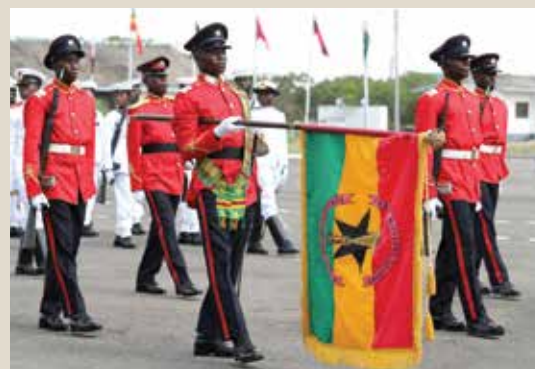
the very citizens whose sacrifices have made your training possible. Indeed, you owe a duty to the nation toward ensuring its peace, stability and development.

We live in a constitutional democracy, which has taken the blood and sacrifices of several generations of Ghanaian patriots to establish. It has become the standard-bearer and beacon for democratic engagement on the African continent, receiving worldwide acclaim for its progress. All of us — political leaders, religious leaders, civil society leaders, military leaders — are first and foremost citizens of this democratic state. And our first and paramount duty is to uphold the teachings of its constitution. That way, we safeguard the blessings of liberty and the prospects of orderly government for our and future generations.

Officer cadets: Being equipped with the fundamentals of functional leadership, you have also been imbued with the requisite military skills and other relevant areas of military studies on which you are required to build your future careers. As young officers, you must be desirous of acquiring more knowledge so you are not overtaken by the changing tides in this fast-paced, technological era. The sky must be your limit in your quest for information and knowledge.

May I also remind you that you are being commissioned into the Ghana Armed Forces, which has carved a niche for itself over the years as a unique, disciplined and professional armed force, nationally and internationally, in the discharge of its duties. It has performed excellently in various international peacekeeping operations, resulting in Ghana being one of the best troop-contributing nations for peacekeeping operations in the world.

Today there are numerous intrastate and cross-border armed conflicts employing several unconventional and asymmetric means of warfare. The traditional challenges to security on the continent, such as chieftaincy conflicts, armed robberies, land disputes, religious intolerance, ethnic conflicts and political rivalries, are being compounded by contemporary threats, like drug and human trafficking, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, cyber crime, and activities of nomadic herdsmen.



Soldiers parade during the 2017 Ghana Military Academy Graduation at Teshie Military Camp. JUBILEE HOUSE

Threats from all these nonstate actors have called for a new approach to counter the challenges presented by the threats.

I wish to assure you, our noble officers, men and women, that my government — with the support of Parliament — will do everything in its power to equip you adequately in all spheres of activities to enable the force to discharge its duties efficiently.

To all graduates, once again, I say congratulations for this well-deserved commission.



Côte d'Ivoire's African Art Museum

GETS NEW LEASE ON LIFE

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

The Museum of Civilisations of Côte d'Ivoire is back and determined to recover its place as one of the richest museums of African art in the world — a place of “incomparable wealth,” as Senegal’s late poet-president Leopold Sedar Senghor said in a 1971 visit.

Looted four decades later during a political and military showdown, the museum closed for a two-year refurbishment, reopening in July 2017 with redecorated rooms, modern lighting, and a new conference center, restaurant and garden.

The first exhibition since the renovation is called *Renaissance* and spotlights a selection of 100 of the museum’s finest pieces.

“We can consider ourselves lucky to have such a beautiful collection,” museum director Silvie Memel Kassi told Agence France-Presse. “It’s an asset — a collection of 15,000 pieces from across every region.”

Still, she mourns the pillage that occurred in 2011, during a postelectoral time of anarchy in the country’s economic capital, Abidjan, that claimed 3,000 lives.

“That really left us with a bitter taste in the mouth,” she said. “The [120] items that were looted were major works: sacred pieces, objects made of wax. ... Our estimate is that almost 4 billion CFA francs (\$7.1 million)” were lost, Memel Kassi said.

The museum planned a “ghost collection” exhibition to keep the memory of the vanished pieces alive and to promote recognition of illicit trafficking in historical objects.

Founded in 1942 when France was the colonial power in much of West Africa, the museum is itself a work of art with 20 finely sculpted wood columns.

The renovated premises give special place to contemporary artists, with a hall set aside for people such as Ivorian sculptor Jems Koko Bi. The garden displays recent work.

“We deliberately speak of the museum of civilizations,” the director said. “We wanted to show that the artists whose creations are today regarded as ‘ancient works’ are the very same as Africans producing contemporary work.”

Sequel Launched to MANDELA'S *Long Walk* AUTOBIOGRAPHY

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

The sequel to Nelson Mandela's celebrated autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*, was released in October 2017 after a South African writer completed an unfinished draft, Mandela's foundation announced.

Titled *Dare not Linger*, the book tells of Mandela's five years as president after the end of apartheid and the first open elections in South Africa in 1994.

Long Walk to Freedom, published shortly after the election, sold more than 14 million copies worldwide and was turned into a film starring Idris Elba.

Mandela wrote 10 chapters of his follow-up memoir by hand on loose paper and in files between 1998 and 2002, when he stopped working on it due to his age and hectic schedule. Mandela Langa completed the work using fresh interviews and research, as well as Mandela's own notes from when he was president.

The Nelson Mandela Foundation described the project as a "50/50" collaboration between Mandela, who died in 2013 at age 95, and his co-author.

The book's title is taken from the final sentence of Mandela's first autobiography, when he wrote that "with freedom comes responsibilities,

and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not ended."

Mandela's widow, Graca Machel, wrote in a prologue to the new book that he struggled to complete it due to "demands the world placed on him, distractions of many kinds and his advancing years."

"Through the last years of his life he talked about it often — worried about work started but not finished," she said.

Mandela served one term as president of South Africa before stepping down. He retired from public life in 2004.

Verne Harris of the Nelson Mandela Foundation said the book would "fundamentally shift perceptions" about the anti-apartheid hero's time in power. "What emerges is ... a hands-on leader who, in relation to aspects of his government such as the security establishment, was a bit of a micromanager," Harris said. "He was a politician's politician; he knew how to get the best out of people."



Nelson Mandela GETTY IMAGES



REUTERS

LAST RESIDENTS — HOLD ON IN TUNISIA'S — UNDERGROUND HOUSES

REUTERS

In southern Tunisia's Djebel Dahar region, people have lived for centuries in underground houses with earthen casing that provides protection against searing summer heat and winter winds.

Rural depopulation has meant fewer people live in the homes, whose rooms are hewn into the walls of an excavated circular courtyard. The few remaining families say they are attached to the homes and the land or see no way of moving.

"My father died, my mother died, the girls got married and I was left alone. They all went to lead their own lives," said Latifa Ben Yahia, 38, who lives in a five-room home in the village of Tijma. "If I leave, then the house will be gone."

The homes are concentrated around Matmata, 365 kilometers south of Tunis. Many residents left the houses when new towns and villages were built in the 1960s and 1970s as part of a modernization drive by President Habib Bourguiba.

Droughts and heavy rain, which can cause the houses to collapse, also prompted people to leave. Some built modern houses on adjoining land, using the traditional homes as stables or workshops.

Residents live largely off olive farming and tourism. Saliha Mohamedi, 36, lives in a house with her husband and four children. She lets tourists visit for tips. "If I got another house, I would give it to [my children]. This is where we have passed our lives," she said.

Hedi Ali Kayel, 65, who runs a small shop in the village of Haddej, is one of the last people in the area who knows how to build and maintain the houses. The last new house he dug was in the 1970s.

Now he is fighting a lonely battle to save the ones that still exist. "Every time there's rain, I come and repair them," he says. "I don't let them go."



A **PATHWAY** TO PROFESSIONALISM

BY
BRIG. GEN. MICHAEL MOHAMED SAMURA
AND
COL. STEVEN PARKER

Sierra Leone's Experience Offers Lessons on Building a Professional Armed Forces

For African countries, improving the security outlook does not require better weapons or larger defense budgets. Instead, the precarious balance of national stability rests largely on the professionalism of security forces. The state of military professionalism is not something that can be changed overnight. It requires a willingness to secure constitutional order, adhere to civilian control and maintain political neutrality. Professionalism also means a commitment to careerlong education and a dedication to a set of values. The world over, some of the hallmarks of professional militaries are discipline, commitment and skill. Military professionals are reliable in all that they do. They know their roles and responsibilities and carry them out well.

Given the rise in homegrown and cross-border extremism, rapidly expanding external economic influence and the implications of a youth bulge, what is the smartest way to invest in the viability of professional security forces in Africa?

The Sierra Leone Experience

Sierra Leone may offer hints at a path forward. The nation's Army can be traced back to 1897, when the British sought to raise a fighting force to contain French colonial expansion in territories bordering northern Nigeria. The force was raised in 1899 and placed under a unified command known as the West African Field Force. It was among the first armies to be established in West Africa. This force saw action during World War I, fighting with extreme bravery alongside British troops in the Cameroons and in East Africa against German occupation. The experience



Brig. Gen. Michael Mohamed Samura, Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces



Col. Steven Parker, retired, U.S. Army

Africa's Professional Military Education Institutions

National Defence College-Kenya

ndc.go.ke

OPENED: 1997

LOCATION: Karen

COMMANDANT: Lt. Gen. L.M. Ngondi



HISTORY: For years, Kenya sent its officers abroad for training. In the 1990s, the country saw a need for self-reliance in training due to the increasing cost and limited vacancies at other schools. In May 2000, the college moved to a new complex in Karen, which allowed it to increase its training capacity to 40 participants from nine nations. The college was accredited through the University of Nairobi in 2002 to offer diploma and master's of arts degrees in international studies.

CURRICULUM: The NDC certification course lasts 48 weeks and includes four terms. The terms are themed: foundation studies, domestic studies, international and domestic comparison, and security strategies.

MISSION: To prepare senior military officers and equivalent senior civil servants of the Republic of Kenya and their counterparts from friendly countries for higher responsibilities in the strategic direction and management of security and other related areas of public policy.

Rwanda Defence Force Command and Staff College

rdfcsc.mil.gov.rw/about-us

OPENED: 2012

LOCATION: Kigali

COMMANDANT: Maj. Gen. J.B. Kazura



HISTORY: Seeing a need to invest more in training, Rwanda established the college as a next step above the Rwanda Military Academy. The college was established with assistance from the United States Army Command and General Staff College in Fort Leavenworth in the United States and the Joint Services Command and Staff College in the United Kingdom.

CURRICULUM: The college trains officers from various Rwandan Defence Force services and formations. It also admits students from allied regional defense forces. The college is accredited through the National University of Rwanda and offers master's and postgraduate diplomas in security studies. Its Senior Command and Staff Course prepares officers for higher appointments by developing their command and leadership skills, training in single and joint services, and combined and interagency operations.

MISSION: To develop officers' intellectual and professional competencies in the command and control of the defense forces as well as conducting research in defense and security issues in order to respond effectively to the challenges of the complex and dynamic operating environment.

Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College

gafscmil.edu.gh

OPENED: 1963

LOCATION: Accra

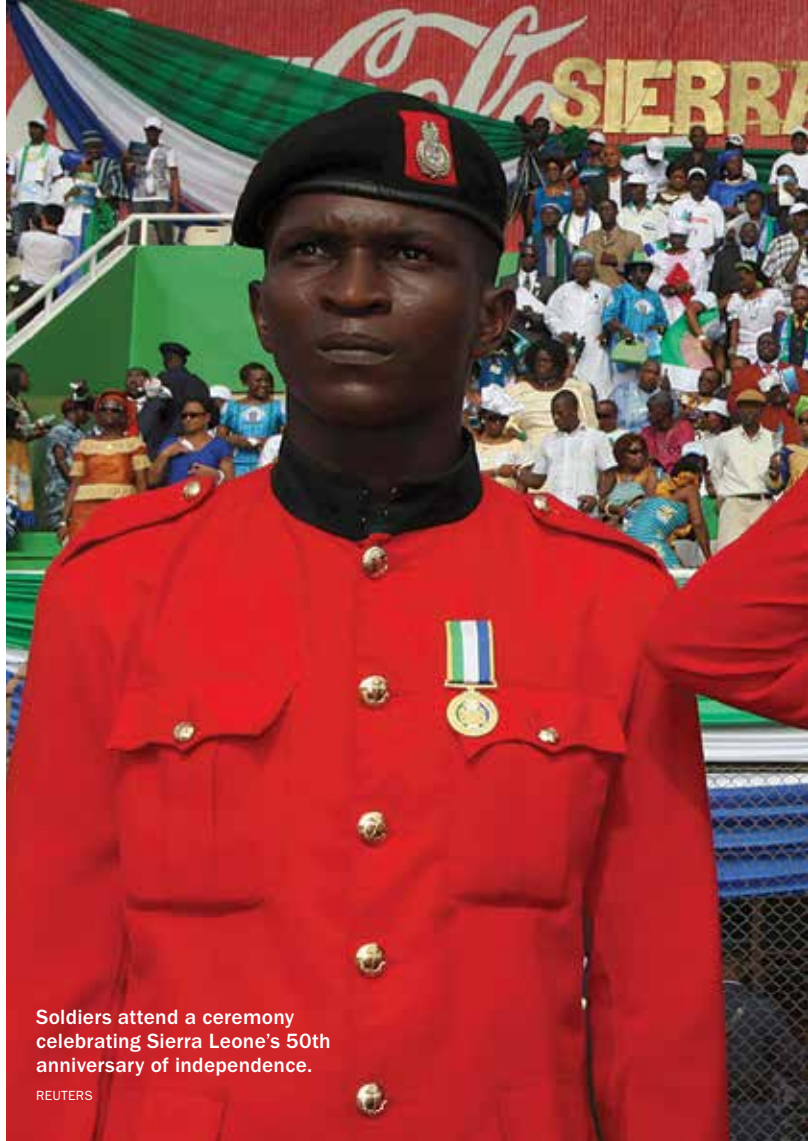
COMMANDANT: Rear Adm. Seth Amoama



HISTORY: Ghana has participated in international peacekeeping missions since 1960 when it took part in the United Nations mission in the Republic of the Congo. This, and other factors, led the Ghana Armed Forces to widen the scope of education available to its officers. In its more than five decades of operation, the college has collaborated with the University of Ghana and the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration, as well as Cranfield University and Bradford University in the U.K. Recently it has expanded facilities, including adding new classrooms, administrative offices, an auditorium, a video conference room and a library.

CURRICULUM: It offers junior and senior military programs, graduate academic programs, and international programs. The senior military program includes three terms and modules on topics including defense management, conflict and crisis, and the exclusive economic zone.

MISSION: To train middle-level officers of the Ghana Armed Forces, other security services, qualified civilians and officers of friendly armed forces for middle-level policy, command, staff and leadership functions in joint, combined and multiagency operations. To provide higher engagements within the national and international environment.



Soldiers attend a ceremony celebrating Sierra Leone's 50th anniversary of independence.

REUTERS

gained during WWI in difficult terrain against stubborn resistance made the Field Force a valuable reinforcement to British forces in WWII.

At independence in 1961, the Sierra Leone Regiment became the Royal Sierra Leone Military Force and was renamed the Republic of Sierra Leone Military Force (RSLMF) in 1971 when the country became a republic. After a difficult history including several nondemocratic transfers of power and a decadelong civil war, the renamed Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF) took on its current structure. A civilian-led Ministry of Defense oversees the military at a strategic level, and the Joint Forces Command directs the RSLAF, which includes three infantry brigades, training and support units, force troops, a maritime wing, and an air wing.

Separation of Powers

Like many African nations, Sierra Leone has endured the consequences of military intervention in political affairs. During 1967 and 1968, various ranks of the military staged three coups and counter coups. These interventions resulted in serious public resentment toward the military. In the years afterward, a paramilitary group was created known as the Presidential Guard Force, and the RSLMF



was packed with party loyalists to prevent it from subverting the government. As a result, the Army became heavily politicized and poorly equipped.

In 1996, a new democratically elected government decided to restrain the military in response to the junta that had ruled before. The new government drastically cut resources, ordered mass retirements, removed Soldiers from presidential guards without cause, and raised a Civil Defense Force parallel to the military that competed for the same defense resources. The next year the country experienced another coup, which ultimately led to an intervention by a peacekeeping force led by the Economic Community of West African States.

This history is a cautionary tale of what can happen when a military becomes too politicized and loses popular trust and respect.

Historical lessons drawn from across Africa show that military professionalism is a two-way street. Civilian and military officials agree not to cross into each others' affairs. The military should enjoy considerable latitude to determine the selection, promotion and posting of personnel, as well as to implement policies of command and control. On the other hand, a professional military must accept state control and subsume such loyalties as ethnicity or

regionalism. Officers and Soldiers must accept the rank structure and reject using their coercive capabilities for subnational or individual gains.

History also shows us that military reflects the character of the national system from which it is carved. Professionalism thrives in an institutionalized system of stable and widely accepted political values that exist independent of a specific regime. This is because regimes come and go while the state and the military remain. In other words, the values and interests of the state or the military take precedence over any other temporarily powerful group or leader.

Conditions of Service

Military professionalism depends on deep commitment. Soldiers are required to be committed to the country, the service, their unit and, ultimately, each other and the mission they are tasked to complete. Military work often requires long hours in hazardous conditions with little or no comforts. Commitment allows Soldiers to overcome hardships and push on when their bodies are telling them to quit. At the same time, Soldiers deserve reciprocation from their leadership. Loyalty to subordinates is required if loyalty to sovereign or command is expected in return.

In many parts of Africa, in past decades, the privileged treatment accorded the armed forces was a significant reason for joining the service. Quarters and food were good, and pay was often better than in the civilian sector. A military career offered the advantages of the best medical care for personnel and their families, a retirement plan and survivor benefits.

Today there are signs of depreciation in this realm. Sierra Leone, like many West African countries, struggles with issues of adequate pay. In recent years, protests by disgruntled Soldiers over pay and conditions have been reported in Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and elsewhere. Housing also is a contentious issue. It is not uncommon to see Soldiers who do not receive a housing allowance living out of the barracks at their own expense and Soldiers in provincial units living in substandard housing they build themselves. Pensions for retiring officers also are low in the region, and it is not unheard of to see an officer retire from a high rank only to be forced to find work as a security guard. These difficult conditions of work are one factor that pushes African Soldiers to corruption.

African governments should nurture loyalty through improved conditions of service. This not only helps morale, it makes the institution more attractive and ensures that the military does not suffer from attrition.

Apart from ensuring that a cumulative rank pay structure is instated, salary reforms should be introduced so that the military can compete for talent with the public sector. Qualification, academic grade and location pay should be introduced. Meaningful retirement benefits should be offered, and avenues for post-service job placement should be created. Offering adequate and affordable housing will help

Botswana Defence Command and Staff College

gov.bw/en/Ministries--Authorities/
Ministries/State-President/Botswana-Defence-
Force-BDF/Training--Recruitment



OPENED: 2008

LOCATION: Gaborone

COMMANDANT: Brig. Gen. Papadi Monnatlhare

HISTORY: In 2004, the Defence Council of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF) recognized that the limited number of vacancies at foreign institutions was restricting officers' access to training. It established the Defence Command and Staff College in January 2008.

CURRICULUM: The college works in partnership with the University of Botswana, which delivers about 30 percent of the curriculum. Work is underway on associate status with the University of Botswana and will award a diploma in military and strategic studies.

MISSION: To provide commanders and staff officers with a military training program that is relevant to the operational environment of Botswana, using the terrain and equipment that BDF has and under the unique circumstances that prevail in Botswana.

United Republic of Tanzania National Defence College

ndctz.go.tz

OPENED: 2012

LOCATION: Dar es Salaam

COMMANDANT: Maj. Gen. Y.H. Mohamed



HISTORY: Since independence, the Tanzania People's Defence Force found ways to give its officers access to education, typically through training abroad in partner nations. In 1998, leaders of the military headquarters formed a committee to examine the possibility of opening a college. Construction was completed in 2011, and the first NDC courses were conducted in September 2012.

CURRICULUM: The program consists of four course terms, two strategic exercises, dissertations and four field practical training sessions. Modules in the four course terms focus on foundational studies, Tanzania's security environment, the international security environment and strategies for national security. Admission is open to defense professionals, security personnel, civilian employees of ministries, and other organizations and personnel from allied militaries.

MISSION: To equip senior defense and government policymakers with the necessary background and understanding of the total system of economic, political, military, scientific, international relations, national organizational aspects and the planning necessary for national security, both in its internal dynamics and external compulsions.

retain Soldiers, especially those with families. When all these are put in place, attrition will be reduced, and more high-quality candidates will be attracted into the service, thereby aiding professionalism.

Living by a Code

A code of conduct is a disciplinary tool that gives Soldiers direction on how to act within the morals of the military. When used correctly, it is the norm for behavior and represents the core values under which the military should thrive as a noble institution accountable to its people. Ideally, Soldiers memorize the code of conduct. Many crimes committed by Soldiers in and out of barracks are a result of ignorance of the code. Like many militaries around the world, the RSLAF has a code of conduct. Its list of "do's" includes:

- Remain loyal to the nation, the head of state and commander in chief, and the chain of command.
- Be always disciplined, punctual, properly dressed, and conduct yourself in a polite and courteous manner.
- Strive to constantly improve your professional ability, and work diligently and efficiently.
- Display leadership by remaining calm in times of pressure, and accept responsibility for your mistakes.
- Be fair, frank and honest at all times, and display integrity.

The list of "don'ts" includes:

- Never blame others, especially your subordinates, for your mistakes.
- Never betray a confidence unless keeping it compromises your integrity.
- Do not speak ill of your superiors, peers or subordinates unnecessarily to others.
- Do not put your or another's interests ahead of the Armed Forces.
- Do not allow your personal feelings to affect your treatment of other officers or Soldiers.

The aim of any code of conduct should be to shape behavior rather than to look out for culprits to punish. Soldiers should not only learn these values during basic training, but they should also live them every day in everything they do, whether they are at work or off. The Army core values are what being a Soldier is all about. The more people are reminded of them, the greater likelihood that they will inculcate and live them, and the better disciplined and reputable the institution will be.

Training, Education and Operational Ethos

Training is the cornerstone of operational readiness. For military professionalism, neither the discipline of a Zen master nor the commitment of a zealot will mean much without skill. Skill allows Soldiers to complete missions assigned to them. An infantryman needs to be able to shoot, an engineer to build and a pilot to fly. A deficit of knowledge can be the difference between life and death when someone has only seconds to react.



During Sierra Leone's long and costly civil war, the country recruited widely to swell the Army's ranks. Quality and standards suffered. In the late 1990s, public confidence was at such a low point that the idea of disbanding the Army was entertained. By the end of the war, in 2002, the force size had increased to 15,500, an unsustainable number.

Upon returning to peace, Sierra Leone made an official request to the British government to help with retraining and reconstituting the Army. A British Short Term Training Team became part of an International Military Advisory and Training Team sent to Sierra Leone, and retraining began in 2000. By 2003, 13 battalions had been retrained and deployed nationwide. The program also gave an opportunity to qualified ex-combatants to join the military through the Military Reintegration Program. By 2010 the force size was set at 8,500.

Sierra Leone is now working hard to increase access to training and raise standards across the military. It operates a system in which one-third of the force is undergoing training at any given time while others are either on operations or regimental routine duties.

Evidence of improvement was seen in 2013 when Sierra Leone sent 850 peacekeepers to Somalia. After years of being the site of a United Nations peacekeeping mission, it was a major source of pride to be able to return the favor and assist another country in need.

Current and Future Opportunities

One place to focus on improved access to training in Africa is with noncommissioned officers (NCOs). They must be empowered with the knowledge to take some

burden off officers and be able to take initiative without direct supervision. Many armies have well-developed NCO training and education systems with a series of courses that are incremental and promotional. The British Army, for example, includes lessons on national and international military studies, language, mathematics, driving and information technology.

Armed forces across Africa must follow suit and ensure that already well-arranged NCO courses are required for all NCO promotions.

When it comes to officer cadet recruiting, many countries use the officer training corps system in which university students complete certain military modules and are encouraged to join the armed forces after graduating. Those who choose to join the army are given scholarships. Others use direct commissioning of professional degree holders from civil service. These programs are important to attract the best young candidates into the service.

An army's professional military education reveals much about the characteristics it seeks in its personnel and about that army overall. Consider including nonmilitary and nonoperational subjects in officer training curricula and invite university lecturers, representatives from government ministries, and retired senior officers to instruct on certain topics. Look at sending officers to study abroad in countries that offer studies in unique and strategic military disciplines. Disciplines such as research and development, procurement and systems automation, among others, remain essential yet unexplored. Developing leaders through formal training, education and experience should be the hallmark of all militaries.

National Defence College Nigeria

ndc.gov.ng

OPENED: 1992

LOCATION: Abuja

COMMANDANT: Rear Adm. Adeniyi Adejimi Osinowo



HISTORY: The NDC follows in the training tradition established by the Nigerian Defence Academy in Kaduna for cadet training and the Armed Forces Command and Staff College in Jaji for middle-level staff training. As a strategic-level training institution, it serves all three service branches of the Nigerian Armed Forces. In 1995, it moved from Lagos to Abuja, and plans are underway to relocate to a permanent campus in the Jabi District of Abuja.

CURRICULUM: It is designed to be provocative, demanding and rigorous. Participants face a variety of problems for which there is no “template solution.” They are encouraged to consider and challenge their own intellectual assumptions and standpoints about the nature of war, peace, leadership, politics, ethics and the application of force.

MISSION: To impart knowledge and develop expertise and skills of senior military officers and their civilian counterparts through a firm understanding of all the essential factors that impact national security and prepare them for higher responsibilities at operational and strategic levels in both national and international assignments.

South African National Defence College

defcol.mil.za

OPENED: 1973

LOCATION: Pretoria

COMMANDANT: Brig. Gen. M.P. Sereko



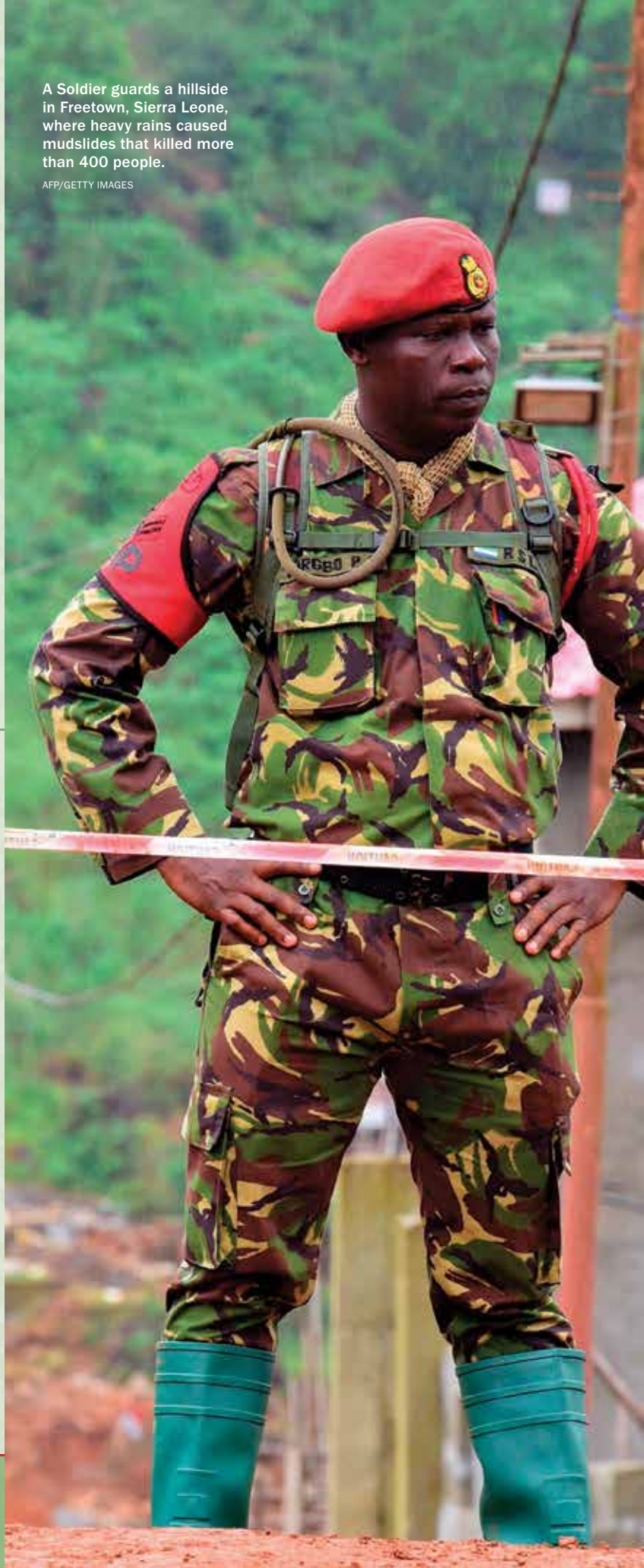
HISTORY: From 1973 to 1999, the college offered 42 joint staff courses and 18 special joint staff courses. The curriculum was redesigned after independence and, in 2001, the college was renamed with its current title. In 2015, it launched its Security and Defence Studies Programme Management Studies.

CURRICULUM: The SANDC is the premier institution of the South African National Defence Force, allowing senior leaders — both civilian and military — to learn security issues and policy/strategy formulation. The college is a center of excellence in academic and research pursuits in diversified disciplines, providing inputs on national security at the strategic level. The defense college bolsters higher education in policy and strategy formulation and acts as a national think tank.

MISSION: To educate competent and credible strategic leaders in security and defense studies to confidently confront the national, regional, continental and global environments.

A Soldier guards a hillside in Freetown, Sierra Leone, where heavy rains caused mudslides that killed more than 400 people.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES





Soldiers of the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces train at Hastings, outside the country's capital, Freetown.

REUTERS

Last is the question of improving operational ethos. Military training aims to instill an operational mindset in Soldiers. It prepares Soldiers; they pull the trigger in training to ensure that they also know how to do it in combat. Thus, operational ethos refers to the basic culture and mindset that enables Soldiers to be effective during combat. It allows a Soldier to exhibit hardiness of spirit, and moral and physical courage. No matter how close training comes to achieving reality, it can never replicate the real operational situation. Knowledge and skills acquired during training are meant to serve as guidelines when faced with the real situation. Soldiers must inculcate the culture of constant alertness during operations. They must maintain operational endurance, momentum and security alertness at all times until they leave an operation. The operational mission must always be put above anything else.

Stronger Together

African armies are now increasingly ready to strengthen their own professional military educational institutions and establish meaningful partnerships within their regions and beyond. They want to engage in strategic partnerships that yield near-term and long-term results. This is not about simply throwing money at more training and more equipment. Training is highly perishable, and equipment is only as valuable as the operator using it and the strategy behind it. This is about building relationships and strengthening institutions. Professional military education can produce better self-sufficiency and better outcomes for Africa and its armies for years to come. □

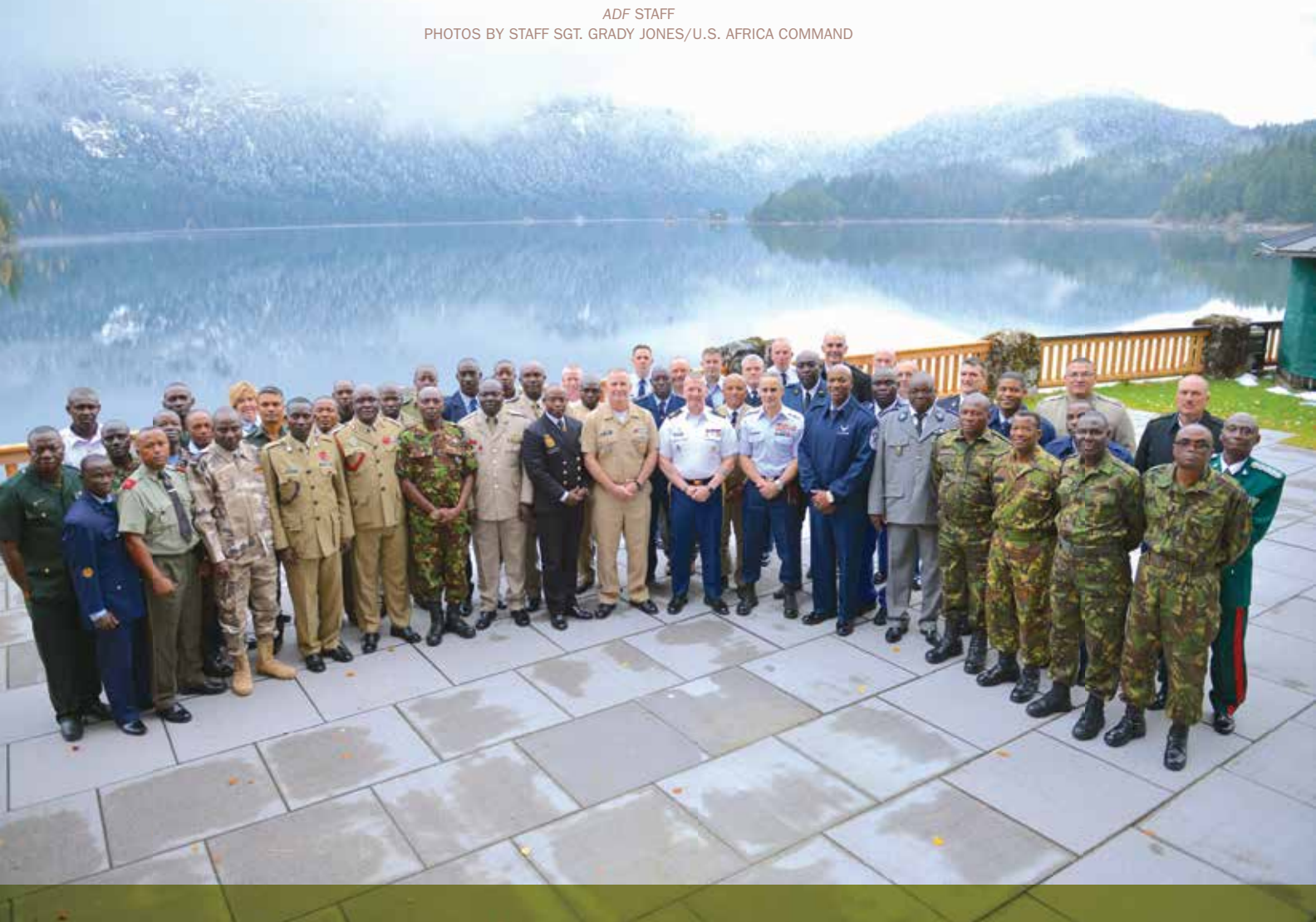
Brig. Gen. Samura of the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces is the assistant chief of Defence Staff for Training & Doctrine. Col. Parker, who is retired from the U.S. Army, was the lead officer for the African Military Education Program and senior military advisor to the Africa Center for Strategic Studies.

Empowering NCOs

**Nations Across the Continent Are Seeing the Benefits
of Educated, Well-Trained Noncommissioned Officers**

ADF STAFF

PHOTOS BY STAFF SGT. GRADY JONES/U.S. AFRICA COMMAND



Militaries are generally composed of an officer corps at the top and a high number of enlisted Soldiers, Sailors or Airmen at the bottom. But between the two is a layer of personnel crucial to efficient and professional operations: noncommissioned officers, or NCOs.

NCOs' duties can differ from one national military to another, but in general they are charged with training and sustaining a mission-ready force and executing strategies that originate in the officer corps. In most militaries, a new recruit will depend on an NCO for basic training, drill and ceremony instruction, and good order and discipline.

Advanced training opportunities haven't always been available to NCOs, and their roles have not developed as much over the years. During the Cold War, some militaries in the developing world were trained by the Soviet Union or communist bloc countries, which had highly centralized governments and militaries. Some of that rigidity has persisted through the years. When decision-making is centralized, it thickens bureaucracy and can erode trust.

"So the moment you have people feeling they are not empowered to make decisions, where the next higher level needs to make decisions or the next higher level needs to approve — the moment you create that type of situation, you break down trust in your organization," said Abel Esterhuyse, associate professor at Stellenbosch University in South Africa. "The more you empower people, the more trust you have."

Retired Brig. Gen. Saleh Bala of Nigeria has trained Soldiers at all levels, and has spent time on the directing staff of the Nigerian Armed Forces Command and Staff College and the National Defense College. He said British and French colonial perspectives influenced an approach that fostered "elitism" in the officer corps in Africa.

"If you want to strengthen your military, if you want to strengthen and bold up your professionalism, you begin with your NCO corps. No doubt."

~ Abel Esterhuyse, associate professor at Stellenbosch University in South Africa



Senior enlisted leaders from 19 African nations met at the first Africa Senior Enlisted Leader Conference in Grainau, Germany.

Warrant Officer Alassane Ndjaye of the Armed Forces of Senegal asks a question at the Africa Senior Enlisted Leader Conference.



“Essentially, the NCO was just left at the sub-tactical level,” Bala told *ADF*. “Therefore, the need for the NCO to go to the higher level of critical thinking to be able to do a battlefield quick estimate of the situation in order to make decisions was left to the subaltern, who is an officer.”

Today, Nigeria and other countries are recognizing the need to change this.

“The moment you have a well-trained NCO corps, you will sort out a lot of other problems in your military.”

~ Abel Esterhuyse

“We have a whole paradigm and era shift where technology has advanced, where the paradigm of warfare itself has changed, for which the internet is very important,” Bala said. “The machines we need to operate today need a higher level of intellect. In most armies of the world, you find the NCOs are up to 75 percent to 80 percent.” Bala stressed the importance of NCO training in critical thinking,

IT, science and technology and higher levels of leadership.

MODELING SUCCESS ON THE CONTINENT

Militaries are showing interest in developing their NCO corps with more education, training and development. That desire was evident in November 2017 at the five-day inaugural Africa Senior Enlisted Leader Conference (ASELC) in Grainau, Germany, sponsored by U.S. Africa Command.

Thirty-five African NCOs representing 19 countries attended the conference. The countries represented were Botswana, Burkina Faso, Comoros, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, the Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Togo and Uganda.

“The majority of them are all seeking the same thing,” said Air Force Command Chief Master Sgt. Ramon Colon-Lopez, the command senior enlisted leader for U.S. Africa Command. “They want autonomy, they want empowerment, and they really want to have the access to their chiefs of defense and information so that they can better advise their senior officers.”

Even now there are some countries taking the lead in developing their NCO corps. Colon-Lopez said Botswana, Ghana, Malawi and Senegal have NCOs who have become senior enlisted advisors to their chiefs of defense.

Botswana in particular is making advances with its NCOs. The Botswana Defence Force (BDF)



Forces Sgt. Maj. Elvidge Serumola of the Botswana Defence Force addresses attendees at the Africa Senior Enlisted Leader Conference.

Sgt. Khiran Hurreeram of the Mauritius Police Force's special mobile force listens to a report at the conference.

Warrant Officer 2 Jeffery Cecile of the Seychelles People's Defence Force asks a question during the conference.

expressed an interest in integrating NCOs into the headquarters staffing ranks, integrating women into the military and stopping sexual assaults, and adjusting the retirement age for enlisted personnel. The BDF was able to win changes to national legislation that increases the retirement age and advances a proposal to create an inspector-general to deal with sexual assaults and other crimes. Also, now every directorate in the BDF headquarters has a dedicated NCO.

Colon-Lopez said Botswana is a good example of an African model that can be used to inspire other nations on the continent to bolster their NCO ranks. The approach allows African militaries to find solutions that work for them without having a western model imposed on them.

"There wasn't one single [participant] at our conference that wasn't seeking a way to better himself and to be a more professional Soldier, Airman or Sailor in order to grow the next crop of ... Soldiers to fill their boots at some point," he said.

MALAWI TAKES ACTION

One of the takeaways from ASEL in Germany in 2017 was that participating nations want to better collaborate on education and training of NCOs. At the next conference, set for October 2018, participants will talk about having "nodes of excellence" across Africa that neighboring countries can attend to receive a common core of training to ensure uniformity and integration.

Breakout sessions will let participants talk about basic skills they need and identify some of the

facilities already on the continent that can affordably serve as training hubs, Colon-Lopez said.

One example of an NCO training center on the continent is the Malawi Defence Force's NCO academy in Salima. Malawi, the first nation on the continent to have such a center, formed the academy with help from personnel at U.S. Africa Command and graduated its first class in April 2014. **(See sidebar, page 20.)**

Initial lessons addressed at the academy included equal opportunity, ethics, sexual harassment, basic computer skills, logistics and risk management. U.S. instructors chose seven students from the first class to be instructors on the next course, with the Malawians eventually taking over all instruction.

Esterhuyse said educating the officer corps and training the NCO corps can only enhance the overall professionalism of a military. "The moment you have a well-trained NCO corps, you will sort out a lot of other problems in your military," he said. "Because if you have a well-trained NCO corps, you have people who understand the need for cohesion, for bringing small groups together precisely and for no other reason than to create a cohesive military. You have an NCO that understands the importance of hard training, of discipline and of the importance of balancing doctrine, training and technology — all those things that actually make the difference in the tactical realm — you can address through a well-trained NCO corps.

"If you want to strengthen your military, if you want to strengthen and bold up your professionalism, you begin with your NCO corps. No doubt." □

Malawi Leads Way With Sergeant Major Academy

ADF STAFF

The Malawi Defence Force (MDF) added a new dimension to the education and training of noncommissioned officers (NCOs) after realizing that there was a gap in leadership development and professional military education between senior NCOs and commissioned officers.

With help from the United States, the MDF established its Sergeant Major Academy in 2014 under the auspices of the Malawi Armed Forces College (MAFCO) in Salima, said Brig. Gen. Swithun Mchungula, commandant at the college.

“The NCO academy was necessary because it prepares and improves the NCO leadership roles in joint operations, multinational operations as well as the ability to work at brigade up to corps levels,” Mchungula told *ADF*. “It prepares the NCO to think beyond the tactical level ... at the operational and strategic levels.”

In Malawi, the role of NCOs had been confined to advising immediate commanders, and training

troops in weapons, drills and field craft. “The role was more confined to routine tasks,” Mchungula said. “All along they were not exposed to what I would term as mission command-oriented thinking. They were told what to do and how — more or less spoon-fed. The contemporary NCO is now required to be told what to do, but he must be professionally competent to know how. The responsibility is growing, and he is expected to know what the officer is doing.”

The academy has helped build trust between officers and NCOs. “I think one of the weaknesses before the NCO academy was opened was that the officer corps kept on being trained, and the NCO corps was not being trained,” Mchungula said. “As such, there was no shared leadership, because there was no trust of NCOs because the officers thought the NCOs could not think critically. They also thought NCOs could not command effectively.”

Personnel from U.S. Army Africa came to the college in 2014 to introduce and teach the sergeant



Malawi Defence Force Lt. Linda Chikondi started out as a student at the Sergeant Major Academy. She later became the commander of the sergeant major course.

STAFF SGT. CANDACE MUNDT/U.S. ARMY AFRICA



Students work as a team during their studies at the Malawi Defence Force's NCO academy. U.S. ARMY AFRICA

major course, which forms the backbone of Malawi's NCO instruction today. The first class had 30 Malawian NCOs, including Lt. Linda Chikondi, a warrant officer 2 when the course began. She finished at the top of her class, was immediately promoted to warrant officer 1 and was chosen to be one of seven NCOs to teach the course to others. She later became a lieutenant and served as course coordinator until June 2017, when she moved to MDF headquarters.

The course covers a broad range of topics, including stress management, mission command, leadership, integrated military concepts, research methods, information technology, communication skills and international humanitarian law.

Chikondi told *ADF* the course gives participants critical-thinking skills and helps build the "moral courage" for NCOs to engage effectively with commissioned officers. Often, when young commissioned officers enter the service, they are surrounded by NCOs who have many years of experience. The course helps NCOs feel comfortable advising officers.

Information from the sergeant major course has been used to augment other NCO courses taught at MAFCO, Chikondi said. For example, counseling and suicide prevention instruction has been added to a platoon sergeant course and a section commander course.

As of spring 2018, the sergeant major course had been offered seven times to more than 200 students. Students have included visiting personnel from Kenya, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Mchungula said demand to attend the course has steadily increased among other nations on the continent. Because the academy does not have its own buildings or campus, the academy must balance its offerings to avoid conflicting with other courses at the college. Despite these challenges, Mchungula hopes to have an independent NCO academy that can contribute to African leadership development.

"As we always say in the military, NCOs are the backbone of the military," he said. "We at MAFCO believe that the best way to strengthen this backbone is by providing them with high-caliber education — upgrade their thinking from the tactical level to the strategic level. We must remember NCOs who understand their role in command are able to contribute toward effectiveness in command. The NCOs have a primary job to train and nurture their Soldiers, and that can be attained if we have well-trained, professional NCOs."

"The NCO academy was necessary because it prepares and improves the NCO leadership roles in joint operations, multinational operations as well as the ability to work at brigade up to corps levels."

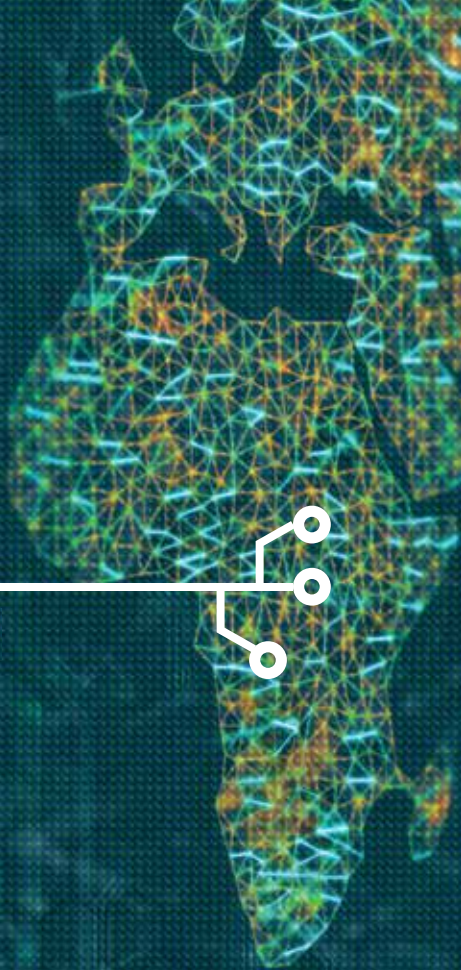
**~ Brig. Gen. Swithun Mchungula,
commandant of the Malawi Armed Forces College**



BRIG. GEN. SWITHUN MCHUNGULA

CYBER SECURITY

REQUIRES A UNITED FRONT



A CAPE VERDEAN PERSPECTIVE ON AFRICA ENDEAVOR

CAPT. DOMINGOS TAVARES, ARMED FORCES OF CAPE VERDE

Digitalization has transformed life in Africa. Internet and mobile technologies are now with us wherever we go. We rely on this technology for everything from mobile banking to directing satellites used to monitor crops and track climate events.

For the most part, this digital permeation has been positive. But the challenges to the continent also are becoming clear. Criminals are taking advantage of a deficit of cyber security laws, and traditional crime is taking on an international dimension by using the web.

African countries lost at least \$2 billion because of cyber attacks in 2016, according to a report by the tech company Serianu. The continent also was a launching point for cyber crime, including phishing scams, malware attacks and other crime with a worldwide reach.

Africa Endeavor is an annual senior leader

symposium co-hosted by U.S. Africa Command and an African partner country, and is attended by senior representatives of many African nations. Representatives from 40 countries attended Africa Endeavor 2017 (AE17) held in Malawi. It underscored some significant cyber security shortfalls that security professionals on the continent must address.

My home country of Cape Verde already has begun to address cyber security, and, I believe, we can help others by becoming partners in the fight against cyber crime. The most important step is to convince policymakers of the urgency of cyber security and the need to create laws that, if compatible with international partners, can effectively address cyber crime.

During AE17, we learned that cyber security often begins with the user, whose ignorance or carelessness can expose all manner of personal data on digital platforms. A presentation by

representatives from the Netherlands highlighted the importance of being alert when using certain websites and the importance of having a strong and secure password.

The nature of transnational organized crime, which now has a cyber security component, also was addressed at the conference. These criminal organizations are adopting cyber command-and-control capabilities to conduct operations in the domains of maritime piracy, illegal fishing, and the trafficking of people, animals and goods. The communication and cooperation encouraged at Africa Endeavor, where the objective is to analyze and overcome interoperability challenges, can play a fundamental role in shutting down these networks.

Since the early 2000s, Cape Verde has expanded internet access to all nine of its islands and now is connected to two trans-Atlantic fiber-optic cables. The long-term plan is to create a “cyber island” where Cape Verde can be a leader in services, including software maintenance and development and outsourcing for multinational companies.

This promising future will require strong cyber safeguards.

In 2016, Cape Verde approved the National Strategy for Cybersecurity, making it clear that cyber security is key to the country’s development. The strategy’s primary objective is to protect the country from cyber threats and crimes and does so by assigning responsibilities to different national, international and global actors.

The assumption that cyber security is key to development has been continually reinforced since the inception of that 2016 strategy. The country is heavily dependent on communication technologies, and its vulnerabilities increasingly come as a result of this dependency. We have an electronic governance structure, high internet penetration (about 70 percent of the population), and a society that is increasingly intertwining personal and business communications.

The National Strategy of Cape Verde was developed to address the issue of cyber security for our civilian population and for public and private institutions. It sends a strong message that

we will not allow Cape Verde to become a haven for cyber criminals drawn to countries where there are no legal consequences for cyber crime.

The country has been working toward cooperation with the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States, with the support of partners such as the United States. A major objective is to create a national cyber security center that will include a Computer Emergency Response Team to serve in all sectors, including national defense.

Cyberspace is an open world in which the crime and the criminal are not necessarily located in the same place, and the targets may be civilian, military or paramilitary infrastructure. There are few targets out of reach. Therefore, it is essential that the military is capable of dealing with cyber



Children play in the water in the port of Sal Rei, the main town of Cape Verde's Boa Vista island.

threats that jeopardize security. It is also essential that information be shared across borders because cooperation in the digital domain is essential. AE17 provided a forum for addressing national and regional security concerns in Africa; it remains a solid foundation upon which to build further integration and interoperability capabilities to address internet-based threats, cyber security shortfalls and the continually changing nature of today’s criminal activities. □

Deep Commitment, High Expectations

The Values of the Next Generation of African Security Sector Leaders

BY DR. KWESI ANING AND DR. JOSEPH SIEGLE

The role of African security sector professionals has changed greatly in recent decades. Leaders today face a dizzying array of challenges from armed militias, violent extremist organizations, terrorism, piracy, insurgency and instability caused by political crises, to name a few. These threats span domestic, regional and transnational theaters — sometimes simultaneously. Contemporary African security sector professionals, consequently, are required to be enormously versatile.

Although considerable attention is given to Africa's security challenges, relatively less reflection has been paid to the security sector actors themselves and how they are adapting to the rapidly changing security environment.

To gain some insight into this issue, the Kofi

Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre and the Africa Center for Strategic Studies conducted an anonymous digital survey of 742 current and retired African security sector professionals from 37 countries in April 2017. The survey assessed their attitudes across a variety of issues involving motivations, values, formative experiences and threats faced. Respondents represented the military, police and gendarmerie, ranging in rank from sergeant to general officer. With an aim of discerning differences in perspectives across generations, this research compared results among respondents from four equally divided age cohorts spanning ages 25 to 70. These results were supplemented with 35 face-to-face interviews to provide qualitative insights into the topics of interest.



Ivoirian special forces participate in a parade at the presidential palace in Abidjan to commemorate the country's 57th Independence Day. REUTERS



A Kenyan Soldier adjusts a flag before the inauguration ceremony to swear in President Uhuru Kenyatta in Nairobi. REUTERS

AFRICA'S Security Professionals

BY THE NUMBERS

97%

viewed international training as positive.



65%

of young security professionals cited "service to the country" as their main reason for joining.



85%

had opportunities to upgrade their educational qualifications since joining their service.



55%-75%

said their service was characterized by values, including duty, responsibility, honesty, respect for citizens and professionalism.



ADF ILLUSTRATION

Education

The survey results showed that the youngest security sector professionals were starting their service with considerably higher levels of education compared to their older counterparts. Of the respondents in the oldest cohort, 47 percent had a high school education or less when they joined, compared with 26 percent for the youngest group. Conversely,

41 percent of the youngest quartile entered service with a bachelor's degree, compared with 30 percent of the oldest cohort.

The military demonstrated the largest gains in education levels of its service members. Fifty-six percent of the youngest cohort of military respondents began service with a bachelor's degree, compared with 26 percent for the oldest age group — a 30 percentage point gain over several decades. Police recruits possessed the lowest educational levels among the services with a third starting with a bachelor's degree — roughly the same as those with a high school education.

Reflecting a growing commitment on the part of African security services to professional development, 85 percent of respondents indicated that they had had opportunities to upgrade their educational qualifications since joining the service. This included opportunities to earn vocational or technical certificates and bachelor's and master's degrees.

Motivations

People enter a career in security for a wide variety of reasons: patriotism, a drive to protect others, as a family tradition or as a means to professional and economic advancement. Usually, the answer is a mixture of many reasons.

In response to the survey questions, significant generational differences emerged in motivations for joining the service. The youngest cohort led all age groups in citing "service to the country" as their primary motivation. Sixty-five percent of this age group gave this reason, compared to 57 percent for the oldest cohort. Older service members, conversely, were much more likely to join because a family member had been in the service.

The combination of higher education levels, motivation to serve the public, and fewer familial ties to the service suggests that there has been a shift in reasons for joining the security sector. Young service members appear to have more skills and employment options, yet are choosing to join the security sector as a career. This trend offers prospects of an increasingly capable force with potentially

higher standards of professionalism, civilian control of the security sector and state-society relations.

Values

Important institutional differences also were observed in the area of values. Strong majorities of military respondents, at rates of 55 to 75 percent, indicated that values such as duty, responsibility, honesty, respect for citizens and professionalism characterized their services. By contrast, only a minority of respondents from the police or gendarmerie, ranging from 38 to 44 percent, claimed these values reflected their institutions.

Two values, “service to the public” and “merit-based,” did not resonate strongly across all services. A minority of respondents in the military (48 percent), gendarmerie (38 percent) and police (25 percent) felt these values characterized their institutions. These deviations raise important questions over the perceived purpose and fairness of security institutions.

There is, moreover, a strong age component to the value identification process. Younger people were consistently less likely to identify with these values than were older generations. Only 32 percent of the youngest cohort, for example, identified with the value of “service to the public.” This is particularly noteworthy since this group had indicated that desire to “serve the country” was the strongest factor in their recruitment.

Strong divergences on values also were seen by gender. Female respondents ascribed any of these values to their institutions at rates of only 25 to 45 percent. These age and gender differences may reflect an erosion of the institutional ethos among younger service members and women. Alternately, they may reveal a greater willingness for constructive self-criticism by the younger generations and female service members as they seek to reform areas of perceived deficiency in their institutions.

Regime Type Affects Perceptions

The survey also revealed notable differences in perceptions of risk depending on regime type. Specifically, security professionals with autocratic governments were four times more likely to list civil unrest, political crises or violent extremist organizations as serious threats compared to those with democratic governments. For example, just 11 percent of respondents from democracies saw political crises as a serious security threat in their countries. By contrast, 41 percent of those

from autocracies felt there was a serious security risk stemming from a political crisis.

Training and Identity Formation

One of the strongest findings from this research was the resounding importance attributed to international training. Some 97 percent of respondents viewed international training as positive. Moreover, respondents identified international training as the most important formative experience in shaping the identity of their service. This view was particularly strong among the three oldest age quartiles. For the youngest cohort, domestic training was cited as the most influential factor, followed by international training.

Military respondents stood out, by a 2-to-1 ratio, in affirming the importance of international training relative to domestic training as an influential experience in shaping their service. This pattern does not hold for the police and gendarmerie, however, who rate domestic and international trainings as equally influential.

The value of international training as a formative experience was strongly validated in interviews. Service members cited the broadening intellectual and professional experience, exposure to peers from other countries facing similar challenges, the strengthening of regional security perspectives, the building of lasting relationships, and exposure to different technologies as some of the compelling benefits they gained from these experiences.

Notably, peacekeeping also was highly rated as a formative experience. Despite the domestic orientation of police, peacekeep-

ing was reported to be their single greatest influence. This may reflect the growing frequency of deployments by police in peace operations — and the influence of these experiences on self-identity and professionalism. For the gendarmerie, peacekeeping experiences ranked on par with domestic and international training. For military respondents, it was second, after international training.

Implications

The findings of this research describe an African security sector that is increasingly well-educated, committed to serve and eager to strengthen its capacity. Moreover, 92 percent of those surveyed indicated that their expectations are being met. This suggests an overall positive story for Africa’s security forces. This apparently has been greatly aided by a commitment by African governments to support educational advancement for

The findings of this research describe an African security sector that is increasingly well-educated, committed to serve and eager to strengthen its capacity.



Soldiers participate in a military parade in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. Africa's security sector is increasingly well-educated and motivated to serve by institutional values, according to a new survey. REUTERS

their service members. This is creating an increasingly well-educated security force, with the partial exception of the police, whose members have been lagging behind the military and gendarmeries in their starting levels of education and subsequent advancement.

Continued support for capacity-building opportunities through education, domestic training and international training is important for maintaining this positive trend. Given the far-reaching demand and benefits from international training, there is value in the continued strengthening of professional military education institutions on the continent.

The age and gender differences regarding perceived institutional values provide a potentially important entry point for reform as part of an institution-strengthening agenda. Deserving of particular attention are issues pertaining to the values of “service to the public” and “merit-based,” which rated poorly within all age cohorts and services, but especially so among the younger generations and women. Why do service members feel their institutions are lacking these attributes? What would they like to see changed? Digging into those questions and the remedial initiatives they may spur should be a priority for those aiming to strengthen Africa’s security institutions.

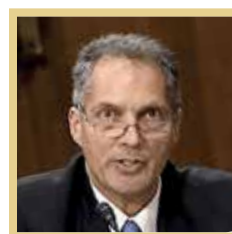
The results from this research also underscore the growing importance that peacekeeping operations are having on the identity and professionalization of Africa’s security sectors. The prospect for peacekeeping deployments plays an important motivational factor for

young recruits and is an increasingly influential formative experience for service members and their institutions. As peacekeeping has taken on a more central responsibility in the mission of African security forces, their members have embraced this role and are eager to enhance their effectiveness and the lessons they can gain from these experiences. There is merit, therefore, in African governments and their international partners continuing to strengthen this capability.

In sum, the survey paints a generally positive picture. Africa’s security professionals are increasingly well-educated, dedicated to their careers and hungry to learn more. They see their profession as a calling and are eager to live up to its highest values. The challenge for the continent’s military and civilian leaders will be to harness this talent and energy to address the complex security challenges of the 21st century. □



Dr. Kwesi Aning



Dr. Joseph Siegle

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COOK SHO



A REASON TO SMILE
FOR LIBERIA'S WEST POINT



ADF STAFF

Just four years ago, Liberia's West Point was reeling from the biggest Ebola outbreak in West Africa's history. As the international community battled the ferocious virus, the Liberian military enforced a quarantine that put residents on edge in the sprawling community of 75,000 people.

West Point was formed in the 1940s in the capital city of Monrovia when workers dredged and created the nation's first shipping port. West Point expanded as war and migration pushed more and more people into the capital.

Ebola has long since receded as an immediate threat for West Point's residents, but the impoverished community still has plenty of problems, such as crowding, crime, a lack of infrastructure and sparse electricity service.

A recent development stands to bring one vital service to some community residents. Four local organizations — the Alternative to Violence

Project-Liberia Student Initiative, Rescue Women, Peaceful United Lutheran Church and Rural Integrated Center for Community Empowerment — have presented and installed a BioSand water filter system to purify drinking water in West Point.

Philip S. Quoqui of the Alternative to Violence Project told Liberia's *New Democrat* newspaper in January 2018 that U.S.-based Friendly Water for the World trained several dozen Liberians in how to make, distribute and install BioSand filters.

The filters are encased in concrete and stand about 1 meter tall. Water flows through layers of sand and gravel on its way to being cleansed of bacteria, viruses, amoebas and other contaminants.

"We need to be on the alert because there are so many water-borne diseases," he said. "We are hearing all kinds of diseases in our country, and some are related to water-borne [causes]."

Children play outside a small restaurant in the West Point community of Monrovia, Liberia.

REUTERS



REVERENCE, RESPECT AND CREDIBILITY

BRIG. GEN. SALEH BALA

Discusses the Need for a Culture of Professionalism in Africa's Militaries

Retired Brig. Gen. Saleh Bala spent 29 years in the Nigerian Army. He is a former military chief of staff of the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire and a former chief of staff for the Nigerian Army Infantry Center. He has a long history of teaching the fundamentals of professionalism to Soldiers, from cadets to midcareer officers. He served as an instructor at the Nigerian Army Infantry School, an instructor at the Nigerian Defense Academy and was on the directing staff of the Nigerian Armed Forces Command and Staff College and the National Defence College. After his retirement in 2013, he founded a research, training and consulting company, White Ink Consult. He spoke to ADF from his office in Abuja. This interview has been edited to fit this format.

ADF: Can you share an event during your career that underscores the importance of military professionalism and ethical comportment? What lessons did you draw from this event?

BRIG. GEN. BALA: I was the third-most senior military officer at the U.N. headquarters in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, in 2011 and 2012. I was a military officer having to coordinate with my civilian counterparts since the U.N. headquarters is civilian led. So I learned how to operate and deal with the two cultures. The civilian culture is very bureaucratic, and the military culture is command-centric. It was a very trying year and a half, which tested my understanding and training at the strategic level. You must establish understanding, coordination, cooperation and communication in order to achieve integration in such a higher headquarters.

ADF: So you had to strike a balance between the military wanting quick results and the civilian leadership following its own procedures. Were there other challenges?

BRIG. GEN. BALA: We were also the second mission after the Democratic Republic of the Congo that was the test ground for the U.N.'s protection of civilians policy. That also brought us into regular contact with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) who always want to maintain their neutrality in a professional sense. They did not want to be seen with the military — otherwise their neutrality would be lost in the minds of the other parties of the conflict. But the protection of civilians policy also included us ensuring the sanctity of routes, liberated areas and secured areas within which these NGOs could effectively operate. We had to play this role

“The military is known to be courteous, professional and hold strict regimented ethics.”

without impinging on or affecting their own policy of neutrality. It was a difficult situation, but at the end we were able to forge an understanding. We had effective coordination to secure the areas where the internally displaced people (IDPs) and the refugees were located. We were able to secure the routes on which humanitarian relief was provided as well as coordinate with the [Ivoirian] government to ensure that civilian security and administration were returned to the liberated regions.

ADF: As an instructor and a mentor, how did you include issues of professionalism and ethics in training?

BRIG. GEN. BALA: I had the opportunity of graduating from training the tactical to the operational up to the strategic levels. This period of my service was also a period in which Nigeria was transitioning from military rule to civilian rule. It was also a critical and interesting period where the world was transitioning from a bipolar to a monopolar world. It was a period when we were having a paradigm shift from wars between nations to wars within nations. That brought about the emphasis for military operations to conform to humanitarian law and the laws of armed conflict. From the tactical to the strategic level, for me, it was a difficult balance to train officers to have the instinct to analyze things as fast as can be at the tactical level to achieve combat successes. But at the operational level, it became important to have a mix of understanding of the political and even diplomatic considerations for commanders. So, as we were growing and training, we were also incorporating critical political education and even diplomatic understanding of the sphere of military operations. We included training blocks for comprehensive U.N. operations, including how

to write up rules of engagement, understanding laws of war, humanitarian law with an emphasis on handling IDPs and refugees, relief operations, and so on and so forth. That came into contention with inculcating in the lower-level military officer the instincts to confront threats and destroy them. This is a delicate balance, and I have continued up to today because I do a lot of mentoring at the Nigerian Defence Academy for young cadets who are to be commissioned into the officer corps.

ADF: Corruption is one area often criticized when it comes to the professionalism of African militaries. Corruption often happens in the procurement process. Can you explain how this can be avoided?

BRIG. GEN. BALA: First, my response should not be misunderstood or misconstrued as saying politicians influence the corruption that has seeped into the military. The corruption which came upon the military was a total disappointment to the ethics and the professional ethos. This is mostly about concern for the lives and welfare of troops. It was hurtful to see inferior equipment, which we knew could fail with dire consequences for the lives and operations of our Soldiers. We experienced this massively in the Boko Haram insurgency where, at a point, shamefully, our well-trained and motivated Soldiers had to turn and run away from insurgents. It is a complex and difficult matter to deal with. Now we are having a new focus and regime where the Ministry of Defence is duly recognizing that end-user demand, meaning military demand, dictates what equipment is required. This occurs after judicious test and evaluation and research and development, based on a threat and doctrinal assessment process. The equipment must be cost-effective,



Nigerian
Soldiers mark
Remembrance
Day in Lagos.
REUTERS

“There is a groundswell of understanding that the military must maintain its subordination to civil rule, and, from within, it should build the upward mobility of its officers and enlisted based on merit.”

A Nigerian Soldier guards the presidential helicopter during an event in Cross River State. REUTERS



understanding also the need for interoperability among the various services since most operations are now joint operations. So equipment procurement has to conform with interoperability so the land forces will be able to effectively communicate and share equipment with the air and naval forces. And vice versa. Even with the paramilitary forces, meaning police and border security. We have a coordinated effort, which, if such is done, and the procurement process is controlled by the Ministry of Defence, that should curtail corruption. There is also a new policy adopted, which is a bilateral country-to-country, government-to-government agreement on purchasing military equipment. That way the temptation of individual military officers to get into deals with contractors is well-curtailed.

ADF: What are some of the factors that push corruption in African militaries? Is there an institutional culture that needs to be changed?

BRIG. GEN. BALA: The cultural aspect is quite an ethical dilemma for the average military officer. Once you are inducted into the military force, you become an elite in the eyes of your community, and you must climb the social ladder. You are expected to come back to your hometown to a very comfortable house. You are supposed to drive a fancy car. Your children are supposed to go to the best schools. You are supposed to take up school fees, medical bills, travel, marriages and feeding of your extended family. This is definitely not done on your basic salary. So this puts a lot of pressure on the average African military officer. On retirement, we hardly have a robust retirement plan. You find yourself retiring at the rank of a 1-star brigadier general, and your monthly pension is \$600; how do you survive on that? When you were in service, your salary was up to \$1,300 with free housing, free electricity, a staff car. How do you balance all this socio-cultural pressure and your family's needs? So, typically officers, when they approach their retirement, are induced to corrupt ways in order to find a safety net for themselves.

ADF: How can this be changed?

BRIG. GEN. BALA: There are several efforts now within the military to build a reasonable, better landing for officers on retirement. We have an independent pension scheme, which hasn't quite changed the pay rate but at least you are assured that every month you will get your pension, unlike in the past when you waited a year or two or three after your retirement before you started earning your pension. We also started an insurance scheme that you can contribute into to provide health insurance. There is also a housing scheme for which you make a contribution during your service

years and you are assured a level of accommodation in the location where you intend to retire.

But the preponderance of corruption among the nonmilitary elite is still a pull factor to military officers. You find today, even someone who is a distant junior to you, who has become a senator or a governor of a state, is able to fly on and even own private jets, expensive cars and provide security for his or herself. This is attracting officers to be unethical, against the grain of their training and their tradition. But the effort is being made to train and emphasize ethics from cadet school through the staff college and defense college, as well as the regular officer and enlisted training through the years.

ADF: Despite challenges, polls taken across numerous African countries consistently show the military as among the most respected institutions. Why do you think this is the case?

BRIG. GEN. BALA: Mainly it's about the institutional culture and the faith the general populace puts in the military. The military is known to be courteous, professional and hold strict regimented ethics. Orders are orders. And, what's more, the military is always quartered and isolated from the general public. That distance gives the military an image of grandeur and invincibility which has been preserved for the past six decades in Africa, despite the aberrations in history of military involvement in governance. In the military, specific orders and projects are executed in a short timeline. This is quite unlike the civil, bureaucratic process which takes consultation, due diligence and political assessment before the project comes to fruition.

ADF: How does the military maintain this position in the eyes of civilians?

BRIG. GEN. BALA: The military must maintain its professionalism in order to maintain and hold its image of reverence and respect, its general credibility in the eyes of its civilian masters. As such, it must remove itself and never be tempted to make or impinge on political decisions. It also must maintain its merit-based culture in order to select only the best for its leadership. It must also lend itself to civilian oversight. In several of the militaries, without mentioning nations, you find that simply for being the son of the president you are appointed the chief of intelligence services or even the chief of defense staff. This is affecting the militaries of a number of nations and resulting in ineffectiveness of such militaries in operations across the continent. But there is a groundswell of understanding that the military must maintain its subordination to civil rule, and, from within, it should build the upward mobility of its officers and enlisted based on merit. □



Putting Principles

AHEAD POWER

**AFRICA'S GREATEST LEADERS FOUND A VARIETY OF WAYS TO GOVERN,
INCLUDING DELEGATING AUTHORITY AND LEADING BY EXAMPLE.**

ADF STAFF

In his autobiography, Nelson Mandela recalled how he met the president of Tanzania in March, 1990.

"We arrived in Dar es Salaam ... and I met Julius Nyerere, the newly independent country's first president," Mandela wrote in *Long Walk to Freedom*. "We talked at his house, which was not at all grand, and I recall that he drove himself in a simple car, a little Austin. This impressed me, for it suggested that he was a man of the people."

That the two men would meet was inevitable. Mandela and Nyerere were among the most-admired leaders of their time, and they remain the gold standards for ethics and honor in leadership. It's difficult to study the career of either man without

finding the other man referenced.

"Their power of examples shows how ethical leaders navigated their nations through internal divisions to stability and how ethical norms became inculcated into the security services that they left behind," wrote Paul Nantulya of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies.

Ethics in government is a challenge the world over. In March 2001, the African Leadership Council issued "The Mombasa Declaration," a statement asserting the need for honorable, competent governments in Africa.

"We recognize that leadership, especially in Africa, is difficult," said the declaration. "There are many challenges, particularly of

political culture, poverty, illiteracy and disunity. Yet, we have come together in Mombasa to maximize and affirm the potential for positive leadership on our continent.”

The 10 African leaders responsible for the statement had already seen what bad governments can do. They said that under bad leaders, “Corruption grows. Funds flow out of the country into hidden bank accounts. Discrimination against minorities — and occasionally majorities — becomes prevalent. Civil wars begin.”



MANDELA, LEADING FROM PRISON

Mandela spent 27 years in prison, and out of necessity developed a leadership style that relied on individual initiative and shared ethical values. As the leader of a movement whose followers were, in many instances, either incarcerated themselves or in exile, Mandela had to delegate authority and lead through persuasion, rather than fiery rhetoric. His followers had to be decisive, rather than wait for central direction. They developed as independent thinkers. Nantulya said that Mandela developed a culture of “collective leadership” and “shared ethics” that his followers adopted.

“This approach carried over to when Mandela entered office as president, according to his successor, Thabo Mbeki,” wrote Nantulya in a study, “Africa’s Strategic Future: The Consequence of Ethical Leadership.” “While setting forth broad principles, he left the day-to-day leadership and implementation to younger colleagues. In the process, he helped create a culture of leadership rejuvenation and initiative.”

Mbeki said that Mandela and his followers had to lead by example. “At all times they understood the need to inspire confidence among those of us who were following them by paying very close attention to the manner in which they conducted themselves in private and in public.”

Mandela knew that his example was a full-time job. After his release from prison, he began meeting with leaders throughout Africa and wrote that he was regarded with suspicion.

“I knew that over the previous few years some of the men who had been released had gone to Lusaka and whispered, ‘(Mandela) has become soft. He has been bought off by the authorities. He is wearing three-piece suits, drinking wine, and eating fine food.’ I knew of these whispers, and I intended to refute them. I knew that the best way to disprove them was simply to be direct and honest about everything that I had done.”

When Mandela was elected South Africa’s first black president, he announced that he would serve only one term, although two were allowed.

In their book, *Winning the Long Game: How Strategic Leaders Shape the Future*, authors Paul J.H. Schoemaker and Steven Krupp said that Mandela was a master of adaptation.

“Mandela exemplifies how a strategic leader adjusts strategy and execution amid complex social, political, legal and economic forces without compromising deeply held values,” they wrote. “Leadership is not just about motivating

Former South African President Nelson Mandela with a sculpture presented to him in Johannesburg in 2006.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The declaration noted the qualities of great leaders: “Positive leaders in Africa stand out because of their adherence to participatory democratic principles and their clear-minded strength of character. Transformational leaders improve the lives of their followers and make those followers proud of being part of a new vision. Good leaders produce results, whether in terms of enhanced standards of living, basic development indicators, abundant new sources of personal opportunity, enriched schooling, skilled medical care, freedom from crime, or strengthened infrastructures.”

The Code of AFRICAN LEADERSHIP

In 2004, the African Leadership Council introduced its Code of African Leadership. The council asked the African Union and the heads of Africa's nations to adopt the code, and reject the "unfortunate" examples of bad African leaders including Idi Amin, Jean-Bedel Bokassa and Mobutu Sese Seko.

The code says that African leaders serve their people and nations best when:

1. They offer a coherent vision of individual growth and national advancement with justice and dignity for all.
2. They seek to be transformational more than transactional leaders.
3. They encourage broad participation of all levels of society, including all minorities and majorities, and emphasize the deliberative nature of the best democratic practices.
4. They demonstrate in their professional and personal lives deep respect for the letter and the spirit of all of the provisions of the national constitution, including strictly abiding by term limits.
5. They lead by example and teaching to acquaint their peoples with respect for dissent, the ideas of others, and the importance of disagreement between political parties and individuals.
6. They enforce rulings of all courts and independent tribunals and emphasize and strengthen the independence of the judiciary, so as to bolster the rule of law.
7. They respect international conventions and international laws.
8. They promote transparency and encourage and adhere to internationally common forms of accountability.
9. They recognize that they are accountable for their actions and that no one is above the law nationally and internationally.
10. They accept peer review.
11. They promote policies aimed at eradicating poverty and enhancing the welfare and livelihood of their people within an appropriate macroeconomic framework.
12. They strengthen and improve access to education and health care.
13. They respect all human rights and civil liberties.
14. They demand and work for the peaceful and lawful transfer of power.
15. They promote and respect the separation of powers by ensuring financial autonomy of the judiciary and parliament, and ensure that the judiciary and parliament are free from unlawful interference by the executive.
16. They adhere to a strong code of ethics and demand the same from all subordinate officials and cabinet ministers.
17. They do not use their office for personal gain and avoid (or declare) all conflicts of interest; they declare their personal and immediate family assets yearly.
18. They specifically eschew corrupt practices and expose those in their official capacities that violate national laws and practices against corruption.
19. They ensure human security.
20. They respect freedom of religion.
21. They respect freedom of the press and media.
22. They respect freedom of assembly.
23. They respect freedom of expression.

people and creating political support for a strategy, but also about maintaining broad support through successive adjustments to the plan."

NYERERE, THE MWALIMU

The Swahili word *mwaliimu* means "teacher," but in Tanzania, is it also the nickname for Nyerere, the country's founding president. Nyerere believed in the African concept of *Ujamaa*, meaning "brotherhood." In a 2017 study, Nantulya said Nyerere was guided by the principles of "servant leadership." Servant leaders practice "honesty, accountability, good stewardship of public resources, accessibility to the public and open government."

Nyerere's approach to leadership was grounded in the influences of being a member of a tribe as a child, and the emphasis on tribal consensus. He was also grounded in the ideals of Christianity, which he had learned in school.

His country gained its independence without war, a tribute to Nyerere's integrity, his skill as persuasive orator, his considerable abilities as an organizer, and his ability to work with different groups, including British colonialists.

Nyerere became an international figure, gaining "prestige for his principled support of the struggles for majority rule in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola," reported *The New York Times*. He also ordered a military counteroffensive against Idi Amin of Uganda, which routed the dictator and sent him into exile.

Under Nyerere, the values of *Ujamaa* were taught to all levels of the armed forces. "This extended to the national youth services that provided a wide pool of potential recruits, as well as the Kivukoni Academy for senior civilian and military leaders," wrote Nantulya. "As a rule,

civilian and military members trained together from the junior to senior level, creating healthy civil-military relations in the long term.”

When Nyerere became president, Tanzania was one of Africa’s poorest countries. Nyerere believed that socialism would cure his country’s poverty. Under his leadership, Tanzania made great advances in health and education. But economically, socialism was an experiment that ultimately failed.



“The role of retired presidents in society has never been clear, which makes it difficult for most leaders to let go of power, but the culture of respecting term limits is gaining a foothold across the continent.”



— Patrick Magero,

United States International University Africa, Kenya

Nyerere stepped down as president in 1985 after 24 years. He was the third African leader to give up power voluntarily in the modern era, and he retired to a farm in his home village near Lake Victoria.

Nyerere remains revered throughout Tanzania as a man of principle who would not tolerate even the appearance of privilege. His leadership style has been described as leading by the power of example and the strategic use of state institutions.

RAMGOOLAM AND KHAMA

Robert I. Rotberg, who directed the establishment of the Index for African Governance, has said that Seretse Khama, Botswana’s founding

president, and Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Mauritius’ first leader, are examples of honest, capable governance.

Khama was president from 1966 to 1980 and is remembered for laying the foundation for ethical and open government in the young democracy. “Modest, unostentatious as a leader, and a genuine believer in popular rule, Khama forged a participatory and law-respecting political culture that has endured under his successors,” Rotberg wrote in 2005.

Khama’s legacy continues. The research group Transparency International says that Botswana has the best perceived corruption ranking in Africa — and has for 20 years. The country has a record of uninterrupted democratic elections. The country has elected three presidents since Khama, with his son Ian serving 10 years before stepping down in March 2018.

Ramgoolam was the prime minister of Mauritius from 1968 until 1982. He largely shaped his country’s government and foreign policies. As prime minister, he established free universal education and free health care, along with introducing pensions for the aged. Although his later years as governor were not entirely successful — the economy stagnated for a time — today he is regarded as “Father of the Nation.” His son Navis has served three terms as the country’s prime minister.

Ramgoolam, said Rotberg, “gave Mauritius a robust democratic beginning, which has been sustained by a series of wise successors from different backgrounds and parties.” Today, Mauritius has the highest ranking on the Human Development Index — a composite statistic of life expectancy, education, and income — of any country in Africa.

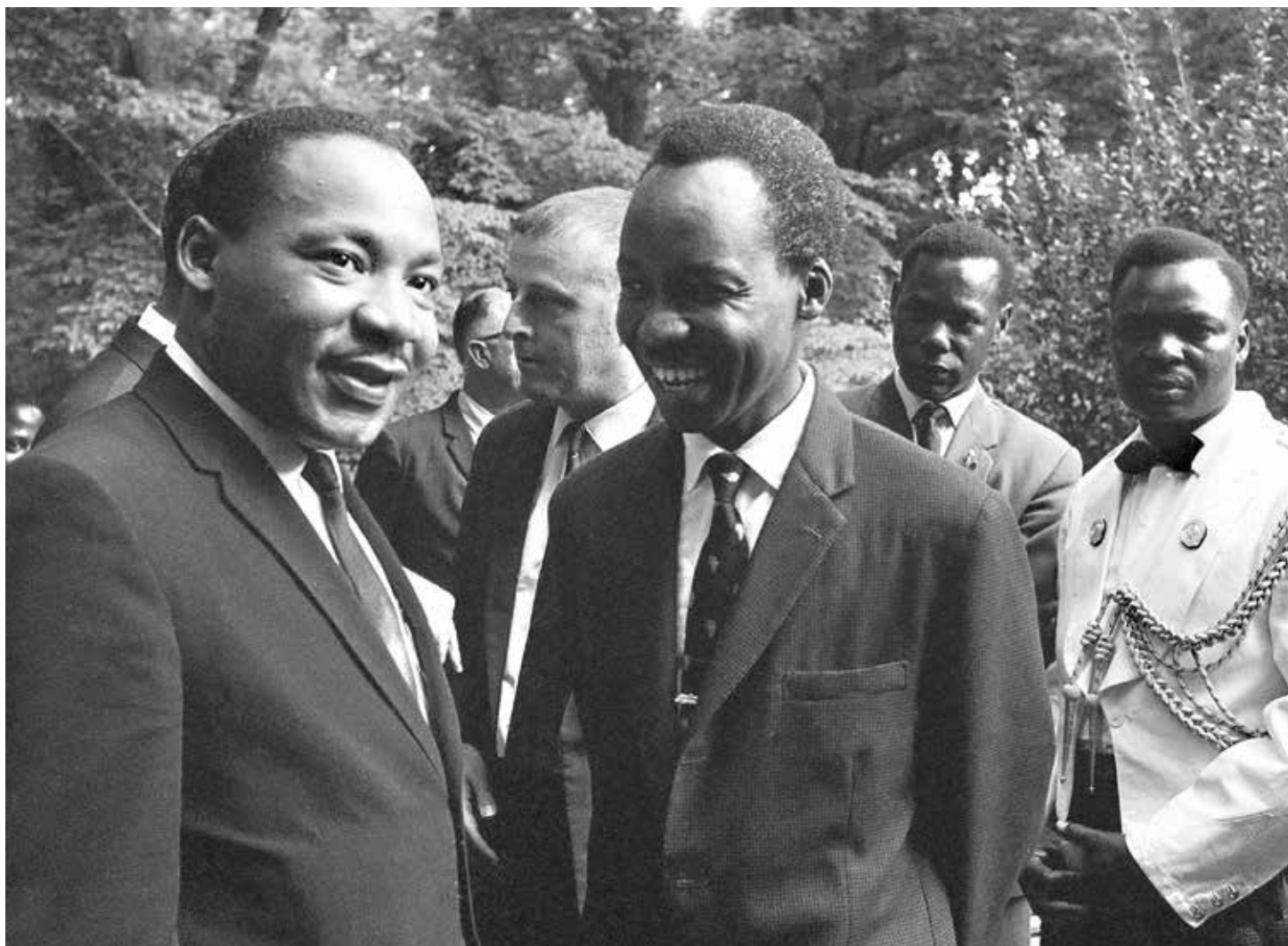
Khama and Ramgoolam were in positions as leaders to establish strong, single-man, kleptocratic regimes — “But they refused to do so,” Rotberg said.

THE PRESIDENT WHO LEFT

A painful issue facing many African countries is leaders who refuse to leave office. They change their country’s constitutions to allow for more than two terms, they meddle in the elections, and they refuse to accept election results when they lose. Some are afraid to leave office, knowing that their successors might find evidence of corruption.

A report by the Africa Center for Strategic Studies found that countries that enforce term limits on leaders are less prone to armed conflict than those where leaders stay indefinitely.

Patrick Magero, a lecturer at the United



States International University Africa in Kenya, calls it a “third time problem.”

“The role of retired presidents in society has never been clear, which makes it difficult for most leaders to let go of power,” he said, “but the culture of respecting term limits is gaining a foothold across the continent.”

Joaquim Chissano respected term limits. He was the second president of Mozambique, serving from 1986 to 2005. When he took office, his country was in the throes of a civil war that began in 1977. He initiated sweeping changes, including changing the economic model from socialism to capitalism. In 1990, his country passed a new constitution that helped establish a multiparty political system and free elections. He began peace talks with the rebels, and the civil war ended in 1992.

In 2001, the popular Chissano announced that he would not run again for president — a move that was seen as critical of such leaders as Robert Mugabe, who was then serving his fourth term as president of Zimbabwe.

On Chissano’s 68th birthday in 2007, the Mo Ibrahim Foundation awarded him its first Achievement in African Leadership award. It consists of an initial \$5 million gift, plus \$200,000 a year for life. It recognizes African leaders “who have developed their countries, lifted people out of poverty, and paved the way for sustainable and equitable prosperity.” The award also “ensures that Africa continues to benefit from the experience and expertise of exceptional leaders when they leave national office, by enabling them to continue in other public roles on the continent.”

The award’s judges said that “Mr. Chissano’s decision not to seek a third presidential term reinforced Mozambique’s democratic maturity and demonstrated that institutions and the democratic process were more important than the person.”

Since the award was established in 2006, it has been given only five times. □

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., an American civil rights leader, meets Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, center, in 1963.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Decoding *the*

DRG



ADF ILLUSTRATION

Holdovers from History Hamper the Vast Nation's Ability to Overcome Instability

ADF STAFF

The proliferation of armed groups in Africa's second-largest country has destabilized the nation for decades, but an incident in December 2017 brought renewed attention to the dangers present in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

The Allied Democratic Forces attacked United Nations personnel in the eastern DRC's North Kivu province, killing 15 peacekeepers, at least five members of the DRC's military, and wounding another 53 peacekeepers.

The three-hour firefight destroyed at least one armored personnel carrier, U.N. officials told *The Washington Post*. "This is the worst attack on U.N. peacekeepers in the organization's recent history," Secretary-General António Guterres said.

The Allied Democratic Forces, estimated to have 1,500 armed fighters, are responsible for other attacks on peacekeepers in the DRC: one in July 2013 and another in March 2014. The group is just one of about 70 armed militant and militia groups fomenting violence all across the DRC's 2.3 million square miles.

The DRC should be among Africa's most prosperous nations. Its diverse mineral reserves are almost without parallel. But the nation has suffered a complicated political history and has been at the center of two major continental wars. The scars still are visible today. A look at the nation's history and some of its more troubled regions underscores the complexity of the security conditions within them.

THE BIRTH OF INSTABILITY

The DRC's colonial roots date to 1880s Belgium. By 1908, Belgium, under King Leopold II, took official control of what was then called the Belgian Congo. Paul Nantulya, a research associate with the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, told *ADF* that the DRC's complex problems cannot be understood outside its colonial history.

"Congo, or the territory that became Congo, was never governed as a country," he said. "It was not meant to be a country. Congo was governed as a private estate of King Leopold." Central to that "private estate" was the forced extraction of rubber, for which every able-bodied worker had a daily quota. Rubber extraction came at the expense of other long-standing economies, such as subsistence agriculture.

"You're now producing for export, and you don't own that production, so that introduces poverty, it introduces underdevelopment," Nantulya said. "It basically makes underdevelopment systemic. And then it introduced violence, violence on a scale that had not been seen before."

With resource exploitation came the architecture of governance custom-built for colonial authorities but ill-suited to effectively run a country as large as the DRC, with its many regions and social divisions. For example, the capital, Kinshasa, sits on the Congo River in the West, more than 1,500 kilometers by air from Goma, the capital of North Kivu province in the East, a current security hot spot.

THE CENTER DOESN'T HOLD

Colonial rule kept a powerful government center in what is now Kinshasa, far removed from 11 outlying regions, which were organized for forced labor. This “center-periphery dynamic,” as Nantulya calls it, kept provinces weak to avoid rebellions. After independence in 1960, that dynamic remained, and it was further exploited by Congolese leaders, such as President Mobutu Sese Seko.

In this system, hatred for the central government festered and often extended to local leaders, sparking secessionist sentiments. Those sentiments still exist today, and their complexity makes them difficult to overcome. Similar “center-periphery” problems also have arisen in Sudan with the Darfur crisis, but the DRC is a more extreme example. The DRC’s size contributes to the problem, but governance is the main driver, Nantulya said. His September 2017 paper, “A Medley of Armed Groups Play on Congo’s Crisis,” looks at how this dynamic plays out in Kasai, Katanga, and North and South Kivu provinces.



THE KASAI REGION

Kasai is a region in the south-central DRC about the size of Germany. A U.N. report indicated that since 2016, more than 1 million people had been driven from their homes in the midst of an anti-government revolt there and in surrounding areas. Homes, schools and health care centers were looted and destroyed, leaving about 1 million people without reliable food supplies and 400,000 children in danger of malnutrition.

The violence began in August 2016 after a traditional chief died in a clash between DRC security forces and his militia. It has since grown exponentially, the U.N. reported, affecting five regional provinces — Kasai, Kasai Central, Kasai Oriental, Lomami and Sankuru — and nearly 2.5 million people.

In November 2016, the chief’s followers launched an insurgency. “They rallied supporters to rid Kasai of all central government representatives and institutions, a call once championed by their slain leader,” Nantulya wrote. “They carried out both individual and coordinated attacks on police stations, army installations, and local offices of the Independent Electoral Commission.”

In March 2017, these rebels ambushed a convoy and decapitated 42 police officers. The government in Kinshasa has used the Bana Mura ethnic militia to bolster counterinsurgency efforts, Nantulya wrote. The Bana Mura stand accused of various atrocities, such as destroying villages and killing civilians.

The government’s use of the Bana Mura is part of a strategy that dates to colonial times, Nantulya told *ADF*. “It exacerbates problems in a number of ways,” he said. “It weakens and undermines formal institutions. It kind of encourages impunity, and we see this in many parts of Congo. When you use private militias, you insulate yourself from accountability, and it gives you plausible deniability. So it’s very attractive — there’s incentive to do that. It’s not just the central government that’s doing it; it’s local elites that do it as well.”

The use of militias as government proxies also increases the risk of human rights catastrophes. Most armed militias are ethnic- or tribal-based. So they are more likely to operate against rival groups perceived to be at odds with government officials with whom they are aligned.



THE KATANGA REGION

Katanga covers most of the nation’s south and is its richest region. It has a third of the world’s cobalt reserves and a 10th of the world’s copper, according to the nonprofit Pamoja Tujenge, which means “Let’s build together” in Swahili. It also has substantial amounts of cadmium, chromium, coal, germanium,

gold, lead, manganese, silver, tin, uranium and zinc. It has been called “the jewel in the Congo’s crown.” More than two-thirds of the nation’s revenue and nearly all of its exports originate in Katanga.

Shortly after independence, the region also was “the seat of a vigorous, but ultimately unsuccessful, secessionist campaign,” Nantulya wrote. Later, it was a key area in the revolt that ousted former President Mobutu Sese Seko — with rebels led by Laurent Kabila, the father of the current president. When Joseph Kabila became president in January 2001, the Katanga region was a key government support center. It is the Kabilas’ home province.

Katanga was part of a patronage system that funneled wealth into the capital, enriching the government, the ruling party and the military. The government always depended on Katanga to be a bulwark against opposition. Despite this, Nantulya said, a robust secessionist sentiment always existed there, and that became a problem in 2015 when Moise Katumbi, a former ally of President Joseph Kabila, challenged him for party leadership and the presidency, taking business, military, party and provincial cabinet leaders with him. Suddenly, the Kabila government had no power structure in its richest province.

Kabila responded by enacting “decoupage,” a process previously approved in 2006 to expand the number of national provinces from 11 to 26. The process would split Katanga into four smaller provinces, thus diluting Katumbi’s influence before elections could be held.



North & South Kivu provinces

THE EASTERN DRC

The far eastern provinces of North Kivu and South Kivu have long been home to armed groups that originate in neighboring countries. The Allied Democratic Forces came out of Uganda, where it began as an Islamist insurgency. It has since morphed into a more generic group, which essentially operates as a criminal racket as part of the region’s “architecture of violence,” Nantulya said. It collects taxes, raises money through illicit trafficking and offers violence for hire.

Soldiers of the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo install a mobile artillery gun in North Kivu in January 2018 during Operation Sokola 1. The operation was to root out armed groups accused of murdering United Nations peacekeepers. AFP/GETTY IMAGES





MONUSCO

MISSION PROFILE

The United Nations Security Council established the **United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo** in 2010, replacing an earlier mission that began in 1999.

STRENGTH as of September 15, 2017

MILITARY PERSONNEL

- 16,071 military personnel (including 595 women)
- 425 military observers (including 16 women)
- 187 military staff officers (including 12 women)

POLICE PERSONNEL

- 1,368 police personnel
- 320 U.N. Police
- 1,048 personnel of formed police units

CIVILIANS

- 4,145 civilians

COUNTRY CONTRIBUTORS

MILITARY PERSONNEL

Bangladesh, Belgium, **Benin**, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, **Burkina Faso**, **Cameroon**, Canada, China, **Côte d'Ivoire**, Czech Republic, **Egypt**, France, **Ghana**, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Jordan, **Kenya**, **Malawi**, Malaysia, **Mali**, Mongolia, **Morocco**, Nepal, **Niger**, **Nigeria**, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Romania, Russia, **Senegal**, Serbia, **South Africa**, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, **Tanzania**, **Tunisia**, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Yemen and **Zambia**.

POLICE PERSONNEL

Bangladesh, **Benin**, Brazil, **Burkina Faso**, **Cameroon**, **Chad**, **Egypt**, France, **Ghana**, **Guinea**, India, Jordan, **Madagascar**, **Mali**, **Niger**, **Nigeria**, Romania, Russia, **Senegal**, Sweden, Switzerland, **Togo**, **Tunisia**, Turkey, Ukraine and Yemen.

93 FATALITIES

- 56 troops
- 8 police officers
- 3 military observers
- 14 international civilians
- 12 local civilians

The Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), a remnant of Hutu rebels opposed to Tutsi rule in neighboring Rwanda, has taken refuge in the eastern DRC, where the group has found varying degrees of support from local and national leaders. The FDLR has become a pretext for Rwandan meddling in the region, Nantulya said. It and the Allied Democratic Forces at times use the DRC as a base for launching raids into their home countries, which in turn recruit militias to fight back.

Another armed group, the M23 rebel movement, was bolstered by the Rwandan government as a proxy group in the region and took control of Goma, North Kivu's capital, in 2012 but was defeated the following year.

THE PEACEKEEPING CHALLENGE

Working in this complexity is the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). The DRC's "center-periphery" governance makes long-lasting gains difficult for the mission, but there have been a number of short-term successes, said Aditi Gorur, director of the Protecting Civilians in Conflict Program at the Stimson Center.

MONUSCO has been innovative, especially in protecting civilians, she said. It has identified high-priority deployment areas to protect civilians and has combined military and civilian contingents, which may include child protection or human rights experts as needed.



Military police officers patrol Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo, in 2017. REUTERS

The mission also uses community liaison assistants (CLAs), which are local staffs co-located with military personnel. "The goal is to serve as a means of improving communication between peacekeeping forces and the local communities, which is so crucial in the DRC," Gorur said. "That's an idea that MONUSCO came up with. They were finding



Residents demonstrate against President Joseph Kabila as peacekeepers from MONUSCO patrol Kinshasa in December 2016.

that their military personnel, there were language barriers or cultural barriers — they were having a hard time communicating with the local population.” Deploying CLAs with the right language skills helped MONUSCO determine local protection needs.


The mission also has cataloged and analyzed human rights threats. That’s important, Gorur said, because it ensures that justice is served and because human rights trends can tell you how conflicts are likely to evolve. “Challenges and the Path Forward for MONUSCO,” a June 2016 Stimson paper co-authored by Gorur, says the mission also:

- **Targets armed groups:** MONUSCO’s military component, including its Force Intervention Brigade, which is authorized to take offensive action, coordinates with the DRC’s military to deter violence.
- **Provides early warning regarding threats:** The mission hands out communications equipment to Congolese civilians so they can call in threats for a rapid response.
- **Participates in local conflict prevention and stabilization:** The Civil Affairs section works with communities to resolve local conflicts.
- **Strengthens the rule of law:** MONUSCO trains police, prison officers and judiciary officials. It also supports mobile courts to increase access to the justice system in remote areas.

Despite these short-term accomplishments, long-term success has been elusive. MONUSCO began in July 2010, evolving out of the former United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which began in 1999. There are pressures to eventually end the mission, but that will be difficult, given the troublesome nature of national political conditions under President Kabila.

Elections have been delayed, and for now are set for December 2018. MONUSCO must walk a fine line with the government while also meeting its obligations to support and protect civilians. When elections do occur, it will be essential to have a peacekeeping force on the ground to manage instability that likely will follow, Gorur said.

All these complexities will limit the effectiveness of any peacekeeping force. Nantulya said: “If you had 500,000 troops in the Congo, you’d still have this problem, in the sense that it’s just the sheer complexity of the crisis in Congo which makes the MONUSCO operation — or any other operation for that matter — extremely difficult. And achieving missions in that kind of environment will always be elusive.” □



*In asymmetric wars, **more needs to be done**
to protect people caught in the middle*

A Ugandan Soldier registers refugees as they cross the border from the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

PROTECTING CIVILIANS

in TIMES of CONFLICT

ADF STAFF

A small bus loaded with 24 people from Burkina Faso was crossing into Mali, en route to a weekly market in the town of Boni. Nine kilometers from the market, the vehicle triggered a land mine planted by Malian insurgents.

All 24 people, including four babies and their mothers, were killed in the January 2018 incident.

It's a common story. At least 600,000 African civilians in 27 countries have been killed in the past 20 years during conflicts, with millions more wounded and displaced. Countless others have died from the indirect results of conflict, including starvation.



United Nations and AMISOM medics help wounded civilians at Mogadishu airport in February 2016 after at least 30 people were killed in bomb attacks.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Peacekeeping missions have a mixed record when it comes to protecting civilians. Mission mandates, training and policy are often inconsistent or ineffective at shielding the most vulnerable people from violence.

UNDERSTANDING THE NEEDS

Jide Martuns Okeke and Paul D. Williams edited the 2017 book, *Protecting Civilians in African Union Peace Support Operations: Key Cases and Lessons Learned*. In it, they note that “it has often been challenging to generate consensus and guide coordination among stakeholders about what needs to be done, when and by whom.” The book also notes that “there is not always a clear delineation of roles and responsibilities ... in ways that promote a collective understanding, approach and goals toward meeting the specific challenges of civilian protection.”

“Assuming one can identify who are civilians and who are combatants, which is not always

easy, the main challenges revolve around implementation and the issues of expectations, resources and the peacekeepers' mindsets and their willingness to be proactive and take risks to protect civilians," Williams told *ADF*. "The most dangerous situations are arguable where forces aligned to the government/host state are the ones causing harm to civilians. This puts peacekeepers in a very difficult situation as their presence depends on the legal consent of the host government."



Djiboutian Soldiers serving in AMISOM display weapons during a patrol in the south central town of Beledweyne, Somalia. REUTERS

RIGHT-SIZING AND USING POLICE

The Darfur region of western Sudan is an example of peacekeepers at odds with the host government. In 2003, rebel groups took on the government of Sudan, alleging that the government discriminated against non-Arabs. The government responded by supporting a group of militias known as the Janjaweed, which means "devils on horseback." The Janjaweed, often well-trained, looted and burned villages, polluted water sources, and murdered, tortured and raped civilians. The nongovernmental organization World Without Genocide says that more than 480,000 people have been killed, and more than 2.8 million people have been forced to leave their homes as of 2018.

In 2004, the African Union established the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) specifically to protect civilians in Darfur. Initially, 150 Soldiers were assigned to AMIS, which eventually expanded to 9,000 troops. That proved to be a fraction of the personnel needed. Although AMIS was criticized for its logistical problems, delays and lack of capacity, its real problem was that its force was too small to deal with Darfur's problems.

In 2007, AMIS was replaced with the far-larger African Union-United Nations Mission in Darfur

(UNAMID). As of the end of 2017, the mission had 2,873 civilians, 11,005 troops, 152 experts, 2,731 police, 292 staff members and 121 U.N. volunteers.

A U.N. resolution adopted in 2014 specifically spells out the duties of UNAMID personnel regarding civilians. It requires the mission to "protect civilians, without prejudice to the responsibility of the Government of Sudan."

Researchers John Ahere, Olivia Davis and Irene Limo say UNAMID police units have focused on four things: acting as a go-between to minimize differences between UNAMID operations and Sudan's own police force, capacity building, community policing, and details such as program evaluations.

The three researchers say that local perceptions of UNAMID's civilian protection go far beyond personal safety. Darfur civilians, they say, believe that civilian protection includes the continuous provision of health care and reliable access to food, water and medicine.

"No matter how many other tasks are undertaken by the peacekeepers, their mission will not be successful while the basic needs of civilians are not met," the researchers concluded.

The Darfur intervention had its roots in a 2001 report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. The commission was a response to then-U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan's question of when the international community must intervene for humanitarian purposes. The commission said that sovereignty not only gave a country the right to control its affairs, it also gave a country primary responsibility for protecting its citizens. The commission asserted that when a country fails to protect its people, through a lack of ability or lack of will, the responsibility shifts to the international community.

In creating the Darfur mission, the U.N. stipulated that it should have "a predominantly African character and the troops should, as far as possible, be sourced from African countries." As of the end of 2017, the countries providing the most Soldiers and police to the mission were Rwanda with 2,424 and Ethiopia with 2,400.

One hallmark of UNAMID has been its use of formed police units (FPUs). As defined by the U.N., an FPU consists of about 140 police officers trained and equipped "to act as a cohesive unit capable of accomplishing policing tasks that individual police officers could not address." A well-trained, well-disciplined unit can operate effectively even in "high-risk" situations such as Darfur. FPUs have three defined responsibilities: maintaining law and order; protecting U.N. personnel, equipment and facilities; and standard policing operations that do not involve threats to the military.

Continued on page 55

A woman passes a
UNAMID patrol as
she arrives at the
Zamzam camp for
civilians in northern
Darfur, Sudan.

REUTERS



A MISSION MANDATE to PROTECT CIVILIANS

ADF STAFF

After three years of internal conflict in the Central African Republic, the African Union in late 2013 deployed the African-led International Support Mission to the Central African Republic (MISCA). Its mandate was to “help protect civilians, stabilize the country, and restore state authority over the territory, as well as create conditions conducive to the provision of humanitarian assistance.”



U.N. peacekeepers from Gabon patrol the Central African Republic town of Bria. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Researchers Mor Djandame Mbow and Issaka Souaré say that MISCA applied “a very high standard to its own personnel, including military personnel, in their dealings with civilians.” That included investigating its own personnel after the forced disappearance of some civilians.

In 2014, the United Nations transitioned 6,000 MISCA personnel to the U.N. Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central

African Republic (MINUSCA). As of the end of 2017, the force of 14,076 included 10,246 troops and 2,020 police officers.

The U.N. chartered MINUSCA “with the protection of civilians as its utmost priority.” Its other tasks have included humanitarian assistance; the promotion and protection of human rights; support for justice and the rule of law; and disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation processes.

In May 2017, security in the southeast part of the country began to deteriorate, with increased attacks over four months against civilians, humanitarian workers and MINUSCA personnel. The U.N. commissioned an investigation into the attacks, and the results were released in early 2018 by the APO Group, a media relations company in Africa. The findings give a window into the problems peacekeepers face in protecting civilians.

The investigation found that MINUSCA has a well-established protection-of-civilians strategy. It has functioning early-warning mechanisms. But the investigation showed that the preparations did not work as preventive actions. There also were shortcomings in civil-military-police planning and field-level operations. Some of the police and Soldiers did not have a clear understanding of protection of civilians.

On a positive note, the investigation showed that there was no evidence of MINUSCA showing partiality to any armed groups or communities.

Retired Brig. Gen. Fernand Amoussou of Benin led the investigation and recommended that MINUSCA review its protection of civilians “to ensure that its operational response is better aligned to and supported by its political engagement and that the mission’s civilian components are more proactively involved,” the report said.

Amoussou also said the U.N. and MINUSCA should work with countries that are contributing Soldiers and police officers to make sure they have an accurate understanding of the requirements for protecting civilians, “with an emphasis on the role of commanders and senior leadership.”

CHANGING THE MANDATE

The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) originated in January 2007 as a peacekeeping force in the country's insurgency. The mission originally had no formal strategy to protect civilians. Williams, an associate professor at The George Washington University, noted that AMISOM delayed adopting a formal policy of protecting civilians, known as PoC, because it also was charged with protecting its own personnel. "Adopting a PoC mandate was thus thought likely to raise local expectations without necessarily providing the tools needed to meet them," Williams wrote.

"Particularly during its first four years, AMISOM had a distinctly ambiguous relationship with civilian protection issues," noted Williams. "On the one hand, AMISOM was mandated to protect certain VIPs associated with the political reconciliation process; degrade al-Shabaab and other anti-government armed actors; and provide medical care, water supplies, electricity generators and humanitarian assistance to significant members of Mogadishu's stricken civilians, because of the absence of humanitarian actors on the ground."

The mission, he said, was even accused of harming civilians, "both directly, through instances of indiscriminate fire and the targeting of civilians who were mistaken for enemy fighters, and indirectly, by failing to protect others from al-Shabaab."

That changed in 2014, in part because the mission was making progress and needed more help from Somali citizens. AMISOM decided that in order to promote reconciliation and create a safe space for national dialogue, it needed to do a better job of protecting clan leaders, religious leaders and civil society leaders.

There is still much room for improvement in Somalia. A U.N. report for 2016 and 2017 said that although al-Shabaab and clan militias were responsible for the majority of civilian casualties, state actors, including the army and police, were responsible for 11 percent. AMISOM, the report said, was responsible for 4 percent of the casualties.

"Parties to the conflict are simply not doing enough to shield civilians from the violence," U.N. Special Envoy to Somalia Michael Keating told Voice of America. "This is shameful."

LESSONS LEARNED

The peacekeeping missions in Africa and elsewhere have provided some valuable lessons:

If PoC is a priority, say it clearly: Soldiers, police and civilians involved in peacekeeping missions need clear, direct instructions on the priority of PoC. If the directives of protecting civilians are not clear, that aspect of the mission will fail. Williams told *ADF* that "it is also important to have clear rules of engagement on the use of force" in protecting civilians. "However, discretion must be left to contingent commanders in the field to make the final call about how best to act in a particular crisis situation."

Underfunded missions don't work: Williams said that "a small under-resourced force which is unable to protect itself is hardly in a position to engage in proactive PoC activities." In any mission, the peacekeepers must have the proper logistical, financial and human resources support to succeed. A clear mandate and consistent funding are critical to the protection of civilians and the success of such missions in general.

Civilians expect protection from peacekeepers: At the very least, peacekeepers should try to minimize threats to civilians in combat regions. In many cases, such as Darfur, civilians have higher expectations of PoC than the peacekeepers can deliver.

Patrols provide protection and information: Protecting civilians requires regular and consistent patrols and military escorts. In Darfur, UNAMID carried out 150 daily patrols to protect civilians, particularly women and children. The patrols were to allow the civilians to go about their daily lives. The operations also provided regular military escorts for aid workers, NGOs and humanitarian convoys. The patrols also enabled UNAMID to regularly assess security throughout the region.

Get buy-in from all the groups involved: A PoC mission requires an integrated missionwide approach to align military, civilian and police components. All the actors must have a clear vision of what their roles will be in protecting civilians.

Protecting civilians is complicated: A proper PoC mission has, by necessity, a complex structure with military, police and civilian components. Peacekeepers need to go into the mission properly equipped and properly trained. An effective mission includes a joint operations center. A rapid-response capability is an essential tool.

Understand the conflict and the threats to civilians: A PoC mission requires observation, record-keeping and information. Planners, managers and officers must have adequate data to analyze what's working and what isn't. A joint mission analysis center is a key tool. "What's required is a threat assessment of potential civilian harm based on an accurate understanding of conflict dynamics," Williams said.

Be flexible and be prepared to adapt: For example, if local police are inadequate, peacekeepers must be ready, and trained, to maintain public order. As a peacekeeping mission gains traction and warfare recedes, it's important for all the players to change tactics to preserve civilian trust and support. UNAMID has relied on a number of strategies, including mobile operations bases, quick response units and early warning systems.

Be prepared for a long-term commitment: Unlike conventional warfare, Africa's asymmetric wars seldom have a clean, specific ending. Groups such as al-Shabaab and Boko Haram can be beaten back, but have not, so far, gone away. □



HE'S THE MARCO POLO OF FOOTBALL

BBC NEWS AT BBC.CO.UK/NEWS



voirian Aristide Bancé is football's version of Marco Polo. Since debuting for the Ivoirian club Stade d'Abidjan in 2000, the 33-year-old has played for 20 professional clubs, including time in Belgium, Burkina Faso, Dubai, Egypt, Finland, Germany, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Qatar, South Africa, Turkey and Ukraine.

He currently plays for Al Masry of Egypt, where football matches are under tight security. "It's a shame that matches here are played behind closed doors at the moment, for security reasons," he explained. "It would be really super if the supporters could come back into the stadiums."

In 2012, thousands of spectators stormed the field at Port Said Stadium in Egypt, killing 74 people and injuring more than 500. A second stampede in 2015

killed 25 people. Since then, most football matches in Egypt have taken place without fans in the stands.

Bancé was born in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, but moved to Burkina Faso as a child. He has a few pointers on how to adapt to playing football for a new club, in a new country or even on a new continent.

"I think humility is important, and it's necessary to stay simple and respect others," said the striker, who, as a member of the national football team, helped Burkina Faso reach its first Africa Cup of Nations final in 2013.

He has appeared for Burkina Faso at three Africa Cup of Nations tournaments. He scored both the team's goal and the winning kick in the penalty shootout in Les Étalons' semifinal defeat of Ghana in 2013 to put the nation in the final for the first time in its history. Burkina Faso went on to lose the final to Nigeria. At the 2015 Africa Cup of Nations, Bancé scored Burkina Faso's goal in a 2-1 loss to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.



SOUTH AFRICAN CHEF

~ Named World's Best ~

BRAND SOUTH AFRICA

A South African chef was named the best female chef in the world for 2017 at The Best Chef Awards in Poland.

Chantel Dartnell, owner of the acclaimed Restaurant Mosaic in Tshwane, has twice been named South African Chef of the Year, and her Pretoria restaurant is one of the country's top-rated dining spots. She trained at a number of restaurants in the United Kingdom.

She uses what she learned to create classic dining and uniquely South African menus that have earned Restaurant Mosaic several local and international food awards, including a Diners' Club World's 50 Best Restaurants award.

Dartnell called the award a great honor and said the recognition was indicative of the world-class quality of South African cuisine. "I certainly think people who would not generally have taken South Africa too seriously at an awards function of this caliber will sit up and notice and become aware of the talent that we have in South Africa," she said. "Ever since winning the award, I have received a number of calls from international chefs whose restaurants I've eaten in, as well as foreign guests planning a visit to South Africa."

Dartnell paid tribute to her family for encouraging her career, saying that her mother "was one of my biggest influences growing up — even now the smell of a roast chicken brings back wonderful childhood memories."



RESTAURANT MOSAIC



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Bello-issima!

NIGERIAN SINGER TAKES OPERA WORLD BY STORM

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

A live performance of an aria from an Italian opera isn't a common sound in the bustling city of Lagos, Nigeria. So, when news spread of an appearance by professional soprano Omo Bello at the Musical Society of Nigeria School of Music, crowds flocked to see her.

"I didn't realize to what extent I was recognized in Nigeria," the 33-year-old admitted after singing *O mio babbino caro*, from Giacomo Puccini's 1918 opera *Gianni Schicchi*.

"I've been away for over a decade, and I guess things have changed and I didn't realize how much," she said. "When I was told that lots of people were coming, I was a little surprised. It's a pleasant surprise though, but still a surprise."

Bello was a Lagos science student who won a scholarship to study at the Paris Conservatoire. Tours followed, with an album and awards, including one from the foundation of the late tenor Luciano Pavarotti. She now has a repertoire that ranges from Bellini to Verdi.

In Nigeria, associated more with Afrobeat and Highlife than Albinoni or Haydn, she said the internet has created new audiences for different musical styles.

"I know that lots of people discovered me on YouTube in Nigeria and social media, so it's a good thing, as people see and hear this music and are surprised that it's very beautiful," she said.

"The fact that it's open to everyone creates a wider audience, so I'm very happy to discover that the public is growing for this music in Nigeria."

As an increasingly established performer, Bello also recognizes the need to help develop the genre and would like to see Nigeria with its own conservatory and opera house.

Using recent graduates of Europe's top music academies to help develop performers in places such as Nigeria could help identify and nurture the next generation of talent, she said.

"African music has gone to the West, and why should the opposite be impossible?" she said.



BLIND ETHIOPIAN ACTIVIST BATTLES FOR THE DISABLED

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Yetnebersh Nigussie's first battle for disability rights was in law school, when she successfully pushed university administrators to provide Braille textbooks for blind students such as herself.

Not long after, Yetnebersh, 35, left the legal profession to pursue a different type of advocacy as a full-time fighter for the rights and opportunities of Ethiopia's millions of disabled people.

In 2017, her life's work was recognized with a Right Livelihood Award, often called the "Alternative Nobel Prize."

But her work is not yet complete.

"There are still ... millions of persons with disabilities who are living in a very destitute manner in a very undignified way," Yetnebersh said. "We really need to show people that people with disabilities have one disability, but have 99 abilities."

A 2011 joint report by the World Bank and World Health Organization estimated that there are 15 million disabled Ethiopians, almost one in five people. Most face grim prospects in a country that is among Africa's poorest and where many see being disabled as a curse.

"No one recognizes that abled bodies could be disabled tomorrow because of an accident or so on. People do not understand that," said Nemera Woyessa, country representative of Light for the World, a disability rights group that Yetnebersh works with.

In cities like the capital, Addis Ababa, disabled people wait at intersections and along sidewalks seeking handouts, a practice so commonplace that it raises few eyebrows.

"Begging takes away your dignity," Yetnebersh said. "It leaves your life in the hands of others."

In 2005, she started the Ethiopian Centre for Disability and Development to tackle issues affecting the disabled in her own way. Since then, she has worked to get the government to adopt a building code that requires new buildings to accommodate the disabled with things such as wider doorways and Braille instruction panels. She also has published a guide that lists accessibility features of hotels, restaurants and government offices in the capital.



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Worldwide Piracy HITS 20-YEAR LOW

DEFENCEWEB

Piracy across the world dropped in 2017 as officials reported a total of 180 attacks against ships to the International Maritime Bureau (IMB).

This is the lowest annual number of incidents since 1995, when 188 incidents were reported. In 2017, pirates boarded 136 vessels, and there were 22 attempted attacks, 16 vessels fired upon and six hijacked.

In 15 incidents, pirates took 91 crew members hostage aboard their ships, and 75 were kidnapped and removed from their vessels in 13 other incidents. Three crew members were killed in 2017, and six were injured.

"Although the number of attacks is down this year in comparison with last year, the Gulf of Guinea and the waters around Nigeria remain a threat to seafarers," said IMB Director Pottengal Mukundan. "Nigerian authorities have intervened in a number of incidents, helping to prevent escalation."

In 2017, there were 36 reported incidents with no vessels hijacked in the Gulf of Guinea and 10 incidents

of kidnapping involving 65 crew members in or around Nigerian waters.

Globally, 16 vessels reported being fired on — including seven in the Gulf of Guinea. Nine incidents were recorded off the coast of Somalia in 2017, up from two in 2016.

In November, armed pirates attacked a container ship about 280 nautical miles east of Mogadishu, Somalia. The pirates, unable to board due to the ship's evasive maneuvering, fired two rocket-propelled grenades, both of which missed, before retreating. Six Somali pirates were subsequently detained by the European Union Naval Force, transferred to the Seychelles and charged with committing an act of piracy. They face up to 30 years in prison if convicted.

"This incident, alongside the 2017 figures, demonstrates Somali pirates retain the capability and intent to launch attacks against merchant vessels hundreds of miles from their coastline," Mukundan said.

A Somali Soldier guards the Garowe prison where Somali pirates are held.

REUTERS



S VOICE OF AMERICA

omalia's government has launched a digital counterextremism center that aims to dissuade young Somalis from supporting militant groups such as al-Shabaab and ISIS.

The Somali Ministry of Information said the center will carry out campaigns on Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and state-run media to get its message across.

"The center plans to raise public awareness [with a] campaign on countering violent extremism, security and peace building, good governance, civic education, and implementing programs that can provide confidence to the people by discrediting terrorists' narratives of violence and destruction," said Information Minister Abdurahman Omar Osman.

Osman, during the opening ceremony, said the center will specifically target al-Shabaab "by exposing their brutality and, hence, weakening its following and public support."

The al-Qaida-linked militant group has carried out dozens of suicide attacks in Somalia during the past decade, including one in October 2017 that killed more than 500 people.

"This will be an opportunity to contribute to the overall peace and stability in Somalia," said

Abdurahman Yusuf al-Adala, director general of Somalia's Ministry of Information. "We will provide accurate and useful information to young people, which, in turn, helps them to understand the benefits of democratic institutions in Somalia."

The new center was created in response to criticism from moderate Somali clerics who said the government has not done enough to fight extremism and violent ideologies on the internet and social media platforms.

Al-Adala said clerics and elders will be given an opportunity to produce video messages for social media. He said young Somalis will have an open forum to talk about terrorism and factors that drive youths to join militant groups.

TOP: A protester carries the Somali national flag during a demonstration against al-Shabaab.

Protesters gather during a demonstration against al-Shabaab in Mogadishu, Somalia.
REUTERS





NIGERIA TAKES AIM AT HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Women march against violence, trafficking and child abuse in Lagos, Nigeria.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

REUTERS

By rewarding whistleblowers, boosting prosecutions and challenging beliefs in black magic, Nigeria is ramping up its crusade against human trafficking. The effort is backed by millions of pounds of British aid, anti-slavery and government officials said.

Thousands of Nigerian women and girls are lured to Europe each year and make the treacherous sea crossing from Libya to Italy, where they are trafficked into sex work, the United Nations reported. The number of Nigerian women and girls arriving in Italy by boat surged to more than 11,000 in 2016 from 1,500 in 2014, with at least four in five forced into prostitution, according to the International Organization for Migration.

To tackle this rise, Nigeria's National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) is stepping up efforts to catch traffickers and support victims, backed by a \$9.8 million aid package announced by Britain's foreign aid department.

"We have embarked on more aggressive campaigns to create awareness," said NAPTIP Director Julie Okah-Donli. "We are covering all the schools and rural areas because this is where they get the girls from."

The agency also is rewarding whistleblowers with a share of traffickers' gains.

"Since the policy was adopted in October, we have had more than 50 people coming to us with information," Okah-Donli said. Britain's latest pledge for Nigeria comes after a promise in September 2017 to double its spending on global projects tackling slavery and trafficking to \$211 million.

The government of Edo State, one of the main points of origin for trafficked women, and NAPTIP are also working to educate people so they are not fearful of black magic. Victims of trafficking fear that witchcraft rituals performed by spiritual priests could harm or kill them or their relatives if they disobey their traffickers.

AU WARNS *of* 6,000 RETURNING EXTREMISTS

— REUTERS

Up to 6,000 Africans who fought for ISIS in Iraq and Syria could return home, the African Union's top security official warned, calling on countries to prepare for the threat.

Smail Chergui, the AU's commissioner for peace and security, said African nations need to work closely with each other and share intelligence to counter returning militants.

"There are reports of 6,000 African fighters among the 30,000 foreign elements who joined this terrorist group in the Middle East," Chergui told a meeting in Algiers, according to the Algeria Press Service.

"The return of these elements to Africa poses a serious threat to our national security and stability, and requires specific treatment and intense cooperation between African countries," he said.

Tens of thousands of foreign fighters joined the extremist group after it seized vast swaths of Iraq and Syria and declared a caliphate in 2014. But the group suffered a host of losses to its territory and military capabilities in 2017.

Backed by a U.S.-led coalition, Iraqi forces gradually retook control of all territory lost to the jihadists, declaring that the country was now liberated from its control.

In Syria, the group faces Western-backed Syrian rebels, jihadist rivals, and government forces supported by Russia and Iran.

The losses have sparked fears that ISIS' remaining foreign fighters may now relocate, bringing their extremist ideology and violence with them.

Libyan forces patrol outside Sirte in an effort to prevent an ISIS resurgence in the region.

— REUTERS



EUROPEAN SPACE AGENCY

— Morocco — LAUNCHES FIRST SURVEILLANCE *Satellite*

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Morocco launched its first observation satellite, which will be used for military activities, border and coastline surveillance, and monitoring desertification.

The Mohammed VI-A satellite was launched from Kourou, French Guiana, on November 8, 2017. It will be piloted from an operating center near Morocco's capital, Rabat.

The launch service provider Arianespace says the satellite will be used for mapping, spatial planning, agricultural monitoring, natural disaster management and environmental development monitoring.

Airbus Defense & Space and Thales Alenia Space built the satellite. A second launch was planned for 2018. The project cost has not been disclosed.



Ghanaian Educator Wins \$500,000 Prize

BBC NEWS AT BBC.CO.UK/NEWS

Patrick Awuah left Ghana in the 1980s with “\$50 in his pocket” after receiving a scholarship in the United States. But after a career with Microsoft, he returned to Ghana and has now won the Wise Prize, worth \$500,000.

The prize, awarded at the World Innovation Summit for Education in Qatar, recognized Awuah’s work as founder of Ashesi University College. The private, not-for-profit college was intended to help develop a new generation of leaders in Ghana and other African countries.

Ashesi opened with 30 students in 2002 and is now teaching 800 students on a campus outside Accra. Awuah said the university provided a “broader perspective” than simply seeking a job qualification.



MACARTHUR FOUNDATION

“We started with the idea of ethical leaders and entrepreneurial leaders,” he said. Students were encouraged “to ponder the big questions about what kind of country we want.”

About half of the university’s students are on scholarships, half are women, and they come from 18 African countries. All students

must study ethics and entrepreneurship and perform community service.

Awuah wants to build a network to raise higher education standards across Africa. In the most recent QS World University Rankings, there were only five African universities in the top 500, with three in South Africa and two in Egypt.

“This is a crucial moment for Africa,” he said. “Today, one out of six people on Earth lives in Africa, and this is set to rise to one in four by 2050. We urgently need to boost the education system in Africa.”

This is not the first major award for Awuah. In 2015, he was awarded a \$625,000 MacArthur Fellowship in the United States. The award is commonly known as the “Genius Grant.”

Sierra Leone Pastor Donates Huge Diamond

BBC NEWS AT BBC.CO.UK/NEWS



This 709-carat diamond was discovered in the eastern Kono district of Sierra Leone.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

A 709-carat diamond discovered by a Sierra Leonean pastor sold for \$6.5 million at auction in December 2017.

Called “the peace diamond,” it is the 14th-largest diamond ever found and the biggest found in Sierra Leone since 1972. The diamond was expected to sell for far more, but experts said the market was down at the time of the sale, and they also were concerned that it would not cut and polish into large, high-quality jewels.

Emmanuel Momoh, a Christian pastor in the eastern Kono district, discovered the precious stone. He chose to hand it over to the government instead of selling it to smugglers or middlemen.

Momoh said that selling the diamond to middlemen would not have benefited the community. “We lack a lot of things,” he said. “We don’t have a good road network; we don’t have better schools or drinking water.”

Rapaport Group, which waived all fees, handled the sale. Group Chairman Martin Rapaport said the diamond was fascinating.

“Inside this diamond there are many other diamonds,” he said. “All experts that see it see different things inside of it.”

He said that all the money accrued from the sale will go to Sierra Leone and that it will be used to help the community where it was mined. He added that this will bring about a “sea change in the relationship between artisanal miners and the government” if the community is seen to benefit from the diamond. “It will encourage others to work with the government.”

TV Show Celebrates Integrity in Government

VOICE OF AMERICA

A reality TV show that celebrates honest civil servants in corruption-plagued countries has grown to reach new audiences in Mali and Liberia. It aims to enlist the public's help in fighting graft.

Integrity Idol asks the public to nominate model civil servants and then vote for their favorite by text message after the finalists appear on

national TV and radio. The show launched in Nepal in 2014 and has since spread to Liberia, Mali, Nigeria and Pakistan.

In the finals in December 2017 in the West African nations of Liberia and Mali, a nursing instructor and a teacher were voted the winners from among thousands of nominees.

"There are lots of challenges

to being a person of integrity in Liberia," said Liberia's winner, Rebecca Scotland, a nursing teacher in the capital, Monrovia. Corruption is so common in Liberia and across the region that patients even bribe nurses to ensure that they receive the proper medicine and care, she said.

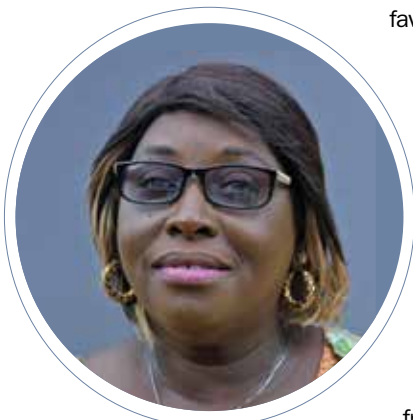
She plans to create a network with other winners to boost honesty and transparency in the public sector, she told Reuters after receiving the award.

Liberia ranked 90th out of 176 countries on watchdog Transparency International's global corruption perception index in 2016, while Mali ranked 116th. In Mali, politicians are sometimes arrested for graft but avoid penalties because the judges also are corrupt, said Moussa Kondo, who launched *Integrity Idol* there in 2016.

"We want to show young generations that there's another way to become famous, without getting rich," he told Reuters.

Mali's winner, Mahamane Mahamane Baba, teaches at a public high school in Timbuktu and organizes literacy classes in his free time. In Mali, people made 3,011 nominations for *Integrity Idol* in 2017, compared to 2,850 in 2016, Kondo said.

Liberians submitted 4,689 nominations in 2017, more than three times the number when the show started in 2015, while the reach of the campaign through radio and TV stations has grown eightfold to more than 4 million people.



Rebecca Scotland
INTEGRITY IDOL

SOMALILAND ELECTION

is First to Use Iris-Recognition Technology

ADF STAFF



For the sixth consecutive time since 2003, Somaliland's citizens participated in multi-party and largely peaceful elections. The voting was certified as free and fair by 60 international observers, and the results were accepted by all three parties who entered candidates.

Just as notably, in a world first, the November 2017 elections employed pioneering iris-recognition technology to register and identify voters. Somaliland has 704,000 registered voters out of a population of about 3.5 million.

Biometric iris recognition uses pattern recognition techniques based on high-resolution images of the irises of the eyes. Because of its low margin of error and speed, iris recognition is now one of the most trusted ways of confirming the identity of a person.

There were three candidates for president. The winning candidate, Muse Bihi Abdi, is a former military officer who trained in Russia in the late 1970s.

The three were competing to succeed Ahmed Silanyo, who was stepping down after one, albeit extended, term. He was due to leave power in 2015 at the end of his five-year term, but Somaliland's Parliament extended it by two years so that he could see the nation through a drought.

Somaliland, a former British colony, broke away from the rest of Somalia in 1991. The territory has run its own affairs since but has never been recognized as an independent country. Observers from 24 countries monitored the election, despite Somaliland's lack of international recognition.

For the first time, candidates took part in live television debates. The first one was organized by a youth group, Inspire, which said the debate drew more than 2 million reactions on Twitter alone.



ETHIOPIA BETS ON CLOTHES TO BUILD INDUSTRIAL FUTURE REUTERS

Checkered shirts for the American chain Gap. Slate leggings for Swedish store H&M. Twill shorts for Germany's Tchibo. They are among a growing list of clothes being stitched together for big brands in Ethiopia.

As labor, raw material and tax costs rise in China — the world's dominant textiles producer — the Horn of Africa country is scrambling to offer an alternative and compete against established low-cost garment makers such as Bangladesh and Vietnam.

Since the industry is still young, most of the clothing companies sourcing production in Ethiopia are testing the waters with small volumes. But the government is working hard to attract business with tax breaks, subsidies and cheap loans. The landlocked nation also opened the final stretch of a 700-kilometer electric railway to Djibouti's coast.

This is part of a drive to turn the nation into a

manufacturing center that is no longer held hostage to fickle weather patterns that periodically devastate the agrarian economy and leave its people hungry. There has been some progress; foreign investment in the textile industry has risen from \$166.5 million in 2013-14 to \$1.35 billion in 2016-17, said the Ethiopian Investment Commission.

Although it is growing, Ethiopia is still a small player in terms of global textile exports. Ethiopia totaled \$115 million in 2015, against Vietnam's \$27 billion, Bangladesh's \$28 billion and China's \$273 billion.

Ethiopia's fledgling sector can ill afford the kind of working conditions scandals that have dogged the low-cost garment industry elsewhere, and officials said they are sending representatives to Asia to learn best practices.

"This is a huge success," said Arkebe Oqubay, a prime ministerial advisor, during the inauguration of an industry park in the northern Ethiopian town of Kombolcha. "The challenge now is to bring the world's biggest companies into the country."



Coffee FARMING

TAKES ROOT IN GHANA

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Coffee is making a comeback in Ghana, both as a crop and as a popular beverage. Ghana is known mostly for cocoa, its biggest crop. It is the second-largest cocoa exporter in the world behind neighboring Côte d'Ivoire. Production of coffee, which was introduced to Ghana in the 18th century, trails in comparison.

But it has rebounded in recent years, thanks to a growing overseas demand and a blossoming domestic market that is giving farmers hope of growing a major cash crop.

A collapse in the price of coffee in the 1980s caused many Ghanaian farmers to abandon the crop, according to Michael Owusu-Manu, a researcher at Ghana's Cocoa Board. But a government plan launched in 2011 to revive the sector has transformed production and marketing of Ghanaian coffee.

It led to 2,400 hectares of new and revitalized coffee plantations, with farmers attracted by the introduction of fair prices for the crop. Owusu-Manu said the impact of the plan is easy to overlook because much of Ghana's coffee is sold in West Africa and does not appear in official export statistics. The beans that stay in Ghana are sold to local roasters, who must compete in a market in which most coffee is imported.

Owusu-Manu now wants to connect local cafes popping up in Accra with local sellers. Growers hope that government support and a planned coffee farmers' association will help them to wean locals off imports and establish Ghanaian beans in the home market.



AFP/GETTY IMAGES



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Burkina Faso Launches West Africa's Biggest

SOLAR FARM

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Burkina Faso is now home to West Africa's biggest solar farm, a 33-megawatt plant in the town of Zaktubi, outside the capital, Ouagadougou.

The 55-hectare farm, built at a cost of \$56.7 million, is expected to power tens of thousands of households in the country. The solar plant is made up of 130,000 polycrystalline silicon panels.

According to the energy website The Agility Effect, the region has plenty of sunshine and little rain. The Harmattan, a wind from the northeast that is often dry and dust-laden, will require the panels to be cleaned frequently, as opposed to once every five years in other parts of the world.

The solar farm was funded through donations from the European Union and a loan from Agence Française de Développement, France's development agency. French President Emmanuel Macron

joined Burkinabe President Roch Marc Kabore to launch the farm.

Records indicate that only about 20 percent of Burkina Faso's 17 million people have access to the national power system. The majority depend on other unsustainable power generation options. The country is aiming to meet 30 percent of its power needs through solar energy by the year 2030. Most African countries that have depended on hydroelectric and thermal energy are now shifting to solar energy.

South Africa hosts the biggest solar farm on the continent with a 175 megawatt facility in the country's Northern Cape region. The facility spans 473 hectares and was officially opened in 2016.

The International Energy Agency expects solar energy to represent 14 percent of installed power capacity in Africa by 2030.

ADF STAFF

The world recognizes Nelson Mandela as the father of post-apartheid South Africa, but he always acknowledged he had help. One of his key partners was Oliver Tambo.

For nearly three decades, the two men led the fight against apartheid from distinct places — Mandela from a prison cell and Tambo from exile. Mandela described Tambo as “my partner, my comrade, my friend and my colleague.”

Tambo was born in 1917 to peasant farmers. A good student, he attended mission schools and won a scholarship to Fort Hare University, which had become a center of political activism. Mandela, who also attended the school, said, “For young black South Africans like myself, it was Oxford and Cambridge, Harvard and Yale, all rolled into one.”

Tambo became an activist, leading a protest after an attack on a black female dining-hall employee by a white male student went unpunished. He led another protest over unfair restrictions on the use of a campus tennis court. In 1944, Tambo, Mandela and others formed the Youth League of the African National Congress (ANC), aimed at getting the parent organization to become more aggressive in ending white minority rule.

The youth league got results. In 1952, a year after Mandela and Tambo started South Africa’s first black law firm, the ANC adopted a league plan that called for civil actions, including strikes, boycotts, protests and defiance of apartheid laws. Four years later, Tambo and Mandela were charged

with treason but found not guilty.

Everything changed in 1960 when police killed 69 demonstrators and wounded 181 more in what came to be known as the Sharpeville Massacre. It was the turning point for Tambo and others, who decided that nonviolent protests were “meaningless.” The ANC was banned days later, and its leaders became enemies of the state. They formed a military group called *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, or Spear of the Nation.

At that time, Tambo was sent out of the country to drum up support for the underground movement. It was his job to tell the rest of the world about the ugliness of apartheid. He was tasked with obtaining weapons, organizing international sanctions, and building an army in South Africa’s neighboring countries. He would remain in exile for more than 30 years.

In 1962, Mandela was arrested after attacks on government buildings and was sentenced to life in

prison. A year later, the Soviet Union agreed to help arm the rebellion. In 1967, the exiled Tambo was named president of the ANC.

As *The New York Times* later reported, by 1981 “attacks on police stations, pass-records offices and oil refineries were occurring on an average of one every 53 hours.” Tambo urged black South Africans to make their townships “ungovernable.”

But even in war, Tambo demanded honor. He committed his Soldiers and the ANC to follow the Geneva Convention and its rules for human rights. He addressed gender inequalities.

Because of their isolated positions as leaders of the revolution, Mandela and Tambo had to rely heavily on the indigenous African consensus system of decision-making. They required their followers to think independently, and when decisions were made, they usually included some of the opinions of all participants.

Tambo suffered two strokes while in exile, and when he returned to his home country in late 1990, he was a frail man. The next year, Mandela replaced him as president of the ANC. Tambo died in 1993 at age 75.

His legacy includes Africa’s busiest airport, O.R. Tambo International, which handles 19 million passengers a year. But perhaps his lifelong vision of South Africa is his finest tribute. He said that a free South Africa would welcome all its citizens, black and white: “South Africa belongs to all who live in it.”



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

CLUES

- 1 The Portuguese built this structure from 1593 to 1596.
- 2 It sits on the edge of a coral ridge.
- 3 The structure marks Western civilization's first successful attempt to rule Indian Ocean trade routes.
- 4 Between 1631 and 1895, this structure was captured and recaptured nine times by warring states.



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