

The background of the cover is a stylized map of Africa, composed of various colored regions (yellow, green, blue, orange) with intricate, swirling patterns. Overlaid on the map is a large, white dove in flight, facing left. The dove is holding a branch with green leaves and two yellow olives in its beak. The ADF logo is positioned at the top left, with the letters 'a', 'd', and 'f' in a large, white, serif font. The 'a' is on a dark blue background, the 'd' is on a green background, and the 'f' is on a red background. Below the letters, the words 'AFRICA DEFENSE FORUM' are written in a smaller, white, sans-serif font.

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AFRICA DEFENSE FORUM

PRESERVING PEACE

**Militaries Adopt Strategies
to Silence the Guns**

The Challenge of Reintegrating Child Soldiers
Civil-Military Action Helps Build Security in Mali

PLUS

A Conversation With Ethiopia's Ground Force Commander

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ON THE COVER:

As many African nations exit conflict, leaders are now looking at strategies to secure the peace. This edition explores what security professionals can do to ensure long-term stability.

ADF ILLUSTRATION



Modern conflicts rarely end with the signing of a treaty or a formal surrender.

Some insurgent groups fight until the last gasp, while others hide among civilians. Ethnic tensions can simmer for generations after a war. Disparities over access to power or state resources make a return to violence possible.

Peace is fragile, but security forces can adopt strategies that lay the foundation for enduring stability.

Many countries have found that the most effective first step after combat is to offer hope to ex-combatants. Programs to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate (DDR) fighters have made a difference in places such as Uganda, Liberia and Angola. In Libya, DDR practitioners hope that offering job training and funding to start small businesses will entice militia members to lay down their weapons and follow a new path.

Militaries also look at security sector reform as a way to improve. Over time some militaries become too large to be effective and need to be downsized. In other cases, militaries become enclaves of one ethnic group and must be reformed to include Soldiers from diverse backgrounds. Sometimes militaries require a renewed focus on ethics, human rights and the rule of law to regain legitimacy. Countries that emphasize professionalism and merit-based advancement find it easier to maintain peace.

Civil-military programs also can be an effective peace-building tool. These programs can be as complicated as building a new bridge, as urgent as responding to a natural disaster, or as simple as organizing a football tournament. Sometimes all that is required is for Soldiers to interact with civilians while on patrol and learn about their security concerns. Civil-military programs of all types help those in need while improving the image of the armed forces. They also undermine support for insurgent groups that might try to recruit fighters from among the most vulnerable.

Soldiers know that the joy of winning a war will be short-lived if there is no plan in place to secure the peace. Military leaders should be looking at new and innovative peace-building strategies to ensure they don't have to return to armed conflict. These nontraditional approaches can be hard to institutionalize, but they yield immense gains if done properly. Some of the most effective security efforts during peacetime require the least force.

U.S. Africa Command Staff

A South Sudanese Soldier carries a box of forms from the Joint Military Ceasefire Commission. The commission is screening Soldiers, opposition members and others to be trained for a unified South Sudanese military.

REUTERS



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Women Have Role in ‘Peace, Cohesion and Development’



Julius Maada Bio, president of Sierra Leone, spoke during the passing-out parade and commissioning ceremony for female officer cadets and recruits at the Armed Forces Training Centre, Benguema Barracks, in Waterloo, Sierra Leone, on September 7, 2019. His remarks have been edited to fit this format.



Since 1978 and 1979, when 10 female cadet officers and 64 recruits enlisted in the Republic of Sierra

Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF), more women have volunteered to serve. They have showed us, through more than 40 years of dedicated service to country, uncommon valor, courage, adaptability, selflessness and leadership. They have carried through their pledge to defend and protect this land that we love.

They have defied traditional strictures, they have battled against stereotypes and unequal treatment, and they have persevered and prevailed.

When my government, in conjunction with the United Kingdom and the International Security Advisory Team, launched this special female recruitment, it was because we believed that expanding the presence and role of women in the national security sector is good for our national peace, cohesion and development, and good for our expanding role in international peace-keeping and peace support operations the world over.

The initial intent was to recruit just 50 officer cadets and 250 recruits — a total of 300. We ended up recruiting 332 [60 officer cadets and 272 recruits] because of the very high caliber of applicants and their distinction in the recruitment process.

You enter the RSLAF at a time of progressive change. Internationally, RSLAF is committed to peacekeeping and peace support operations in various countries in the world. At home, the role of the RSLAF has evolved considerably from a traditional border security role to a true partner in development.

As commander in chief, let me formally welcome you into the RSLAF. Let me also assure you that you are coming into this noble institution at a time when there is growing opportunity for female service personnel in terms of career progression, educational development and participation in global peace support operations.

May I remind you also of your responsibilities. The oath of allegiance means that you have agreed to subject yourself to public scrutiny as a Soldier both on and off duty. You have sworn to respect, uphold

Bio commissions 60 female officer cadets and 272 female recruits at the Armed Forces Training Centre.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

and protect the national constitution of the Republic of Sierra Leone and to obey all lawful orders from any superior placed over you without question.

You must not involve yourselves in partisan politicking or engage in partisan political discussions. As professional Soldiers, do not allow yourselves to be unduly influenced by politicians irrespective of your personal relationships or other unseemly affinities with them. You serve the Republic of Sierra Leone and no one individual's personal interests or ambitions.

Lastly, to you, our new Soldiers, you have just sworn into one of the finest military traditions and institutions — one that has hewn and shaped patriots, men and women who have fought and made the ultimate sacrifice for our nation in war and in peace. Let us all continue to stand for our country's peace, unity, freedom and justice because we have only this one Sierra Leone.

17 SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK RHINOS RELOCATED TO MALAWI

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Malawi has received 17 black rhinos from South Africa under a program to replenish the species that temporarily died out in the Southern African country in the 1980s.

African Parks, a charity headed by Britain's Prince Harry, said the operation began with an eight-hour drive from South Africa's Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife game reserve. The rhinos then were released into Liwonde National Park in southern Malawi, where British troops are training anti-poaching rangers.

"This is one of the largest international black rhino translocations to date," said a statement by Peter Fearnhead of African Parks, which rehabilitates and manages about a dozen parks in 10 countries.

The operation was carried out in conjunction with World Wildlife Fund South Africa and the Malawian and South African governments.

"Our shared vision is to bolster Malawi's existing rhino

populations and to support regional efforts to conserve this critically endangered species," Fearnhead said.

Brighton Kumchedwa, Malawi's director of wildlife and parks, said the initiative would bolster the rhino population, which died out in Malawi in 1981 before the reintroduction of four rhinos in 1993.

Malawian authorities have refused to state the current rhino population, citing security reasons.

Fearnhead said the newly introduced rhinos would be fitted with GPS sensors and that the animals would be tracked by aerial surveillance and daily ranger patrols.

Once plentiful across Sub-Saharan Africa, black rhinos first suffered from hunting by European settlers. Later, poachers largely wiped them out; only 2,475 were recorded in 1993, according to the World Wildlife Fund. Conservation efforts have since brought the population back up to about 5,000.

SECOND EBOLA VACCINE INTRODUCED IN DRC

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

The Democratic Republic of the Congo has introduced a second vaccine to fight an Ebola epidemic in the east.

The new two-dose vaccine, introduced in November 2019, is produced by a Belgian subsidiary of Johnson & Johnson and was to be administered to about 50,000 people over four months. The formula is administered in two doses at 56-day intervals.

More than a quarter of a million

people, many of them front-line health workers, already have been immunized with another Ebola vaccine.

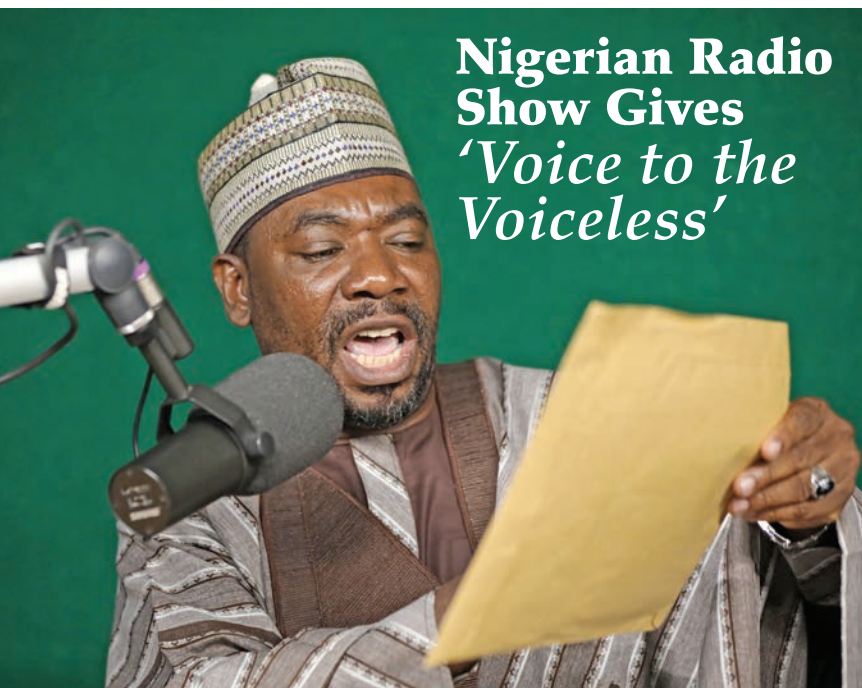
"It's not a replacement for the first vaccine; it's being used to complement it, especially in areas where there are no cases of [Ebola] transmission," said Doctors Without Borders coordinator Steve Akuha.

The epidemic began in August 2018 in the province of North Kivu before spreading to neighboring Ituri and South Kivu.

It is the DRC's 10th Ebola epidemic and the second-deadliest on record after an outbreak that struck West Africa in 2014-16 and claimed more than 11,300 lives.

Efforts to combat Ebola in eastern DRC have been hampered by militia violence and local resistance to preventive measures, care facilities and safe burials.

The Ebola virus is passed on by contact with the blood, body fluids, secretions or organs of an infected or recently deceased person.



Nigerian Radio Show Gives 'Voice to the Voiceless'

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Early each morning, a crowd gathers outside Ahmad Isah's radio studio in Nigeria's capital, Abuja, hoping to share their problems over the airwaves.

For those waiting, Isah's *Breket* (which means "very big" in pidgin English) *Family* show offers a rare chance to try to hold officials accountable.

A lucky few get to make themselves heard on issues ranging from their struggles against the authorities to medical needs and requests for financial assistance.

"My goal is to give a voice to the voiceless, facilitate arbitration, expose wrongdoings and force those in power to respect rights," said Isah, who is nicknamed the "Ordinary President." "The inspiration is about justice, kindness and support to humanity."

Teacher Winifred Oguh has come to try to get some redress after she says a local court wrongly auctioned off her car for failing to pay rent on her house. "I have been listening to the program and was encouraged by how other people's problems were being resolved."

The show has a checklist of requirements people must go through before they can bring their cases for resolution. They first need to depose to an affidavit at the High Court in Nigeria in which they swear they are telling the truth.

Isah insists the radio show's combative style has had concrete results holding officials accountable. "Some of them see us as a threat," he said. "They don't like us. We have exposed several corruption cases that other people are afraid to go close to."

The show also looks to give financial assistance to those in need with support from the MacArthur Foundation and its own fundraising.

One of the beneficiaries, Luis Kinta, said the radio had raised 2 million naira (\$5,600) to boost his shoemaking business. "I came here without knowing anyone," he said. "The good thing is that Ordinary President assists without knowing the tribe, religious and affinity of those he supports."

Ahmad Isah speaks during his *Breket* Family radio show in Abuja, Nigeria.

AFF/GETTY IMAGES

AI PROGRAMMING SCHOOL TARGETS FARMING CHALLENGES

THOMSON REUTERS FOUNDATION

Data analyst Fabrice Sonzahi enrolled in a course on artificial intelligence (AI) in Dakar, Senegal, hoping to help farmers improve crop yields in his home country of Côte d'Ivoire.

He is part of an inaugural class at an AI programming school in Senegal, one of the first in West Africa. It will train people to use data to solve issues such as the impact of weather on crops.

The Dakar Institute of Technology (DIT), which opened in September 2019, ran its first 10-week boot camp with nine students in partnership with French AI school Vivadata.

"I am convinced that by analyzing data we can give [farmers] better solutions," Sonzahi said.

He plans to bring his AI skills to Ivorian startup ATA Solution, which advises farmers on how to maximize scarce resources such as land and water.

The company already collects data such as soil pH, temperature and moisture levels, said Sonzahi, who works with the startup as an analyst. With AI, that data could be processed to show when and where farmers should add water or fertilizer and help strengthen their understanding of crop losses, he said.

Data scientists across the continent are beginning to experiment with machine learning as a tool to help farmers cope with increasingly erratic weather, such as modeling the fastest route to market or using drones to detect problems in fields.

DIT plans to launch a bachelor's degree in big data and a master's in AI in 2020, each with 25 students.

Students take part in an AI programming course at the Dakar Institute of Technology in Senegal.


THOMSON REUTERS FOUNDATION





ADF ILLUSTRATION

THE BUILDING BLOCKS *of Unity*



Ethiopia's Ground Force Commander Points to Professionalism, Diversity and a Separation From Politics as Key Reforms

Lt. Gen. Molla Hailemariam is ground force commander of the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF). His military career began in 1981 when he joined the struggle against the country's ruling Derg regime. After Ethiopia's return to civilian government in 1991, he joined the new military as a pilot and rose to become Air Force commander. He served as head of policy and strategy and as head of the logistics sector at the Defense Headquarters. He also commanded Special Forces before being promoted to ground force commander in 2019. He spoke to ADF during the African Land Forces Summit in Addis Ababa, an event Ethiopia co-hosted with U.S. Army Africa. The interview has been edited to fit this format.

ADF: The ENDF has been undergoing security sector reform to raise the standards of professionalism in the military. What are the goals of this reform effort?

Lt. Gen. Molla: In Africa what we face is that most of the security apparatuses are affiliated with political parties. This does not create a conducive environment for democracy. The main focus of the reform in Ethiopia is to make the military impartial in politics.

Traditionally in Ethiopia, the defense institution has been associated with some political parties. But the Constitution is clear that the defense force should be free from any political influence. Sometimes it happened in the past. Not intentionally, but it happened.

The government has now made it very clear that the defense institutions must be free of any political parties' influence. This has strengthened the democratic environment of our country.

We are also focused on the image building of our defense sector. We want to make it more attractive to the youth and more trusted by the nation. We have a good tradition in the Ethiopian defense forces that we engage with the community. This builds trust.

In the past few years we have gone through a political crisis, and it was very challenging for the military. Now we have almost gotten out of it. What we want to do is enhance the acceptance and trust of the public so that we can attract good citizens to join the defense forces.

ADF: Can the ENDF be a unifying force in Ethiopia by reaching across ethnic, religious and regional barriers?

Lt. Gen. Molla: Yes, it is a model. Addressing the diversity and building unity is a priority. In the country we face

riots, civil unrest and ethnic clashes, but the defense force is actually respected and accepted by all ethnicities within the nation. This is why when any unrest becomes beyond the capability of the police and the defense is requested to assist the regional police or regional special forces, it makes a difference.

The evidence is that it is important for the defense force to be diverse. If it does its mission fairly, it offers a model for society. The government and the public believe that the defense force is a real model for the diversity of our country.

ADF: In recent years there have been civilian uprisings and unrest in various regions of Ethiopia. What is the proper role of the ENDF in reestablishing security in these regions? What lessons have been learned?



Lt. Gen. Molla: The responsibility of security institutions in our country is stated in our Constitution, and it is very clear. The responsibility for controlling and managing an uprising is for the politicians, local administration and police forces. What the defense force normally does is assist police forces in training and capacity building. But when uprisings are beyond the capabilities of the police force, we follow the Constitution and the policy of the country and we respond to the requests of the regional states. When we undertake a mission, we do it jointly with the police and the regional administrative authorities. The main work is assisting them to engage with the community and those groups that are at the center of the crisis, negotiating or bringing them to a peace deal. It's a very limited participation. We don't want to just be intervening everywhere. Any mission we go on, we respect human

"We are also focused on the image building of our defense sector. We want to make it more attractive to the youth and more trusted by the nation. We have a good tradition in the Ethiopian defense forces that we engage with the community. This builds trust."

Ethiopian Soldiers manage crowds during a demonstration in Burayu in 2018. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS





“Security for Somalia is security for Ethiopia and vice versa.”

rights and want to minimize casualties. Wherever we go to assist the police, in every corner of the country, the community welcomes the defense force, and they cooperate fully.

ADF: Ethiopia shares a land border with Somalia and has sent forces to serve in the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). How important is a secure Somalia to Ethiopia and to East Africa as a whole?

Lt. Gen. Molla: Security for Somalia is security for Ethiopia and vice versa. You cannot deny it. We have a historical relationship. We have many ties. In parts of Ethiopia people speak Somali. In reality, the border is artificial. That’s why Ethiopia is concerned with Somali security. We are working very hard in Somalia in the AMISOM mission. Although there is progress and good outcomes

from what we do with the Somali forces and other African countries contributing to the mission, there are challenges.

The main challenge, from what I observe, is not from the Somali people but from the Somali political elites and also the groups outside Somalia playing a negative role. Some countries or groups support the regions, and others support the central government. Instead of bringing them together to stabilize the country and form a strong central government, they are dividing them.

We feel that there is a lack of consensus in the international community on how they should support, whom they should support and the way they should support Somalia. This delays the building of the Somali Armed Forces. The Somali Armed Forces should provide security nationwide. There are some gaps that give al-Shabaab space to flourish or conduct attacks on the people. So there is a challenge, but we will keep working.



Left: Ethiopian troops serving in the African Union Mission in Somalia greet the AMISOM force commander in Baidoa.

AMISOM

Honor guards march during a ceremony in Addis Ababa.

REUTERS

ADF: How would you rate cooperation among East African countries? Are countries in the region cooperating to address shared threats such as cross-border crime and extremism?

Lt. Gen. Molla: We have a long tradition of cooperation with each other. We have a platform also; at the defense level we have bilateral relationships. We meet every six months with most of our neighboring countries on a one-to-one level. We discuss issues of security, progress on what we have agreed to do, exchange of training, capacity building and an exchange of intelligence. So we are in a very active interaction with neighboring countries in East Africa. Even with Eritrea the relationship is improving. It's a breakthrough, actually. Peace has prevailed, and we are working to institutionalize the relationship at the defense level.

At the regional level, we have the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. Whenever there is a security threat in the region, the chiefs meet to discuss it together. This happened recently relating to South Sudan. So there is one-to-one cooperation but also a regional platform.

ADF: You have been in your current position for less than a year. What are your goals as ground force commander?

Lt. Gen. Molla: My focus is to implement what the government has planned. I focus on the ground forces. Until recently we didn't have a Ground Force Command. We had the Air Force, Special Forces and the Defense Headquarters, which directly led the regional units. The reforms we are implementing now focus on different areas such as system and structure and military concepts. To fight unconventional and asymmetric warfare, we have to have efficient military concepts. Also, we must work on technology and capacity building. These are the areas we're focused on to implement a reform program. My focus is mainly to have an efficient structure and the correct systems and postures for the ground forces to be equipped and effectively use the scarce resources that our country has invested in and entrusted to the defense institution. □



A REVOLUTION IN PROCESS

Years After the Arab Spring, Some Nations Still Struggle to Fully Achieve Growth and the Rule of Law

BRIG. GEN. (RET.) KHALIFA NAFTI/TUNISIAN AIR FORCE

More than eight years after the Arab Spring protests of 2011, many people in North Africa are still striving for freedom and dignity. The stability and security many hoped for during the early days of protests is still elusive in many countries.

These questions remain: Can the people of this region achieve that freedom and dignity in the years ahead? Will the transitions that began in 2011 lead to progress and stability or more disorder and insecurity? That will depend on two fundamental things: trust and the rule of law. Both form the foundation for growth and stability.

Arab political leaders must adhere to the rule of law to stay in power and avoid social unrest. Indeed, trust in the government is built on the rule of law, which is the desire of most Arab populations.

Military professionals also must consider the ways they can help create a stable environment for a prosperous future. Military leaders can demonstrate their commitment to that stability by ensuring that they stay on the side of the people when these transitions begin. Doing this must include guaranteeing the security of civilians and their institutions against disorder and by maintaining equal distance from all political parties and factions.

An overview of the region's social and political landscape before and after 2011 offers perspective and lessons for nations that emerged from or continue to struggle with Arab Spring turmoil. From those challenges we can derive solutions and next steps for continued growth toward good governance and the rule of law.

LESSONS AMID THE LANDSCAPE

Experts seem to agree that recovery for North African nations will not come easily. Observers such as geopolitical analyst George Friedman and writer Robert Kaplan argue that the Arab Spring was not a sure or fast road to democracy.

Kaplan, who is also managing director at Eurasia Group, wrote in *Foreign Policy* in 2015: "Alas, the so-called Arab Spring has not been about the birth of freedom but about the collapse of central authority, which says nothing about the readiness of these states, artificial and otherwise, for the rigors of democracy."

The reasons for this are numerous and diverse.



A Tunisian artisan makes tributes to the Arab Spring revolution by etching flags on bronze plates in the Medina of Tunis in 2011. REUTERS

The first arises out of what can be called an environmental context. Since the 1990s, the world has become more globalized as business, trade and travel have transcended national borders. In short, the world has become more interdependent and interconnected.

These changes have underscored that stability depends upon security, and security depends upon economics. Economies, in turn, depend upon factors such as geography, history, culture and politics.





Leaders must remember the environmental context when working toward stability. Then they must establish a vision for attaining these goals. Ignoring any component of this will ensure failure.

Weaknesses in these areas helped lead to the revolutions of 2011. But the same weaknesses have led to increased disorder since 2011. Addressing them is essential to improving living conditions.

The second reason that disorder is common in the region is because the desires and dreams of the people often have been ignored. For decades, the people have faced a lack of justice, dignity and freedom. These shortfalls in basic human rights are common to nations regardless of whether they have experienced recent revolution or upheaval.

Some observers have indicated that conditions in the region have deteriorated since 2011. Evidence includes civil war, increases in terrorism, human smuggling and trafficking in all manner of illicit materials, including weapons. The result has included untold numbers of refugees and thousands of lives lost.

A protester shouts, "We want justice!" outside the parliamentary building in Tunis in November 2011 as Tunisia's constitutional assembly, elected after a revolution, held its opening session.

REUTERS

Tunisian special forces stand guard in Ettadhamen in January 2018 as Tunisians mark seven years since the uprising that launched the Arab Spring. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

This can be blamed, in part, on leaders who came after the Arab Spring who had a willingness to govern but lacked a clear vision of where to lead their nations.

Notable exceptions would be Egypt and Tunisia, which, despite many challenges, had smoother recoveries owing to their long histories of stronger security and state institutions.

CHALLENGES TO GROWTH, STABILITY

Sun Tzu, the ancient Chinese general, military strategist, writer and philosopher, wrote in *The Art of War* that you must know yourself and your enemy in order to succeed.

"If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles," he wrote. "If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer a defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle."

Sun Tzu's advice could be informative for North African officials as they prepare for challenges.

First, the primary threat is likely to be from the



Tunisians celebrate the one-year anniversary of the 2011 Arab Spring revolution at Bourguiba Avenue in Tunis. REUTERS

inside because of historic restraints on the populations, leading to unrest. Furthermore, they must prepare for transnational threats such as various forms of smuggling.

Second, nations must realize that many of the challenges they face came about as a result of a lack of management, leadership and vision at the top levels of government. Thinking strategically — and “knowing themselves” — will help nations overcome these challenges.

In addition to Sun Tzu, the thinking of retired Col. John Warden of the United States Air Force is instructive here.

Warden put forth the “Five Rings” theory that was used successfully to guide the 1991 air campaign of Desert Storm, which pitted a multinational coalition led by the United States against Saddam Hussein’s Iraqi forces to drive them out of neighboring Kuwait.

The Five Rings model consists of areas of interest that must be attacked and sufficiently degraded so that the enemy can be defeated, according to UKessays.com. They are: fielded military forces, population, infrastructure, system essentials and leadership. The thinking is that if the outer rings can be sufficiently neutralized, the enemy’s leadership, which occupies the center ring, will be exposed and subject to defeat.

Keeping Sun Tzu’s and Warden’s thoughts in

mind, leaders should proceed by identifying and agreeing upon the primary enemy to stability and good governance. After determining what constitutes that enemy’s center of gravity, sharing information and intelligence would be the first stage in fighting it. This enemy would occupy the center ring in Warden’s motif.

From there, leaders would look at what makes up the four remaining rings. These could include those who fund extremism, recruiters, affiliate organizations and those returning home after fighting for extremist causes abroad, such as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria.

To assault these outer rings on the way to defeating the enemy at the center, leaders and governments will have to be organized, have clear objectives, and maintain strong institutions with sound strategies. This action is fully in keeping with the rule of law.

Warden’s Five Rings also can be used as a model for construction to rebuild a new state that guarantees security, develops the economy and maintains stability. This must be done, of course, while considering the environmental and domestic contexts mentioned above.

THE FIVE RINGS AS A BUILDING MODEL

When using the military rings concept as a model for rebuilding an effective government, the center represents the legitimacy of executive leaders as gained through free and fair elections and by enforcing the rule of law. This legitimacy will help leaders make necessary reforms and adjustments while preserving the rule of law. It is through that earned legitimacy that the government and its leaders also will earn the trust of the people they serve. The people, in turn, will then trust government institutions, thus strengthening them.

The rule of law can further win the people's trust by guaranteeing free speech and full rights for women. Women represent half of the population, so when they are educated and emancipated, they can constitute a meaningful force for economic growth while fostering open-minded generations in the years to come.

The second ring of this model embodies good governance. To achieve this, executive leaders will have to think as strategists, employing clear vision, objectives and strategies to reach goals. Achieving this requires the will to fight corruption, reject nepotism, and guarantee justice and equality.

The third ring would embody reforms, especially regarding education and investments in job opportunities. Providing jobs is one of the best ways to provide hope to the growing youth population.

***As long as the rule of law
is unattainable for people,
trust between them and their
government will be weak.***

The fourth ring would be values such as openness, tolerance and peaceful coexistence. These ideals must be instilled in the citizens from their youth and will require dialogue, consensus and compromise. These values will prepare future generations to think before they act and to resist the temptation to accept enticements to join extremist causes, even in the absence of a better deal.

Finally, the fifth ring would promote a modern education system capable of producing real-world competencies and skills that promote growth and development while expanding job opportunities.

By focusing on Tunisia, we can better understand this concept.

Tunisia formed a modern education system and gave women the right to vote more than 60 years ago. But governance and instability led to a revolution. That led to loss of life and loss of economic



Tunisian Soldiers stand outside a polling station in Ben Arous, near Tunis, in May 2018 as the country held its first free municipal elections. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

opportunities. Even so, because of Tunisia's history of empowering women and establishing a culture of dialogue and compromise, the worst possible outcomes were avoided.

Today, Tunisia is moving forward, if slowly. But security and economic challenges remain.

One thing that would help accelerate full realization of the rule of law is the establishment of the Constitutional Court, which was provided for in Tunisia's 2014 constitution.

The Constitution requires parliament to choose four of the court's 12 members. The president and the Supreme Judicial Council would each choose four members, according to Human Rights Watch. As of February 2020, the court still had not been seated.

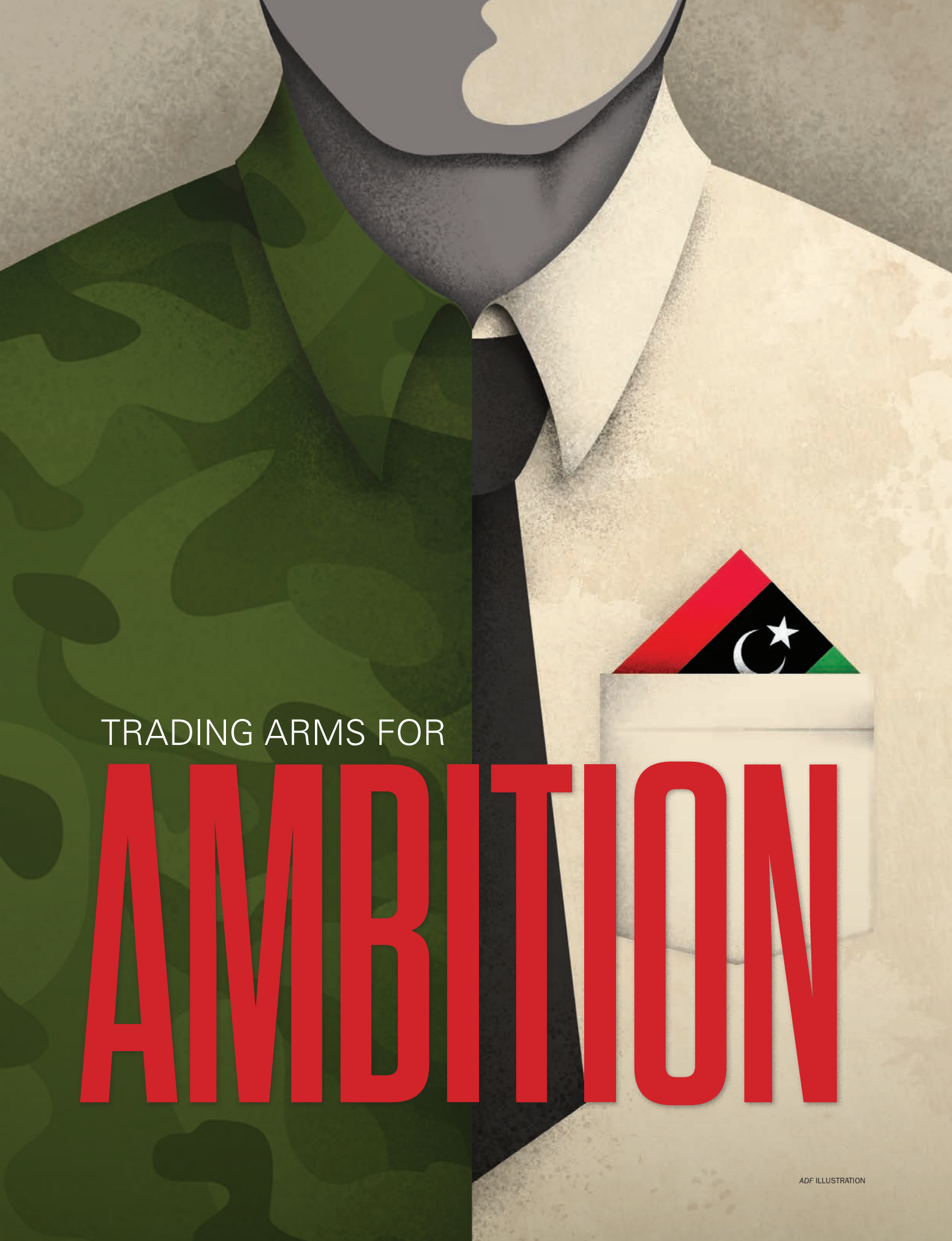
National militaries can help secure these processes by committing to be on the side of the people from the beginning. Guarding against disorder and preserving safety will help transitions toward the rule of law, as long as militaries remain equally distant from all political parties and interests.

As long as the rule of law is unattainable for people, trust between them and their government will be weak. It is time to convert the dream of the rule of law into a reality to ensure long-term security, stability and prosperity for Tunisia and all of North Africa. □



AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Retired Brig. Gen. Khalifa Nafti of the Tunisian Air Force served twice as air base commander and spent seven years as Tunisia's air defense commander. Since his retirement in 2016, Nafti has worked as a senior security consultant with the Tunisian Institute for Strategic Studies. He has served as senior security consultant for the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies since 2013.



TRADING ARMS FOR

AMBITION

Small Businesses Can Help Stabilize Libya and Give Hope to Ex-Combatants

MUSTAFA ELSAGEZLI

Since 2011, Libya has gone through almost unimaginable turmoil with every aspect of society touched by violence.

During this time, the country has run on what is sometimes called a “war economy,” with many people, mostly young men, using weapons as their only means of survival. Early efforts at security-sector reform show that the numbers of combatants are staggering. A 2012 effort by the Libyan Warriors Affairs Commission collected data on 162,000 former revolutionary fighters and armed group members. A BBC report tallied 1,700 militia groups. The true numbers may be even larger as there are an estimated 20 million arms spread all over Libya.

As the country attempts to rebuild, it faces a major challenge. How can these people be reintegrated into society? How can they be shown a way to lead a productive life without returning to violence? How can other citizens feel confident that these ex-combatants will not threaten the country’s safety again? And how can we, as Libyans, lay groundwork for an enduring peace?

Development leading to the economic empowerment of the youth and the expansion of the private sector is the key to building peace

and stabilizing the country. The main challenges for fragile and conflict-affected countries relate to state and nation building. The core state-building challenges are stabilizing and reforming the security and public sectors, developing the economy, and changing the culture from one prone to conflict to one rooted in peace. One solution to these challenges can be found through small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and entrepreneurship development.

SMEs

So what is an SME? The definition varies from country to country, but most SMEs are retail businesses with fewer than 50 employees.

Barbershops, cafes, corner stores, computer shops, maintenance workshops, small factories or construction work crews are examples.

Some medium-sized enterprises with up to 250 employees also fit the definition. SMEs provide jobs to youths and expand the private sector’s share of the economy with the potential to resolve many of the failures the Libyan state has historically faced.

For years, Libya has been overwhelmingly reliant on government jobs, and the oil and gas sector has dominated the economy. This rentier economy encourages a mentality of dependence. Political and economic life revolves around a zero-sum game of controlling state resources. This must change. SMEs and entrepreneurship can turn the economy from one that depends on oil and gas revenues to a diversified economy that takes advantage of Libya’s assets such as its strategic geographic location. This carries added importance as the world looks for alternatives to carbon-based energy sources that Libya depends on for most of its wealth.

SMEs and entrepreneurship also can help turn Libya’s state-controlled economy into a vibrant free market. A free market economy with a large private sector can strengthen state institutions by diminishing the state’s burden to employ large numbers of people. Various estimates have shown as many as 50% of the Libyan population are public sector employees.



RENEWED HOPE

The growth of entrepreneurship and SMEs will give hope to Libya's young people, who have despaired of having a better future and are disappointed after having great hopes for the revolution. Libya has a young population that can be a source of wealth and capital for development or, if neglected, a source of instability and a fuel for wars. Opening avenues of hope for youth, including ex-combatants and armed group members, by providing them with business opportunities will help bring peace and stability to the country.

Resolving the issue of the spread of arms and militias has been the largest obstacle facing the Libyan government in the past eight years. In interviews conducted by the organization I manage, the Libyan Programme for Reintegration and Development (LPRD), ex-combatants and armed group members showed a willingness to disarm and participate in rebuilding the economy if given small business opportunities. In examining other countries' experiences in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs, it is clear that providing ex-combatants with the funding and skills to open small businesses is effective.

Some argue that development cannot be accomplished until full security is reached, but historical examples have shown that the reverse is true. Economic development can stimulate and empower all pillars of the state and actually bring about security. Armed group members and ex-combatants are entrepreneurs by nature as they have courage and ambition. This characteristic of bravery and courage, if channeled in the direction of entrepreneurship and economic development, can turn a threat into an opportunity. The enthusiasm toward starting up their own businesses and the great business ideas ex-combatants have expressed in LPRD interviews show that we can turn them into agents of stability and socioeconomic development.

Our research also has shown that reaching the goal of socioeconomic development and the economic empowerment of young people through SMEs has many challenges that must be confronted. For instance, in a conflict like Libya's, combatants are often unwilling to give up weapons while others are still armed. They fear that their armed opponents will seize control of state assets. Additionally, frustration rises after combatants lay down arms but do not see economic opportunities. These challenges must be addressed.

TUMUH

In Arabic, the word *tumuh* means ambition. It is our belief that many of the young people who participated in the Libyan conflict have immense



ambition but need it to be channeled into something productive.

For that reason, the LPRD named its program Tumuh because it is designed to open the doors of entrepreneurship to ex-combatants. The program, launched in 2013, seeks to provide skills training, access to financing, legal advice, planning and marketing to help people establish and run a successful business. Tumuh was frozen for five years due to security concerns but restarted in November 2019.

The goal of Tumuh is to provide jobs and career opportunities for 70,000 ex-combatants. We believe that allowing these people to start their own businesses will not just help them, but also will help Libya's overall economy.

The LPRD is dividing this plan into four phases:

- Economic mapping and a feasibility study.
- Training and rehabilitation of candidates.
- Launching of SME projects.
- Monitoring of progress.

We have contracted with local and international experts to conduct a nationwide economic map and feasibility study to determine which projects are best suited to each region of the country.



After the initial mapping stage, the team will look to establish sustained development. Initially, 80 business-related graduates were selected from the LPRD's database to be trained as business consultants. Using regional experts, the 80 candidates undertook intense training in key topics such as marketing, sales, project management and business planning. They also spent time overseas for further training to gain a broader understanding of the subjects.

In addition, the LPRD management has opened four business centers with a goal of expanding to eight. These centers will act as a consultancy hub hosting business experts who can provide more individual support and advice on running businesses.

The LPRD has launched a partner program called Bina, which means "build" in Arabic. This program, established with the support of the Libyan Ministry of Economy and Industry, the Islamic Development Bank and private donors aims to support burgeoning small businesses. It offers training, mentoring and small-business incubation services.

THE WAY FORWARD

The issue of militias and the spread of arms has

been the main impediment to stabilizing and developing Libya. If the Libyan government prioritizes the creation of SMEs in its policies, legislation and programs, it can secure a peaceful transition for its youth from violence to peace and development. This transition will lead to stability and open the doors for more institutional and economic reforms. More stability also will mean the return of infrastructure development, foreign direct investment and the growth of the private sector.

SMEs and entrepreneurship will provide jobs and economic empowerment for neglected communities that would otherwise cause instability. We believe Tumuh, Bina and similar projects have a role to play. By showing ex-combatants that an investment in their own future can be an investment in the future of Libya, we believe the fighters who played a role in destabilizing the country can lead the way toward peace and prosperity. □



Mustafa Elsayezli is the founder and general manager of the Libyan Programme for Reintegration and Development. He was deputy minister of the interior in Libya's transitional government and the founding director of the Warriors Affairs Commission in 2011.

Left: Members of forces allied to Libya's internationally recognized government carry weapons in Ain Zara, Tripoli.

REUTERS

Above: Fighters loyal to Libya's internationally recognized government walk outside Tripoli.

REUTERS

UNITED *at* SEA



A Sprawling Naval Exercise Incorporates African Forces

ADF STAFF

A member of Djibouti's Coast Guard participates in a visit, board, search and seizure drill at International Maritime Exercise 2019 and Exercise Cutlass Express 19.2.

SEAMAN ANDREA RUMPLE/U.S. NAVY

One of the world's largest maritime exercises included Djibouti in October and November 2019, providing training for African naval and coast guard forces intent on maintaining freedom of the seas.

The naval drills occupied the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea as part of United States Central Command's International Maritime Exercise (IMX 19), which attracted 5,000 participants from about 50 nations. IMX coincided with Cutlass Express 19.2, an exercise conducted by U.S. Africa Command and U.S. Naval Forces Africa.

The dual exercises, which drew participants from Djibouti, Egypt, Kenya and other countries, demonstrated global cooperation in maintaining freedom of navigation in some of the world's most strategically important sea lanes, including the Bab el-Mandeb strait and the Suez Canal.

Combining the exercises made sense because the United States' 5th and 6th Fleets operate alongside each other in the Indian Ocean.

"Maritime security cannot be conducted alone in a vacuum," said

J. Alexander Hamilton, deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Djibouti. "The seas are vast, and covering this expanse requires partnership amongst all stakeholders to protect and secure these vital lifelines."

IMX aimed to build capabilities in three main areas: removing underwater mines, intercepting criminals smuggling cargo aboard civilian vessels, and protecting harbors from enemy attacks.

Djibouti hosted Task Force West, one of three exercise groups within IMX. Participating African Sailors focused on visit, board, search and seizure drills; diving; and providing first aid to combat casualties. Task Force West's activities stretched from the Horn of Africa to the Jordanian port of Aqaba.

Cutlass Express, with its focus on East Africa and the Western Indian Ocean, held additional drills in Madagascar, Mauritius and the Seychelles.

"As we all know, crime at sea doesn't heed any imaginary lines that we've drawn that separate our fleets," said Rear Adm. Nancy Lacore, vice commander of the U.S. 6th Fleet. "They flow freely across the Indian Ocean regardless of where we put a line down." □





Abdulahi Abuker weaves colorful threads into traditional cloth known as alindi, which was a mainstay of Somali garments for centuries. REUTERS



Clothing Imports

STRAIN

a

NATION'S FABRIC

ADF STAFF

When legendary Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta made his way into what is now Somalia between 1330 and 1332, he took note of the extraordinary woven cloth he found in the Horn of Africa.

In those days, Somalia was a major player in trade, due largely to its fortuitous position on the Indian Ocean. Its port was equal distances from Baghdad, Cairo and India. Cotton fields were common in Somalia's Jubaland Plain, allowing Somalis to produce more than 350,000 textiles a year, according to Somalispot.com.

The traditional weaving techniques and the vibrant colors that enliven the fabrics persisted for centuries. The fabric, known as alindi, is a mainstay of women's fashion, wedding garb and more.

Despite the quality and the painstaking effort necessary to produce the multicolored textiles, the alindi industry has fallen on hard times in Somalia. This is due chiefly to the influx of cheaper, used garments from China and other countries. Secondhand clothing is a \$250 million industry that employs more than 350,000 people in East Africa, according to the United States Agency for International Development. That can be good for those who find work in the industry, but bad for those plying the traditional weaving trades.

"We decided to take up this work because we were unemployed," weaver Mohamed Nor told Turkish news agency TRT World in October 2019. "I don't know any other professions like masonry or carpentry. I only know how to weave. But there is less work now because cheaper clothes have flooded the markets."

Despite the hardships, some weavers continue practicing the art.

"These clothes are much better than imported clothes, because the quality is better since they were woven by hand," said Haji Abukar, a Somali fabric shop owner. "The market isn't good these days, but I will keep marketing traditional clothes and also telling people they're not expensive."

The alindi tradition shows that even through decades of hardship, war and extremist conflict, elements of Somalia's colorful culture live on.

BUILDING TRUST

Security Forces Believe Civil-Military Projects in Mali Will Lead to Improved Security

ADF STAFF

On an August day in the Malian village of Gossi, a group gathered to mark the opening of a new building for the local women's association. The humble clay structure was a rare bright spot for the desert town of about 8,000 that has been beset by years of violence.

"After the dark hours lived through by the people of Gossi, we congratulate these women for their approach," said Lt. Yacouba of the Malian National Guard during the ceremony.

The women's association, which has about 250 members, had been a pillar of stability in the town. Before the Malian crisis of 2012, the association operated a windmill to grind cottonseed and produce cooking oil. The sale of the oil supported numerous families. But repeated extremist attacks damaged the mill and the women's association building. Even more tragically, many of the women lost their husbands in the conflict.

When the association reached out to the French and Malian Armed Forces (FAMA) for help rebuilding the association and a child-care center to allow the women to work during the day, civil-military teams eagerly agreed.

"Before the FAMA and Barkhane were here, everyone was so afraid that they stayed inside their homes," said Madame Dicko, president of the women's association. "Most of the women in Gossi have become widows, and many children are orphans. But today we feel secure because they are here in front of us."





A French Soldier serving in Operation Barkhane attends a ceremony commemorating the opening of a civil-military cooperation project in Gossi, Mali.

FRENCH MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

The hope is that this civil-military strategy will do as much to improve lives and lead to a lasting peace as the kinetic military efforts.

We can leave, go to the market and even walk around at night. Before, that was impossible.”

As extremist attacks proliferate in this troubled region, French and Malian forces are working on a strategy to win back the support of the local population that has been so badly battered by years of unrest. In 2019, Barkhane and Malian forces led more than 75 civil-military projects, including drilling water wells, offering support to pastoralists and constructing schoolhouses. Nearly half of these projects were in the historic Liptako-Gourma region, which includes Gossi and is near the border with Niger and Burkina Faso.

The hope is that this civil-military strategy will do as much to improve lives and lead to a lasting peace as the kinetic military efforts.

“You are participating in the reconstruction of the country; make sure that Malian solidarity is never broken,” Yacouba told the crowd gathered in Gossi. “We give you the keys to these buildings so you can make this project flourish. We are together.”

Confidence Shaken

The Malian government nearly collapsed in 2012 after a rebellion in the north, a coup attempt, and the occupation of 60% of the country by a coalition of ethnic Tuaregs and violent extremists.

Faith in the security sector, already shaky, eroded to a new low. Accusations of human rights abuses, corruption and nepotism tarnished the image of security professionals, including the FAMA, gendarmes, national guard and police.

During the crisis, stories of underequipped Soldiers abandoning their posts and complaints that units on patrol were not given fuel for their trucks made things worse.

“When I see the level of my army, I am afraid,” said Malian Minister of Defense Ibrahim Dahirou Dembélé in a speech to parliament. “I want to reach the level of other armies, and it’s time for Mali to take charge.”

Another complicating factor was the fact that the majority of the uprising occurred in the north of the country, and the FAMA was mostly made up of Soldiers from the south. In a study of efforts to reform FAMA, researcher Marc-Andre Boisvert said the military needed to learn the “language, culture and the daily realities” of the people it was sworn to protect.

“The FAMA remains a corps estranged from their own territory,” Boisvert wrote. “Sent from the south, the militaries do not know the local populations in the north.”

To protect the public, the military first needed to earn their trust.

CIMIC

Civil-military cooperation (CIMIC) projects are part of a broad category that can include infrastructure work, humanitarian aid, community dialogue and more. The best CIMIC projects have a “3-D” impact, which means they help support defense, development and diplomacy.

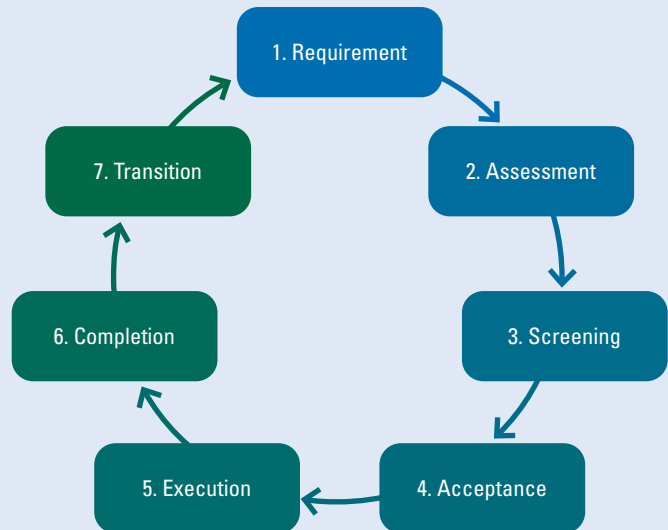
In addition to helping improve the lives of people in areas emerging from conflict, they can demonstrate “peace dividends” by showing the community the economic advantages of stability. The projects improve the reputation of the armed forces and can open



The Seven Steps of a CIMIC Project

1. Receive request from the community.
2. Ensure it supports the mission.
3. Confirm it does not duplicate an existing effort.
4. Enlist local help.
5. Arrange for local ownership.
6. Provide for sustainment.
7. Hand over in full working order.

Source: NATO CIMIC Centre of Excellence



Malian Soldiers speak with a woman while on patrol in Ndaki.

REUTERS



Children receive school kits during an event led by French civil-military Soldiers in Gossi, Mali. FRENCH MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

“The goal is to try to return to peace, not through combat, but by social and structural projects. What’s important to understand is that it’s together that we can achieve it.” ~ Lt. Emilie, CIMIC specialist with the French Armed Forces



channels of communication between Soldiers and civilians. CIMIC projects also weaken support for insurgencies in situations where fighters receive help or are enmeshed in the community.

The NATO CIMIC Centre of Excellence urges practitioners to ask questions before undertaking a project. These include:

- **Does this project do any harm?** Some projects can result in competition, jealousy or biases within a community.
- **How will this project affect other communities?** Some projects can damage relations between communities by unfairly giving advantage to one at the expense of another.
- **Who will benefit most from the project?** Some projects only benefit certain groups, such as men, women, children or the elderly. Others may benefit only a certain social class, religion or ethnic group.
- **Are the resources safe?** Is the project at risk of being stolen or destroyed by bad actors?
- **Is anyone else in the region doing something similar?** Projects that compete with or displace local businesses can have unintended negative effects.

An Image on the Mend

In 2019, France’s Operation Barkhane opened a base in Gossi. It was planned as a “temporary advance base” to launch missions against extremists in the volatile Liptako-Gourma region. The tri-border region has become one of the deadliest in the world. In 2019, Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger suffered 4,779 deaths as a result of extremist violence or armed conflict. The majority occurred in the tri-border region.

Malian and French forces knew that to reestablish security they needed to prioritize CIMIC.

“The goal is to try to return to peace, not through combat, but by social and structural projects,” said Lt. Emilie, a CIMIC specialist with the French Armed Forces. “What’s important to understand is that it’s together that we can achieve it.”

Gossi relies heavily on a 14-kilometer-long lake that is vital for fishing, grazing and irrigation. The U.N. peacekeeping mission in Mali built a dike to keep the lake from drying up. Barkhane and FAMa teams have bought and paid to operate a small boat to take students across the lake to where they attend school. The CIMIC team also has organized “days of cleanliness” in which



French Soldiers speak with civilians during the dedication of a small boat used to transport children across the lake to attend school in Gossi, Mali. FRENCH MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

Children attend a ceremony dedicating a new child-care center in Gossi, Mali. FRENCH MINISTRY OF DEFENSE



Soldiers and civilians pick up litter and clean streets. Finally, the CIMIC team has brought a well back into service and built a protective wall around an elementary school.

“Since our arrival, we placed an emphasis on water, education and employment,” said Adjutant Pierre, CIMIC lead for Operation Barkhane in Gossi. “Idleness is a fertile terrain that leads to banditry.”

So far, it is impossible to judge the impact these efforts are having, but recent data shows public support for the Malian Army is on the rise. A survey by the German foundation Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung found that 69% of Malians

said they had faith in the FAMA to provide security. This was the highest favorability rating for any security organization in the country.

In February 2020, Malian Prime Minister Dr. Boubou Cissé spent several days touring cities in the north of the country and announced plans to recruit 10,000 new service members to the FAMA.

“From this trip, I’ll carry with me the determination and resilience of the population faced with a crisis,” he said. “Despite these daily difficulties, they remain hopeful in Mali and the authorities. In return, we are going to show them that the authorities are by their sides.” □





UGANDA OFFERS LESSONS ON HOW TO **REHABILITATE** **FORMER ENEMY FIGHTERS**, INCLUDING THOSE KIDNAPPED AS CHILDREN

ADF STAFF | PHOTOS BY REUTERS

If any country should know about the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of enemy fighters, it would be Uganda with its experience with the Lord's Resistance Army.

Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army, or LRA, is mostly inactive today, but during its violent years, dating to 1987, it wreaked havoc on Uganda. The group killed 100,000 people and displaced another 1.7 million. Kony and his fighters kidnapped tens of thousands of children, turning them into hardened fighters and rebel "wives." His child combatants were taught to rape, torture and massacre.

Fighters who have escaped from the LRA and returned to their home villages face uncertain receptions. Many are welcomed with joyful open arms. Some face indifference, having been captured so long ago that no one remembers them. Others are treated as criminals and sent to prison.

Out of necessity, Uganda has been formulating ad hoc disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programs for years. In many cases of returning LRA members, there is no DDR because the defections are never reported.

Journalist Anna Borzello's report, "The challenge of DDR in Northern Uganda: The Lord's Resistance Army," notes that reception centers set up for defecting fighters in about 2007 suffered serious shortcomings, including

Congolese children used in armed conflicts receive psychosocial support at the Transit and Orientation Centre (CTO) in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Reintegrating **FORMER EXTREMISTS**

failures to standardize counseling, go-home packages, lengths of stay and overall approach. Ex-combatants often were placed in refugee camps “where the situation is one of squalor and insecurity.”

“While the community in general welcomes home returnees, stigmatization is common,” Borzello wrote. “Giving packages or skills training to returnees can cause resentment among civilians.”

The ages of these returning fighters was, and remains, a problem. Many of these fighters were children when they were kidnapped, and many of them grew to be murderers. So are they treated as kidnap victims or ex-combatants?

“The emphasis on returnees as children and victims may distort the effectiveness of reintegration,” Borzello said. “While many returnees are profoundly disturbed by their experience, others have adapted to bush life and even grown to enjoy it.”

A study by the Stimson Center, a policy research group, focused on Uganda’s particular DDR challenges, noting that the initiatives taken “lack a coherent strategy.” The center pointed out three specific issues:

- Local communities resented government-issued resettlement packages for defecting LRA fighters because they were perceived to be a reward for violence. The packages, part of Uganda’s 2000 Amnesty Act, presented a “visible display of resources” for the LRA defectors that the civilian and impoverished community members did not enjoy.
- The local citizens also saw how international organizations had supported programs for the

ex-fighters. The wider community got no such programs, “despite the fact that there might be a greater need among community youth overall.”


- The ex-combatants resented the different levels of aid they were given. An abducted fighter who only spent weeks with the LRA before escaping might receive much more aid than an LRA member who had been abducted and fought for more than a decade.

STUDYING UGANDA

Government officials, the United Nations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are studying the DDR programs in Uganda, Somalia and other parts of East Africa, looking for ways to improve DDR programs worldwide.

After studying the failures and successes of Uganda’s DDR program, United Nations University came up with a report in 2015 outlining the problems with any DDR plan. They include:

- Where there is an ongoing conflict, the political buy-in necessary for voluntary DDR programs might be lacking, raising questions about whether DDR efforts will work in such environments.
- Ongoing conflicts prevent the economic recovery required to absorb ex-combatants entering the labor force. This raises questions about how to design effective DDR programs that prevent relapse or criminalization when the conflict is finally over.
- Little is known about the interplay between DDR and ongoing enemy military operations. Does the



Congolese children used in armed conflicts receive psychosocial support at a treatment center in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.



Former child soldiers march in a parade at a release ceremony in South Sudan.

existence of continuing enemy military operations undermine DDR programs or encourage them?

- The rising role of local, regional and international governments, along with NGOs and contractors, in DDR programs raises a variety of legal, operational and strategic challenges. What if the groups involved have inconsistent principles and human rights standards?
- What are the legal and operational challenges in dealing with defecting fighters who are known to have been members of violent terrorist groups?

Borzello's research raised other, similar questions. She noted that when a conflict finally ends, money will be needed to dismantle internally displaced people camps, resettle the population and rebuild the region. "The process will be expensive and require commitment from the Ugandan government and international donors," she said. She noted that the police forces and courts would need to be strengthened so that justice can be served and the past laid to rest. The issue of war crimes must be resolved.

THREE TYPES OF COMBATANTS

Prosper Nzekani Zena, writing for the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, said that DDR candidates in postwar settings can be divided into three groups: armed actors who will voluntarily self-demobilize once a viable peace framework seems to be in place, combatants who continue to have vested interests in militancy, and fighters who are hesitant to disarm for fear of the consequences. Zena said it is the third group that offers the most potential for successful DDR.

"They are hesitant to disarm, fearing that they will be exposed and vulnerable amid an insecure, uncertain, and volatile environment," Zena wrote. "They lack suitable

income-earning alternatives, so may worry that disarmament would result in diminished well-being. However, they have little motive or interest in remaining a combatant. They are fence-sitters who need inducements and viable, gradual pathways to reject militancy."

Zena found that the key ingredient for success is demonstrating to these combatants that they have a pathway to disarm and return to civilian life.

"By providing adequate opportunities to safely disarm, financial and psychological support to transition to civilian life, and sufficient training and opportunities to sustain themselves, DDR can draw such swing combatants away from militancy," Zena wrote. "This also indirectly weakens remaining hardcore combatants by depleting the number of their supporters."

Zena and other researchers have said that the first two components of DDR — demobilization and disarmament — are usually not the problem in reaching "fence-sitting" combatants. Demobilization can be politically sensitive, but those problems often are short-lived. Disarmaments mostly are a matter of organizing secure collection sites where arriving combatants don't feel vulnerable. The third component, reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life, is the most difficult.

Reintegration involves such tasks as job training, loans, job placement, helping former enemies integrate into peaceful settings, and helping them find permanent homes. Reintegration is the stage where so much can go wrong. Former fighters who disarm and face long delays in reintegration can become frustrated and bitter about the DDR process. Incomplete and ineffective reintegration poses the greatest risk for a return to armed violence.

"Reintegration is the most complex and critical yet least prioritized facet of DDR," concluded Zena. □



CHILDREN OF THE GUN

**ENDING THE USE OF CHILD SOLDIERS WILL REQUIRE
SUSTAINED COMMITMENT TO REINTEGRATION**

ADF STAFF

M.K. was an unruly child, by his own admission.

The Idgwi island boy was not a good student. He didn't listen to his parents or teachers. At age 13, he traveled to Goma, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo's (DRC) North Kivu province, to visit his older brother. While there, members of the National Congress for the People's Defence (CNDP) drove up in a car, stopped him and asked him for identification.

When M.K. said he did not have ID, members of the Congolese Tutsi anti-government militia tied him up, put him in the car

and drove him to their camp in Kitchanga, where they threw him in a hole. He remained there for two months.

"Then, they took me out for questioning," M.K. told the Voluntary Force at the Service of Childhood and Health in the DRC. "I had to choose between dying and working for them! They left me two hours to think about it (with water and food). I said to myself that if I refused, I was going to die because there was no one to help me or warn my family. If I worked for them, I would one day manage to find a solution."

A former child soldier holds a gun as he participates in a release ceremony outside Yambio, South Sudan. REUTERS



South Sudanese young people, having laid down their guns, participate in a release ceremony in South Sudan.

REUTERS

M.K. soon learned how to salute and how to handle a weapon. His captors appointed him to be an escort to a militia major. He began to smoke marijuana to keep his mind off his family. When the CNDP and the Armed Forces of the DRC (FARDC) signed a peace agreement in 2009, M.K. continued to work for his commander under the FARDC. A year later, the United Nations peacekeeping mission in the DRC took him to the Transit and Orientation Centre (CTO) for rehabilitation.

"For the two months since my arrival at the CTO, I've been rebuilding my life, starting from scratch so that I can be a better person and be in a position to help my family," M.K. said.

M.K.'s story is a familiar one for thousands of African children. Many are kidnapped and forced into militias. Many serve on the front lines as rifle-carrying infantrymen. Others serve as cooks, spies, porters, escorts, messengers, and sometimes as domestic or sex slaves. Some are as young as 8 years old.

The experience can scar children for life — if they survive. Those lucky enough to escape or be liberated must be rehabilitated, a process that requires significant investments of time, resources and programs to ensure that young people leaving the battlefield can reenter society and be productive and safe.

THE BREADTH OF THE PROBLEM

Some have estimated that about 40% of all child soldiers are in Africa, but the problem exists worldwide. Children also have been exploited this way in Afghanistan, Burma, Colombia, Iraq, the Philippines, Syria and Yemen in recent years.

The numbers also have been growing. Child Soldiers International, whose programs now are operated by the Romeo Dallaire Child Soldiers Initiative, reported in February 2019 that the number of child soldiers had increased 159% worldwide in five years. The former London-based human rights group said that it had documented 30,000 recruitment cases since 2012.

Many others almost certainly go unrecorded.

The former group told The Defense Post that 3,159 children were recruited in 12 nations in 2012. In 2017, the number soared to 8,185 children in 15 nations. Incidents of sexual violence against children also jumped by 40%. In 2012, there were 679 documented cases. In 2017, there were 951.

“Child recruitment is among the most desperate human rights issues of our time,” Isabelle Guitard, then director of Child Soldiers International, told The Defense Post. “These statistics alone are shocking and probably only scratch the surface on the true scale of child exploitation by armed actors around the world.”

The use of children in armed conflict — by any government, faction, rebel group or militia — contradicts most elements of what the United Nations Security Council calls the “Six Grave Violations Against Children During Armed Conflict.”

The six violations are:

- Recruitment and use of children.
- Killing or maiming of children.
- Sexual violence against children.
- Attacks against schools or hospitals.
- Abduction of children.
- Denial of humanitarian access.

The list informs the U.N. secretary-general’s annual global report on “Children and Armed Conflict” in which, among other things, violators are “named and shamed” for violations. The secretary-general’s 2018 report, which was released in June 2019, noted some of the most severe disregard for children since the report began. More than 24,000 violations were logged in 20 conflicts worldwide.

That total included the recruitment of more than 7,000 children into combat and support roles. Somalia had the highest number of recruited children, followed by Nigeria and Syria, the U.N. reported. Sexual exploitation numbers remained high with 933 cases, a total that surely falls far short of actual cases because of underreporting owing to related stigma. Again, the highest figures were noted in Somalia, followed by the DRC.

Child abductions continued in 2018, reaching nearly 2,500 reported cases, more than half of which were in Somalia.

WHY RECRUIT CHILDREN?

When considering the rigors and horrors of armed conflict, a logical question arises: Why recruit children into such a harrowing and demanding existence?

Children’s profound vulnerabilities often serve as a rationale for their recruitment. Children are seen by many armed groups as expendable. Because they are not yet mature, they do not have

fully formed critical thinking skills and personalities. Some might be more fearless than adults because of their inability to critically assess the potential dangers facing them.

Because of this lack of mental and personal maturity, they can be more easily influenced and controlled, according to the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD). If they lose their parents or other family members, they might become loyal to someone else, especially if that person “holds the power of reward and punishment,” according to author Michael Wessells, who wrote *Child Soldiers: From Violence to Protection*.

The proliferation of small arms across Africa and other conflict zones also makes children able to wield the tools of war. The Kalashnikov AK-47 assault rifle, a common weapon in Africa, is easily used by young people, as are most handguns, rifles and even machetes.

Reintegration is essential to breaking the cycle of violence and for helping avoid stigma in children’s communities. Failing to invest the time and money in this process can reverse gains made toward peace and stability.

HOW CHILDREN ARE RECRUITED

The damage inflicted on children participating in war and conflict is universal. However, the reasons for and methods of recruitment of children as soldiers are not.

The recruitment of children falls into two broad categories: forced recruitment and voluntary recruitment.

In forced recruitment, children typically are abducted and compelled to fight, or they are born into militias or armed rebel groups.

The Lord’s Resistance Army, a Ugandan-based extremist group notorious for kidnapping and arming children, is thought to have forcibly conscripted tens of thousands of children since its formation in the mid-1980s.

The reasons that some children volunteer to fight for militias and armed groups are more complex. Sometimes it happens because they perceive discrimination against their people or repression by government authorities. Likewise, poverty and the lack of employment and education or having no remaining support community

due to conflict can push young people to join armed groups, according to ACCORD.

In some cases, children may see armed groups as the only option for achieving security, food, money or acceptance. The allure may be as simple as a promise of a salary, a one-time monetary payment, battle spoils, or drugs and alcohol. The opportunity to achieve ranks and bond with a group of like-minded people also cannot be underestimated.



A young Seleka coalition rebel poses near the presidential palace in Bangui, Central African Republic.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Even so, children cannot be considered solely responsible for voluntary recruitment. Joining an armed group is not usually a child's choice, even if abduction is not involved. Sometimes, children determine that joining such a group might be their best chance of surviving.

"In other words, the universal condemnation of the recruitment of child soldiers needs to take the issue of alternatives into consideration," the ACCORD report states. "What if the alternative is worse than becoming a child soldier? If the recruitment and re-recruitment of children as soldiers is to be prevented, then the economic, social and individual environment of potential recruits must be taken into account."

REINTEGRATING CHILD SOLDIERS

Children who survive the horrors of combat and other involvement in armed groups must be counseled, trained and supported as part of a comprehensive reintegration program. The needs are staggering, as the services are expensive and require several years of involvement to fully reintegrate young people into society.

According to the U.N. secretary-general's 2018 report, 13,600 children benefited from support for release and reintegration, up from 12,000 in 2017. In Africa, 2,253 children were released from armed groups in the DRC, 883 in Nigeria, and 785 were liberated in the Central African Republic.

"Releasing children from the ranks of armed elements is essential, but it is only a first step," according to a 2018 U.N. report on reintegration. "Providing children who have been formally released with adequate services, as well as reaching out to those who have escaped or have been informally released, is a huge task."

Reintegration is essential to breaking the cycle of violence and for helping avoid stigma in children's communities. Failing to invest the time and money in this process can reverse gains made toward peace and stability.

Successful reintegration efforts must have certain guiding principles, according to the U.N. First, such programs must consider the best interests of the children, not just prevailing security or political concerns. Children associated with armed groups also must be looked at primarily as victims. Prosecuting and detention should be avoided when possible in favor of reintegration. Finally, children have a right to life, survival and development that addresses physical, spiritual, moral and social needs.

Effective reintegration programs should have the following components:

Psychosocial support and mental

health: Trauma endured by child combatants can make going home difficult. Young people will need help finding their place in society once they have been liberated from fighting.

Educational and vocational opportunities:

Conflict can close schools and hobble economies. "Offering former child soldiers a viable alternative to bearing a weapon may be the most important aspect of reintegration," according to the U.N.

Gender-sensitive programming: Girls' experiences are unique, and they often suffer sexual violence, pregnancy and stigma. It is common for girls to be reluctant to join reintegration programs because they fear rejection by their families. Programs must prioritize their education and vocational training.

Reintegration is a long-term process. It will require adequate funding over the required amount of time. Ensuring this will complete the healing process and help keep children from falling back into the hands of armed groups.



GLIMMERS OF HOPE

Although the problem persists, officials in Africa and elsewhere realize the damage done by using children in combat. A November 2019 conference in Juba, South Sudan, brought together government and opposition forces to discuss the use of child soldiers, according to ReliefWeb.

More than 50 senior officers attended the three-day conference led by the U.N. Mission in South Sudan's Child Protection Unit and UNICEF.

Participants outlined several actions, including educating junior officers on the

issue, improving ways to identify young people under 18, and increasing efforts to find and release children working as soldiers. The conference also stressed reintegration as a crucial component.

"Children need to be dissuaded from joining the military and should instead be motivated to be at school," said Andrew Oluku, an officer with the National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Committee. "The government needs to take more responsibility for the youth because they are the backbone of this country." □

A child soldier stands with a rifle during his release ceremony in Yambio, South Sudan, in February 2018. Some child combatants are as young as 8.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

A DEADLY ENIGMA

*The Ideology
Driving the Allied
Democratic Forces
Remains Mostly
a Mystery*



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 and at least five members of the national 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 at the time.

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

THE GROUP'S BEGINNINGS

Although now most active in the DRC, the Allied Democratic Forces formed in neighboring Uganda in 1995. Radical elements of Uganda's Tabliq Muslim sect joined with Bakonjo fighters who had participated in the Rwenzururu movement, according to a 2019 article by Dr. Eleanor Beevor of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. The Rwenzururu secessionist movement was named after the kingdom in Western Uganda's Rwenzori Mountains.

The group's social and ethnic composition helped it operate along the borders of Uganda and the DRC. Uganda's Bakonjo are connected by culture and language to the Banande people in the DRC. Only the contrivance of a colonial border separated them in the 20th century.

Beevor wrote that the Allied Democratic Forces fled into the DRC's North Kivu province when the country still was known as Zaire. The nation's then-dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko, and his successor, Laurent Kabila, allowed the armed group to roam the border region to deter Rwandan and Ugandan incursions.



People gather in Oicha, DRC, in November 2019 to honor the 27 victims hacked to death by Allied Democratic Forces militants.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

This left the group "free to engage in advantageous, short-term partnerships with other rebel groups, to benefit from illicit border trade and to court the support of international actors," Beevor wrote. "Sudan, for example, regularly sent the group arms and funds."

In a region notorious for dozens of armed groups, each with peculiar and sometimes competing interests, the Allied Democratic Forces has shown a growing willingness to employ ferocious violence.

Paul Nantulya, a research associate with the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, wrote in February 2019 that the Allied Democratic Forces has “taken on many faces ranging from Salafi-Jihadi to secular-nationalist, ethno-nationalist, and secessionist, with each aimed at different audiences and employed for different purposes.”

In a region notorious for dozens of armed groups, each with peculiar and sometimes competing interests, the Allied Democratic Forces has shown a growing willingness to employ ferocious violence. From 2017 to 2018, violent incidents attributed to the group have grown from 38 to 132, Nantulya wrote. That’s a 247% increase. In the same period, fatalities doubled to 415. The group has killed hundreds of civilians since 2014.

TIES TO ISIS?

Perhaps most disturbing to observers is the group’s recent flirtations with the Islamic State. A 2018 report in The Defense Post indicates that the group has links to Islamic influences in Uganda.

It’s unclear to what extent the group may be aligned with ISIS, but the Congo Research Group (CRG), which focuses on conflict in the DRC, analyzed 35 videos on private social media channels between 2016 and 2017. The research group’s report showed a “shift in the rhetoric employed by the movement, from a war against the Ugandan government to a broader struggle for Islam.”

According to the CRG, the Allied Democratic Forces has been calling itself “Madina at Tauheed Wau Mujahedeen” as far back as 2010. The name means “the city of monotheism and of those who affirm the same.” Some of the group’s videos include a flag similar to those used by ISIS, al-Shabaab, al-Qaida and Boko Haram. They also emphasize the importance of radical and violent interpretations of the Quran. Radical Islam is not new for the group, but emphasis on it has varied over time, according to CRG.



After an attack by the Allied Democratic Forces in November 2018, Congolese men look at a car hit by a mortar. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Nantulya wrote that videos and documents seized by the United Nations peacekeeping mission in the DRC would seem to indicate that the Allied Democratic Forces is focusing on establishing a regional caliphate. He argues that the proliferation of “ISIS-inspired narratives” in propaganda parallels the group’s “return to its Salafi roots so that it could exploit Jihad-Salafi networks in East Africa.”

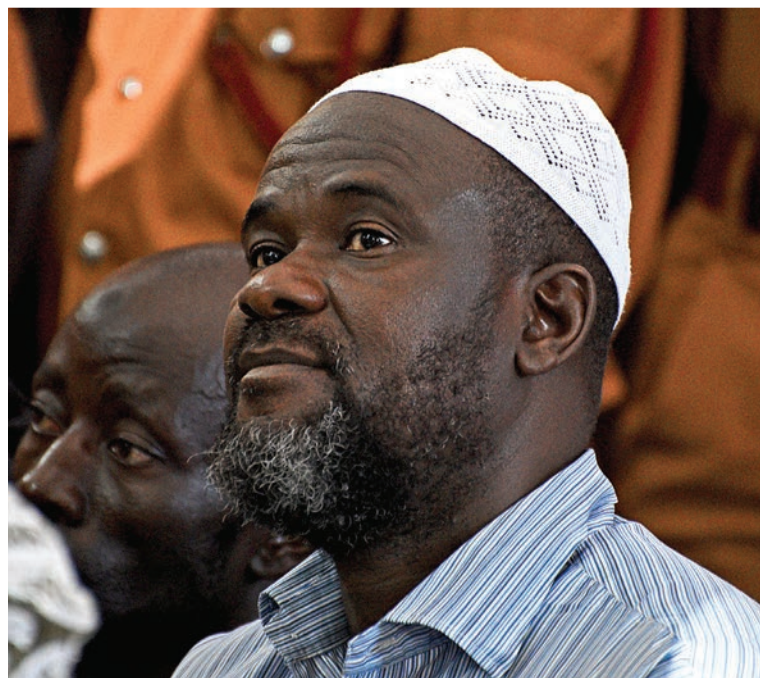
These efforts, Nantulya contends, ramped up after the group lost considerable territory in military



clashes with Congolese, Ugandan and U.N. forces. Major offensives in 2011, 2013 and 2015-2016 reduced the group's ranks to just a few hundred fighters. The capture of leader Jamil Mukulu in Tanzania in 2015 also dealt a blow to the militant group. He remains in custody in Uganda.

VIOLENCE INTENSIFIES

The group's response to these losses to military forces was to lash out against civilians in Beni, Bunia, Butembo and Eringeti to punish them for perceived government collusion. This increase in attacks corresponded with ethnic and jihadist propaganda, Nantulya wrote.



Allied Democratic Forces leader Jamil Mukulu is in Ugandan custody.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



The Allied Democratic Forces has adapted to changing social landscapes by constantly adjusting to local grievances to advance its narrative. It has been willing to use whatever message works to maintain recruitment.

Tanzanian Soldiers with the United Nations peacekeeping mission in the DRC seek out militants with the Allied Democratic Forces.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The violence continues. According to a December 2019 Al-Jazeera report, at least 17 people were hacked to death in two attacks blamed on the Allied Democratic Forces. DRC military spokesman Gen. Leon Richard Kasonga told the news service that the Army also found “a factory for large-scale production of homemade bombs” at a group camp seized by Soldiers.

The December attacks were part of a series of mass killings in response to Army operations against the group that started in late October 2019. The militants had killed at

least 100 people between November 5 and December 5, 2019, to discourage civilians from helping security forces, Al-Jazeera reported.

Despite its hostility to local populations, the militant group has continued spreading jihadist propaganda and brought in recruits from as far and wide as Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda, Nantulya wrote. In fact, the group also has recruitment cells in South Africa and Tanzania.

Public resentment for the group is high, but the melange of armed groups in the DRC, coupled with the government’s inability to provide services, has hindered opportunities to isolate the militants. Information about the group’s finances is scant, but a U.N. report indicates that it benefits from outside financing.

COUNTERING THE MILITANTS

The Allied Democratic Forces has proved resourceful and resilient by surviving among dozens of disparate armed groups despite relentless pressure from national armed forces and international peacekeepers. It has adapted to changing social landscapes by constantly adjusting to local grievances to advance its narrative. It has been willing to



use whatever message works to maintain recruitment.

Dislodging the group from the hinterlands of the DRC will continue to be difficult. Those fighting the Allied Democratic Forces will have to establish and maintain effective intelligence networks and strong regional cooperation. To that end, Nantulya argues, the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region can play an important role.

In 2017, the organization launched an intelligence nerve center in Kasese, Uganda, near the border with the DRC. The center is staffed with eight security experts from the DRC, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, with staff members assisting them, according to Agence France-Presse. It started with a \$600,000 investment and is financed by the four core member states.

"Once the intelligence information is received at the centre, it will be analysed by the experts, further investigated and disseminated to member countries for action," Uganda Army spokesman Brig. Richard Karemire told Agence France-Presse.

Nantulya said the African Union-led Regional Task Force for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) also can serve as a useful model. "The combined

efforts of Ugandan, South Sudanese, and Central African Republic forces, supported by U.S. technical intelligence assets and advisors, played a major role in breaking the back of the LRA rebellion," Nantulya wrote.

The LRA Regional Task Force used more than 3,000 Soldiers, which included 2,000 from Uganda, 500 each from the DRC and South Sudan, and 85 from the Central African Republic. The operation began in August 2013 and was code-named Operation Monsoon. The LRA now is much less of a threat in the region.

Finally, a successful strategy must address the lack of central and local government authority and service provision in the eastern DRC. Uganda has been more successful at this, and as a result the militant group's ability to hold territory in that country has been prevented.

The militants' "ability to mobilize and exploit local sentiments across multiple social, cultural, religious, and political landscapes underscores the need for robust public engagement strategies," Nantulya wrote. "As long as [the group] can continue to tap multiple religious and secular grievances, a lasting solution to it will remain elusive." □

A woman mourns after five others were killed in Paidia, near Beni, in the DRC's North Kivu province. The Allied Democratic Forces killed 18 in the area over two days.

REUTERS



'ETHNIC STACKING' FUELS COUPS

AS LEADERS CLING TO POWER,
THEY OFTEN RESORT TO
OLD LOYALTIES

ADF STAFF

ADF ILLUSTRATION

Long-serving dictators have many tricks to help them hold onto power. One is a process known as “coup-proofing,” or building armed forces that will not rebel.

Political scientist Philip Roessler said leaders attempt to coup-proof a regime in three ways:

1. Purge the military ranks of any members who might oppose the leader.
2. Give preferential financial and political treatment to top military commanders.
3. Employ a tactic known as “ethnic stacking.”

In ethnic stacking, the leader of a country fills his top military ranks with officers of his own ethnicity.

Ethnic stacking can help a leader stay in power, but it almost inevitably leads to corruption and poor governance. It also leaves a leader vulnerable. As political scientist Nandita Balakrishnan wrote in *The Washington Post*, “Military leaders are still the only ones strong enough to oust them — even if coups are harder to mount and more dangerous

should they occur, because failed coup plotters and their families often face execution.”

It’s a lesson as old as history: When you’re in power and surround yourself with your kinsmen to the exclusion of others, your country will suffer for it.

Africa has been through a lot of coups. Since decolonization began in the 1950s, there have been more than 220 coup attempts on the continent, with nearly half of them successful, overthrowing civilian governments, undermining democracy and the rule of law, and leading to years of military dictatorships.

Since 2010, there have been 34 coup attempts on the continent. Six were successful. In the rest of the world during that time, there only were seven coup attempts.

American political scientist Jonathan Powell says the number of coups is not surprising, given the instability African countries experienced in the years after independence.

“African countries have had the conditions common for coups, like poverty and poor economic

Sudanese protesters rally in Khartoum in April 2019 after the ouster of President Omar al-Bashir. The protesters said the army, dominated by al-Bashir appointees, would try to cling to power. AFP/GETTY IMAGES





performance,” he told the BBC. “When a country has one coup, that’s often a harbinger of more coups.”

ELITE UNITS

Typically, a new leader will announce a plan for inclusion, promising that all ethnic groups, religions and tribes will be included in his or her administration. But if the previous leader’s inner circle was ethnically based, this new inclusion process will not go over well, forcing the new leader to stick with people already in power, or risk a coup. In many cases, chiefs of state will use their ethnicity as a criterion for membership in elite or privileged units, such as top military leadership posts.

Scholars have recently devoted considerable attention to ethnic stacking, linking it to authoritarian repression, coups and political violence.

A case of successful ethnic stacking took place in the Democratic Republic of the Congo when it was still named Zaire. After taking office in 1965, President Mobutu Sese Seko stacked his officer corps with Ngbandi men from his native Equateur region. Dr. Emizet Kisangani, a professor of political science, said that by the time Mobutu’s rule ended 30 years later, Mobutu’s Equateur kinsmen made up almost 80% of his officer corps.

Mobutu’s stacking enabled him to stay in power for three decades, but his presidency can hardly be called successful. With the support of his stacked

Kenyan special forces arrive at the scene of an explosion at a hotel complex in Nairobi in 2019. Kenya has worked to include a diversity of ethnic groups in its military. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

army, Mobutu amassed vast wealth, mostly through corruption and economic exploitation. His administration was marked by uncontrolled inflation and economic disaster.

Dr. Kristen Harkness, a senior lecturer at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland, has studied ethnic stacking extensively. Her 2018 book, *When Soldiers Rebel*, analyzes ethnic recruitment practices in African armies and how those practices have destabilized regimes.

“Since decolonization, worried by the possibilities of coup attempts and ethnic insurgencies, many leaders have continued to rely on the recruitment and promotion of co-ethnics to control the military and ensure its loyalty,” Harkness wrote in a 2019 study. “Such practices range from ethnically manipulating the highest ranks of the command hierarchy, to creating elite co-ethnic paramilitary units, to conditioning all service on shared ethnicity.” She added that, “Such dependence on ethnicity as a shortcut for loyalty likely has profound consequences for a range of important outcomes, from combat effectiveness to coup propensity to democratization.”

The downsides of such policies are numerous. The process of building ethnic armies, Harkness said, “likely inspires resistance from out-group officers, thereby destabilizing governments, at least in the short term.” Other researchers have noted that excluding ethnic groups from important state institutions can inspire insurgency and even terrorism.

Harkness’ research showed that when elections bring to power a new leader who is ethnically different from the existing ethnically constructed army, the risk of a military coup rises from under 20% to almost 90%.

NOT NEW TO AFRICA

Ethnic stacking existed long before African independence. An extreme example was in apartheid South Africa, where blacks were barred from serving in the military. Armed forces in other countries in pre-independent Africa often were stacked by their colonial leaders with members of a particular tribe, perceived to be better soldiers than were other tribes.

Today, the South African National Defence Force has racial quotas to make sure that white, black, mixed-race and Indian South Africans are proportionately represented.

Harkness notes that some African nations have continued to use ethnic stacking while still reaching out to other ethnic groups.

“Only the very top of the command hierarchy is controlled via ethnic loyalty, with often great care taken to cultivate inclusiveness at lower ranks,” she wrote.

Since Kenya’s independence in 1964, its leaders historically have stacked their Armed Forces’ leadership ranks with members of their own ethnic group. The country’s first president, Jomo Kenyatta, inherited an army overwhelmingly staffed with Kamba officers. He acted quickly to change the ethnic balance in the Armed Forces in favor of his own ethnic group, the Kikuyu. He was only partially successful; the Kikuyu made up only 21% of the country’s population at that time. Daniel Moi, Kenyatta’s successor, replaced Kikuyu leaders with members of his own Kalenjin ethnic group. After an unsuccessful coup attempt, Moi removed most of the few remaining Kikuyu from positions of authority.

Today, globalsecurity.org reports, the Kenyan Armed Forces observe ethnic quotas within their ranks and maintain a diversity of Soldiers at all ranks.

Ethnic stacking can be a complex subject, because Africa’s ethnic identities are not always clear. In many parts of Africa, ethnic identity can be identified by region, mixed ethnic groups and clans. There are subgroups within ethnic groups that are associated with regions.

“Region has shaped ethnic stacking in many Sahelian states, where important north-south divides overlap ethnic, religious, linguistic and racial cleavages,” Harkness wrote.

Harkness and other scholars have concluded that

ethnic stacking works, but only if the goal is to remain in power. If the goal is a true democracy and a true equal-opportunity armed forces, ethnic stacking must be eliminated. In their 2007 study, Staffan Lindberg and John Clark concluded that true democratic regimes have a “significantly different track record” of being subjected either to successful or failed military interventions. Their research indicates that democratic regimes are 7.5 times less likely to be subjected to attempted military interventions than are electoral authoritarian regimes and almost 18 times less likely to be victims of actual regime breakdown.



Kenyan Cabinet Secretary for Defence Rachel Omamo, center, observes Kenya Defence Forces day in Nairobi in 2019. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

“Legitimacy accrued by political liberalization seems to ‘inoculate’ states against military intervention in the political realm,” they wrote.

In a 2009 study on ethnic stacking, researchers Andreas Wimmer, Lars-Erik Cederman and Brian Min drew three conclusions:

- Armed rebellions are more likely to challenge states that exclude large portions of the population on the basis of ethnic background.
- When a large number of competing elites share power in a segmented state, the risk of violent infighting increases.
- Incohesive states with a short history of direct rule are more likely to experience secessionist conflicts.

Harkness said that true democracy comes at a price.

“If democracy is to thrive in multi-ethnic societies, existing ethnic armies must be dismantled and national military institutions diversified,” Harkness wrote. She added that dismantling these institutions is both difficult and dangerous. “Ethnic armies do not stand idly by and allow for their own demise.” □

SALE HELPS PUT EYES IN THE SKY

THE DEAL SENDS U.S.
HELICOPTERS TO THE
KENYA DEFENCE FORCES



Two MD 530F Cayuse Warrior helicopters take off during a handover ceremony in Nairobi, Kenya, in January 2020.

The United States has sold six MD 530F helicopters to the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) that can engage in attack, scout and close air support missions for the East African nation.

“This demonstrates how the U.S. remains fully committed to providing relevant and timely training and equipment to bolster the KDF capabilities,” said U.S. Army Maj. Gen. Michael D. Turello, commanding general of Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa.

The U.S. delivered the six MD 530F Cayuse Warrior helicopters to the Kenya Army’s Joint Helicopter Command at Embakasi Barracks in Nairobi at a handover ceremony on January 23, 2020.

“A partnership with the Kenya Defence Forces is one of our most important partnerships in Africa and keystone in East Africa,” Turello said. “We are grateful for your continued leadership against forces that wish to do us harm.”

The process of selling the helicopters began in 2016 and gained U.S. State Department approval in 2017. The sale underscores both nations’ commitment to peace and stability in East Africa.

The total deal includes 12 of the helicopters; six will be delivered to the KDF later. The aircraft have been weaponized to include 24 heavy machine gun pod 400 systems, 24 M260 rocket launchers, 4,032 M151 rockets, 1,536 M274 smoke-signature warhead rockets and 400,000 rounds of .50-caliber ammunition, according to the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA).

The deal also includes navigation and communications equipment, training, contractor logistics support,

technical assistance from the U.S. government, and support for structural and weapons systems spare parts, among other things, DSCA said. The total package cost is estimated at \$253 million.

Manufacturer MD Helicopters says the MD 530F has a maximum cruising speed of nearly 250 kilometers per hour and can approach altitudes of just more than 4.8 kilometers. Each helicopter is more than 7 meters long and can accommodate two crew members on the controls and two passengers in the cabin behind them.

“This event is not only a culmination of the journey that began in 2016, but also a milestone for our Air Force to modernize the Kenya Defence Forces,” Gen. Samson Mwathethe, chief of the KDF, said at the handover ceremony. “The integration of the MD 530F into our inventory will go a long way in enhancing our capability to operate and continue our security involvement, and we appreciate this achievement by cooperation with our allies.” □



Gen. Samson Mwathethe, chief of Kenya Defence Forces, greets U.S. Army Maj. Gen. Michael D. Turello during the handover.



Kenyan pilots assigned to the Joint Helicopter Command give a presentation about the MD 530F Cayuse Warrior helicopter.



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Kenya Tries to PRESERVE VANISHING LANGUAGES

VOICE OF AMERICA

In Africa, hundreds of indigenous languages are on the verge of extinction. That includes at least 13 languages in Kenya. Kenyan civil society groups are proposing a bill to help preserve and safeguard these disappearing dialects.

Leriman Letiko, who is 102, is passing down knowledge of a culture and a dialect that might be near its end. Letiko and his 95-year-old brother, Leteyon, are the only two left in a tribe of about 10,000 who can speak fluent Yakunte.

The United Nations culture organization UNESCO classifies the Yakunte language as extinct, but the Yaaku, an indigenous tribe in the Mukogodo Forest and its environs in Laikipia, a county in north central Kenya, are fighting to keep it alive.

"Both my mother and grandmother spoke Yakunte," Letiko said. "The period when we started interacting more and intermarrying with the Maasai, that's when the language started to get lost. When we married into a different tribe, we adopted their languages."

Most Yaakus now speak Kimaasai, the language of their Laikipia Maasai neighbors. Letiko has been using oral tradition to pass down the language and cultural knowledge to his son and other Yaakus. He says the only way to save the Yakunte dialect is by introducing it in local schools.

Civil society groups and the Kenyan Ministry of Sports, Culture and the Arts have drafted the bill to document and promote indigenous languages in Kenya.

Kimani Njogu, a linguist who also is a member of the Academy of African Languages, says languages can die like anything else.

"Because of globalization and urbanization, and because we do not have very systematic transfer of languages across generations, we have older people not transferring their language to younger people as well as systems of education where certain languages dominate the systems of education, so quite a number of languages are endangered."

Njogu adds that information technology should be used to capture these languages before they disappear.

Sudan's Cinema

FLICKERS BACK TO LIFE

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Talal Afifi has worked for years to revive Sudanese cinema, which languished through three decades of authoritarian rule. With the fall of longtime autocrat Omar al-Bashir, he sees new hope.

When Afifi attended a 2008 short film festival in Munich, Germany, the winning film — an Iraqi documentary shot on a handycam — inspired him to return home and set up a training center and production house.

"I wanted to remind people that there is a place called Sudan, which was once renowned in the field of cinema, and that it still has its heart beating for this art," he said.

The Sudan Film Factory, based in a suburban Khartoum villa, has since trained more than 300 young men and women in filmmaking.

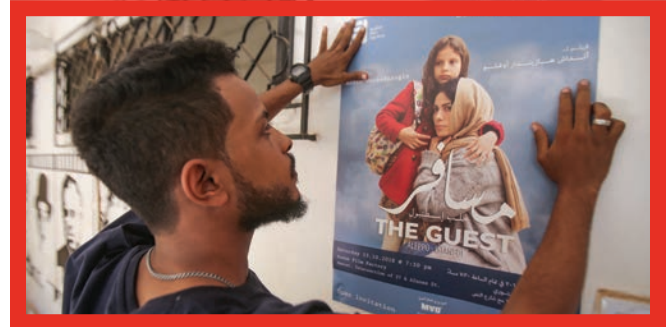
Today, after Bashir's ouster in April 2019, Afifi and his colleagues hope filmmaking will get a fresh boost.

Sudanese cinema dates back to the shooting of the first silent film in 1898, a few years after the invention of moving images, according to veteran director Ibrahim Shaddad.

By 1946, a fleet of mobile cinemas were traveling across the country showing films under the evening sky.

By the 1980s, Sudan had more than 60 cinemas screening Hollywood, Bollywood and Arabic movies. But Bashir's seizure of power in 1989 crippled the industry.

By 1996, Bashir's conservative Islamist regime had shut down most of the country's cinemas. On top of that, an



Ahmad Faysal, logistics manager of the Sudan Film Factory, hangs a movie poster in Khartoum. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

American trade embargo made it difficult to import foreign films, update old software or acquire equipment.

Suleiman Ibrahim, president of Sudanese Film Group, said Bashir's rule had sent many filmmakers into exile.

Despite these hurdles, Afifi and his team kept the art alive, screening documentaries and foreign films on rooftops in the capital.

The army deposed Bashir in April 2019 in a palace coup after months of protests.

His overthrow has given film enthusiasts fresh hope of reviving Sudanese filmmaking. "Now we are talking of restoring cinemas, changing laws and establishing cinema-theatry institutes," Afifi said.



Fans Donate \$450,000 to Save Football Team

Club Africain celebrates after scoring a goal in the final of the 2017 Tunisian Cup. Club Africain won the tournament.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

BBC NEWS AT [BBC.CO.UK/NEWS](https://www.bbc.com/news)

Supporters of Tunisia's Club Africain donated more than \$450,000 in one day as they battled to save the financially troubled club. The donors included one blind fan who chose to forgo the medicine he had been saving for in order to help his beloved team.

Club Africain, which is Tunisia's second-oldest football club and one of the best-known teams in Africa, has been deducted six points and sanctioned financially because of unpaid salaries to former players.

To help the club, which was established in 1920,

the Tunisian Football Federation set up a crisis management committee to save it from further sanctions.

In October 2019, the federation set up a bank account for fans to donate money to help clear the debt, which has raised \$1 million so far, including the single-day \$450,000. The federation puts the total debt at almost \$6 million.

In the 24-hour campaign, children arrived with piggy banks, and the blind supporter handed over his savings, for which he was honored with a signed shirt.



Ivoirian Authorities Rescue 137 CHILD TRAFFICKING VICTIMS

VOICE OF AMERICA

Authorities in Côte d'Ivoire say they rescued 137 child trafficking victims being groomed to work on cocoa plantations or in prostitution. Police rescued the children after surrounding the eastern town of Aboisso and carrying out a two-day search of cars, farms and nearby villages.

Officials say the children ranged in age from 6 to 17 and were brought into Côte d'Ivoire from Benin, Ghana, Niger, Nigeria and Togo. The victims were in the care of a charity in Aboisso while authorities searched for their parents.

Senior police officials say they plan to increase operations to stop child trafficking.

"Ivory Coast's image is tarnished by child

trafficking," Aboisso's Deputy Police Chief Kouadio Yeboue Marcellin said. "We are appealing to all parents: A child's place is at school and not on plantations."

Côte d'Ivoire depends on cocoa and cashew crops, and poor farmers depend on inexpensive labor to pick the beans and nuts.

International chocolate companies, such as Nestlé and Hershey, have pledged to stop buying beans produced by child workers. Critics say such efforts have been only modestly successful.

Cocoa beans are gathered at a farm in Azaguie, Côte d'Ivoire. The country is the world's largest producer of cocoa, and authorities are cracking down on the use of child labor.

REUTERS

U.S., SUDAN IMPROVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

VOICE OF AMERICA

During a historic visit to Washington, D.C., Sudanese Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok said one goal looms above all others as he leads the country's transitional government: bringing peace to the war-ravaged nation.

"Our number one top priority is to stop the war and build the foundation of sustainable peace," he said. "Essentially to stop the sufferings of our people in the IDP [internally displaced people] camps and the refugee camps. We think the opportune time of stopping this war is now."

Hamdok said he was heartened by the resilience on display when he visited the Zam Zam camp for internally displaced people in Darfur, where a war that began in 2003 has never fully stopped.

Unlike the administration of his predecessor, Omar al-Bashir, Hamdok's government has pledged to allow unfettered access for aid organizations to reach those in need.

Hamdok visited the U.S. capital to repair Sudan's relationship with the U.S., which was strained to nonexistent during the 30-year reign of al-Bashir, who the military ousted in April 2019 after months of mass protests.



One of Hamdok's goals is for the U.S. to remove Sudan from the list of state sponsors of terrorism. Sudan was put on the list in 1993, at a time when al-Qaida founder Osama bin Laden was living in Khartoum.

Although Sudan is still on the list, the two countries agreed to improve diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors. U.S. officials have said the process of removing Sudan from the terrorism list will be a long one. Hamdok stressed that his country is prepared to meet the requirements, which may include paying restitution to victims of terrorist attacks.

"We Sudanese as a people have never supported terrorism before. It was a former regime that supported this," he said. "We are also as a nation victims of terrorism that was inflicted on us by the regime. But we accepted this as a corporate responsibility. And we are negotiating."



FRANCE, U.K. VOW TO CONTINUE FIGHT AGAINST SAHEL EXTREMISM

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

French and British air force chiefs vowed to pursue the joint fight against extremists in the heart of the Sahel, even as the shadow of Brexit loomed over their countries.

British Chief of the Air Staff Mike Wigston addresses French troops and British Airmen in front of a British CH-47 Chinook helicopter deployed in Gao, Mali, in support of French Operation Barkhane.

"We've got a long, fabulous history of working alongside each other, and I don't expect anything to change anytime soon," Royal Air Force Chief of the Air Staff Mike Wigston told AFP on a visit to the Malian city of Gao with French counterpart Philippe Lavigne. "If anything, we are going to work stronger together." Backed by 100 British personnel, France has a 4,500-strong Sahel force supporting national armies struggling with a 7-year-old extremist insurgency.

Thousands of civilians have been killed, and hundreds of thousands have fled their homes. Wigston said Mali and its neighbors are "the front line of instability."

France's Operation Barkhane trains and supports local forces, which have limited means and face budgetary challenges.

Britain and France signed a defense cooperation pact in London in 2010, and both sides have repeatedly said it will not be affected by Brexit, the decision by the United Kingdom to leave the European Union.

Since July 2018, London has contributed three heavy-lift Chinook helicopters to France's Sahel fight. As of December 2019, they had logged more than 1,600 hours of flying time and transported about 11,000 personnel and 800 metric tons of freight.

The twin-rotor helicopters can haul nearly 4 metric tons of supplies and more than 30 troops at a time — a vital contribution in a region where road access to front-line troops is long and dangerous, with a high risk of mines and militia attacks.

The helicopter support "allows us to devote ourselves to air combat missions while our British comrades provide logistics, refueling and troop transport," said Col. Loic, who heads France's Barkhane air combat group in Mali.

U.S., GHANA STRENGTHEN PARTNERSHIP

U.S. AFRICA COMMAND

U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) hosted senior members of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) to discuss long-term defense and security planning.

Representatives of AFRICOM's five component commands, the U.S. Department of Defense, the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Embassy to Ghana and the Ghana Armed Forces attended and discussed the component commands' three- to five-year training objectives with Ghana.

"The Ghana Armed Forces are well-known in West Africa as professional armed forces," said Ghanaian Maj. Gen. Thomas Oppong-Pepurah, chief of army staff. "We have similar values and respect human rights. ... The U.S. knows this and sees us as a partner."

Plans include U.S. Army Africa's hosting of a medical readiness exercise to improve the GAF's ability to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. U.S. Naval

Forces Africa helped improve the GAF Navy's Maritime Operational Center, which provides constant domain awareness to enforce maritime laws.

Medical training "has really helped our nation to help prevent diseases in Ghana and our neighbors," said Oppong-Pepurah. "We have the capability to go to other countries and assist."

Other objectives in the plan include U.S. Air Forces Africa helping the Ghana Air Force expand its operations to support rapid force deployment and aeromedical evacuations. U.S. Marines Forces Europe and Africa is looking to support the ability of the Ghana Navy's Special Boat Squadron

to deter and respond to maritime crime such as human and drug trafficking, piracy and illegal fishing.

U.S. Special Operations Command Africa incorporated the GAF in planning for the 2020 Flintlock exercise to help African countries counter violent extremist organizations, protect borders and provide security.

"Some armies in Africa lack the capacity to provide their own security or ability to export security throughout the region, but we have built that capacity over time to assist other countries," Oppong-Pepurah said. "We recognize that it is imperative for African countries to complement one another in providing and maintaining peace."

Mozambican authorities detained 12 Iranians suspected of shipping drugs off the coast of the northern province of Cabo Delgado.

The boat was intercepted in December 2019 in a joint operation carried out by the Mozambique Navy and the National Criminal Investigation Service (SERNIC).

Authorities intercepted the boat about 50 kilometers from the Mozambican coast. The suspects are said to have set it on fire moments before their arrest.

Police say the fire destroyed about 1.5 metric tons of heroin suspected to be on board.

Vessel crew members then jumped into the Mozambique Channel and

were rescued by the Navy.

The suspects were being detained in the provincial capital, Pemba.

Local media reports indicated the operation resulted from intelligence gathered from various agencies using U.S.-funded aerial surveillance involved in fighting drug trafficking.

"Unfortunately, society is still beset with a huge and universal evil; we are talking about corruption," SERNIC Director General Domingos Jofane told local media. "This is why we fight it in our midst with all our might, and our message is that our colleagues must strive for rigor every day in the performance of their duties."



Ghana Armed Forces
Maj. Gen. Thomas
Oppong-Pepurah, chief
of army staff AFRICOM

Mozambique Navy Intercepts Major Heroin Shipment

BBC NEWS AT [BBC.CO.UK/NEWS](https://www.bbc.com/news)



Suspected traffickers set fire to a vessel near the coast of Mozambique after being stopped by Mozambican authorities. MOZAMBIQUE DEFENCE FORCES

NIGERIA PARTNERS WITH NEIGHBORS TO *Combat Smuggling*

REUTERS

Nigeria and neighbors Benin and Niger have agreed to set up a joint border patrol force to tackle smuggling among the West African countries.

Foreign ministers from the three countries met to discuss smuggling after Nigeria, which has Africa's largest economy and biggest population, decided to close its land borders to trade through at least January 31, 2020.

Nigeria launched a partial border closure to tackle the smuggling of rice and other goods. After that, all trade via land borders was halted indefinitely.

The joint communique from the meeting in Nigeria's capital, Abuja, said Benin's and Niger's delegations had appealed for the immediate reopening of the borders.

The concerns were noted, and the delegates agreed on the "establishment of a joint border patrol team comprising the police, customs, immigration, navy and state security services of the three countries," the communique said.



People walk on the main road to Nigeria-Benin joint border posts in 2018. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Delegates also agreed that the ministers of finance and trade from the countries would set up a committee to promote intraregional trade, and they said they would ensure that people crossing their borders would display travel documents recognized by the Economic Community of West African States regional bloc.

Since taking office in 2015, Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari has introduced policies aimed at curbing imports and smuggling to boost local production. Despite being Africa's top crude oil producer, Nigeria imports most of its refined fuel due to the moribund state of its refineries.

About 10% to 20% of Nigerian fuel is smuggled to neighboring countries, according to the Major Oil Marketers Association of Nigeria, because gasoline is heavily subsidized in the country and prices are higher in neighboring countries.

Cameroon Destroys Haul of Illegal Weapons

VOICE OF AMERICA

Cameroon's military arrested several dozen men and destroyed hundreds of hand-made guns circulating on the northern border with Chad and Nigeria. In a public event, a military compactor crushed more than 2,500 guns, ammunition and other weapons the military says it seized from smugglers, hostage takers, poachers and suspected Boko Haram fighters.

Regine Esseneme, head of Cameroon's Department of Justice in the northern town of Garoua, said she wants to send a clear message that there will be no safe haven for criminals operating in the border region of Cameroon, Chad and Nigeria. She said the three countries are working together to stop kidnappers and poachers illegally using weapons.

Authorities in Maiduguri, Nigeria, display arms and ammunition seized from extremists. Arms circulating in the Lake Chad Basin region have been a continuous source of instability in recent years. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jean Abate Edii, governor of Cameroon's North Region, said the weapons were seized after several raids on neighborhoods and villages suspected to be the hideouts of criminals operating in Cameroon and surrounding countries.

The six-nation regional bloc known as the Central African Economic and Monetary Community, or CEMAC, has blamed the proliferation of small arms and light weapons for the armed conflicts and criminal and terrorist activities in West-Central Africa.

The number of arms in Cameroon was classified as moderate in a 2017 survey on gun policy by Sydney University, ranking the central African state 99 out of 178 nations. Still, more than 500,000 arms are said to be owned legally or illegally by civilians, and most owners are found along the porous border with Nigeria.



Sudan Looks to Pyramids TO ATTRACT TOURISTS



REUTERS

Portuguese architect Tania Monteiro and her husband are almost alone as they tour Sudan's pyramids, a world-class attraction long neglected by the world.

"People are really, really nice, always very welcoming," Monteiro said on a visit to Meroe, an ancient city on the east bank of the Nile River about 200 kilometers northeast of the capital, Khartoum.

Sudan has more, though smaller, pyramids than Egypt, but attracted only about 700,000 tourists in 2018 compared to 10 million in its northern neighbor.

Conflicts and crises under former ruler Omar al-Bashir, a tough visa regime, and a lack of roads and hotels outside Khartoum have made Sudan an unlikely tourist destination. But since al-Bashir lost power in April 2019, the civilian transitional government is easing visa rules to attract more visitors to places such as the Royal Pyramids of Meroe.

Like the Egyptians, the Nubian Kush dynasty

that ruled in the area 2,500 years ago buried members of the royal family in pyramid tombs. Near Meroe's pyramids lie an array of temples with ancient drawings of animals and the ancient city of Naga, and there are more pyramids farther north at Jebel Barka.

The government has started relaxing the visa system, including dropping a permit required for travel outside Khartoum. Arrivals fell in 2019 because of unrest, but numbers are expected to exceed 900,000 in 2020 and might reach up to 1.2 million in 2021.

Sudan needs tourists after decades of isolation and hyperinflation. At Meroe, thanks to money from Qatar and German expertise, a visitors' center has been set up explaining the history of Sudan and the pyramids. There are walking tracks and a new reception center.

Visitors can now enter the pyramids' interiors and soon will be able to go into tombs underneath, part of Qatar's \$135 million aid. Several pyramids will be restored after decades of neglect.

Guides wait for tourists at the Meroe pyramids north of Khartoum, Sudan. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

MALAWI CLINIC AMONG WORLD'S BEST

VOICE OF AMERICA

Grace Chakudza gave birth in November 2019 to a healthy baby boy — her fourth child — at Achikondi Community Clinic. It opened in 2008 to help poor women safely give birth.

Since then, the clinic has performed more than 8,800 successful deliveries without the loss of mother or child, according to its founder. That's a record number in Malawi, where the United Nations Children's Fund says the average mortality rate per 1,000 births is 22 deaths for babies and six for mothers.

Chakudza appreciates the care she got from the clinic. "There is a big difference," she said. "There is congestion in public hospitals. Women give birth on the floor. And sometimes one nurse is responsible for three pregnant mothers. This compromises the health of mothers and children. But here I received good treatment."

The number of successful deliveries reported by the clinic means it beats not only the global average of 17 newborn deaths per thousand births, but also the average of rich nations.

Britain this year gave clinic founder Charity Salima the Commonwealth Points of Light Award, calling her Malawi's Florence Nightingale, the English founder of modern nursing.

Salima credits the way the clinic handles medical emergencies.



Charity Salima weighs a child at Achikondi Community Clinic in Lilongwe, Malawi. LAMECK MASINA/VOICE OF AMERICA

"All that success has come in because we can refer whenever there is a complication as soon as possible," Salima said. "Early detection of any abnormality and any referral — that is what has made us to be successful."

Services in the clinic are free. The facility was built with donations from Scotland and the Norwegian Nurses Organization. The U.S.-based charity Freedom From Fistula Foundation, which helps treat childbirth injuries, funds the clinic.

Despite its good reputation, Salima says the clinic does have challenges. It sometimes lacks financial resources, and solar power might help because electricity service can be inconsistent.



Cameroonian Teen Wins INTERNATIONAL PRIZE

BBC NEWS AT [BBC.CO.UK/NEWS](https://www.bbc.com/news)

Fifteen-year-old Divina Maloum of Cameroon has won a children's international peace prize for her work with young people who have suffered extremist violence, particularly in the north of her country.

The prize was awarded by Dutch organization KidsRights, which says it wants children to be recognized for their efforts to improve their own situation.

In 2014, the Cameroonian teenager founded the Children for Peace movement to work with child victims of terror. She goes to communities to talk to children about their rights and tell them that they do not have to be drawn into the violence.

"When I look in the eyes of these children I see sorrow; they are really suffering," she said. "I hope my mates and I are going to change their lives."

Boko Haram, a terrorist group based in Nigeria, has been carrying out attacks over the border in Cameroon since 2014. The group often recruits children, particularly girls, to carry out attacks. A video produced by KidsRights shows Maloum warning young Cameroonians not to get involved.

She can be seen displaying a cartoon with the title "I'm not a hero when I carry bombs," which shows a young girl refusing to wear a suicide vest.

"We give them hope, we give them courage to be strong against the attacks of those terrorist groups," she said.

Maloum has "organized an inter-community children's peace camp, established peace clubs in mosques, and together with other children, made a children's declaration against violent extremism," KidsRights said.

Accepting the award at The Hague, she said that "to end violence and build peace we need children," and she dedicated her award "to all children who are suffering atrocities due to war."

Peace activist Divina Maloum of Cameroon receives the 2019 International Children's Peace Prize from Kailash Satyarthi of India, a Nobel laureate and children's rights activist.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Africa Close to *Eliminating Polio*

ADF STAFF

Africa is on the verge of being declared polio-free after three years without any recorded cases of the disease.

The World Health Organization (WHO) said in August 2019 that Nigeria had marked three years without a wild polio case, calling it a “major milestone.” If no more cases emerge in the next few months, Africa could officially be declared polio-free in 2020. The last case was recorded in Borno state in August 2016.

North and South America eliminated polio more than 20 years ago. The disease has killed and disabled hundreds of thousands of people around the world.

Dr. Matshidiso Moeti, the WHO

regional director for Africa, told *The Guardian*, “We are confident that soon we will be trumpeting the certification that countries have, once and for all, kicked polio out of Africa.”

Nigeria has been one of the last regions in the world with polio cases. In 2012, 200 children in Nigeria had polio — more than half of all global cases. The extremist group Boko Haram was blamed for the polio cases in the northeast part of the country because it had kept health workers from vaccinating children there. The group now controls much less territory.

In 2015, Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari publicly gave one of his grandchildren polio

vaccine drops, announcing that his administration would do “all within its powers to ensure that no Nigerian child is ever infected with polio again.”

For Africa to be certified as polio-free, a team of independent experts will have to assess surveillance systems across the continent, making sure no cases are missed and that there are no gaps in monitoring.

The virus still is found in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Those countries will need to eradicate it before the world is declared polio-free.

A child receives a polio vaccine injection in 2019 in Uganda.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES





Nigerian Company Mapping Continent's DNA

BBC NEWS AT [BBC.CO.UK/NEWS](https://www.bbc.com/news/health-55444444)

Black Africans are at a disadvantage when it comes to drug treatments because they represent only 2% of the genetic samples used for pharmaceutical research. A new Nigeria-based genomics company wants to change that.

According to Abasi Ene-Obong, founder and CEO of biotech startup 54gene, black Africans and people of black ancestry are more genetically diverse than all of the other populations in the world combined, making their genetic information “a huge resource to be tapped.”

He has set up a genetic research laboratory in Nigeria's largest city, Lagos, from where his team analyzed 40,000 DNA data samples by the end of 2019. The team hopes to analyze 100,000 samples by the end of 2020.

Ene-Obong said that knowledge of the role that genetics plays in diseases will help develop relevant treatment.

“Drugs are not even made with Africans in mind,” he said. “They are not trialed clinically with an African population, so what you have is drugs with lower efficacy for African populations and with poorer safety profiles.”

New drugs also take time to reach Africa — sometimes 15 to 20 years, said Ene-Obong. He said the way to fix this lag is to increase access to genomic data from African populations to promote inclusive scientific research.

“This will lead to optimized treatment and diagnostic outcomes that will not only treat Africans but also everyone else,” he said.

This dearth of genetic studies on diverse populations has implications for risk prediction of diseases across the world.

Zimbabwe Dollar Notes Issued Again

BBC NEWS AT [BBC.CO.UK/NEWS](https://www.bbc.com/news/health-55444444)

Queues have formed outside banks in Zimbabwe as people hope to get hold of the country's first Zimbabwe dollar notes issued since 2009.

The currency was scrapped a decade ago because hyperinflation caused prices to double almost daily.

Zimbabwe's central bank hopes the new notes will ease a severe cash shortage as the country suffers a deepening economic crisis. The bank has played down fears that the move will fuel further inflation. Inflation in Zimbabwe reached 300% in August 2019 — the highest rate in the world.

The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe insists that the 2- and 5-Zimbabwe dollar notes will not increase the overall money supply. The cash is supposed to replace money that was stored electronically.

After the country scrapped its own currency in 2009, Zimbabweans relied on U.S. dollars, South African rand, other foreign currencies, bond notes, and an electronic currency called the the Real Time Gross Settlement (RTGS) dollar.

The banks limited the number of dollars each customer could withdraw. In 2016, the government introduced the bond notes and coins, which were supposed to be equivalent to the U.S. dollar, to make up for the dollar cash shortage. But no one had faith that they were equivalent in value and, on the black market, bond notes lost value against the U.S. dollar.

In February 2019, the government introduced the RTGS dollar, which was described as a new currency, but it only existed electronically. U.S. dollars and other foreign currencies were banned later in the year by the central bank, citing the need to return to normality.

The government says the new notes will ease the cash shortage that has seen most people unable to withdraw their pay and savings.



New Zimbabwe
2-dollar notes
AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The Kingdom of Axum

ADF STAFF

The Kingdom of Axum, also known as Aksum, was the first to do many things in Sub-Saharan Africa. It was the first kingdom to mint its own coins. It created its own written language, called Ge'ez, which still is in use in Ethiopia today. Its king was the first to adopt Christianity as an official religion. And Axum dominated trade in the Horn of Africa and across the Red Sea for centuries.

Although the kingdom dated to the first century A.D., its time of greatest influence and prosperity was from the third century to the sixth century. The kingdom lasted until the eighth century. It occupied the region that is now Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and Somaliland.

It may have been inevitable that the Kingdom of Axum would prosper. The region was blessed with rich farmlands, disease-free grazing areas and dependable rainy

seasons. Its location on the Horn of Africa made it ideal as a regional trade center. Axum traded mainly in gold and ivory, but also in rhino horn, salt, precious stones — and slaves. Arab merchants traded textiles, swords, wine and olive oil.

With the wealth accumulated through trade, the kingdom built a strong army, with one king replacing a network of regional chiefs. The subjugated tribes retained some independence but had to pay taxes, usually in the form of hundreds of cattle.

The king of Axum took the title of “Negusa Negast,” or “King of Kings,” which some historians believe indicated that he allowed his tribal leaders to regard themselves as “junior kings” and to continue to rule their people.

One region of Axum used a written language called Sabaean, a Semitic language from the Middle East. Other parts of the kingdom used Greek. Axum developed its own written language, with the earliest examples found on rock slabs around the second century. Ge'ez has characters for vowels and consonants and is read from left to right, like Western languages.

Axum became the first Sub-Saharan kingdom with its own mint, a result of exposure to so many advanced cultures as a trade center. The first coins, in gold and silver, were produced in the third century and had Greek inscriptions with Sabaean symbols. They were minted in accordance with standard Roman coin weights, to make them valid for foreign trade. The kingdom produced thousands of coins, most of them in bronze.

What historians know about the kingdom is based on sparse written records that include conflicting stories. But one method of tracking the empire's history is through its coins, which featured portraits of the reigning kings — 20 in all — over more than three centuries.

Accompanying the portraits are usually two ears of corn, and since the reign of Ezana I, a Christian cross. The coins have the name of the king and an encouraging slogan, such as “Peace to the People.”

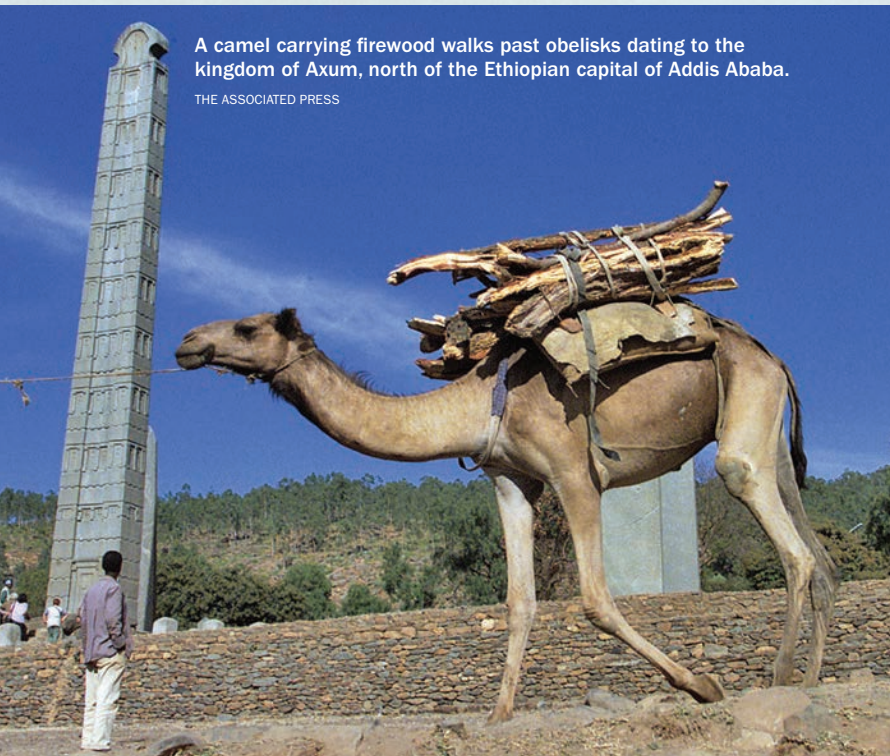
By having its own coins, comparable to those of older, more established empires, Axum had declared that it was the equal of all existing civilizations. In its time, it was described as one of the four great empires in the world.

The kingdom began its decline in the late sixth century for several reasons. The kings' policy of allowing their chiefs to control their tribes proved to be a mistake, as the chiefs began to rebel. The bountiful land went into decline from overplanting, and the Rashidun Caliphate — Arab Muslims — proved to be formidable trade competitors in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden.

What remained of Axum rose again in the 13th century, as the Kingdom of Abyssinia.

A camel carrying firewood walks past obelisks dating to the kingdom of Axum, north of the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS





CLUES

- 1 This area has 18 lakes of various sizes, depths and colors.
- 2 These permanent lakes in a desert result from an aquifer and a complex hydrological system that is not fully understood.
- 3 Some of the lakes have blue, green or reddish water, which reflects their chemical composition.
- 4 About a third of the surface of the lakes is covered with green floating reed carpets that contrast with the water.

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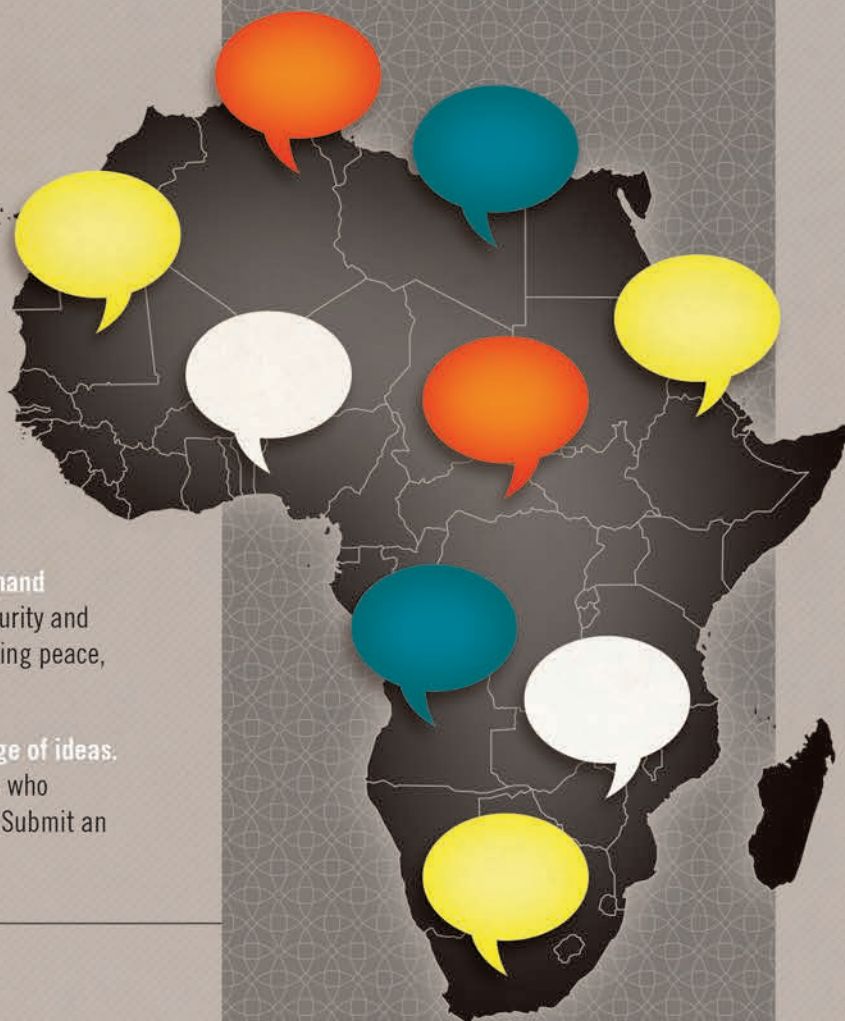
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