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AFRICA DEFENSE FORUM



## TRANSFORMATION

Militaries Adapt to  
Face Emerging  
Threats

PLUS

A Conversation With Gen. Robert Kibochi,  
Kenya's Chief of Defence Forces

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## **ON THE COVER**

This collection of images shows the field training and classroom work required for security sector transformation.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: AFP/GETTY IMAGES, U.S. AIR FORCE, RWANDA DEFENCE FORCE, U.S. AIR FORCE

**A**cross the globe, militaries are transforming. They're updating tactics and strategies to respond to asymmetric threats. They're opening new professional military education institutions to meet the demands of young enlistees hungry to learn and older officers eager to stay sharp. The highest-performing militaries are stamping out old practices connected to corruption and bias.

These efforts are linked to the core values of service, integrity, political neutrality and a respect for constitutional order. The process of living up to these values can be called "security sector transformation" or "professionalism," but it all amounts to moving forward.

Yet these ideals have not gone unchallenged. Some countries allow members of the military to be involved in politics and even take power at the point of a gun. Others believe soldiers should have the right to profit from their position. Still others believe advancement in the military should be more about who you know than what you have achieved.

It will be up to the next generation of civilian leaders and security sector professionals to chart the way forward and determine which model they would like to follow. African nations' military and security forces strive to be viewed as respected and trusted institutions, but earning and maintaining that respect requires hard work and a willingness to reform when necessary.

As Africa's militaries work to achieve high professional standards, they must be equally demanding of their partners. Bilateral and multilateral partnerships are essential to producing the strategies, skills and leadership needed to take on 21st century threats. But partnerships are not all created equal. They must be transparent to be authentic. They must be based on shared values to endure. And they must have a foundation of mutual respect.

As militaries look to the future, they must ask themselves how the plans and partnerships they put in place today are paving the way for the peace and prosperity of tomorrow.

U.S. Africa Command Staff

**A Kenya Defence Forces Soldier trains in Isiolo.**

STAFF SGT. ALYSIA BLAKE/U.S. ARMY



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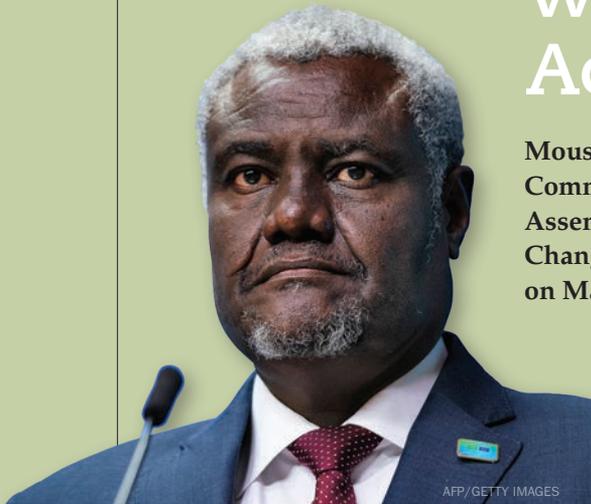
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# ‘We Must No Longer Accept This’

**Moussa Faki Mahamat, chairperson of the African Union Commission, spoke at the 16th Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union on Terrorism and Unconstitutional Changes of Government in Africa in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, on May 28, 2022. His remarks have been edited for space and clarity.**



African Union delegates meet in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



We have all recently witnessed, with dismay and concern, the resurgence of military coups d’etat in some of our member states. We are thus witnessing the resurgence of a practice that we believed to be gone forever, with the advent of a new era, the promising one of democratic consolidation.

Among the causes of these changes put forward by the putschists over recent months is prominently the inability, according to them, of the democratically elected civil powers to effectively combat terrorism.

The sustainability and stability of democratic institutions is a guarantee of the economic and social development of our countries. Conversely, the untimely ruptures of the ongoing democratic processes constitute obstacles on the path of the emergence of the continent.

It is, therefore, becoming urgent to refine the analysis of the causes of this resurgence of military usurpations of power in order to determine the appropriate therapy.

At this stage, we cannot pass over in silence the issue of the delays in the transition processes carried out by the governments resulting from coups d’etat. The delays are becoming a source of tension and dissension detrimental to the stability of the states concerned and those of their neighbors.

It is important to stress the urgent need for better coordination of the actions of the African Union and those of the regional economic communities to better support a rapid restoration of the normal constitutional order.

Let us stop considering the fight against terrorism as an ordinary phenomenon that can be solved by meetings, seminars and other colloquia. Strong and coordinated actions and concrete intra-African solidarity commensurate with the danger are the conditions for our victory over this gangrene.

Likewise, let’s stop looking elsewhere when the political practices in our states clash with the rules and principles of virtuous governance that we have unanimously and sovereignly adopted. Sovereignty and the principle of noninterference must not take precedence over

the duty of truth that we have toward each other. It is also the place to appeal to the republican spirit of the African armed forces so that they refrain from any intervention likely to compromise the democratic achievements of the last 30 years on the continent.

Africa is undoubtedly the last continent in the world to experience terrorism with such intensity and where unconstitutional changes still exist. It is indisputable that these two phenomena are reversing our development priorities and hampering our march toward progress. We must no longer accept this. We must take up this double challenge through bold and courageous measures, both within the states and at the regional and continental level, so that these intolerable attacks on our security and stability cease to flourish on the continent.



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

## VOICE-OPERATED ‘SUPERPHONE’ *Aims for Broad Customer Base*

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

**I**n Côte d’Ivoire, a new “Superphone” that uses a voice assistant to respond to commands in a local language is opening up opportunities to reach a broader range of consumers.

Developed and assembled locally, the phone is designed to make everyday tasks more accessible, from understanding a document and checking a bank balance to communicating with government agencies.

“I’ve just bought this phone for my parents back home in the village, who don’t know how to read or write,” said Floride Jogbe, a young woman impressed by ads on social media. She believed the 60,000 CFA francs (U.S. \$92) she paid was well spent.

The smartphone uses an operating system called “Kone” that is unique to the Cerco company. It covers more than 60 languages including Baoule, Bete and Dioula, which are spoken in Côte d’Ivoire.

Cerco hopes to expand this to 1,000 languages, reaching half of the continent’s population, thanks to help from a network of 3,000 volunteers.

The goal is to address the frustration some people feel with technology, said Cerco President Alain

Capo-Chichi, a Beninese national.

“Various institutions set down the priority of making people literate before making technology available to them,” he told Agence France-Presse. “Our way skips reading and writing and goes straight to integrating people into economic and social life.”

Other companies investing in the voice-operation field in Africa include Mobobi, which has created a Twi language voice assistant in Ghana called Abena AI. Mozilla is working on an assistant in Kiswahili, which has an estimated 100 million speakers in East Africa.

The Ivoirian phone is being produced at the ICT and Biotechnology Village in Grand-Bassam, a free-trade zone near the Ivoirian capital.

It came about through close collaboration with the government. The company pays no taxes or customs duties, and the assembly plant has benefited from a subsidy of more than 2 billion CFA francs.

In exchange, Cerco is to pay 3.5% of its income to the state and train about 1,200 young people each year.

**A worker assembles phones for Cerco in Grand-Bassam, Côte d’Ivoire.**

## — Art Festival Returns to — SENEGAL'S STREETS

ADF STAFF

Senegalese artist Fally Sene Sow took inspiration from the depressing days of the COVID-19 pandemic to build a vision of what his neighborhood might someday resemble in Dakar.

He built an array of model buildings in a room, each in varying stages of dilapidation, surrounded by skeletons and grotesque animals covering 30 square meters.

Sow, 34, is among the artists and groups chosen for the 14th Dakar Biennale, one of Africa's oldest art celebrations. The event hadn't been held since 2020 because of the pandemic.

"I live at the heart of the market and so I have this theater before me," Sow told Reuters as he put finishing touches on his work.

"It is mind-blowing," Ifeoma Dile, an art enthusiast from London, told Reuters of Sow's work. "I have goosebumps just looking at all this and how long must it have taken him to create that in this space. It is amazing."

The 2022 Biennale featured work from more than 2,500 artists from 85 countries. In the past, the festival has brought in up to 250,000 visitors.

One installment along the beach shows two pyramid-shaped mausoleums. Dozens of faces appear to scream from interior and outside walls. A line of shoes leads away from the tombs and toward the cliff edge of Dakar's corniche, an image by Senegalese artist Yakhya Ba intended to show migrant struggles.

Egyptian artist Khaled Zaki's large yellow dog sculpture is intended for children, and to draw attention to the problem of stray canines in Dakar.

The festival took place as war raged in Europe between Russia and Ukraine. Artistic director El Hadji Malick Ndiaye told Agence France-Presse that art was necessary to encourage reflection in such difficult times.

"When weapons crackle, we must make sure culture does too," he said.

Girls run through an art installation during the 14th edition of Senegal's Biennale of Contemporary African Art in Dakar. REUTERS



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

## ZIMBABWE'S ELEPHANT HERDS A GROWING THREAT TO PEOPLE

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Hanganani Gideon Dube, 75, has walked with a slight limp and his speech has been labored since he miraculously survived being trampled by an elephant in northwestern Zimbabwe.

He considers himself lucky to be alive after the incident in May 2021 near Mabale village on the outskirts of Hwange National Park. The injuries have left him unable to provide for his family of six.

Dube was tending his cattle when "suddenly I found myself face to face with an elephant." He sprinted off, without realizing he was running straight into the path of another elephant. "There was no time for me to evade the second elephant. It attacked me swiftly, and I blacked out," he said.

"I am lucky to be alive, but I am now useless as I can no longer do any physical work, including looking after my cattle."

At least 60 people were killed by elephants in Zimbabwe between January and late May 2022, compared with 72 over all of 2021. Zimbabwe's success at conservation has increased conflict between elephants and people.

With about 100,000 elephants, Zimbabwe has the world's second-largest population after Botswana, and about one-quarter of the elephants in all of Africa.

More than half of the elephants live in and outside the unfenced Hwange wildlife park.

Elephants roam freely from Zimbabwe's sprawling and unfenced game reserves. It is common to find herds crossing or resting along the main highway from Hwange to Victoria Falls.

The elephant population in Zimbabwe is growing at about 5% per year, reaching unsustainable levels.

Zimbabwe, along with Botswana, Namibia and Zambia, wants the United Nations Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, commonly referred to as CITES, to lift the ban on the ivory trade.

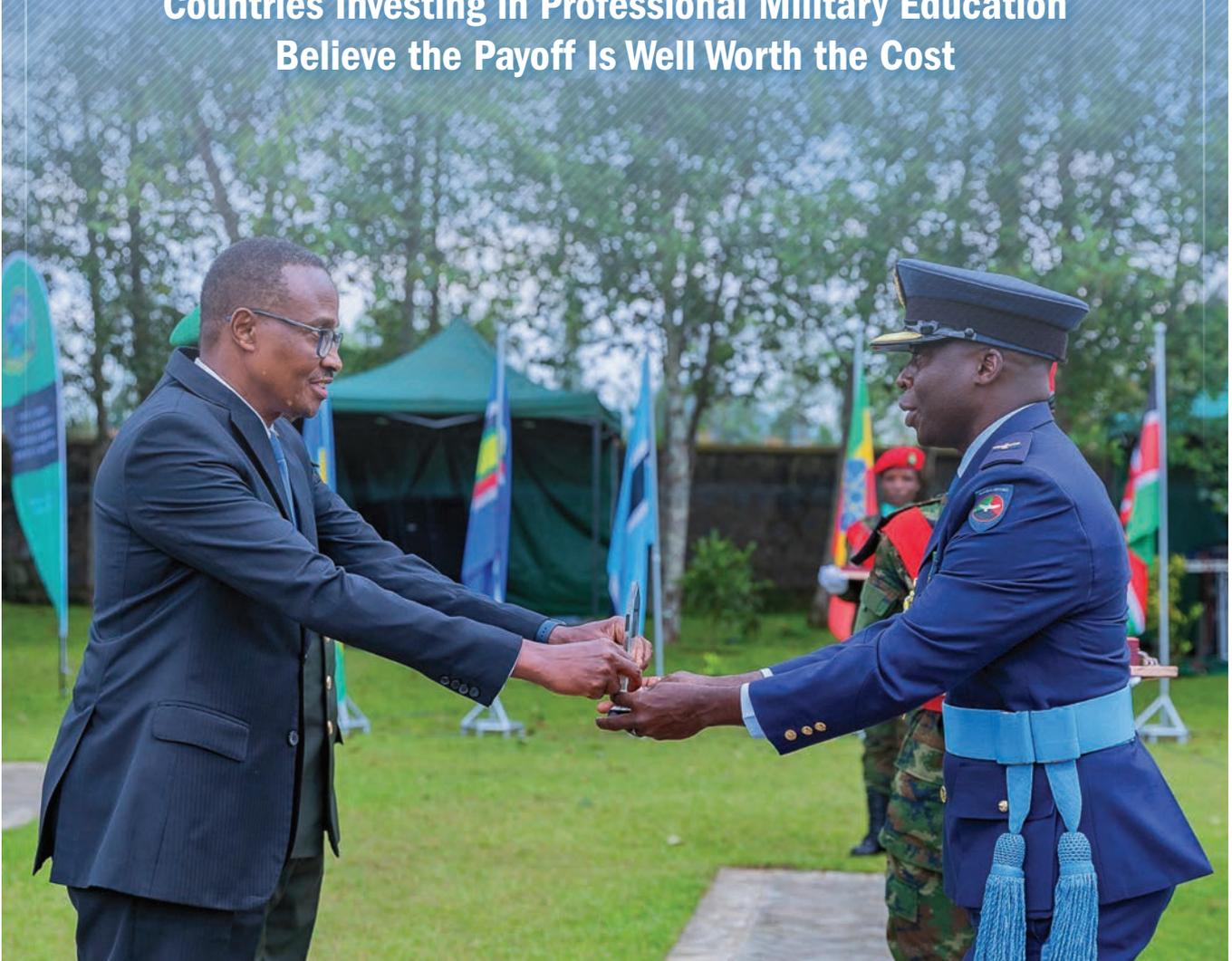
The countries argue that scrapping the ban can help better preserve the animals and bring economic benefit to local communities who live close to them. Conservationists are wary.

"Our conservation methods are working, and I believe that instead of being punished we should be rewarded," Fulton Mangwanya, the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority director, told Agence France-Presse while at a conference in Hwange, where the government was lobbying for legal ivory trade.



# Education Leads to **TRANSFORMATION**

**Countries Investing in Professional Military Education  
Believe the Payoff Is Well Worth the Cost**





Senior officers from Rwanda and 11 other countries graduate from the yearlong Senior Command and Staff Course at the Rwanda Defense Force Command and Staff College.

RWANDA DEFENCE FORCE

ADF STAFF

**N**ations that have invested in professional military education have little doubt about its worth.

“The payoff we see on the back end is phenomenal,” Maj. Gen. Tracy King said about the U.S. Marine Corps’ effort to expand education to noncommissioned officers. “It’s paying off in spades.”

Proponents say professional military education, or PME, helps a fighting force embody the highest values of a nation. It promotes cohesion, teaches a broad strategic vision and gives students an understanding of what it means to serve. If basic training and technical courses teach a Soldier “what to think,” PME teaches the Soldier “how to think.”

Rwandan Minister of Defence Maj. Gen. Albert Murasira hands a senior officer an award indicating graduation from the yearlong Senior Command and Staff Course.

RWANDA DEFENCE FORCE

It’s also in demand. The ambitious and tech-savvy cadre of young officers and enlisted men and women in today’s armed forces say access to education is what drives them to join the military and compels

them to stay for a full career. It gives them access to the leadership skills, critical thinking and warfighting concepts they need to lead troops on the battlefield. It also fills their resumes with marketable skills for their post-military career.

Barriers remain, however. There is a lack of domestic capacity in Africa, meaning many students are forced to forgo training or compete for limited opportunities abroad. Favoritism, bias, and an unwillingness to embrace new doctrine and technology can leave students frustrated and unprepared.

African PME institutions must adapt or perish, experts say.

“There are multiple challenges facing military higher learning institutions, including politicizing the recruitment of students; retaining and maintaining quality staff; upgrading curricula to ensure that, apart from core military subjects, there is a broader introduction to the societies within which they are located; and improving and explaining civil-military relations as a dynamic,

ever-changing process,” Dr. Kwesi Aning, director of the faculty of academic affairs and research at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre in Ghana, told University World News.

There also are competing visions for the future of African militaries. Some propose a model that links the military closely with the ruling political party. Others propose a military model in which profiteering and involvement in private business is common by uniformed Soldiers. These models mostly have led to failure and corruption. The most successful models, as have been seen

in countries like Botswana, Ghana and Senegal, demand that the military remain apolitical and follow strict standards for professionalism. In order for countries to map their own future, they must create higher-education institutions that reflect these values.

“The long-term solution for many African militaries is for them to develop their own PME institutions steeped in the rich culture and history of their country and armed forces,” Lt. Col. Jahara Matissek, chief of research and development at the Strategy and Warfare Center of the U.S. Air Force Academy, told University World News.

### Categories of PME Institutions, According to the Africa Center for Strategic Studies

TYPE OF SCHOOL*	EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES
<b>War and Defense College</b>	To develop senior leaders (typically colonels and generals) to serve in high-level national security assignments. War and Defense Colleges aim to provide graduates with a strategic perspective of national and regional security challenges, enabling them to provide well-conceived, strategic guidance to civilian and military decision-makers. War and Defense Colleges develop a cohort of civilian and military professionals to develop and implement a national security strategy.
<b>Command and Staff College</b>	Provide mid-career educational opportunities to captains, majors and lieutenant colonels to strengthen their leadership, ethical understanding, analytical and communication skills, and understanding of operational issues. Command and Staff College graduates will assume command staff duties in service, joint, interagency, international and multinational organizations.
<b>Military Academy</b>	Provide an undergraduate education to promising young cadets to prepare them for a career track as a senior officer. Military academies provide an advanced educational foundation and instill values of civil-military relations, military professionalism, discipline and leadership. Graduates become commissioned officers, typically as a second lieutenant or equivalent.

\*Does not include other technical, functional or peacekeeping PMEs

## Education to Meet Demands Of Young Security Professionals

ADF STAFF

Access to higher education is a motivating force driving many young recruits to join the military. A 2019 survey of African security professionals by the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS) found that 41% of young service members entered the military with at least a bachelor’s degree. That is 11 percentage points higher than older service members.

These educated young recruits want to continue learning and are driven to attain higher degrees. “Young recruits today appear to have more skills and employment options, yet are willingly choosing to join the security sector as a means of service and a career,” the survey authors said.

The drive to continue their education is closely tied to a drive to serve, with 65% of the youngest security professionals citing the value of “service to country” as a motivating factor for joining. This idealism was highest among the youngest cohort of African security professionals.

Service members are hungry for a diversity of educational and training opportunities. About 97% of respondents had a positive view of international training. In individual interviews with ACSS, security professionals cited:

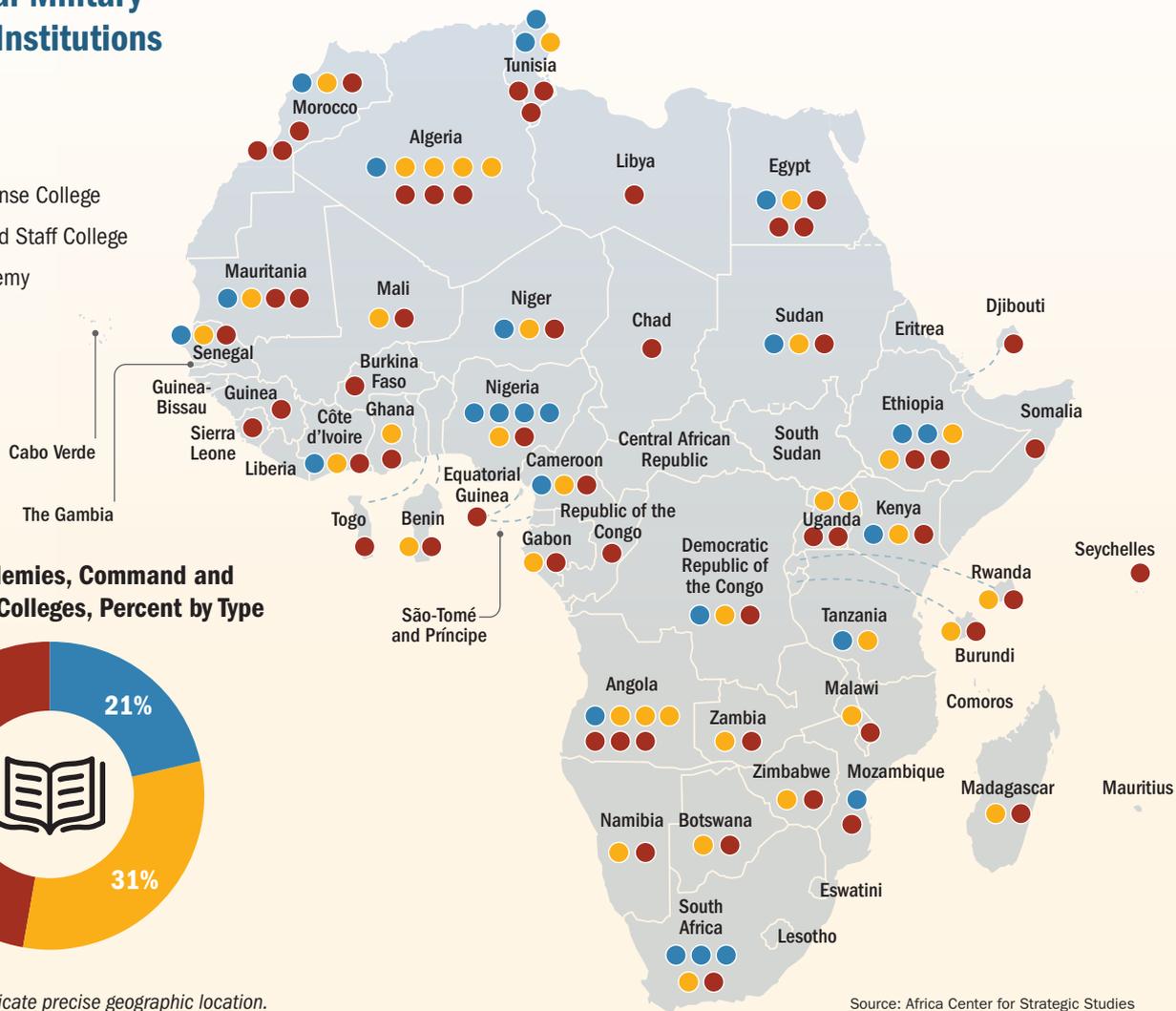
- The opportunity to broaden intellectual experiences and networks, including access to the latest knowledge and trends.
- The chance to build lasting relationships and exposure to new ideas, values, critical thinking and evolving trends.
- Exposure to senior leaders who demonstrate strong moral leadership and vision.
- Gaining a deeper understanding of members of the officer corps from different backgrounds.
- Sharing standards, vision, norms and values with international partners.
- Building regional and global perspectives on security challenges and alternative means for addressing these challenges.
- Gaining exposure to new technologies.

It’s up to Africa’s security sector leaders to meet the expectations of these young Soldiers by offering greater access to PME. Careerlong education can help harness their energy and innovation to find solutions to the security challenges of the future.

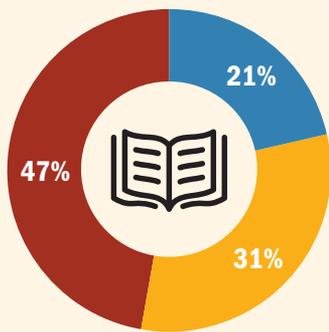
# Professional Military Education Institutions in Africa

## Legend\*

- War and Defense College
- Command and Staff College
- Military Academy



## Military Academies, Command and Staff, and War Colleges, Percent by Type



\*Symbols do not indicate precise geographic location.

Source: Africa Center for Strategic Studies



Djiboutian cadets at the Joint Military Academy in Arta attend a briefing.

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

## Taking a ‘Staff Ride’ Into History

ADF STAFF

One approach that some military colleges have taken is called a “staff ride,” in which a historic battle or campaign is meticulously studied. But instead of being just a history lesson, students are instructed to think critically about what they have learned and to draw their own conclusions.

In a 2021 study on the South African National War College’s staff ride program, University of Pretoria researchers James Jacobs and Johan Wassermann said that a staff ride includes:

- A prior detailed study of related historical evidence.
- A field visit to the campaign or battle site to put the historical evidence studied into a geospatial context.
- Application of the lessons learned about the military campaign or battle in a practical manner.

The goal of the staff ride, the authors reported, is to give the military students a “deep learning experience” in which

they think for themselves, develop their own understanding of complex issues and “make it a habit to think critically.”

After studying the South African college’s staff ride program, the authors concluded that not all students are created equally, and some never successfully transition from classroom learning to actual deep learning. But, they said, the overall program was a success.

“The staff ride as learning process represents a major leap in learning in contrast to the traditional method of learning by sitting in classrooms and listening for hours to endless lectures,” the authors wrote. “The essence of deep learning is to question continuously the truthfulness of existing knowledge.”



Students from Nigeria’s Armed Forces Command and Staff College attend a peace support operations training course at the Martin Luther Agwai International Leadership and Peacekeeping Centre in Jaji, Nigeria.

MARTIN LUTHER AGWAI INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND PEACEKEEPING CENTRE

## Professional Military Education Institutions in Africa

### Number of Military Academies, Command and Staff Colleges, and War Colleges by Region

#### Legend

- Military Academy
- Command and Staff College
- War and Defense College



Graduates stand during the Joint Graduation Ceremony at the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College at Otu barracks in Accra.

OFFICE OF VICE PRESIDENT MAHAMUDU BAWUMIA



## Teaching War – as Well as Peace

ADF STAFF

The Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College's master of science degree course in Defence and International Politics is typical of the eclectic curriculum and diverse student body at modern military institutions.

The Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) established the college in 1963 to train GAF officers and allied African officers in command and staff responsibilities.

The master's program is open to participants worldwide. Targeted participants go beyond the active and retired military and include diplomats, public servants, members of parliament, the

judiciary, and members of security and intelligence agencies.

Applicants must have a bachelor's degree from a recognized college or university and must have a basic understanding and comprehension of English. Although the course is open to men and women, in recent years women have been encouraged to apply.

Required courses include theories and concepts of defense and security; research methods in defense and international politics; diplomacy; African politics and the political economy; and international law, human rights and conflicts in Africa. Elective courses include peace operations, terrorism and counterterrorism, regionalism and integration, early warning systems, and post-conflict reconstruction and development in Africa.



Gen. Robert Kibochi, chief of  
defense forces KENYA DEFENCE FORCES

# ‘STAY AHEAD *of the Pack*’

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**GEN. ROBERT KIBOCHI** DISCUSSES HOW THE KENYA DEFENCE FORCES ARE TRANSFORMING TO FACE NEW THREATS

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**D**uring more than 40 years in the military, Gen. Robert Kibochi, Ph.D., has held command positions such as vice chief of the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF), commander of the Kenya Army, and assistant chief in charge of operations, plans, doctrine and training at Defence headquarters. He commanded the Kenyan contingent of the U.N. Mission in Sierra Leone from 2000 to 2001 and was awarded the Elder of the Order of the Golden Heart and Chief of the Order of the Burning Spear for his leadership. In 2020, he was appointed chief of defense forces (CDF), and in 2022 he became the first sitting CDF to earn his doctorate. He spoke to ADF from Nairobi. This interview has been edited for space and clarity.

**ADF:** Can you share a little about your upbringing and what led you to join the military?

**Kibochi:** I come from a very humble background. I was born around the Rift Valley region in the western part of the country. I grew up just like any other rural kid, tending cattle and walking to school. In Kenya, you go through a seven-year primary education, then you join high school. I happen to have joined the high school that previously had been built by the British during the colonial days in one of the infantry barracks. The time in that institution, that is right inside the cantonment, shaped most of us, not just myself. Those who were there were shaped to become officers, and some became service members primarily because of the socialization of that environment where you met these young people in uniform and you admired them. So I joined the KDF in 1979 as a cadet and was trained and commissioned as a second lieutenant in 1980.

**ADF:** Over the course of your career, you have earned a bachelor's degree, two master's degrees and, recently, completed your doctorate in peace



Kenyan Soldiers march in a Madaraka Day parade at Uhuru Gardens in Nairobi. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

*“One of the things education does is to enable somebody to see the connections, the missing links, that other people don’t see.”* – Gen. Robert Kibochi

and conflict management. Why is education so important to you?

**Kibochi:** When we grew up in the rural environment and in tenuous situations, education became the only way to get out of the environment that we were living in. So some of us believe very strongly that there is a transformative nature in education. I think, right from the start, I put quite a bit of passion into gaining knowledge and being curious. From then on, I did perform very well up to the point that I joined the military. I became curious to know more and also to stay ahead of the pack, which I think is very important in a competitive world.

**ADF:** How valuable has your classroom education been in your professional life?

**Kibochi:** One of the things education does is to enable somebody to see the connections, the

missing links, that other people don’t see. I think, in the course of my studies, there have been aspects that have allowed me to focus effectively in various areas. I think education gives you the courage, the confidence, to be able to face up to inquisitions that come from leaders. I also think that education is critical, especially to senior leaders, because it helps you to be able to brief up the chain. I am the principal advisor to the commander in chief at the National Security Council, so I need to be able to understand the scope of issues, and education does exactly that.

**ADF:** In August 2022, the country inaugurated the National Defence University-Kenya (NDU-K) complex in Lanet, Nakuru County. What will this cutting-edge education institute offer?

**Kibochi:** The issue surrounding the establishment of the National Defense University-Kenya has been a very progressive approach, starting

from my predecessors. The National Defence College was established 25 years ago and, previous to that, there had been the establishment of the Defence Staff College some 40 years back. We happen to have been the first country in the region to establish these institutions. This progression has been informed by one key issue: the thinking that human skills within the KDF are a critical component in ensuring that the force remains relevant to address itself to the dynamics of a very complex and changing environment.

There have been a number of institutions created over the years, including the Defence Staff College, the National Defence College, the Defence Forces Technical College, the Defence Forces Health Services College and also the International Peace Support Training Centre. So this NDU-K is the culmination or a progression that is critical. It is informed by the need to be able to have a relevant force, a force that will be ahead of the various dynamics that are taking place in all the domains of warfare including, now, the fifth domain, which is turning out to be the cyber domain.

The NDU-K is not only a force multiplier in terms of knowledge creation, it also becomes an avenue of inquisition where people are able to research at the highest level. Within the NDU-K we have the center for strategic studies, a research think tank that the U.S. is helping develop here in Nairobi. This, to me, is important because of the multiplicity of threats that we are facing, whether those threats are transnational, or related to piracy, terrorism and also pandemics. This institution is a critical piece.

**ADF:** Looking across the continent, why do you think it is important for African countries to expand domestic access to professional military education?

**Kibochi:** It is important that the military holds the core values of professionalism, apolitical loyalty and subservience to civilian authority. To do this, military scholarship is integral to developing a military culture that protects the constitution and guides mission readiness to become a reliable, capable force. That has been a major challenge in many African countries.



Kibochi addresses KDF troops serving in the African Union Mission in Somalia in 2020. KENYA DEFENCE FORCES



Kenya Defence Forces Soldiers parade in celebration of Madaraka Day at Uhuru Gardens in Nairobi. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Therefore, we find ourselves as an exporter of knowledge across the continent. We pride ourselves that most of the neighboring countries within the Eastern African Community have had the opportunity to learn from us. This has been a major game changer in the manner that countries are developing and democratizing. Professional military education is a critical piece, and I'm confident that the countries that have visited and have taken the matter seriously have seen how important it is.

**ADF:** In recent years, the KDF has taken on some nontraditional duties at the request of the president. This includes taking over operations of the Kenya Meat Commission, working to improve the railway system between Longonot and Butere, and upgrading the Kisumu Port. How do you see the military's role in these traditionally civilian tasks?

**Kibochi:** It touches really on the role of the institution of defense in assisting and cooperating with government agencies. This, in our case, is very well framed in the Constitution. It provides us with a mandate to protect and defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country as the primary task. Then it goes further to say that we shall cooperate and assist

the other institutions of government in times of emergencies, disasters and in areas where we have competencies.

It is apparent that the commander in chief, who is responsible for the military instrument, once he realizes that he has competencies that can help in mitigating hardships that have taken place in the country, he uses this instrument.

I just visited one of the factories of the Kenya Meat Commission in Mombasa. What is happening there has a huge impact because it touches on the farmer who is a pastoralist and only depends on cattle or goats. They have nowhere in terms of markets to sell these products. This institution has created a market for those who cannot afford to do it. It has also created a product that we, in the security sector, are required to have. We need corned beef for our troops when they're training. We used to buy it from Brazil and other countries; now it's produced locally. It's important to look at this from the perspective that the military instrument is there to serve the country in various dimensions: in protecting the country from security threats and also in terms of engaging in civil-military cooperation, knowing very well that it is the taxpayer who sustains the military instrument of power. If we have capacities that can assist in undertaking these tasks, we believe very strongly that we must get engaged. And, to a large extent,

the population in Kenya has appreciated this fact. They have been agitating to have us do more. But we have to strike a balance and remember that our primary responsibility is to secure the country.

**ADF:** Another transformation during your time leading the KDF has been the focus on counterterrorism. This has included significant money and resource investments in the Military Intelligence Corps. How would you say the KDF is changing and responding to face the threat?

**Kibochi:** Counterterrorism and counter-violent extremism have become major preoccupations for countries like Kenya, particularly because of our proximity to the epicenter of the violent groups like al-Shabaab. And we've also seen this violent extremism expanding in a serious way — getting down to Mozambique — which previously was not the case. Because we got engaged in counterterror operations 10 years back, we've learned lessons in a very hard way. One of the areas that we've had to strengthen and bolster is the intelligence field, because terrorism and violent extremism can only be fought if you have intelligence. You are dealing with a faceless enemy who is able to integrate or melt within the people, disguise themselves in many ways and cause a lot of havoc. They have done this at the University of Garissa and the malls here in Kenya. The investment in intelligence has been tremendous, and we are confident that that is paying off. We are able to preempt a lot of attacks that are planned. Also, cooperating with other agencies, including our partnership with the U.S. armed forces that are within the region, has paid off greatly. It has brought lessons that we cannot fight terror in the posture we've had in the past. This posture was defined by a doctrine that said we would fight a war between countries. We've had to introduce specialized forces, small teams that can live within the operational areas, endure long days and be able to withstand the harshness of the terrain. We've also bolstered the training and education, changing the doctrine and ensuring that we train up and equip the troops with relevant equipment to deal with these threats. Is it paying off? Absolutely. We continue to strengthen these capabilities as well as working very closely with our partners.

**ADF:** How do you envision the KDF transforming in the future to meet the emerging threats of the 21st century?

**Kibochi:** One of the key challenges is that the security situation is going to be more complex



President William Ruto, left, and Kibochi attend Mashujaa Day celebrations on October 20, 2022, at Uhuru Gardens in Nairobi. The national holiday honors heroes from Kenya's struggle for independence. KENYA DEFENCE FORCES

as we move forward. My view has always been that we must upscale our training and we must leverage technology, because the resources that we get from the government are finite. They're not increasing. There are competing priorities within government. Therefore, we must ask how do we as an institution develop capabilities within ourselves? One of the areas that we've been addressing is asking, "How do we enhance our military industrialization capacity?" which is very important and has been latent for a long time. We have to be able to develop some systems locally without having to depend entirely on imports. We have a very young population in this country. Those who are joining the KDF are young and brilliant. We need to make sure that we provide the opportunities and the environment for them to exploit their potential in developing solutions and applying those solutions. I have tried to create an environment in which a young IT specialist can create a hub to exploit their intelligence and modernize some of the old legacy equipment that we have. I've seen a huge improvement in the manner that they have been able to turn old analog systems into digitized systems. That means that, cumulatively, we are reducing dependence on external sources. And if this can happen across the various dimensions, then it means that we will be able to see a KDF that is more ready, well equipped and prepared to face the challenges of the future. □

# MARINES READY TO MEET THE MOMENT

## NAVAL INFANTRIES ADAPT TO EMERGING THREATS WITH TRAINING, PARTNERSHIPS

ADF STAFF

**T**hreats in the coastal waterways of Africa have multiplied in recent years. Smuggling, piracy and oil bunkering all occur in the shallow waters that snake from the ocean to the interior of the continent. These threats cannot be stopped by large, blue sea naval vessels.

In response, navies are evolving. They are investing time and money in agile and adaptable infantry units. These highly trained units go by different names: In Senegal, they are marine commandos; in Nigeria they are the Special Boat Service; and in Angola they are Fuzileiros. They are designed to be nimble, capable of protecting offshore energy infrastructure or pursuing traffickers in mangrove swamps.

Speed, they say, is their calling card. The element of surprise, rigorous training and a sense of purpose help them get results.

“These are the principles that enable a small entity to take on attacks which, traditionally, were conducted by a larger entity — sometimes three times its size — and achieve results,” said Lt. Cmdr. Seth Dzakpasu, commander of Ghana’s Special Boat Squadron.

With many countries looking to grow the blue economy — commerce connected to oceans and riverways — proponents believe the naval infantry must play a role in protecting it. They can do so by embracing new training models, new technology and new partnerships.

“It is time to invest in naval infantry,” said retired Senegalese Navy Rear Adm. Samba Fall, one of the early members of his country’s marine commando unit, which dates to 1980. “In many African countries the riverine and maritime surface area is larger than their land area. The new threats are exploiting this marine and river



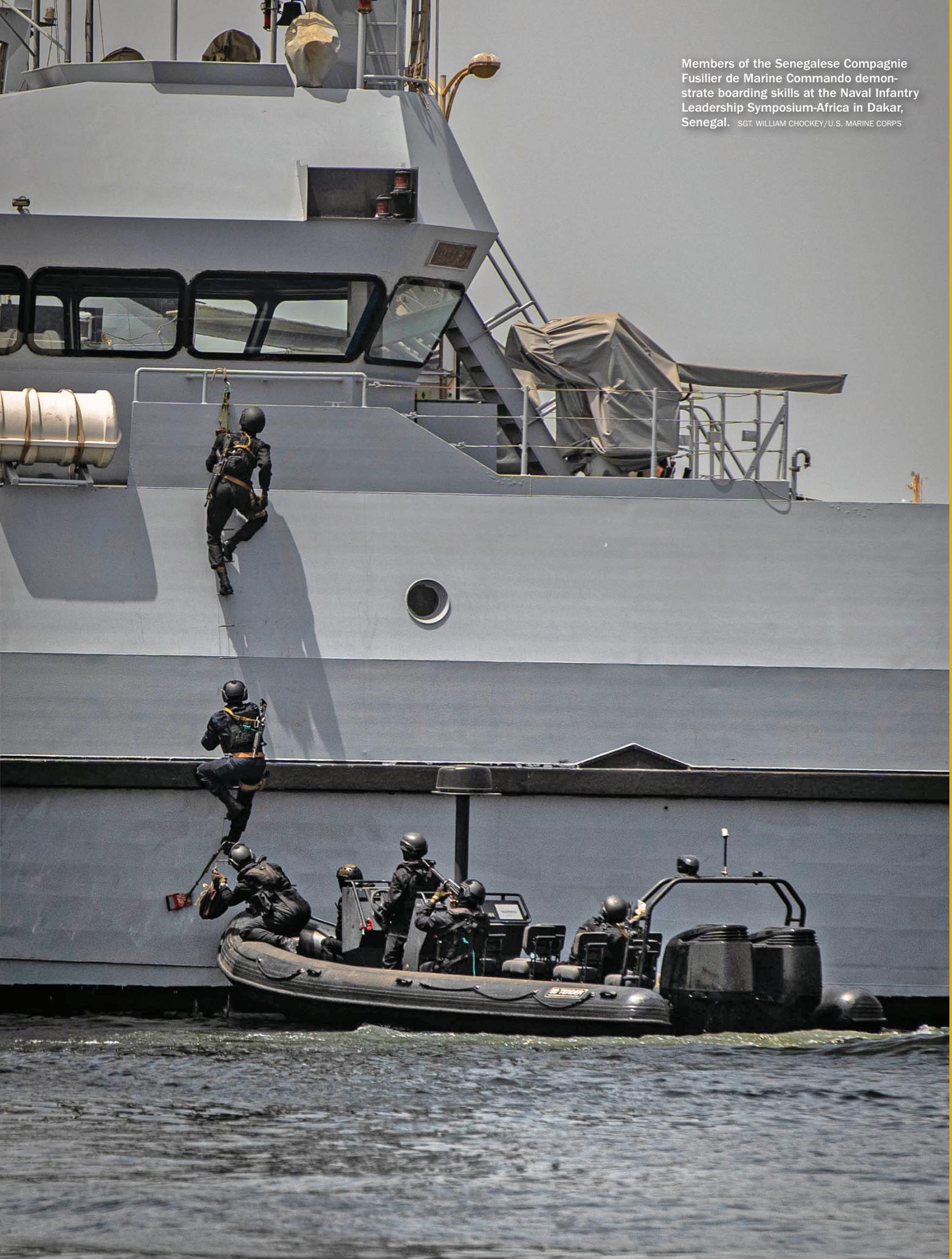
A member of Ghana's Special Boat Squadron scouts for a designated target before a field training exercise during Obangame Express 2022. PETTY OFFICER 2ND CLASS JACOB VERNIER/U.S. NAVY

space. So we need to expand in terms of numbers and embrace new technology.”

### CREATED TO FILL A GAP

In the early 2000s, the Niger Delta had become lawless. With more than 3,000 creeks and hundreds of tiny islands, armed militias had plenty of places to hide. In 2007, militants kidnapped more than 150 people and launched many more attacks on oil infrastructure. Traditional naval vessels and training proved inadequate to contain the threat.

Members of the Senegalese Compagnie Fusilier de Marine Commando demonstrate boarding skills at the Naval Infantry Leadership Symposium-Africa in Dakar, Senegal. SGT. WILLIAM CHOCKEY/U.S. MARINE CORPS





Military students participate in small craft riverine training on the Pearl River in Mississippi in the United States. MICHAEL WILLIAMS

In 2006, Nigeria created the Special Boat Service (SBS), an elite unit built for asymmetric warfare in a riverine environment.

“The Navy saw a challenge,” said Capt. Olayinka Aliu, commander of the Nigerian Special Boat Service. “If you’re going to have the special operations forces to operate effectively, within the uniqueness of the Nigerian maritime environment, then they must continue military operations beyond the traditional maritime environment into the riverine area. Riverine operations are mostly joint operations, and you need some sort of infantry capabilities which conventional naval forces did not have.”

Nigeria modeled its SBS after the U.S. Navy Seals and received help developing training modules from them. The SBS’s 24-week Basic Operating Capability course is notoriously rigorous with candidates forced to endure sleep deprivation and demonstrate immense swimming and endurance capabilities. The SBS has expanded to include courses on jungle warfare, desert warfare, amphibious operations and riverine operations. A training squadron rotates constantly to offer four- to six-week courses to keep skills sharp.



Members of the Malawian Maritime Force perform pre-mission planning during training in Monkey Bay, Malawi.

STAFF SGT. SEAN CARNES/U.S. AIR FORCE

All of this is in the interest of staying ahead of maritime crime.

“Things are changing. The maritime crime is constantly mutating. When you have a strategy, something else always comes up,” Aliu said. “Crime will continue to mutate, and you just have to be ready as a naval infantry; this is how you stay 10 steps ahead of the criminal.”

## Naval Infantrys Emerge Across Africa

Although definitions of naval infantry vary from country to country, the countries colored in light blue have military units capable of launching amphibious assault operations, carrying out amphibious landings, and performing riverine and coastal warfare tasks such as specialized boarding.

Source: U.S. Marine Forces Europe and Africa

 African Countries With Naval Infantry Capabilities



Nigerian Navy forces patrol the Niger Delta near the city of Port Harcourt.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES





Retired Senegalese Navy Rear Adm. Samba Fall speaks at the Naval Infantry Leadership Symposium-Africa 2022 in Dakar.

SGT. WILLIAM CHOCKEY/U.S. MARINE CORPS



U.S. Marine Corps Maj. Gen. Tracy King, commander of U.S. Marine Corps Forces Europe and Africa, and Senegalese Naval Chief of Staff Rear Adm. Oumar Wade shake hands after signing the Naval Infantry Leadership Symposium-Africa charter.

SGT. WILLIAM CHOCKEY/U.S. MARINE CORPS

As of 2022, the SBS was involved in six operations ranging from Operation Hadin Kai in the northeast to defeat Boko Haram and related groups, to Operation Hadarin Daji against bandits in the northwest. The SBS also has sent trainers to Chad and Niger to help develop boat units to fight extremists and traffickers in the Lake Chad region.

Aliu said the mission set of the SBS is expanding. Now, most of its work is on land. It has designs on changing its name and upgrading to a full-fledged special operations command. In Nigeria, he believes, the naval infantry is filling an important security gap.

“What happens on land has a way of shaping events at sea,” Aliu said. “You’ll find that the pirates do not live at sea; they come from a coastal community. There is a need to close this gap between the maritime environment and the riverine environment. And this is where the naval infantry comes in.”

## EXPANDING EDUCATION

As countries are asking naval infantries to take on new tasks, they see the need for continuing training and education. But keeping skills sharp is a challenge.

Ghana created its Special Boat Squadron in 2016. It specializes in opposed boarding situations and other hostile scenarios such as hostage rescue. Potential squadron members are volunteers from within the Ghana Navy who are screened and shortlisted to attempt the six-month course.

Dzakpasu, commander of the Ghana Navy Special Boat Squadron, said the course is “grueling” and “academically daunting.” “The SBS course is in phases,” he said. “It is designed to first condition you to work in small groups and move rapidly; then the other phases develop your mindset, the mindset to know the possibilities that a standard military unit might think is impossible.”

Throughout their career, operators will take upgrade

courses. All operators are expected to gain the skills to become instructors so they can train others.

This constant training, Dzakpasu said, makes a difference. “It’s not about getting more sophisticated equipment but making use of whatever you have to the best of your capabilities to achieve your goals,” he said. “It also gives you the backbone to plan to have definite missions, so you don’t take on a mission that is far beyond your capability.”

Across the globe, training is being updated. Marine training is becoming more interactive, tailored to the individual and designed to ensure that the trainee retains knowledge throughout his or her career.

More noncommissioned officers are receiving strategic and leadership training so they are ready to make decisions when leading small squads. The concept of creating the “strategic corporal,” an NCO who is empowered to lead like an officer, is gaining traction.

“The threat is ever-evolving; you are more than likely fighting in a very dispersed nature,” said Maj. Trevor Hall, who develops training programs for the U.S. Marine Corps. “Because you’re more spread out, you’re not going to have officers around to make every decision. Those decisions are made at the squad level or below.”

Senegal is one of the countries investing in education. In January 2022, the country opened its École de la Marine Nationale, a naval school with an emphasis on giving Sailors access to cutting-edge courses.

“Human resources,” are the “heart of the Navy,” said Rear Adm. Oumar Wade, Senegal’s naval chief of staff. “For us, the main pillar of security is instruction, training and maintenance of the skills acquired at school.”

## PURSUING PARTNERSHIPS

Emerging partnerships were on display during the first in-person Naval Infantry Leadership Symposium-Africa in Dakar on July 7 and 8, 2022.



Members of the Malawian Maritime Force provide security for a boat as it approaches shore during training in Monkey Bay.

STAFF SGT. SEAN CARNES/U.S. AIR FORCE

Naval leaders from 22 African countries and eight other countries exchanged best practices and discussed common challenges. It ended with the signing of a charter in which all countries pledged to continue sharing information and cooperating on issues of joint interest.

West Africa has made major strides in regional cooperation. In 2023, the Yaoundé Code of Conduct will mark its 10th anniversary. The security architecture created by it now allows coordinated patrols and the free exchange of information to track and intercept ships in the Gulf of Guinea and beyond.

Symposium attendees noted that interoperability among navies remains a challenge with language barriers, doctrine, laws and equipment sometimes making partnerships difficult.

But, Wade said, “trust is the key word,” noting that trust has been built through more than a decade of joint exercises and cooperation.

“The willingness to create interoperability is there, but it’s our officers who are constantly meeting who will make this path possible,” Wade said.

Some new partnerships cross oceans. Brazil’s Marine Corps has created an advisory group in Namibia and São Tomé and Príncipe and is conducting training events

in other African countries. Sea and War Capt. Andre Guimaraes of the Brazilian Marine Corps spoke at the symposium and said training in different environments is vital to the development of a Marine. He encouraged leaders in attendance to lean into training and said that Brazil’s demanding riverine course in the Amazon is open to Marines from across the globe.

“A lot of times we focus too much on equipment; we all want the best vessels,” Guimaraes said. “But we just need adequate equipment with an engaged operator with constant training. All the technology in the world doesn’t amount to much if you don’t have, in the unit, Marines ready to be leaders.”

Fall, with decades of experience, sees a global community of naval infantry leaders emerging in Africa with a shared purpose. He hopes to see the exchange of knowledge continue not only at the strategic level, but at the tactical level.

“It’s essential. We have to exchange,” he said. “Right now, it’s not countries acting alone; we need countries working together to face these threats. We need coalitions. We have to be on the side of those looking to do the right thing, the moral thing, and the democratic thing. To face threats that are emerging all the time.” □



# PEACEKEEPERS' 'ULTIMATE SACRIFICE' HONORED

A CHADIAN CAPTAIN IS AMONG 85 AFRICANS WHO DIED SERVING IN U.N. MISSIONS IN 2021

ADF STAFF

**AN ARMY CAPTAIN** from Chad who died while protecting civilians in Mali has become only the second recipient of the United Nations' highest peacekeeping award.

Capt. Abdelrazakh Hamit Bahar joined the U.N. Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali in January 2021. He was deployed at the Aguelhok Super Camp in the northeast when an armed terrorist group attacked and tried to seize the base and its outposts, according to the U.N.

He led a counterattack. While protecting the perimeter, he noticed that some of the attackers were entering a nearby house. He went to clear and secure the house, where he was shot and killed.

He died in April 2021 at 34. In a May 2022 ceremony in New York, the U.N. honored Abdelrazakh and other peacekeepers who died in the line of duty in 2021.

"Capt. Abdelrazakh's willingness to risk his own life to save others exemplifies the courage and dedication of the more than 1 million peacekeepers who have served on the front lines of conflict since 1948," said Under-Secretary-General for Peace Operations Jean-Pierre Lacroix. "Capt. Abdelrazakh made the ultimate sacrifice in the pursuit of peace. We mourn his loss alongside his family, colleagues and the nation of Chad. His selfless service serves to inspire us all, and we are proud to honor him."

Three other peacekeepers from Chad also died, and 34 were wounded during the raid. A total of 74 Chadian U.N. peacekeepers have died over the years.

Lacroix added that the captain's sacrifice highlights the increasing danger faced by U.N. peacekeepers as they carry out their work in some of the world's most challenging environments. The U.N. mission in Mali is the most dangerous in the world, with more than 270 peacekeepers killed since 2013.



Capt. Abdelrazakh Hamit Bahar, in U.N. headgear, and Lt. Col. Chahata Ali Mahamat, in beige turban, served with the U.N. peacekeeping mission in Mali in 2021. LT. COL. CHAHATA ALI MAHAMAT



# Peacekeeper Deaths Show Commitment to Missions

In 2021, 117 United Nations peacekeepers died in the line of duty, with 85 of them from African countries. That number reflects each nation's global commitment to protect the innocent and secure the peace:

-  **3** were from Burkina Faso
-  **3** were from Ethiopia
-  **3** were from Niger
-  **1** was from Burundi
-  **4** were from Ghana
-  **2** were from Senegal
-  **2** were from Cameroon
-  **3** were from Kenya
-  **2** were from Sierra Leone
-  **8** were from the Central African Republic
-  **1** was from Liberia
-  **3** were from South Africa
-  **6** were from Chad
-  **1** was from Libya
-  **7** were from South Sudan
-  **14** were from the Democratic Republic of the Congo
-  **3** were from Malawi
-  **1** was from Sudan
-  **4** were from Egypt
-  **1** was from Mali
-  **2** were from Tanzania
-  **3** were from Morocco
-  **8** were from Togo



Capt. Abdelrazakh Hamit Bahar's father, seated, and other relatives pose with U.N. officials.

U.N. PEACEKEEPING/MARIE-FRANCE PAGÉ



The U.N. Medal for Exceptional Courage was awarded to the family of Chadian Capt. Abdelrazakh Hamit Bahar.

U.N. PEACEKEEPING/MARIE-FRANCE PAGÉ

Abdelrazakh is the second winner of the “Captain Mbaye Diagne Medal for Exceptional Courage,” named in honor of Senegalese Capt. Diagne, who saved hundreds of lives while serving as a U.N. “blue helmet” during the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. Diagne hid civilians under blankets in his vehicle, then maneuvered his way through checkpoints while taking his passengers to safety.

Diagne was killed when a mortar shell exploded near his vehicle while he was stopped at a government checkpoint. In 2014, the U.N. created the award in his honor and gave the first one to his family.

The U.N. General Assembly established the International Day of U.N. Peacekeepers in 2002 to pay tribute to all men and women serving in peacekeeping and to honor the memory of those who died in the cause of peace. The General Assembly designated

May 29 as peacekeepers’ day to commemorate the day in 1948 when the U.N.’s first peacekeeping mission, the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization, began operations in Palestine. Since then, more than a million people have served in 72 U.N. peacekeeping operations.

In the May ceremonies, the U.N. also awarded a Letter of Commendation to Lt. Col. Chahata Ali Mahamat, who fought alongside Abdelrazakh that day and helped evacuate 16 wounded colleagues.

During the ceremony, Secretary-General Antonio Guterres laid a wreath to honor the nearly 4,200 U.N. peacekeepers who have died in the line of duty since 1948. He also presided over a ceremony in which the Dag Hammarskjöld Medal was awarded posthumously to 117 military, police and civilian peacekeepers who died serving under the U.N. flag in 2021. □

# PROFITING FROM THEIR POSITION



## For Militaries, Business Interests Bring in Revenue but Often Degrade Readiness

ADF STAFF

ADF ILLUSTRATION

**F**rom farm fields to oil fields, Sudan's military is deeply rooted in industries at the heart of the country's economy. The military-controlled Defense Industries Systems (DIS) runs more than 250 companies worth a collective \$2 billion that produce a wide variety of equipment for military and civilian use. Along with producing military equipment, DIS companies are involved in gold, marble, leather, gum arabic and household appliances.

DIS also is invested in telecommunications, banking, water distribution, real estate development, aviation, transportation, pharmaceuticals and textiles. In addition, DIS controls 60% of Sudan's wheat imports.

"They are everywhere one looks," Jean-Baptiste Gallopin, a researcher with the European Council on Foreign Relations, wrote in an analysis of Sudan's political and economic situation.

Through those enterprises, the military earns off-budget revenue to finance operations. At least 50 companies fund the Rapid Support Forces run by Gen. Mohammed Hamdan Dagalo, also known as Hemedti. All of that revenue is untaxed.

After the overthrow of longtime ruler Omar al-Bashir, Sudan's civilian leaders announced an ambitious agenda ahead of elections planned for 2023 — an agenda that included divesting the military's civilian business dealings and taxing them.

Gen. Mohammed Fattah al-Burhan ended those plans in 2021 when he dissolved the ruling Sovereignty Council, arrested Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok and shut down investigations into military activities.

Since the coup, protests against the junta have become a regular part of life in Sudan.

Sudan's experience illustrates the risk militaries pose

to civilian rule and to their own credibility when they go into business for themselves.

Sudan is not unique. From Cuba to Zimbabwe, dozens of militaries in Asia, Africa, and Central and South America engage in business for a variety of reasons:

- **National governments** are unable to fully fund the military and encourage it to raise its own money through business dealings.
- **A lack of professionalism** allows members across the military to engage in an “every-man-for-himself” style of entrepreneurship.
- **Civilian and military leaders** develop a symbiotic relationship that keeps civilians in power while letting the military run its own affairs. In some cases, civilian leaders believe allowing the military to profit from its position is “coup-proofing” their governments.

“Military involvement in the economy functions as a survival strategy for leaders and a profit-making scheme for the military,” researcher Roya Izadi wrote in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

According to Izadi, 47 militaries launched their own business enterprises between 1950 and 2010. South Sudan’s and Ghana’s militaries began their own business ventures after 2010. Argentina, Haiti, India, Paraguay and Uruguay are among the handful of countries that ended military business in recent decades.

Although military business may solve a government’s funding problems in the short term, it creates many more problems in the long term, according to experts.

Historical examples show that as the military’s business interests grow, the corruption it fosters degrades military readiness as the chain of command focuses more on making money than on defending the nation. By driving out private enterprise, military business damages the civilian-military relationship.

Over time, military business becomes predatory as the armed forces monopolize resources to the detriment of the country, according to Ayesha Siddiqa, author of “Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan’s Military Economy.”

“Military economic power spirals outward,” Siddiqa told ADF in an interview. “The more you try to make them happy, the more they become greedy.”

### Origins of Military Business

Pakistan’s National Logistics Cell (NLC) was created in 1978 to develop the roads, railways and other infrastructure needed to break transportation bottlenecks at the port in Karachi when civilian authorities proved incapable of doing so. Nations often turn to the military in crises, providing them with an entry point into the national economy.

The NLC, which was created by the Pakistani military’s quartermaster-general, is an example of how the military gets into business. Rather than disband after the crisis, the NLC expanded its operations dramatically.

Pakistan’s repeated wars with India reveal another reason militaries go into business: to fund everything from daily operations to veterans’ benefits. Through a network of foundations and subsidiaries, Pakistan’s military raised an estimated \$20 billion in 2017 alone. The official defense budget that year was \$11.5 billion.



Sudanese Soldiers drive through the defense ministry compound in Khartoum. REUTERS

In countries with weak governments, civilian leaders see military business as a way to keep the armed forces happy, according to Izadi. In the end, however, military business becomes a double-edged sword.

“Financial autonomy gives the armed forces a sense of power and confidence of being independent of the ‘incompetent’ civilians,” Siddiqa said. “While the military can pretend it’s adding to national security, actually, it’s adding to the threat.”

### Military Business and Corruption

Pakistan serves as an example of how military business develops and a warning about what can happen if it goes unchecked.

Since the late 1970s, Pakistan’s Army, Navy and Air Force have competed for revenue by expanding their business holdings into every corner of the national economy.

When Pakistanis buy shoes, book vacations or do their banking, they put money into the military. When they ship goods, the NLC — among the largest public-sector transportation fleets in Asia — does the job with its staff of 2,500 active-duty Soldiers. When Pakistanis fly, either an Army or Air Force pilot is at the controls, depending on the airline.

With close ties to the government and a workforce subsidized by taxpayers, Pakistan’s military enterprises easily out-compete other companies for government

contracts. State-owned Pakistan Railways, for example, carried 65% of the nation’s freight in 1980. Between its truck network and rail service, the NLC reduced Pakistan Railways to carrying less than 15% of the nation’s freight by 2010.

“The NLC is pushing out all other competitors,” Siddiqa told ADF.

The reach of military businesses in Pakistan shifts vast amounts of money that would otherwise fuel private enterprise into the pockets of retired and active officers at the top of the military business system, experts say.

The military’s focus on making money feeds corruption and undermines Pakistan’s military preparedness. Junior officers game the military’s procurement system to curry favor with higher-ups who control advancement and other perks, such as the distribution of lucrative agricultural land, said Siddiqa, the former head of Pakistan’s Office of Naval Research.

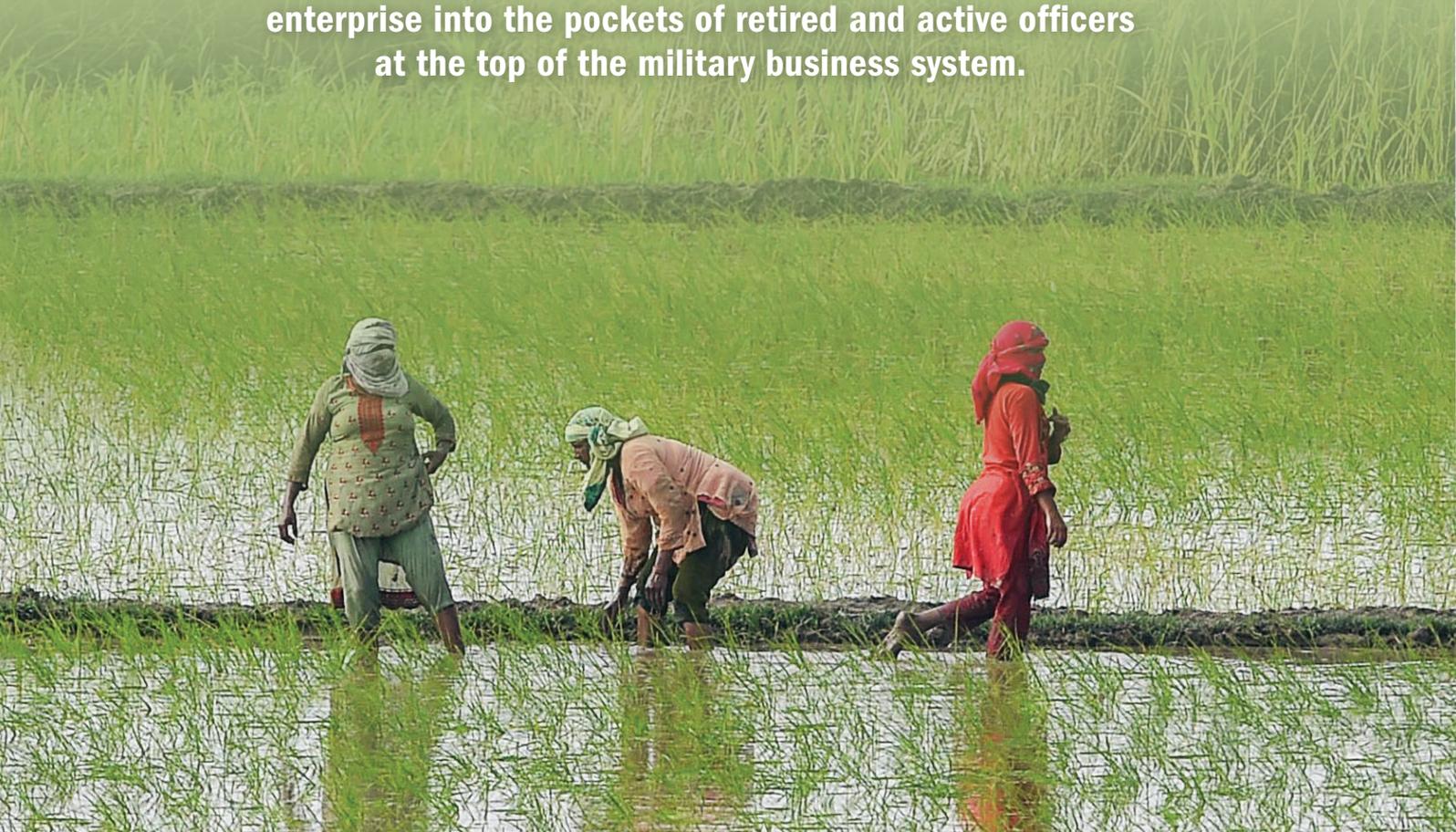
“Up to the rank of captain, officers made correct procurement assessments,” Siddiqa told ADF. “From captain onward, suddenly everything goes topsy-turvy.”

By putting Soldiers to work as road builders and dry-cleaning clerks instead of having them train for missions, Pakistan’s

Pakistan’s military business interests include vast tracts of agricultural land and oil refineries, transportation fleets, travel agencies, bakeries and universities.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

**The reach of military businesses in Pakistan shifts vast amounts of money that would otherwise fuel private enterprise into the pockets of retired and active officers at the top of the military business system.**



Pakistan's Fauji Jordan Fertilizer plant is part of the extensive network of businesses controlled by the country's military.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



military leaders are undercutting the country's military preparedness, Siddiqa said.

"When militaries run businesses, their economic interests compete with their national security obligations," Izadi writes.

### Reining in Military Business

"Once a military becomes an economic player, it is extremely hard for governments to convince them to abandon economic activities," Izadi writes. "It is extremely hard for leaders to confiscate the companies under the ownership of the military."

That's true even as deeply rooted military business makes a country less attractive to foreign investment and cripples the relationship between the military and civilian population, according to a study by Transparency International (TI).

Consider Indonesia: According to TI, the government committed in 2004 to shutting down the business operations of its military, the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI), to make it fully accountable to the civilian population.

After five years of inaction, the government let the TNI reorganize its enterprises into 23 foundations and 1,000 military cooperatives with the understanding that any revenue earned would go into the state treasury. By 2019, the TNI remained firmly in control of its business ventures, according to researcher Meidi Kosandi of the University of Indonesia.

"After 20 years of political reform in Indonesia since 1998, it appears that the army has not shown strong

commitment towards the principle of non-participation in business," Kosandi wrote in his 2019 analysis.

State power is a key factor in the evolution and control of military entrepreneurship, Kristina Mani, an expert in military business at Oberlin College, told ADF. Weak governments are unable to reshape their militaries or end military business activities, she said.

"Reforming any institution involves reconfiguring power relations," said Mani, who has studied military business activities in China, Pakistan and El Salvador. "Civilian governments can do that if they've got a lot of domestic legitimacy or good international support with real influence."

Countries that have stopped military business had to take drastic steps to do so. Haiti, for example, disbanded its military entirely in 1995 in part to put a stop to military business. In other cases, civilian governments and their armed forces spent many years negotiating an end to the military's off-budget business interests.

"Highly professional militaries are more likely to pursue economic activities for institutional rather than individual ends," Mani said. "In strong states, a military will be more beholden to goals determined by state officials rather than to its own interests."

Reducing military business benefits the armed forces and the civilian government to whom they should be accountable. That's because, in the long run, military business delegitimizes the militaries that practice it, Siddiqa told ADF.

"It creates friction, which is not healthy for the military or the state," she said. □



STAFF SGT. CHLOE OCHS/U.S. AIR FORCE



## Learning to Navigate **DANGEROUS GROUND**

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A Soldier from the Nigerien Armed Forces (FAN) swipes away desert sand in search of a simulated improvised explosive device (IED). He and his colleagues took part in counter-IED training with U.S. Air Force explosive ordnance disposal technicians at the FAN's Genie Compound in Agadez, Niger, on May 19, 2022. FAN and U.S. forces conduct these joint training sessions twice a week to improve their ability to detect and disarm the deadly devices.

# IN ITS OWN IMAGE

## CHINA EXPORTS ITS 'PARTY-ARMY' MODEL TO AFRICA AS MEANS OF POLITICAL CONTROL

ADF STAFF

**C**hina's interest and involvement in Africa includes everything from establishing economic markets to negotiating lucrative infrastructure projects worth billions of dollars.

The communist nation also is known for what it takes from the continent. China's distant-water fishing fleet plunders African waters. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) seeks to expand its naval presence — already established in East Africa — to West Africa's coast, a move that could protect its fishing interests there.

A lesser-known Chinese endeavor, however, seeks to shape the very framework of how African militaries operate and relate to civilian government. A nation known for its exports now is sending more than just textiles and electronics to the continent: China is spreading its "party-army" military model, which makes the army devoted to the ruling party, not the government and its people.

Chinese marines train South African troops on weapons handling. DR. ERNEST GUNASEKARA-ROCKWELL







**"What emerges from this model is what China's leaders call a party-army whose primary duty is the survival of the ruling party."**

*~ Paul Nantulya,  
Africa Center for Strategic Studies*



Chinese military personnel attend the opening ceremony of China's new naval base in Djibouti in August 2017. Djibouti is home to China's first overseas naval base. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

"The Chinese party-army model has obvious appeal to some African ruling party and military leaders who welcome redefining the role of the military as ensuring the survival of the ruling party," wrote research associate Paul Nantulya for the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS). "It also tends to reinforce elite networks and hierarchies, which feature heavily in China's political relationships and often supersede institutional and constitutional procedures."

### WHAT IS THE 'PARTY-ARMY' MODEL?

In his book, "Problems of War and Strategy," Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong wrote, "Our Principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party." The result is a PLA that exists first and foremost to protect and sustain the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), serving as its "armed wing."

The CCP's Central Military Commission (CMC) is chaired by Chinese President Xi Jinping and is the nation's top military decision-making body, according to "Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2020," an annual report to the United States Congress.

The CMC has operational control of the military and is beholden to the Politburo, the party's highest authority, wrote Nantulya in his July 2020 article for ACSS titled "China Promotes Its Party-Army Model in Africa." The CMC is higher than the Defense Ministry, which acts as a consultant. The Political Works Department uses a network of "political commissars" to indoctrinate members of the military.

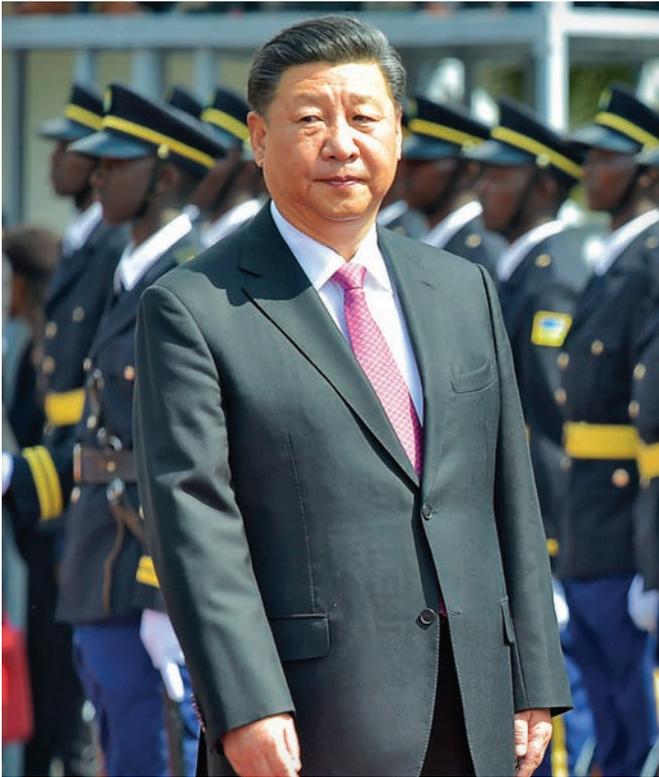
"What emerges from this model is what China's leaders call a party-army whose primary duty is the survival of the ruling party," Nantulya wrote.

### BUILDING THE MODEL IN AFRICA

China supplied training to a number of Southern African nations during their liberation period. However, that training did not end once independence was achieved. Nantulya wrote that China now trains some African military personnel at three levels within its professional military education (PME) system. Most African trainees engage at the first two levels:

- Regional academies train cadets and junior officers.
- Command and staff colleges from the PLA's service branches work with mid-career officers.
- African officers make up nearly 60% of the 300 or so foreign officers admitted to the top tier of China's PME institutions. Most attendees are from developing countries.

"African officers also attend the PLA's political schools, which provide training on the mechanisms China's ruling



Chinese President Xi Jinping inspects an honor guard upon arriving in Kigali, Rwanda, for a state visit in July 2018.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

party uses to exercise control over the military, including through the political commissar system,” Nantulya wrote.

Commissars generally have had several functions in the PLA since their inception in 1928, according to “China’s Political Commissars and Commanders: Trends & Dynamics,” a 2005 paper by Srikanth Kondapalli for the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies in Singapore. Their functions can include:

- Overseeing military units.
- Ensuring troop loyalty to CCP rule.
- Advancing CCP politics and policies.
- Overseeing civilian matters such as education and personnel affairs.
- Bolstering troop morale and entertainment.
- Closely studying personnel’s thinking, assessing their conduct toward rules and enhancing their consciousness.
- Overseeing military public relations.

“In general, the military commander is tasked to further the political objectives of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the state — the People’s Republic of China (PRC) — whereas the political commissar is tasked to further the CCP political objectives in the PLA,” according to Kondapalli. “While the commander is tasked with military combat issues of commanding and directing troops in war and peacetime, evolving and enhancing necessary combat capabilities, the institution of political commissars is geared up for disseminating the CCP’s perspective in the

PLA and strived to maintain ‘absolute control of the Party over the army.’”

A July 2020 report by USNI News, a service of the United States Naval Institute, indicates that political commissars aboard Chinese naval vessels might be contributing to “confrontational or irrational moves” when encountering other forces at sea. The arrangement leads to shared authority regarding command and control and contravenes more traditional views of the chain of command.

### ZIMBABWE LOOKS EAST

Longtime Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe began to strengthen economic ties with China in the early 2000s as his troubled country found itself deprived of financial help from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other Western sources. In response, Mugabe established the “Look East” policy, which he used “to fight back against the pariah label by creating a new venue in which to exercise its foreign policy influence,” according to a 2013 article in *World Politics Review*.

Mugabe struck trade and political deals with China as a workaround for reluctant Western partners, who had criticized Zimbabwe’s fraudulent elections and spotty human rights record. Mugabe and his Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) cast Western nations and organizations as neocolonial. Such a characterization played into China’s hands as the country has increasingly sought to establish itself as the dominant foreign power presence on the continent. In recent years, China has struck lucrative mining concessions, signed loan-based infrastructure deals and exploited Africa’s fish stocks through unrestrained fishing.

Zimbabwe, perhaps as much or more than any other African country, has shared China’s view of military structures as a safeguard for a nation’s ruling party. Indeed, Mugabe himself in 2017 was quoted as saying, “politics shall always lead the gun and not the gun politics,” a comment reminiscent of Mao’s famous quote.

Ironically, that same year, Mugabe found himself under siege by the very military so devoted to the ZANU-PF. On November 14, 2017, tanks began to converge on the capital, Harare, a day after then-Army Chief Gen. Constantino Chiwenga blasted Mugabe for removing Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa, who was considered a succession rival to Mugabe’s wife, Grace, according to a report in the *Mail & Guardian*, a South African newspaper. In the party split, Mugabe sided with the faction supporting his wife.

By the next day, the military controlled capital streets, and Mugabe was under what he characterized as house arrest. By November 18, 2017, protesters had filled the streets, joining the military’s call for Mugabe, who was 93, to resign. Three days later, Mugabe did just that, bringing impeachment proceedings to an end.

Deposed Vice President Mnangagwa was installed as president over Phelekezela Mphoko, a supporter of Grace Mugabe and the sitting vice president at the time.

Just days before the coup, Chiwenga was in China



Members of the People's Liberation Army Band gather for a photo in Beijing after performing at the closing of the National People's Congress at the Great Hall of the People in March 2022. GETTY IMAGES

meeting with senior Chinese military officials. There has been no evidence of Chinese involvement in the coup, but some have speculated that Chiwenga may have sought a subtle blessing for Mugabe's overthrow.

"Chiwenga was more than a military chief," Nantulya wrote. "He once headed ZANU-PF's Political Commissariat. Like other senior Zimbabwean officers and his Chinese counterparts, he was deeply embedded in the party's workings." The month after the coup, Chiwenga was installed as vice president.

#### **WEAKNESSES OF THE MODEL**

Even in China, the party-army model has not been without its problems. The PLA has experienced factionalism, corruption and political patronage. The closeness of the party and the military allows political problems to proliferate in the military.

As China's military became more politicized, Xi, who also serves as general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, seized an opportunity. Under the guise of anti-corruption, he purged more than 100,000 party functionaries and more than 100 senior officers. Even so, senior Chinese military officials remain committed to the party-army model, Nantulya wrote.

Zimbabwe's adoption of the model seems to have made military intervention in an internal party squabble inevitable. As Chiwenga said in a November 13, 2017, address before the coup, internal strife was due to

"the machinations of counterrevolutionaries who have infiltrated the Party and whose agenda is to destroy it from within" by redirecting the nation toward foreign domination.

History is replete with examples of how African leaders have co-opted control of their national militaries to support themselves and their ruling parties at the expense of the people. Émile Ouédraogo, a retired colonel in Burkina Faso's Army and an adjunct professor of practice at the ACSS, warns against the politicization of the military in his paper, "Advancing Military Professionalism in Africa." He cites examples such as the 2005 death of President Gnassingbé Eyadéma in Togo that led to his son, Faure Gnassingbé, replacing him after generals prevented the National Assembly leader from taking office in accordance with the Constitution.

Ouédraogo wrote in the paper that "a majority of military coups that have occurred in Africa were backed by competing political actors. When these competing interests are within the ruling party, 'palace revolutions' instead of a complete interruption of constitutional order are more likely to occur." Such was the case three years later in Zimbabwe.

"The consequence of such relationships is a military that is more partisan and less professional in the eyes of society, thereby diminishing respect for the institution — something that is necessary in order to recruit committed, disciplined, and talented soldiers," Ouédraogo wrote. □

# Desert

## AMBASSADORS



Meharists of the Mauritanian National Guard rehearse for a military parade in Nema.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



## Mauritania's Camel-Riding Guards Offer More Than Just Security

ADF STAFF

The primary job of Mauritania's 300 camel-riding Mehari National Guard members is to patrol remote areas of the Sahara along the border with Mali, looking for terrorist cells. But they do much more than provide security to villages and nomadic outposts.

The camel riders, dressed in traditional attire, provide vital information, public transport and help with access to clean water. They can offer sophisticated health care, such as diagnosing conditions and giving the proper medicine. Many describe the work as a higher calling.

"The most beautiful day for me is when I am assigned a mission, whatever it is," a guard member

told Radio France Internationale (RFI). "It can be a security mission or a mission of raising awareness, like teaching about illnesses, the dangers of illegal immigration or drug trafficking. Whatever the mission, I accomplish it by any means."

They also gather intelligence on terrorists and serve as goodwill ambassadors on behalf of the government. One Guardsman told DW News that some of the riders will go undercover in markets, looking for unusually large purchases of fuel and supplies. In some cases, the information is passed on to the government, which deploys anti-terrorism units.

The riders go into the desert for months at a time, camping out at night. They are known as Meharists, derived from the French and Arabic words for desert camels.

The response to the camel riders has been overwhelmingly positive. The riders are known and trusted by the communities they serve and are a source of civic pride. The remote communities, which have long complained that their country is ignoring them, are grateful to see evidence of federal authorities reaching out to help them.

Mauritania's 300 camel-riding Mehari National Guard members patrol remote areas along the border with Mali in search of terrorist cells.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



## ‘Ships of the Desert’ Built for Harshest Environments

ADF STAFF

There are an estimated **40 million** camels in the world.

Despite its awkward appearance, a camel can run at a speed of up to **65 kilometers per hour** — almost as fast as a racehorse.

Camels have **three sets of eyelids** and two rows of eyelashes to keep sand out of their eyes. They can completely shut their nostrils during sandstorms.

Stories about these “ships of the desert” **surviving without water** are true. Camels’ humps let them store more than 36 kilograms of fat that they can live off for weeks and sometimes months. When a camel finally does find water, it can drink up to 150 liters at one time.

Camels can survive temperatures that would quickly **kill a horse** or a man.

It is said that the Arabic language has **100 different words** for camels, but that is not true. Each of the 100 or so variations on the word adds a describing element, such as male or female, thirsty, patient, large or young.

Camels produce some of the **healthiest milk** in the world, popular for human consumption in many countries.

“The nomadic grouping of the National Guard does a lot for us,” one resident told Africanews. “Before we had a water network, they were the ones supplying us with water. Since they have been here, we feel safe. They give free consultations and distribute free medicine to (the community of) Achemime.”

Police on camelback are nothing new to the region; the practice is 100 years old. The members of this modern “camel corps” were recruited from local nomads, and authorities say they plan to add 200 more.

This force might be relatively small, but it addresses two problems that Mauritania and many other African

**The response to the camel riders has been overwhelmingly positive. The riders are known and trusted by the communities they serve and are a source of civic pride.**

nations face: how to include minority ethnic groups in providing services and how to secure and offer services to people in remote areas.

“The Meharists are part of a tradition of the Mauritanian nation. They are one of the emblems of our country,” a corps member told RFI. “I joined because our mission is noble. Going among the population of nomads to spread awareness, to inform them and to offer education to a population that doesn’t know how to read or write. There are also armed operations to bring security.”

### ISOLATED AND MARGINALIZED

The sheer size of the African continent has led to a problem often described as the “tyranny of distance.” Many nations have rural ethnic communities living far away from population centers. They often are further isolated by a lack of roads. These remote communities and villages often get very little in the way of benefits and help from the central government. In turn, these communities come



to resent the lack of support and protection, making them susceptible to recruitment by extremist groups.

In a 1997 study, the Brookings Institution said that virtually every African conflict had some sort of ethno-regional dimension to it.

“Even those conflicts that may appear to be free of ethnic concerns involve factions and alliances built around ethnic loyalties,” Brookings reported. “Analysts have tended to have one of two views of the role of ethnicity in these conflicts. Some see ethnicity as a source of conflict; others see it as a tool used by political entrepreneurs to promote their ambitions. In reality, it is both.”

Ethnic disputes have even led to civil wars in countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia and Uganda.

### REACHING OUT TO ETHNIC GROUPS

The camel corps is just one answer to the problem of how to reach out to marginalized groups. Countries that have made the effort believe it leads to greater security and prosperity in targeted regions. Since these communities often are near borders, the outreach pays off in another way: by turning hostile groups into allies. These border communities can serve as the first line of defense to warn the government of incursions by extremists or traffickers.

In Mauritania, the government has gone a step further in helping nomadic communities establish new towns in the eastern part of the country, where they can receive services and stability while preserving a traditional way of life.

“The intent is not to abolish nomadism — men continue to live in semi-nomadic surroundings around their herd while their families are settled in one place, benefiting from education services and other basic amenities — but to create focal sites and defensible positions in the immediate vicinity of the Malian border,” Sahelian counterterrorism expert Anouar Boukhars wrote for the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS).

Boukhars said the engagement is paying dividends. “This strategy of community engagement in remote areas of the desert has been a critical component of the counterterrorism approach,” he wrote.

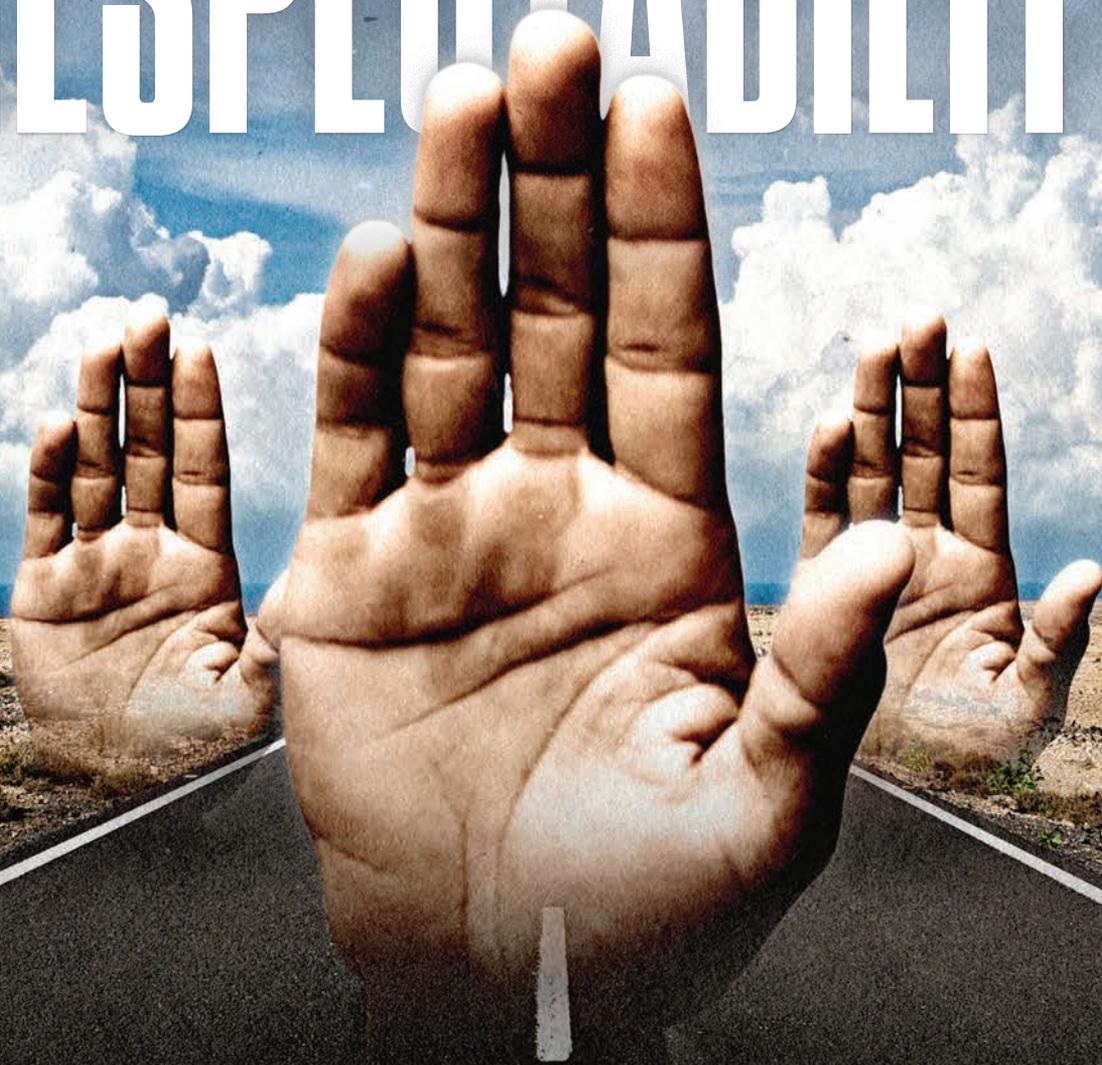
The country’s camel-riding ambassadors plan to continue expanding their program to meet the needs of more at-risk people.

“Where the state doesn’t have any infrastructure in remote and isolated areas, we’re coming to help in terms of sanitation and education,” camel corps commander Col. Abderrahamane El Khalil told ACSS. □

**A Meharist of the Mauritanian National Guard patrols in Nema.**

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

# ROADBLOCKS TO RESPECTABILITY



# STRUCTURES AND BEHAVIORS CAN KEEP SECURITY FORCES FROM EFFECTIVELY SERVING THEIR NATIONS

ADF STAFF

**F**or a nation's military to be ethical and effective, it must adhere to certain objective standards. Chief among those is its willingness to be subjected to civilian rule.

That has not always been the case with African nations since the era of independence began, and some countries still struggle to meet that basic, but vital, standard.

Émile Ouédraogo, a retired colonel in Burkina Faso's Army and an adjunct professor of practice at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, lists four major obstacles in his paper, "Advancing Military Professionalism in Africa."

The obstacles are colonial legacies, ethnic and tribal biases, a politicized military and militarized politics, and a lack of operational capacity or mission. Here is a brief look at each.

## THE LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

Colonial powers inevitably structured their colonies to benefit their administration of government to secure that regime and to manage populations in a way that preserved central authority.

Everything from the location of national capitals to the demarcation of borders served colonial interests. Likewise, militaries in colonies had to ensure security while avoiding the prospects of rebellion. West African militaries "mostly emerged from the colonial armies that were created for the purposes of political expediencies to quell indigenous resistance and serve the geo-strategic interests of colonial powers," Naila Salihu, program and research officer with the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, wrote in a report for ACCORD.

In West Africa, ethnic minorities from the north of countries such as Ghana, Nigeria and Togo were used to compose colonial militaries, Ouédraogo wrote. Doing so helped colonial powers "counterbalance historically more powerful ethnicities" concentrated in southern regions.

Simply put, colonial powers had no interest in building long-lasting security institutions that would promote fairness, healthy civil-military relations and good governance outside of colonial aims. Indeed, Salihu writes, British and French colonial authorities did the exact opposite, even as their own governments were strengthening their democratic institutions back home. Despite this, some nations emerged from colonial rule with the ability to establish healthy security institutions.



Troops from Niger disembark a plane in Algiers in 1956 as an airlift brings in French West African colonial troops for the Algerian War of Independence. AFF/GETTY IMAGES

"It is noteworthy that countries like Senegal, which were able to reorganise their military and institutionalise their civil-military relations, were able to sustain civil rule," Salihu wrote. "Other countries, such as Ghana, were unable to do so and became enmeshed in a cycle of coups and countercoups in the first three decades of independence."



A demonstrator offers flowers to Tunisian Soldiers in January 2011. Soldiers in Tunisia declined to stand between the public and the regime of then-President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, who fled the country. GETTY IMAGES



## ETHNIC AND TRIBAL BIASES

This obstacle is apparent in regimes in which the president forms a military primarily composed of members of his own ethnicity or tribe.

The practice is known as “ethnic stacking,” and it can have dire consequences for a nation, even as it bolsters autocratic leaders.

“Since decolonization, worried by the possibilities of coup attempts and ethnic insurgencies, many leaders have continued to rely on the recruitment and promotion of coethnics to control the military and ensure its loyalty,” Kristen Harkness wrote in the paper, “The Ethnic Stacking in Africa Dataset: When leaders use ascriptive identity to build military loyalty.”

Stacking can prevent coups and strengthen regimes in the short term, but excluding certain groups also can lead to widespread unrest that results in riots, insurgencies and ethnic rebellions, according to Harkness. Military members serving in such a system “behave differently toward protestors and rebels hailing from out-groups, shaping human rights practices, surveillance, repression, and other repertoires of state violence,” Harkness wrote.



Mozambique's President Filipe Nyusi has accepted help from a regional force to deal with an insurgency in the north.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Unfair promotion practices in an ethnically stacked military can undermine combat effectiveness. When the military is diverse and reflects the country it serves, it tends to be more effective.

“A military composed of troops from communities across the country, on the other hand, can create a strong foundation upon which a democratic state can be built,” Ouédraogo wrote. “A diversified force also creates conditions favorable to the professionalization of the armed forces as advancements are more likely to be merit- rather than ethnic-based, and allegiance would be to the nation as a whole rather than to a particular ethnicity.”



## POLITICIZED MILITARIES

This phenomenon arises when leaders rely on security forces instead of the civilian population for support. Sometimes, certain elements of the national security apparatus can become so favored by rulers or ruling parties that they receive more funding, equipment and training than other subgroups within the armed forces.

The precariousness of this practice was demonstrated in Côte d'Ivoire starting in 1960 when Félix Houphouët-Boigny, the nation's first president, began his 33 years in power. He reduced the military's size and formed a militia loyal to his party composed mostly of personnel from his own ethnic group. His manipulation, Ouédraogo wrote, resulted in some officers receiving higher pay than other civil servants, positions in the party and other perks, paving the way for future instability that would result in catastrophe.

When Houphouët-Boigny died in 1993, Henri Konan Bédié took power "with the help of a few officers of the gendarmerie belonging to his tribe," an unprecedented act that positioned the same group to help place Laurent Gbagbo in power in 2000.

However, years later in Tunisia under the rule of

Seleka rebels seized the Central African Republic capital of Bangui in 2013. Such internal conflicts are indicative of the most common types faced by African militaries. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, the same dynamic appears to have produced a contrary result. During the 2011 Arab Spring rebellion, the nation's 40,000-strong uniformed Armed Forces was disconnected from the Ben Ali regime, which instead favored the national police force and the presidential and national guards. When civilian protesters took to the streets, Soldiers and their commanders refused to stand between protesters and Ben Ali. He fled the country, and a long, complicated and fragile move toward democracy commenced.

## LACK OF MISSION, OPERATIONAL CAPACITY

Professional militaries are educated, well trained, sufficiently equipped, and have clear guidance about their mission and purpose. Mission readiness depends largely on healthy command-and-control structures and civil-military relations.

As examples, Ouédraogo points to the swift collapse



Senegal was among the nations able to build a strong military after colonial rule. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

of Mali's security forces when attacked by Islamist extremists in 2012 and the ease with which Seleka rebel forces took the capital, Bangui, in the Central African Republic a year later. Potential explanations for such failures are command chain gaps that lead to lack of discipline, lack of procurement oversight, low morale and "a misaligned or obsolete mission."

Command chain gaps can lead to rank-and-file recruits indulging in crimes that go unpunished, leaving the impression that Soldiers are above the law, Ouédraogo wrote. For example, in Gbagbo's Côte d'Ivoire in 2000, servicemen loyal to Gbagbo killed civilians who contested his election. They were not held accountable.

African militaries also have been known for being top-heavy in their leadership. Ouédraogo points out that before 2012, Mali's army had one general for every 400 Soldiers, whereas a typical NATO infantry brigade consists of approximately 3,200 to 5,500 troops and is commonly commanded by just one brigadier general or senior colonel. This "officer inflation" can strain budgets and frustrate those who perceive a lack of merit in promotion, leading to a lack of discipline and low morale.

Militaries typically are formed to protect against foreign threats, yet that is not the profile of most African conflicts. African militaries are more likely to face internal threats, such as the extremist insurgencies in Mali, northern Mozambique, northern Nigeria and Somalia, for example.

"The West has this model of a disciplined, neutral army that stands on the sidelines, independent of domestic politics," Jakkie Cilliers, founder and board member of the Institute for Security Studies, told *Foreign Policy*. "But the African model is of a military that is used internally and is part and parcel of domestic politics and resource allocation."

These domestic insurgencies draw attention to the disconnect between a military's mandate and the most prevalent threats, Ouédraogo wrote.

"African security forces, therefore, must become demonstrably more competent and professional in order to prevail," he wrote. "Until African leaders identify a clear mission for their security institutions and incorporate this into their strategic planning processes, they will be unable to resource and train their troops for the real security challenges they face." □

**A**  
**HEAVY**  
**PRICE**  
**TO**  
**PAY**

# Wagner Group Ties Can Lead To a Loss of Reputation, Riches

ADF STAFF

There's a new armed group striking terror in the people of Mali.

The fighters speak a strange language. They don't look like the locals. They converge on villages accompanied by Malian soldiers. Their ostensible mission is to help the military clear out a stubborn array of terrorist groups.

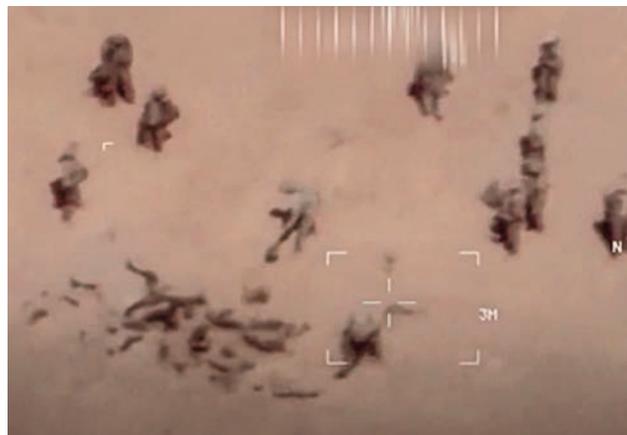
Their track record across Africa, however, is one of criminal violence, incompetence and economic exploitation. Now they have gained a reputation for killing Malian civilians with impunity.

They are members of the Wagner Group, a notorious Russian mercenary enterprise that has had boots on the ground in the Central African Republic, Libya, Mozambique and Sudan. Their legacy is one of booby traps and civilian atrocities. Their ham-fisted foray into northern Mozambique's Cabo Delgado province in September 2019 led to a rout by insurgents there and an embarrassing withdrawal after about two months. They eventually were replaced by a more effective multinational African force.

Now they have entered Mali under a deal with the ruling military government just as French forces operating under Operation Barkhane continued their withdrawal.

The arrangement is the latest struck between Wagner Group forces and an African government in which Wagner offers security and military training in exchange for rights to valuable natural resources — in this case, Malian gold. But the result is likely to be the same: Mali will be left with chaos, wrecked civil-military relations, and alienation from regional and global communities. In the process, it will have given up riches that could help secure its economic future.

One group not feeling secure amid this new arrangement is Malian civilians. "I am terrified of the extremists," a Malian cattle merchant told The



This video image shows fighters thought to be Russian Wagner Group mercenaries burying bodies near an army base in northern Mali. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Washington Post in May 2022. "I am terrified of the Malian army and these White soldiers. Nowhere is safe."

## HOW WAGNER OPERATES

As 2021 ended, Mali brought in 800 to 1,000 fighters from the Wagner Group. Raphael Parens, a researcher writing for the Foreign Policy Research Institute in March 2022, indicated that Wagner has followed the same game plan in Mali that it executed elsewhere in Africa. The private military contractor's strategy has three components:

- The group spreads disinformation and pro-government messaging, such as counter-demonstrations and phony polling. In 2019, Wagner's disinformation campaign in Sudan tried to keep then-President Omar al-Bashir in power.

“

Russian mercenaries profit from the CAR's diamond mines while advising the country's leaders. ... peace seems unlikely as ever in the near future.”

— Geopolitical Monitor



A Russian Wagner Group truck is parked at Bangassou Central African Army base, which was looted in a January 2021 rebel attack. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



- Wagner sets up payment for its services through mineral concessions, such as the mining of gold and other precious metals. Mali has significant gold deposits.
- The group establishes a relationship with the national military through advising, training, personal security and counterinsurgency operations.

In the CAR, Wagner carries out most military advice and training. The group also provides personal security to President Faustin-Archange Touadéra. In exchange, the CAR granted Russia diamond mining rights and let it set up radio and newspapers in the capital, Bangui, according to a report in *Geopolitical Monitor*, an online international intelligence publication.

“Throughout the process, the Russian foreign policy establishment’s involvement is clear, particularly as the beneficiary of military-to-military relationships with a new potential client state,” Parens wrote.

## THE SITUATION IN THE SAHEL

As the crisis in Mali entered its 10th year, Sahel violence increased 70% from 2020 to 2021. Fatalities were up 17%. Militant groups, namely those tied to al-Qaida and the Islamic State group, continued their attacks in Mali and neighboring Burkina Faso, according to the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS).

Three Russian Wagner Group fighters, right, are among nearly 1,000 stationed in Mali since late 2021. The mercenaries and their Malian Army counterparts have been accused of gross human rights violations. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Soon after arriving, Wagner set up a base near Modibo Keita International Airport in the capital, Bamako, near Mali’s Airbase 101. The mercenaries soon spread into central Mali. Indications are that up to 200 troops might be based in Ségou and others have deployed in Timbuktu, according to the Center for Strategic & International Studies.

In March 2022, Wagner and Malian soldiers converged on the village of Moura via helicopter. The stated goal was fighting insurgents, but over a five-day siege, the Malians and Russians “looted houses, held villagers captive in a dried-out riverbed and executed hundreds of men,” *The New York Times* reported after speaking to witnesses, Malian activists and Western officials. Some were killed without being interrogated. Many were young people. The mercenaries stole jewelry and took cellphones to keep people from recording their atrocities.

A United Nations report said more than 500 civilians died at the hands of armed forces and insurgents from January to March 2022 — a 324% increase over the previous quarter.

Locals told Al-Jazeera of white soldiers looting,



Libyan deminers examine boxes of dismantled mines and recovered ammunition remnants left behind by Wagner Group forces and their Libyan counterparts. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

attacking and killing people. “Often, they attack the people who try to escape,” one person in Timbuktu’s rural outskirts said. “If you try to run, they’ll kill you without knowing who you are.”

Such attacks and the terror they inspire are behind a spike in refugees seeking safety in neighboring Mauritania to the west. Since late 2021, the nation’s Mbera refugee camp has seen its population climb toward 80,000 people, with nearly 7,000 having arrived in March and April 2022 alone, Al-Jazeera reported.

“Many, many reports and many people that we interviewed talked about the army being more brutal,” Ousmane Diallo, a Dakar, Senegal-based researcher for Amnesty International, told Al-Jazeera. He said the increase in brutality has come “since Wagner’s arrival.”

“There is a new element. The abuses and the violations by the Malian army are not new, but the scale and the brutality have heightened since January 2022 — and that is something that cannot just be dismissed.”

## CHAOS, NOT SUCCESS

Wagner Group forces always enter a country promising better security against insurgents, but their results often fall short of success in Africa, according to Geopolitical Monitor.

In northern Mozambique, Wagner forces quickly

found themselves out of their depth with their surroundings, their allies and their enemy. The region’s dense terrain made a lot of Wagner’s high-tech equipment such as helicopters obsolete. Their lack of understanding of local culture and language, their distrust of Mozambican Soldiers, and the fierce asymmetric tactics of insurgent group Ansar al-Sunna quickly put the Russian mercenaries on the back foot.

“The Wagner soldiers had also suffered a surprise attack when insurgents entered their camp dressed in the uniforms of the Mozambique army,” according to a November 2019 report in South Africa’s Daily Maverick. “This had caused deep distrust by Wagner of the national army and prompted the Russians to stop doing joint patrols with Mozambican soldiers.”

After attacks killed at least 11 fighters and wounded two dozen more, Wagner had had enough and beat a hasty retreat.

Meanwhile, in the CAR, a 10-year civil war continues despite Wagner’s presence. In fact, as much as 80% of the country is controlled by rebels, according to the Jamestown Foundation.

“Militia groups continue to engage the government and each other as religious and ethnic divisions

complicate any peace prospects in the region,” according to Geopolitical Monitor. “All the while, Russian mercenaries profit from the CAR’s diamond mines while advising the country’s leaders. Despite granting Russia heightened influence in the CAR, Wagner forces failed [to] deliver any decisive victories in the civil war to the Touadera government. Quite the contrary, peace seems unlikely as ever in the near future, and mercenaries remain stationed in Bangui with little international oversight.”

The battlefield acuity of Wagner Group forces also is suspect. Mark Galeotti, an expert on Russian security matters, told *The Moscow Times*, an independent English-language online news site, that Wagner’s low cost, Kremlin ties and “regime-support services” make it an attractive option.

However, since fighting for Russia’s 2014 annexation of Crimea and a year later in support of President Bashar al-Assad’s forces in Syria, the mercenary group has grown significantly.

“They have clearly had to expand since their early Syrian days and also have to make a profit,” Galeotti said. “This means being less picky with recruits. They are increasingly operating in theaters where they don’t have much expertise.”

Libya offers one of the starkest examples of the Wagner Group’s low regard for civilian lives. As they aided the forces of Libyan Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar’s Libyan National Army (LNA) in the civil war there, they left land mines, improvised explosive devices and booby traps throughout neighborhoods. One deadly booby trap was attached to a soccer ball. Another was placed under a corpse.

A June 2022 United Nations report found that land mines and other explosives in Libya killed 130 people and injured another 196 between May 2020 and March 2022 in southern Tripoli, Benghazi, Sirte and elsewhere. Victims ranged in age from 4 to 70 and were mostly men and boys.

The report stated that land mines “and other unexploded ordnances had been found in 35 locations marked on a tablet left behind by the private military company Wagner Group in Ain Zara, in locations that had been under the LNA’s control and in which Wagner personnel had been present at that time.”

“The Wagner Group added to the deadly legacy of mines and booby traps scattered across Tripoli’s suburbs that has made it dangerous for people to return to their homes,” Lama Fakih, Middle East and North Africa director at Human Rights Watch, said on the group’s website. “A credible and transparent international inquiry is needed to ensure justice for the many civilians and deminers unlawfully killed and maimed by these weapons.”

## AN EXPENSIVE RELATIONSHIP

Aligning with Russia through the Wagner Group can be expensive in national wealth and reputation.

Reuters reports that Mali is paying Wagner \$10.8 million a month for its services. Reports also make it clear that Wagner has designs on Malian mineral wealth, in keeping with its operations elsewhere on the continent.

Many of Mali’s traditional allies have condemned the country’s deal with the Wagner Group. In December 2021, the European Union imposed sanctions, asset freezes and travel bans against named Wagner officials. In February 2022, the EU imposed sanctions on five members of Mali’s ruling junta.

African countries most welcoming of Russian influence “tend to exhibit their own versions of Russia’s authoritarian, transactional governance template,” ACSS Director of Research Joseph Siegle wrote for the Italian Institute for International Political Studies in May 2022. Eritrea, Sudan and Zimbabwe fit this description.



A Turkish deminer enters a house marked with a warning about mines in an area south of Tripoli, Libya, in 2020. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

When the leaders’ legitimacy is questionable, the addition of Russian efforts to gain influence combine to produce an “inherently destabilizing” environment, Siegle wrote. The result is a system that serves elitist interests at the expense of civilians.

Adopting President Vladimir Putin’s view of international order presents chilling implications for African nations, especially in the shadow of Russia’s unprovoked invasion of Ukraine. “Imagine a larger African state asserting that its smaller neighbor never really existed as an independent sovereign entity,” Siegle wrote. The model threatens government principles as laid out in the U.N. Charter.

“While the current UN-based international order is far from perfect, it provides a legal, collective basis for African citizen voices to be heard, human rights protected, and governments held accountable,” Siegle wrote. “The alternative is that every country — and every individual — is on their own.” □



A handler parades an Arabian horse during an auction for yearlings at the Alim dar Racecourse in the western city of Misrata, Libya. SOPA IMAGES

## *Despite Years of Conflict,* **LIBYANS’ LOVE OF HORSES ENDURES**

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

**I**n Libya, despite years of violence and rebellion, a national love of horses remains unabated.

A May 2022 horse show in Misrata attracted Libyans from every corner of the country, and, over the course of three days, 96 of about 150 horses changed hands.

“There were horses from the west, the east and the south — from every city in the country,” said Hussein Shaka, one of the organizers.

Equestrianism has a prominent place in Libya as in other parts of the Arab world, with weekly horse races, shows and parades. Libyan horse enthusiasts have kept their traditions alive, including the crafts of making saddles and tack — and breeding pedigree chargers.

“I present you with Labaris,” an auctioneer said as a carefully groomed brown stallion was led around the show pen.

Prospective buyers in the all-male audience held up numbered wooden plaques to place their bids. The highest price of \$8,000 went to an off-white mare that, according to the auctioneer, “has run in 21 races in France, taking first, second and third places.”

Dozens of buyers sat on white plastic chairs around the sun-drenched show pen as the auctioneer extolled the virtues of the horses on show from a small stage.

The first day was devoted to ponies and foals, the second to mares and the last to stallions. The auction’s catalogue included English pedigrees and purebred Arabians, famous for their beauty, speed and stamina.

“Auctions should be encouraged in Libya to improve European horse breeds as well as local breeding,” said breeder Ali al-Himaidi.

# — CÔTE D'IVOIRE'S POPO CARNIVAL — **CONTINUES TO GROW**

ADF STAFF

**O**rganizers of Côte d'Ivoire's annual Popo Carnival have big ambitions. They hope it can grow to rival Carnival in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, considered the biggest such event in the world.

The Rio carnival attracts 2 million people each year. The Popo Carnival, organizers say, now attracts more than a million people each year from around the world. It takes place in Bonoua, about 50 kilometers east of Côte d'Ivoire's economic capital of Abidjan.

The festival is a celebration of the Aboure tribe, one of many ethnic groups in the West African country. Some of the groups, including the Aboure, still have kings and queens that play a traditional role in their communities. Popo means "mask" in the Aboure language, and people wear masks during parts of the festival.

The Aboure king acts as the chief of seven villages. The high point of the carnival is a parade featuring the arrival of the king, who wears a gold crown and a long robe. He is accompanied by men beating drums and blowing ox horns, Reuters reports.

The carnival also includes a football match, sports days, cooking competitions, a beauty contest and several theatrical performances. The performances are intended to keep the heritage of the Aboure people alive and remind them of what they have gained or lost.

"It's a period of evaluation to see if we haven't lost anything our parents left us," Jean Oba, honorary commissioner of the festival, told Reuters.



REUTERS



THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

## *East African Marathoners* **DOMINATE WORLD CHAMPIONSHIPS**

ADF STAFF

In the women's marathon at the track and field World Championships in July 2022, Ethiopian runner Getytom Gebreslase took the gold medal with a record time of 2 hours, 18 minutes, 11 seconds.

The next day, Ethiopian Tamirat Tola won the men's marathon with a time of 2:05:36. Tola's countryman, Mosinet Geremew, took the silver medal, finishing one minute and 8 seconds behind Tola.

The results of the two days' races were no surprise. East Africans consistently have been among the world's best marathoners since Ethiopian Abebe Bikila won the men's race at the 1964 Summer Olympics.

Like Ethiopians, Kenyan runners tend to dominate in marathons throughout the world. According to the BBC, the world's best runners come from three mountainous districts near the Rift Valley in Africa: Nandi in Kenya and Arsi and Shewa in Ethiopia.

In the 2022 World Championships, Gebreslase stayed close to the leader, Kenyan Judith Jeptum Korir. The Washington Post reported that Korir kept glaring over her shoulder and gesturing to Gebreslase to take her turn in the lead, allowing the two runners to conserve their energy.

When Gebreslase finally moved to the lead, she never gave it back. She finished 9 seconds ahead of Korir. Lonah Chemtai Salpeter, a Kenyan-born runner who represents Israel, earned the bronze medal.

"The Ethiopian runners are very fast," Korir told the Post. "It's not easy to ... run with them, but I tried my best."

**Getytom Gebreslase of Ethiopia, left, and Judith Jeptum Korir of Kenya compete in the women's marathon at the World Athletics Championships on July 18, 2022.**

## African Companies Say They Are Ready To Supply U.N.

DEFENCEWEB

African defense companies say they can fill a gap to supply the United Nations with goods and services to support missions on the continent and beyond.

Sandile Ndlovu, CEO of the South African Aerospace, Maritime and Defence Industries Association Export Council, said the U.N. spends billions annually on goods and services that can be provided by companies on the continent. There might be a particular need for air charters since the war in Ukraine has prompted calls for the U.N. to cancel its contracts with Russian aviation companies.

“The majority of U.N. Peacekeeping Missions are in Africa — this then should ideally be placing African-based companies in a prime position to benefit from these opportunities,” Ndlovu said. “But this has not always been the case.”

Ndlovu and others attended a U.N. Procurement Summit on June 24, 2022, at the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in Pretoria, where they hoped for information and connections that would lead to business opportunities.

For its part, the U.N. has expressed interest in doing more business with African suppliers. Christian Saunders, U.N. assistant secretary-general for supply chain management, said U.N. spending on peacekeeping goods and services totals \$6 billion per year.

“We buy thousands of different things every year,” he said. “We think the business community in South Africa has much more to offer. We buy everything from foodstuffs to transportation, aviation services, fuel.”

He said South African companies receive about \$40 million per year in contracts, but there is room for growth. “We would really like to explain U.N. procurement opportunities to South African businesses and see if we can have a match and do more business with them in the future.”

A U.N. cargo plane delivers armored vehicles and other equipment to the peacekeeping mission in the Central African Republic.

## LIBERIAN MILITARY LEADERS INDUCTED INTO HALL OF FAME

ARMY UNIVERSITY

Two Liberian military leaders were inducted into the U.S. Command and General Staff College (CGSC) International Hall of Fame.

Liberian Minister of Defense, retired Maj. Gen. Daniel Dee Ziankahn Jr., and Chief of Staff for the Armed Forces of Liberia, Maj. Gen. Prince Charles Johnson III, received the honor during a May 2022 ceremony at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Both men graduated from a one-year program at the college earlier in their careers.

Ziankahn, class of 2011, has served as Liberia’s defense minister since 2018. He earned a Master of Military Art and Science degree, and his thesis was the runner-up for best in his class. He joined others in calling it the “best year of my life,” saying it prepared him for the challenges he faced in his career.

“My induction is an honor which I owe this very institution that has made me into being who I am today,” Ziankahn said. “Surely, I am proud of my CGSC pedigree.”

Johnson, class of 2012, told attendees at the ceremony that he has relied on the lessons he learned at the college as his region faces a wide variety of threats. “The future holds a lot for us if we are prepared and work diligently,” he said. “My current position as the head of the Liberian military has not been all roses.”

He hopes he can help Liberia stand as a pillar of stability in West Africa. “The West African region has been faced with insurgency, maritime crimes, terror attacks, military coups and civil unrest,” Johnson said. “Amid all these challenges, the Armed Forces of Liberia and other militaries in the region continue to uphold the tenet of democracy.”

International military students have trained at Fort Leavenworth since 1894. The CGSC International Hall of Fame was established in 1973. To be nominated for the Hall of Fame an officer must be a graduate of the college and have attained, by merit, the position of leader of his or her country’s army or defense forces.





# U.S. COMMITS TO HELP REBUILD MOZAMBIQUE'S CABO DELGADO PROVINCE

ADF STAFF

**T**he U.S. will provide \$14 million per year over the next decade to help rebuild areas of Mozambique affected by terrorism.

U.S. Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs Victoria Nuland announced the funding at a Maputo news conference in June 2022.

"This sum will allow the United States government to work on the reconstruction of Cabo Delgado and the rest of the country, and in training young people for employment, and thus discouraging them from being recruited by the terrorists," Nuland said.

Nuland said the U.S. will also send \$40 million for food security, particularly in Cabo Delgado.

The 10-year program is part of the Global Fragility Act (GFA) approved by the U.S. Congress in 2019 to support some of the most conflict-affected areas of the world. The program will provide 10 years of support for Haiti, Libya, Mozambique, Papua New Guinea and coastal West Africa (Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea and Togo).

The GFA aims to promote stability by working with local groups and strengthening institutions.

The goal is to bring a "whole-of-government" approach from the U.S. to support Mozambique.

"The planning aims to ensure a coordinated blending of the strengths and expertise of the U.S. government with

the Mozambican government, international development organizations, international donors, multilateral organizations and the private sector," wrote Edward Burrier, senior advisor for private sector engagement in the U.S. Institute of Peace's Africa Center. "Indeed, these actors all have a role in forging Mozambique's success."

Since 2017, insurgents allied to the Islamic State group have ravaged Cabo Delgado. The constant attacks have left thousands dead and displaced an estimated 850,000 people. In 2021, about 2,000 troops from eight nations in the Southern African Development Commission and 1,000 troops from Rwanda deployed to Mozambique and have restored a fragile peace. However, observers believe it will take years for the country to recover.

"The violence in Mozambique has been some time in the making, and its resolution will require years of sustained peacemaking efforts led by Mozambicans, backed by international partners," Burrier wrote. "For now, the worst of the violence in Cabo Delgado has subsided, but security progress must be backed by broader efforts in the short, medium and long term."

Rwandan Soldiers guard the airport in Mocimboa da Praia, Mozambique. The area sustained heavy damage while it was occupied by extremists for nearly a year. A U.S. effort is underway to help rebuild the region. AFF/GETTY IMAGES



Maj. Winnet Zharare receives the Military Gender Advocate of the Year award from U.N. Secretary-General António Guterres.

UNITED NATIONS

## ZIMBABWEAN PEACEKEEPER NAMED GENDER ADVOCATE OF THE YEAR

UN NEWS

**A** Zimbabwean peacekeeper received one of the United Nations' top awards in recognition of her work to promote gender equality and protect women in South Sudan.

In a May 2022 ceremony, Maj. Winnet Zharare of Zimbabwe was named Military Gender Advocate of the Year. Throughout her 17-month assignment with the U.N. Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), Zharare advocated for gender parity and women's participation within her own ranks, among local military counterparts and in host communities. U.N. Secretary-General António Guterres called her "a role model and a trailblazer."

"Her example shows how we will all gain with more women at the decision-making table, and gender parity in peace operations," Guterres said.

As the chief military information officer in the UNMISS Bentiu field office, Zharare helped ensure that patrols included women and men to improve protection and build trust between host communities and the mission. Her diligence and diplomatic skills quickly gained the trust of local military commanders who would reach out to her on issues of women's protection and rights.

During her patrols and numerous community engagement initiatives, Zharare encouraged men and women to work together in farming and building dikes around Bentiu town to alleviate food shortages and prevent further displacement.



Maj. Winnet Zharare of Zimbabwe UNMISS

Zharare said that being selected motivates her to maintain her course toward gender equality.

Raised in Mhondoro, Zimbabwe, she said her parents raised their seven children without gender stereotyping. "My parents gave us equal opportunities with my brothers, so I believe that equal opportunities should be given to both men and women in all aspects of life," Zharare said.

From 2015 to 2019, she worked as a protocol officer before being nominated to serve in UNMISS as a military observer in Bentiu, in roles that included chief information officer, training officer and gender focal point. Before joining U.N. peacekeeping, her military career began in 2006 in Zimbabwe as a second lieutenant and later as an infantry platoon commander in Mutare.



## Ghana Navy Goes Paperless

GHANA NAVY

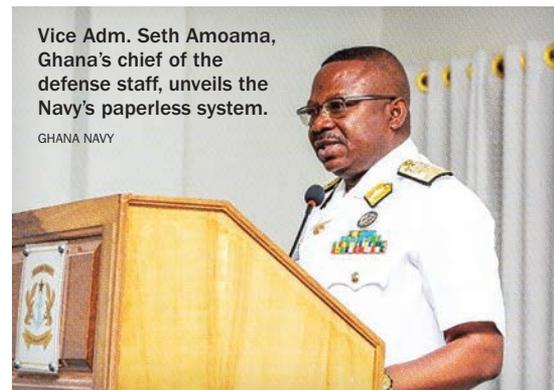
**T**he Ghana Navy has launched a paperless system that, it says, will save money, make administrative functions faster and decentralize access to routine orders. It also will let personnel share information person-to-person and between commands with greater ease.

The Integrated Management System was unveiled on July 1, 2022, at the Naval Headquarters.

In a statement, the Ghana Navy said the move was part of the chief of naval staff's vision to "reduce the over reliance on paper/manual practices with a foremost aim at reducing the cost associated with running paper-based offices and embracing modern technological practices, which permits remote access."

Vice Adm. Seth Amoama, Ghana's chief of the defense staff, unveils the Navy's paperless system.

GHANA NAVY



The system includes a collaborative work platform, data-sharing platform, e-library, routine orders dashboard, records and access control, training and events platform, and other features.

Vice Adm. Seth Amoama, Ghana's chief of the defense staff, urged other service branches to follow the Navy's lead. He said this would "enable seamless data harmonization and inter-connectivity of existing systems."

## Nigeria Pledges to Help Liberia Develop Air Power

ADF STAFF

The Nigerian Air Force (NAF) is prepared to help Liberia with technical support, engineering and training as it seeks to rebuild its Air Force.

Air Marshal Oladayo Amao, Nigerian chief of air staff, made a statement during a visit by Liberian Maj. Gen. Prince Charles Johnson III to NAF Headquarters in Abuja.

“Whenever you have pilots for further training, rest assured that our training schools are open for them to become full-fledged pilots under the Nigerian Air Force pilots training program,” Amao said.

He went on to advise the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) to take advantage of NAF’s technical and engineering schools



Nigerian Air Vice Marshal Charles Ohwo, left, greets Chief of Staff for the Armed Forces of Liberia, Maj. Gen. Prince Charles Johnson III, at Nigerian Air Force Headquarters in Abuja.

NIGERIAN AIR FORCE

for non-pilot courses such as air traffic control and ground support crew. Nigeria also pledged to support the AFL with airlift capability for its contingent deployed to the

United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali.

Liberia’s Air Force was dissolved in 2005 as the country emerged from a civil war and began to rebuild its armed forces.

Gen. Lucky Irabor, Nigeria’s chief of defense staff, stressed that it is Nigeria’s commitment that “we help you to build the capacity that is required to undertake the responsibilities of the defense and security of Liberia.”

Johnson said Liberia’s strategic military objective is to establish an Air Wing or Air Reconnaissance Unit for the AFL as prescribed by Liberia’s National Defense Act, which is yet to be actualized.

“Our visit here is to see how we can cement the relationship, how we can tap on the Nigerian experience, how we can request more training opportunities, looking at the contemporary threats we have in our region, and to be prepared as a force for good,” Johnson said.



## African Union Backs Task Force With Equipment Donation

ADF STAFF

The African Union donated a wide variety of equipment to the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) to support its mission to restore security to the Lake Chad Basin.

The equipment included armored personnel carriers, buses, generators, water trucks, counter-improvised explosive device tools and office equipment.

The donation came after a 2021 visit by MNJTF Commander Maj. Gen. Abdul Ibrahim to the AU Logistic

Base in Douala, Cameroon, where he identified equipment that would be useful in counterinsurgency operations. The materiel was handed over to Sector 3 of the force in a ceremony on July 12, 2022, at Maimalari Military Cantonment in northeast Nigeria.

Ibrahim said he expects the equipment to improve combat efficiency and enable MNJTF forces to take the fight to the enemy. Force leaders said they are ready for the challenge.

“We understand that to whom much is given, much is expected,” said Maj. Gen. Godwin Mutkut, commander of MNJTF Sector 3. “With this array of equipment given to Sector 3, we are not going to let you down.”

Maj. Gen. Christopher Musa, theater commander of Nigeria’s Operation Hadin Kai, said the gift is evidence of the pan-African will to defeat extremism. “We’re getting support from all over Africa,” Musa said. “This is just to tell you the synergy and the understanding and cooperation that we have on the ground here ... we want to assure you that we remain committed, we remain focused and this equipment will be put to good use.”

Operation Hadin Kai is the Nigerian military mission to restore peace to the region and encourage Boko Haram members to lay down arms. In Musa’s first year commanding the operation, 47,975 people affiliated with extremist groups surrendered to troops, Africa Report said.



MNJTF Commander Maj. Gen. Abdul Ibrahim, right, receives vehicles donated by the African Union. MNJTF



## Ghana's Only Glass Blower Promotes Recycling

REUTERS

Michael Tetteh, Ghana's only professional glass blower, clenched his teeth as he gripped a red-hot ball of molten glass, his burned and blistered hands bare against the steaming stack of wet newspapers he used to protect them.

The 44-year-old toiled in the heat of scrap-metal kilns burning at nearly 1,500 degrees Celsius, packed with melted windowpanes, TV screens and soda bottles he soon would transform into elaborate vases swirling with psychedelic color. Some become red vases with streaks of black, others green pitchers and some clear, everyday bottles.

Tetteh's strict use of recycled materials, which he collects from scrap yards and landfills in the capital, Accra, is part of his mission to reduce Ghana's glass

waste and imports. He envisions a Ghana free of foreign glass, having channeled its glass bead-making tradition into a modern, multifaceted industry.

Ghana imports about \$300 million in glass and ceramic products each year. Although some private companies recycle their glass, Tetteh said the majority of Ghana's glass waste ends up in landfills or scattered throughout the nation's streets, posing a safety hazard.

Tetteh discovered glass blowing in 2012 after spending several months in France and the Netherlands learning the craft with other Ghanaian bead makers.

He was alone in his desire to continue upon returning home and set a goal to establish a proper

Ghanaian glass blower Michael Tetteh, right, and a staff member shape molten glass at Tetteh's workshop in Odumase-Krobo. REUTERS

hot shop in Odumase-Krobo. Undeterred by his lack of money, he built furnaces from scrap metal and clay using online tutorials. He fine-tuned his abilities by watching YouTube videos of famous glass artists such as Dale Chihuly from the United States.

He has since hired several young assistants from Odumase-Krobo, who he is training and hopes one day will run their own workshops. Their work can be found in boutiques in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, and has appeared in European and American art galleries.

# Tunisian Inventor Draws Water From Thin Air

REUTERS

Inventor Iheb Triki was looking for ways to ease the problem of water scarcity in Tunisia when he hit on the idea of replicating the phenomenon of morning dew.

Triki is co-founder of Kumulus, a company hoping to manufacture his machine that takes moisture out of the dry desert air.

“So what happens?” Triki asked while demonstrating the way his machine works. “We see that the air enters from here and passes through the first air filter to clean it from pollutants; it then goes into the machine to cool down the water, so we replicate dew.”

The first Kumulus-1 machine was set up in an elementary school in the remote town of El Bayadha, near the Algerian border, which lacks reliable access to drinking water.

The machine was set up at the school by June 2022, but at that time it still was waiting for government approval to put it into service.

Orange, a telecommunication company, covered the costs of setting up the first machine in the El Bayadha school.

Triki hopes that the startup will develop and provide not only Tunisia, but also the wider region with solutions to produce drinking water in times of scarcity.

According to the startup’s website, the Kumulus-1 machine, which is called an atmospheric water generator, can produce between 20 and 30 liters of drinking water per day.

According to World Bank data, 21% of Tunisians did not have access to safely managed drinking water in 2020.



Iheb Triki, co-founder of water tech startup Kumulus, works on his machine at the company's headquarters in Tunis, Tunisia. REUTERS



## In War-Torn Libya, Artisans Restore Old Qurans

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

In Libya, new Qurans can be hard to find, especially during Ramadan. Volunteers are working to restore older copies of Islam’s holy book.

Khaled al-Drebi, one of Libya’s best-known restorers of Qurans, is among the artisans who work in a Tripoli shop to meet the needs of the influx of customers during Ramadan. For Muslims, Ramadan is a month of spirituality, in which a daily dawn-to-dusk fast is accompanied with prayer and acts of charity — often translating into a surge in Quran sales.

“The purchase of new Qurans traditionally increases before the month of Ramadan, but this has recently changed in Libya,” Drebi said. For many, tradition has been interrupted by an increase in the cost of Qurans, especially since the state stopped printing them in Libya, he said.

The North African nation has endured more than a decade of conflict, leaving many of its institutions in disarray and dealing a major blow to the oil-rich country’s economy.

Compared to the cost of a new Quran — at more than \$20, depending on the binding — Drebi’s workshop charges just a few dollars to restore one. But cost is not the only factor. For many, older copies also have a sentimental value.

“There is a spiritual connection for some customers,” Drebi said, adding that many choose to preserve Qurans passed on from relatives. “Some say this Quran has the smell of my grandfather or parents.”

At the back of the room, Abdel Razzaq al-Aroussi sorts through thousands of Qurans based on their level of deterioration. “The restoration of Qurans with limited damage takes no more than an hour, but for those that are very damaged, they could require two or more hours,” Aroussi said.

Restorers say they have repaired a staggering 500,000 Qurans since the workshop opened in 2008, and more than 1,500 trainees have graduated from 150 restoration workshops.

Libyan restorer Khaled al-Drebi assembles pages to be glued into a volume of the Quran in Tripoli, Libya.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

# KENYA PARTNERS WITH U.S. FOR ECONOMIC BOOST

REUTERS

The United States and Kenya have launched a strategic trade and investment partnership to pursue commitments to boost economic growth, support African regional economic integration and deepen trade cooperation.

The U.S. and Kenyan governments announced the partnership on July 14, 2022, saying they would develop a road map for engagement in areas including agriculture safety and digital trade standards, regulatory practices, and customs procedures.

Kenya has long sought a full free trade agreement with the U.S., and negotiations for such a deal to lower bilateral tariffs were launched in 2020. Kenya enjoys substantial duty-free access to the U.S. market through the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), a trade preference program for Sub-Saharan African countries, but it expires in September 2025.

Kenya exported \$685 million worth of goods to the U.S. in 2021, of which more than 75% entered duty free under AGOA. The goods consisted mostly of apparel, macadamia nuts, coffee, tea and titanium ores. The U.S. exported \$561.6 million in goods to Kenya in 2021, with aircraft, plastics, machinery and wheat among the biggest categories.

The Kenya dialogue will include efforts to develop micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises, and discussions on enforcement of labor laws and promoting workers' rights.



Kenyan farmworkers harvest tea leaves. Kenya sells about \$26 million in tea to the U.S. each year.

Top: Bags of coffee are stored in a warehouse outside Nairobi. The country sold about \$46 million in coffee to the U.S. in 2021.

U.S. Trade Representative Katherine Tai, who launched the partnership with Kenyan Cabinet Secretary Betty Maina, said in a statement that she wants the partnership to “grow our trade and investment relationship in a way that promotes resilience and facilitates sustainable and inclusive economic growth. We also hope that this initiative can serve as a model for trade policy engagement in Africa, one of the most dynamic and fastest-growing regions in the world.”



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

## Minibuses To Be ‘Made in Côte d’Ivoire’

REUTERS

An international group has launched a \$73 million bus assembly unit in Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire, as it bets on local production for the Ivoirian and regional markets.

The assembly unit launched by the car manufacturer Iveco Group will produce “made in Côte d’Ivoire” minibuses in conjunction with its long-standing partner, the Société des Transports Abidjanais. The latter company was established in 1960 and is now 60% owned by the government and 40% by subsidiary IVECO Bus.

The assembly line is in the southern part of the Ivoirian economic capital. Its production capacity is 1,000 18- to 26-seat buses per year. It can manufacture different vehicles — buses, ambulances, troop transport vehicles for security forces, construction trucks — marketed under the Daily Ivoire brand.

The facility should enable Côte d’Ivoire to produce for its domestic market, where demand for vehicles from dealers grew by 17% in 2021 compared to the previous year, but also, in the long term, for export to the rest of West Africa.

For now, project promoters say their order book is full until 2024, thanks solely to the Ivoirian market. Iveco Bus already plans to set up operations in two of Côte d’Ivoire’s neighboring countries.

Iveco is ahead of several other manufacturers that also have announced that they would be creating vehicle assembly lines in the country. In 2019, Toyota signed an agreement with the Ivoirian government to open a commercial vehicle assembly unit, a project still under negotiation.

In August 2021, the Japanese group opened an assembly unit with a production capacity of 1,330 pickup trucks in neighboring Ghana.

## Tanzania to Expand Share of Nickel Market

ADF STAFF

Russia’s invasion of Ukraine has caused the price of Russian nickel to soar, and Tanzania is positioning itself to meet the global demand and expand its share of the nickel market.

Even before the invasion, Tanzania was looking to increase its nickel mining. In January 2022, Australian mining company BHP Group announced that it had invested \$40 million in a Tanzanian nickel project, marking the first new investment by the company in years.

United Kingdom-based private company Kabanga Nickel will be in charge of the project and expects to start producing in 2025. The operation aims for a minimum annual output of 40,000 metric tons of nickel, 6,000 metric tons of copper and 3,000 metric tons of cobalt, according to The Africa Report.

Kabanga owns 84% of the project, and Tanzania’s government owns the rest.

It’s not the only nickel project in the works in Tanzania. In June 2022, another Australian company, Resource Mining Corp., announced plans to begin a drilling program at its Kabulwanyele nickel-cobalt project in Tanzania’s Mpanda district, according to Australia’s Small Caps business news service.

The need for more nickel is fueled by the global automotive industry’s gradual transition to electric vehicles. Class 1 nickel, the purest form, is found at the Kabanga project in northwest Tanzania and is used in the lithium-ion batteries needed for electric cars. Officials with Kabanga say they expect automakers to buy more than half the nickel produced at the site.

The Africa Report noted that the Kabanga project timeline predicts minimum annual nickel equivalent production of 65,000 metric tons, with the mine having a life of at least 30 years.

Analysts say that Russia accounted for about 15% of global Class 1 nickel production in 2021. The invasion of Ukraine triggered a price shock, at one point doubling the price to a record high. Prices have gone down some since then.



# THE PILGRIMAGE OF MANSA MUSA

ADF STAFF

The Hajj, the annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia, dates to the seventh century, the time of the Prophet Muhammad. But Muslims believe the pilgrimage dates back thousands of years earlier, to the time of Abraham.

All able-bodied Muslims must make the journey at least once in their lifetime, as long as they are financially able and can continue to support their families during their absence. Financial considerations were not an issue for Mali Empire ruler Mansa Musa in 1324, when he traveled to Mecca in fantastic fashion, bringing along 60,000 subjects and 12,000 slaves, 500 of whom each carried about 3 kilograms of gold.

The caravan also included 80 to 100 camels, each bearing 136 kilograms of gold. The Mansa (emperor) gave away gold wherever he went.

The round trip covered 4,000 miles and took almost two years.

West Africa's Mandinka people founded the Mali Empire in West Africa between the Niger and Senegal rivers. It endured from 1235 to 1670. At its peak, it included what are now parts or all of Burkina Faso, Chad, The Gambia, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal. It covered 24,000 square kilometers and was one of the largest empires in the world, known for the fabulous wealth of its rulers.

At one time, the Mali Empire had a population of 40 million to 50 million people.

The first ruler of the empire was Sundiata Keita, an exiled prince known as "the hungry lion." He made his capital at Niani on the

Sankarani River, a place rich in gold and iron. That gave him a military advantage — money and the means of making weapons — but he also was lucky when the region experienced many years of dry weather. It reduced the presence of the tsetse fly, which spread diseases lethal to horses and other animals. Without the flies, horse breeders, traders and cavalry spread across the region.

Musa became ruler of the Mali Empire in 1312, taking the throne after his predecessor, Abu-Bakr II, disappeared during a voyage to find the edge of the Atlantic Ocean.

Musa built on the region's vast natural resources, skilled blacksmiths, favorable weather and military might to make his empire immensely wealthy, perhaps the wealthiest place on earth in its time. In contrast, the areas of the West were struggling with civil wars and hard economic times.

His pilgrimage through Egypt changed its economy, and not for the better. At every turn, Musa spent lavishly and gave away gold. His gifts depreciated the value of gold in Egypt by about 25%, triggering a slump in the economy.

During the pilgrimage, Musa acquired the territory of Gao within the Songhai kingdom, in what is now Mali. It was of great importance to the king. On his return from his pilgrimage, he detoured south to Gao, where he eventually

would build mosques and public buildings.

Musa also focused his energies on Timbuktu, building it into a major Islamic university center. He recruited architects and scholars from across the world to Timbuktu, where he commissioned the Djinguereber Mosque. In the more than 500 years since, the mosque has been one of Africa's most celebrated landmarks.

He is believed to have died sometime between 1332 and 1337, but stories of his wealth and his remarkable pilgrimage live on.

"Imagine as much gold as you think a human being could possess and double it, that's what all the accounts are trying to communicate," Rudolph Ware, a historian of West Africa, told Time magazine. "This is the richest guy anyone has ever seen."

Mansa Musa is depicted on the 1375 Catalan Atlas, a resource vital to navigators from Medieval Europe.



# CLUES

- 1 Walled towns and settlements, known as paletas, were built on high plains or hills to provide a strategic and defensive advantage.
- 2 Dry stone terraces prevent soil erosion, collect water and create terraced fields used in agriculture.
- 3 Spaces in the walled towns, called moras, serve as cultural and ceremonial gathering places.
- 4 Towns in the 230-square-kilometer site have wooden statues that represent respected members of communities and heroic events.



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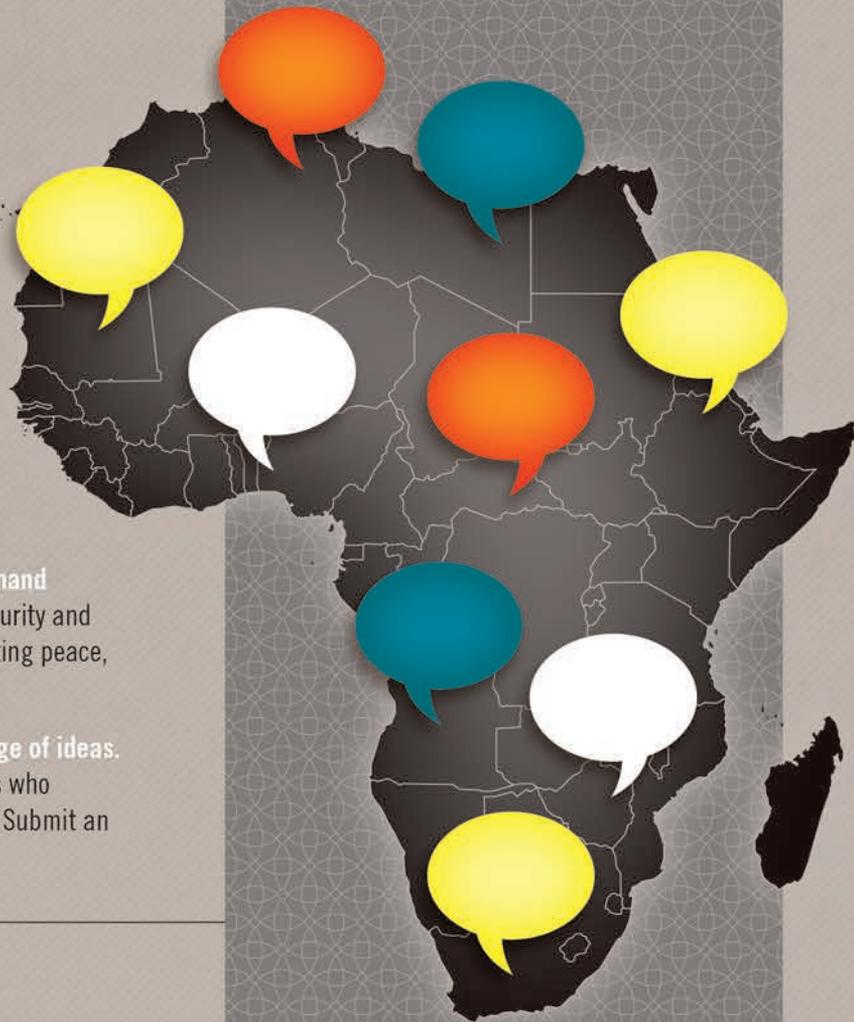
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