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AFRICA DEFENSE FORUM

COUNTERING COUPS

Militaries Look
to Reverse a
Troubling Trend

PLUS

A Conversation with Brig. Gen. Daniel Kuwali,
Commandant of Malawi's National Defence College

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ON THE COVER:

Coups have a destabilizing effect on peace and security and often lead to censorship.

ADF ILLUSTRATION

After two decades during which coups d'état were relatively rare, they are making an unwelcome return.

In 2021, there were six coups or attempted coups documented on the continent. The next year saw two coups in Burkina Faso and several others attempted.

Citizens fear a return to an era in which power was taken at the point of a gun instead of earned at the ballot box.

Each coup has its own story, but certain patterns have emerged. Insecurity causes fear and anger to spread among the public. Democratic institutions fail or an autocratic leader clings to power. Discipline and professionalism erode within the armed forces.

When a military coup happens, those taking power promise a return to stability and prosperity.

The events that follow are equally predictable. Instability continues, citizens suffer and the prospect of another coup becomes more likely.

As security professionals try to reverse this trend, it's important to begin by looking inward.

Coups are far less likely when institutions maintain high standards of professionalism. Professional military education provides the foundation for coup prevention. A merit-based promotion system ensures that the most-qualified military leaders rise to the top. Ethics training across all branches and ranks gives Soldiers the tools they need to make the right decisions.

Learning from history also is important. When Soldiers are taught the value of their country's constitution and shown the harmful history of coups on the continent, they might be less likely to follow that path.

Some countries are investing in education. Uganda and Kenya recently opened national defense colleges or universities. Another is planned in Malawi. These higher education institutions provide the intellectual backing for adherence to the rule of law.

Recent history confirms what has long been established: Coups and other nondemocratic transfers of power are national disasters. They leave countries poorer, more isolated and unstable. It is vital that the men and women who serve their countries do so by rejecting coups and embracing constitutional order.

U.S. Africa Command Staff



Countering Coups

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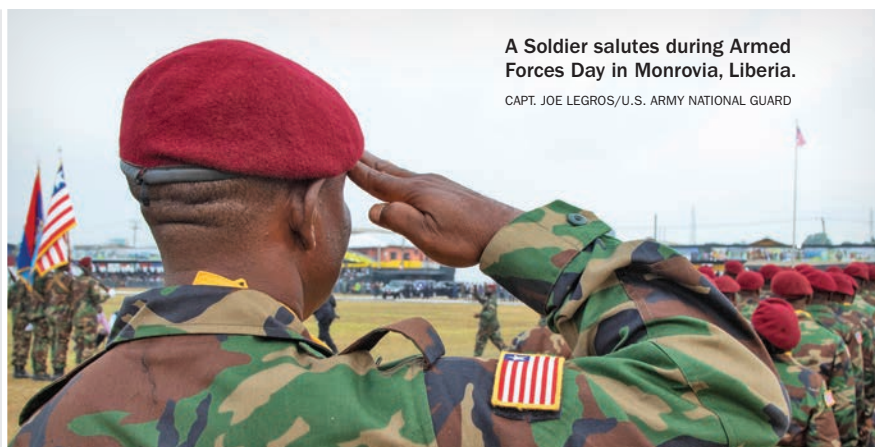
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A Soldier salutes during Armed Forces Day in Monrovia, Liberia.

CAPT. JOE LEGROS/U.S. ARMY NATIONAL GUARD

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‘This Can Be Africa’s Century’

Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo is president of Ghana and chairman of the Economic Community of West African States Authority of Heads of State and Government. He spoke in Accra, Ghana, on March 15, 2022, at an event organized by the African Union Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security. His remarks have been edited for space and clarity.

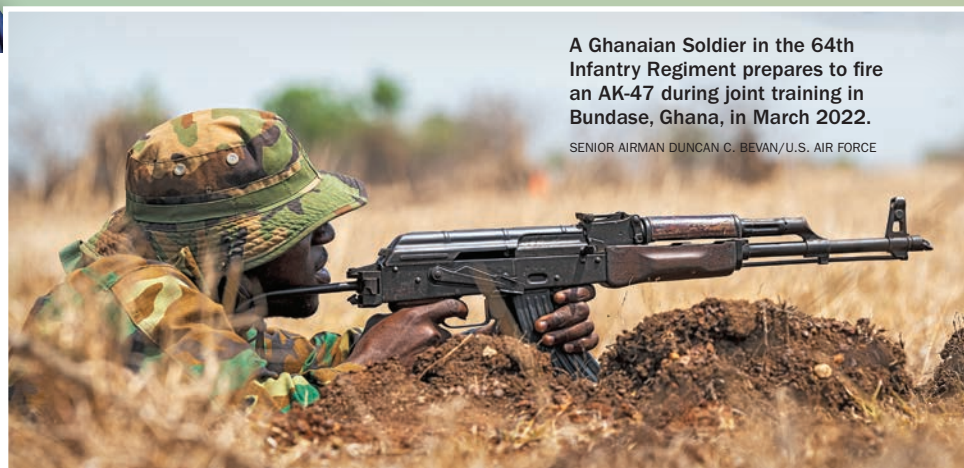


Our unity and resolve should send a clear message to coup plotters that coups have never been, and will never be, durable

solutions to Africa’s political, economic and security challenges. Statements condemning coups alone without corresponding action will, however, achieve little or nothing, as witnessed in recent times. This problem requires collective agreement, effective deterrence, bold action and, equally important, adequate preventive measures.

As current chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Authority of Heads of State, I have witnessed directly the devastating effects that coups d’état and attempted coups have had on the region. As some of you may know, the AU and other regional economic communities, such as ECOWAS, have identified a myriad of factors underpinning unconstitutional changes of government. Among them are, according to the AU Peace and Security Council, “deficiencies in governance, political greed, mismanagement of diversity, failure to seize opportunities, marginalization, human rights violations, unwillingness to accept electoral defeat, manipulation of constitutions and their revision through unconstitutional means to serve personal narrow interests,” and so on.

Even more worrying, the expression of social discontent by the citizenry against these factors, usually through protests, has often been met with varying degrees of repression, co-option, violence and further consolidation of the status quo.



A Ghanaian Soldier in the 64th Infantry Regiment prepares to fire an AK-47 during joint training in Bundase, Ghana, in March 2022.

SENIOR AIRMAN DUNCAN C. BEVAN/U.S. AIR FORCE

The reappearance of coups in Africa in all its forms and manifestations must be condemned by all, since it seriously undermines our collective bid to rid the continent of the menace of instability and unconstitutional changes in government, as currently defined by the frameworks enshrined in the Lomé Declaration; the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance; and other important regional and continental instruments. Unconstitutional regime changes retard a country’s growth.

As much as the drivers are largely domestic, the international dimension cannot be overlooked. Foreign involvement in fomenting unconstitutional changes, often in favor of repressive governments, foreign economic interests and other would-be geopolitical benefits, are contributory factors.

Some foreign entities regard coups in African countries as a means of enhancing their regional ambitions. As such, they engage in all sorts of disinformation campaigns in a bid to disparage the authority of democratically elected governments and instigate opposition protests against incumbents.

In implementing existing continental and regional instruments and protocols, defaulting member states are condemned and suspended from the activities of continental and regional bodies, and individual coup-makers are sanctioned. However, the reality is, these sanctions have not been applied uniformly. While we are quick to sanction military coup leaders, civilians who achieve similar ends via the manipulation of constitutions to remain in power, for example, go without sanctions, although their actions are clearly prohibited in our legal instruments. This means that the existing frameworks need to be strengthened to capture such infractions.

We do not have to look far back into history to see that a stable period of constitutional government and intelligent management of the economy leads to prosperity. I believe in Africa’s immense potential for greatness. I believe that stable democracies in Africa can help unleash energies of the African peoples to inspire the transformation of the continent. This can be Africa’s century. We can claim it if we believe in ourselves and in our peoples.

Nigeria to Open PTSD Center For Military Personnel

ADF STAFF

The fight against Boko Haram and other extremist groups has taken a mental toll on members of Nigeria's military.

The prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and other mental issues is so high among the nation's armed forces that the Defence and Police Officers' Wives Association (DEPOWA) is establishing a PTSD diagnostic, treatment and research center to serve military personnel in Abuja.

The first phase of the project was expected to be commissioned by April 2023, according to a report by Channel Network Afrique.

A survey of military wives across the country showed that many troops experience nightmares, anxiety, insomnia, bursts of anger, depression, flashbacks and suicidal tendencies from their experiences on the front lines, according to a report by Nigerian newspaper Vanguard.

"Consequently, we the wives of our gallant soldiers have decided not to sit and watch but mobilize timely intervention towards reducing the impact of such trauma on our personnel," DEPOWA President Vickie Irabor said in the Vanguard report.

Irabor also is the wife of Nigerian Chief of Defence Staff Gen. Lucky Irabor. She announced plans for the facility during a news conference in August 2022.

"These experiences going unchecked have led to damning consequences in our military community," Irabor said. "It is our desire to have a reintegration

"We the wives of our gallant soldiers have decided not to sit and watch but mobilize timely intervention towards reducing the impact of such trauma on our personnel."

*~ Vickie Irabor,
DEPOWA President*

structure for our husbands that ensures they return to us in good health and total wellness. ... When we talk about our feelings, they become less overwhelming, less upsetting and less scary."

Irabor advocated for the anti-stigmatization of mental health issues to enable personnel to seek the proper care. The center also is intended to enhance national, regional and global stability and boost military capability, "thereby contributing to the worldwide fight against terrorism," she added.



DEPOWA

Retired Air Commodore Abayomi Balogun said he saw firsthand the mental effects on Soldiers while fighting wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Balogun established the Green Heroes Foundation to support military members and their families in 2018.

"PTSD has to be treated in phases, the first is through the mind of the soldier, then the next is to give them orientation then rehabilitation before reintegration," Balogun said in a PRNigeria report. "We could have a serious challenge in the future if we don't pay attention to these soldiers."



Nigerian Army Soldiers stand at a base in Baga, assessing the threat posed by the Islamic State West Africa Province. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Burkina Faso Inaugurates First Pharmaceutical Plant

ADF STAFF

Burkina Faso has opened its first pharmaceutical manufacturing plant to make low-cost generic drugs and ensure the uninterrupted availability of common medicines.

The \$23 million plant was built through a private initiative by Burkinabe pharmacists. Dr. Palingwindé Armel Coéfé, director-general of Propharm, the company behind the project, led the effort, according to a report in HealthCare Africa magazine.

The plant will start producing the pain reliever paracetamol, the antispasmodic phloroglucinol, and oral rehydration salts and zinc to treat diarrhea, Coéfé said.

The plant was built on a 1.5-hectare site in Komsilga on the outskirts of the capital, Ouagadougou.

“Our production capacity currently meets local needs and will resolve the problem of drastic supply cuts,” Coéfé told Agence France-Presse.

The facility was undergoing inspections by the National Agency for Pharmaceutical Regulation in August 2022 and was expected to begin production a few months later.

The plant comes at a time when African countries import up to 97% of the pharmaceutical products they use, HealthCare Africa reported. Many imports come from countries such as India and China and turn out to be counterfeit, making them ineffective at best and, at worst, harmful.

Generic drugs also can be up to 30 times more expensive in some African countries compared to the United Kingdom, according to a 2021 report by the French Development Agency and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.



A new pharmaceutical plant will make common medicines more available in Burkina Faso. ADF/GETTY IMAGES



Southern African Countries Conduct Elephant Census

VOICE OF AMERICA

Five Southern African countries, which have more than half the continent's elephants, conducted the first aerial census to determine the elephant population and how to protect it.

Light aircraft flew simultaneously across the plains of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe in a conservation region known as the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA).

KAZA is home to an estimated 220,000 elephants. The five countries want to know exact numbers and distribution patterns. Although elephant populations are increasing in the KAZA region, elsewhere on the continent numbers are decreasing due to loss of habitat and poaching.

More than 130,000 elephants are in Botswana, the most of any nation in the world. Kabelo Senyatso, Botswana's National Parks and Wildlife director, said the census will be key to elephant management.

The data will help the five partner states manage land-use planning, human-elephant conflict, hunting and tourism, Senyatso said.

“It is important that as managers of the resource we have a clear understanding of where they are and how they are distributed across the landscape,” Senyatso said. “It is an exciting project, the first of its kind. We expect the data on the patterns to be analyzed starting early 2023 such that by quarter one of 2023, we would already be having preliminary data that we can share with the public and for our decision-making.”

“The results from this survey will become the cornerstone for the long-term protection and management of Africa's largest trans-boundary elephant population,” said Nyambe Nyambe, KAZA executive director.

The background is a deep red color with a network of black, cracked lines resembling shattered glass or a map of Africa. A hand is holding an assault rifle, which is positioned diagonally across the frame. The rifle has a wooden stock and a curved magazine. The hand is dark-skinned and is gripping the rifle firmly. The overall composition is dramatic and evocative, suggesting conflict and instability.

Why Are Military Coups RETURNING TO AFRICA?

**Coups d'état
Surge After
Years of
Relative Calm**

ADF STAFF |

ADF ILLUSTRATION



Coup attempts were frequent in Africa in the post-independence and Cold War periods.

By comparison, the past 20 or so years have been quiet. From 2011 through 2020, the continent averaged fewer than one completed coup per year. But since then, the relative stability has given way to what looks like a sharp reemergence of coup attempts.

From January 1, 2020, through December 2022, there were a dozen coup attempts on the continent. Of those, six resulted in an unconstitutional change in government at the hands of military officers.

The trend has caused concern among continental and regional organizations. The development prompted the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to hold an emergency summit in Accra, Ghana, in February 2022 to discuss the issue.

ECOWAS Chairman and Ghanaian President Nana Akufo-Addo told the summit that coups had become

“contagious” and that the trend “must be contained before it devastates our whole region,” according to Al-Jazeera.

Likewise, Moussa Faki Mahamat, chairman of the African Union Commission, voiced his concern about “the resurgence of unconstitutional changes of government.”

Coups are complex and disruptive events. Their causes can be varied, and preventing them can be difficult. But understanding what causes coups is the first step in building professional militaries that have the knowledge, training and desire to avoid them.

When Is a Coup a Coup?

A coup occurs when organized forces, be they military or political, act to unseat a ruling national government. Coups in Africa most often involve action by a faction within the nation’s military. Some are violent; others involve security officers co-opting national communications channels and detaining leaders and high-ranking government officials.

Flags of Economic Community of West African States countries fly in Lomé, Togo. Coups can lead countries to be suspended from regional organizations and otherwise experience diplomatic isolation.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Malian riot police keep demonstrators away from a procession of vehicles after a coup in 2021.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Coups typically are considered to be complete if the disruption lasts seven days or more. Other experts say plotters must stay in power at least a month. Regardless, studies have shown that about half of all coups in Africa over the past several decades were completed. That trend held for the continent's most recent spate of coups as well.

How Often Do Coups Occur?

Coups are not unique to African nations. They have happened in Asia, Europe and South America over the years. A look at coup attempts in Africa since 1950 shows

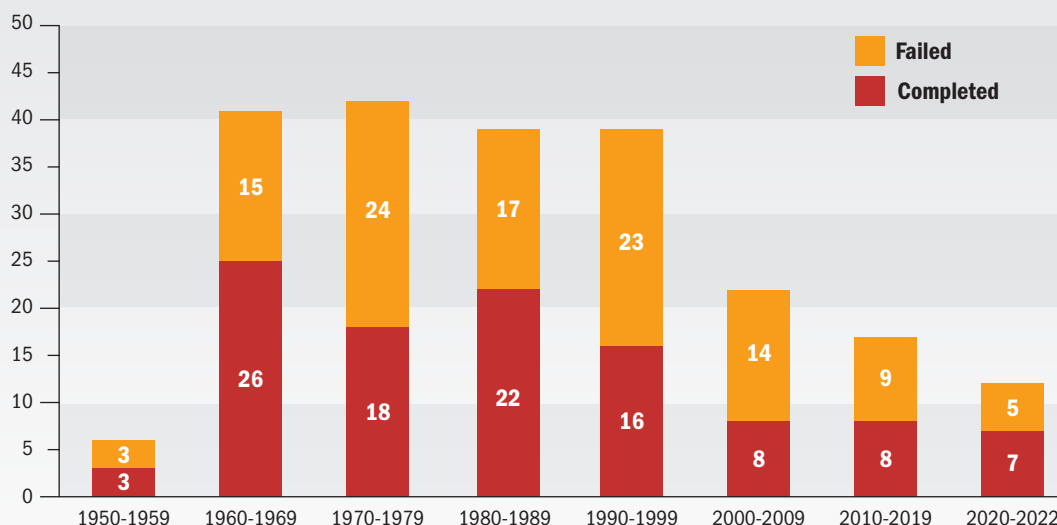
a period of relative calm until about 1963, which could be described as the continent's post-independence period. From 1960 through 1999, coup attempts averaged just over 40 per decade.

The 'Coup Trap'

History has shown that once coups take root in a country, it tends to be easier for them to reoccur. Researchers have studied the phenomenon and given it a name: the "coup trap." Sudan's history serves as a useful illustration.

Between 1958 and 1971, Sudan experienced 11 failed, thwarted or completed

Coups in Africa 1950 to 2022

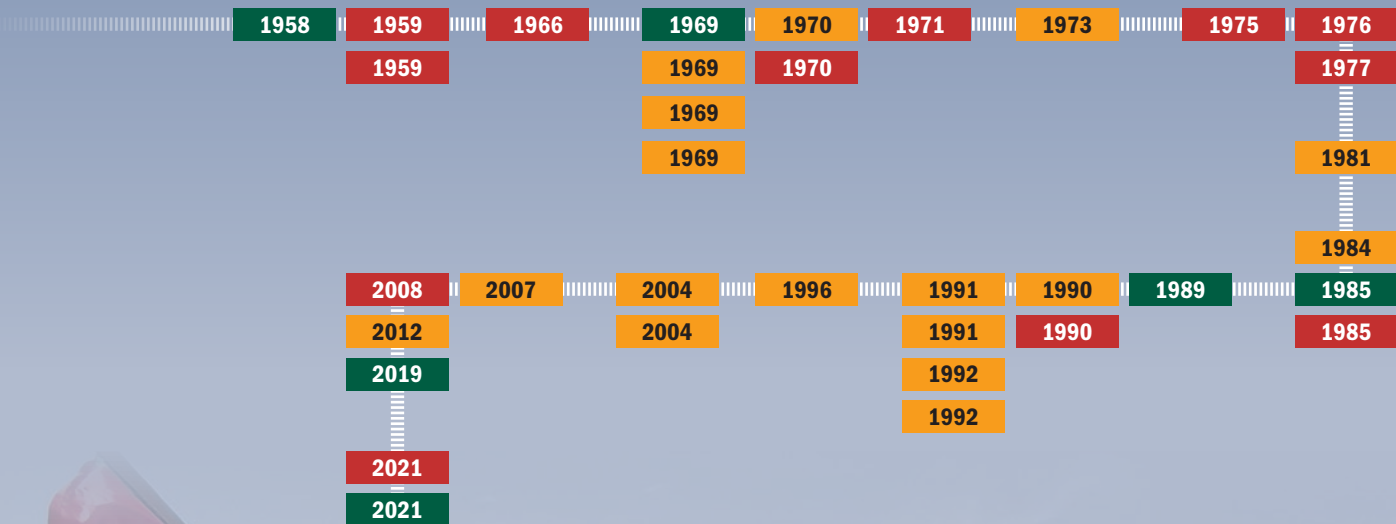


Source: BBC with research by the University of Central Florida and the University of Kentucky

A History of Sudan Coups

Coups, attempts and coup plots since Sudan became independent on January 1, 1956. Source: Statista

- Failed attempt
- Thwarted/alleged plot
- Completed



Sudanese citizens protest the October 2021 military coup in Khartoum on January 13, 2022.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



“Militaries are often ill-equipped to police social unrest. Indeed, scholars have found that regimes ruled by the military tend to be more repressive than other types.”

~ Researcher Jean Lachapelle



coups. Four plots — one completed and three that were thwarted — took place in 1969 alone. Coup plots also clustered in 1984-1985 and in 1991. Sustained instability returned to Sudan in 2019 in the aftermath of the overthrow of longtime dictator Omar al-Bashir, and it persists even now as military officials and civilian leaders try to hammer out a plan for a return to civilian rule.

In fact, Sudan leads the world in coup attempts between 1945 and 2021, according to information compiled by the research portal Statista.

Legacies of Coups

Once a coup takes place, it tends to create, rather than solve, problems. If military officers overthrow a civilian government — particularly one that was democratically elected — the military leaders likely will be seen as illegitimate. An inability to justify their actions could put the nation at risk for further coups, according to a December 2021 report by Sean M. Zeigler on the Rand Blog.

“Most often, soldiers present themselves as saviors of their countries, accusing deposed regimes of corruption, perfidy, and malfeasance,” Zeigler wrote.

Also, military seizures commonly include statements that the junta’s rule will be temporary, the blog post states. Militaries will describe their new regimes as caretakers merely overseeing and

keeping order as the nation eventually restores civilian rule through new elections.

“In many cases, transitional military councils are formed to oversee transitions to democracy, some of which do not materialize,” Zeigler wrote.

The Cost of Coups

The impact that coups have on a nation can be far-reaching. Coups can affect the economy, diplomatic relations and, in some cases, set off a cycle of instability. Below are some ways coups can hurt countries.

Suspension of aid: Many nations and nongovernmental organizations are forbidden from providing aid to a government that comes to power as a result of a coup. When aid is suspended, it takes money away from projects related to national security, public health, agriculture and the energy sector. Sudan, for example, lost nearly \$4.4 billion in aid pledged by the international community in the eight months after its 2021 coup.

Harm to the economy: History shows that businesses are less likely to invest in a country or expand trade when there is a climate of insecurity. Insecurity, fear and uncertainty form a toxic brew that could repress economic activity and cause a country to fall into a recession. A study of 94 countries by the Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics found that in



democratic countries that experienced a coup, individual income growth was smaller in the decade after the coup than it was in countries that didn't experience one.

Diplomatic isolation: Many regional, continental and international organizations suspend member states after a nondemocratic transfer of power. For example, after its 2021 coup d'état, Burkina Faso was suspended from the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States, the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie and other groups. This means the country lost the right to vote on or influence economic issues that might have been crucial to its future viability. Also, countries might lose the right to host prestigious economic, diplomatic and sporting events that bring in tourism money. For example, the African Cup of Nations football tournament, one of the premier sporting events on the continent, was moved in the wake of a coup. Having major events relocated due to insecurity can disrupt the social fabric of a society and also hurt businesses that depend on associated revenues, thus harming the national economy.

Challenge of governance: When military officers take the reins of power, they do more than just dislodge a ruler or government they consider to be unacceptable. They are left with control of

a vast governmental bureaucracy that includes departments and ministries far outside the familiar realm of military operations. Such governments also depend on diplomatic relationships across borders and regions. Disrupting these institutions and relationships can harm the nation and its people.

Furthermore, in his 2020 article, "No Easy Way Out: The Effect of Military Coups on State Repression," for *The Journal of Politics*, researcher Jean Lachapelle writes that "coups increase state repression, even when they target repressive autocrats."

Coups are regularly followed by actions such as jailing dissidents, violent crackdowns on protests, and constricting such rights as free speech and free press. Lachapelle said historical research shows that military coup leaders tend to use a particularly heavy hand against their people.

"Militaries are often ill-equipped to police social unrest. Indeed, scholars have found that regimes ruled by the military tend to be more repressive than other types of regimes," he wrote. "Moreover, a coup typically relaxes constraints on executive power in the months following it because the military often rules by decree; such reduction of executive constraint might increase repression." □

Coups tend to harm national economies by frightening investors and ending international aid.

REUTERS



'It Should Become a Way of Life'

*Brig. Gen. Daniel Kuwali of the Malawi
Defence Force Says Coup Prevention
Begins with Education, Culture*



Brig. Gen. Daniel Kuwali served in the directorate of legal services for the Malawi Defence Force (MDF) for 23 years. During that time, he became chief of legal services and then was appointed the first judge advocate general of the MDF. He also has served as legal advisor in the United Nations mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and has taught and published widely on topics including human rights, the use of force and humanitarian law. In 2022, he graduated from the resident course as an international fellow at the U.S. Army War College and returned to Malawi, where he was appointed the nation's first commandant of the National Defence College. This interview has been edited for space and clarity.

ADF: You graduated from law school and then joined the Malawi Defence Force. Why did you choose to join the military instead of opting for a legal career in the private sector?

Kuwali: Interesting question! Well, first and foremost was, and still is, my patriotism — the desire to serve my country. It was the fact that I would be able to direct my education, expertise and experience toward service of my country and its people. Second is the discipline, physical fitness and mental health regimens obtained in the military. They mold a person to be well rounded. Then, once you join the military, you find a huge pool of family and friends, which you tend to cherish. So, in short, my passion for service above self has been the driving factor for me to serve my country.

ADF: What is the importance of having a strong legal framework for military operations? How does it lead to disciplined and accountable armed forces? How does it help engender trust from civilians?

Kuwali: To your first question, the military should operate within the law because of the constitutional principles of rule of law and accountability. In a democracy, no person or institution is above the law. What that means is that every person can be held accountable for their acts or omission. So, everyone has to act within the law or else their conduct shall be held to be ultra vires or outside of legal bounds, and that warrants liability. Second, like in any sport such as football, any player who follows the rules of the game is regarded as disciplined and

professional, thereby winning the support of the fans. For example, looking at compliance with the Law of Armed Conflict, militaries that comply with the law achieve economy of effort, avoid the commission of crimes, and earn the trust and respect of civilians, both in the mission area and at home. Eventually, these contribute to the morale of troops. The civilian population, including the legislature, is also keen to provide support to troops that do not embarrass them but instead fly the flag high.

Kuwali signs a guest book at the Kentucky State Capitol building in Frankfort during a two-day engagement with the Kentucky National Guard's Staff Judge Advocates. SGT. JESSE ELBOUAB/U.S. ARMY





ADF: *You served as the legal advisor for the U.N. mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). What types of unique challenges did you face there?*

Kuwali: My tour of duty as a peacekeeper in the DRC was an eye-opener. In short, it helped me apply theory to practice. I saw that human rights violations do not come in obvious packages. They are hidden in plain sight, and it takes a discerning tact and skill to figure them out. For example, if you see an armed bandit blocking people on their way to a polling station, one may not realize that this criminal is infringing on their right to vote, freedom of movement, even threatening their right to life.

I faced challenging dilemmas as to what a military commander should do if women and children surround war criminals who are targeting peacekeepers. Is it legitimate to attack such a human shield where peacekeepers have been killed? How do you deal with a habitual offender who has been terrorizing a village and escapes from a detention center unarmed? Does a Soldier shoot to kill, to harm, or not shoot at all? These are not academic questions. Neither are they just legal questions; they have political considerations, too. As a legal advisor, you must advise in a split second. This requires one to be on top of their game.

ADF: *There has been a recent upsurge in coups d'état on the continent. How do you explain this trend?*

Kuwali: Military coups have occurred where troops capitalize on civic discontent to seize power from civil authorities, as was the case in Sudan in 2019. In other

cases, such as Guinea in 2021, leaders seeking to cling to power flouted the electoral process and made amendments to the constitution to extend term limits. These actions increased public support for the military to seize power. While there cannot be a one-size-fits-all explanation for the proliferation of coups, the causal factors include poverty, insecurity and poor governance. Other contributing factors are endemic corruption and economic mismanagement, infrastructural deficits, poor socioeconomic systems and institutions, and frustrated youths. Africa experienced 82 coups d'état between 1960 and 2000 before the African Union was established. Between 2000 and 2022, the continent has witnessed 22 coups. This is a worrisome trend.

ADF: *Do you see any commonalities between these countries? Do you think coups are “contagious” and become more likely either regionally or continentally once one occurs?*

Kuwali: Coups involve calculations of costs and benefits by plotters. The obvious benefits include power and access to state resources. The costs include the risk of death or prosecution and imprisonment. Coups d'état have a domino effect such that a successful coup significantly increases the probability of subsequent coups in that country and its neighbors. Therefore, if the putschists act with impunity, the trajectory of military takeovers will continue.

Although the AU has prohibited unconstitutional changes of governments, its response to recent coups reflects a waning resolve to enforce anti-coup norms, which is one of its foundational principles



Members of the Malawian Maritime Force learn navigation during training in Monkey Bay, Malawi.

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

— complete with sanctions — against errant parties. Unless the AU demonstrates resolve in condemning unconstitutional changes of government, it will promote a regional democratic recession. The AU should enforce Article 25 of the African Charter of Democracy, Elections and Governance by consistently imposing sanctions and referring perpetrators of coups for prosecution without exception.

ADF: *As a student of history, what have you seen as the short-term and long-term ramifications for a country that experiences a coup?*

Kuwali: Putschists usually promise to reverse the tide and provide socioeconomic dividends to citizens. However, there is little or no evidence that coups improve governance and economic development. The opposite is true. Those who break the law in the first place cannot be expected to follow the law. Running a country requires leadership, competence and skills beyond military campaigning, strategy and tactics. Coups cannot be solutions to the inability of democracy to deliver public goods and security to the people. These stratagems are the very antithesis of a democratic culture. Therefore, coups should be condemned as a matter of principle.

ADF: *What are the common factors in countries such as Malawi that have avoided nondemocratic transfers of power? Do they share any characteristics?*

Kuwali: Countries that abhor coups and undemocratic transfers of power have strong oversight institutions that

check executive overreach and uphold the rule of law. This is due to independent judiciaries, people-centric legislatures, vibrant media and independent electoral bodies. These countries also do not imprison human rights defenders. They establish conflict prevention mechanisms and robust security sector governance. They tend to have healthy civil-military relations and respect for democratic control of the armed forces.

It is unfortunate that the recent rise in coups has overshadowed successful transfers of power in many countries that uphold constitutionalism. This includes most countries in southern Africa, stable democracies in East Africa, especially Tanzania, and West Africa's biggest democracies such as Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal.

ADF: *From a military perspective, what can be done in terms of training, professional military education and security sector reform to reverse the trend of coups?*

Kuwali: If you take a deeper dive, you will notice that most of the putschists fall outside the rank blanket of leaders who are targeted for security sector governance training. Such training is akin to preaching to the converted. It will, therefore, be prudent to cast the net wider to ensure that Soldiers — whatever their rank or responsibilities — understand and uphold the principle of civilian control of the military. On their part, civilian authorities and political leaders should increase their understanding of the security sector and facilitate periodic, meritorious promotions; transparent recruitment processes; and appropriate training to retain the trust of the armed forces.



Kuwali speaks at the Accountability Colloquium VI in Lilongwe, Malawi, in 2019.

SGT. EDWARD SALCEDO/U.S. ARMY

Members of the Malawi Defence Force march at Kamuzu Barracks, the MDF headquarters, in Lilongwe before the inauguration of the president in 2020. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



ADF: So lower-ranking members of the armed forces don't have enough access to strategic training?

Kuwali: The challenge in the setup of the military is that you have the strategic level, the operational level and the tactical level. That has its own challenges in the sense that issues of security sector governance are not taught at the tactical level. Troops at the operational level — and these are most of the people who have been involved in coups d'état — do not have an idea of issues relating to security sector governance or issues relating to civilian control of the armed forces. My suggestion is that we need to start teaching issues at that level so that Soldiers grow up understanding these issues. It should become a way of life to respect civilian authorities as people who have control over the military, because these are the people who have been voted into office by citizens. It should be a way of life to respect this, because that's what you are supposed to do in a democracy. We shouldn't just start when leaders have risen high up in the ranks. They say you can't teach an old dog new tricks, so the earlier we start, the better. In that case, we will have a critical mass of people who understand democratic principles.

ADF: What are your short-term goals for leading the soon-to-be-established Malawi National Defence College (NDC)?

Kuwali: My short-term goal is to come up with a solid, comprehensive syllabus that will look at the needs of the Malawi Defence Force and Malawi as a nation, as well as

looking at how the MDF, along with allies, can counter contemporary threats. Number two, we have to have the college established. We've identified a place but are waiting for government procedures. Once we do that, I will have to come up with a team who will be teaching the courses.

ADF: What are your long-term goals?

Kuwali: My long-term goal is to have as many course participants as possible who can go through the corridors of the NDC in Malawi and to also have the institution as a center of excellence. It should be an institution of choice for leaders, not just in Malawi, but across the continent. We also want to have our own niche. We should develop indigenous warfighting strategies to see how best we can improve them. We cannot just be adopting strategies that have worked elsewhere.

We need to dig deep into the military history of African countries, because too often we're just looking at world wars to draw lessons. We need to look at our own wars to see what triggered them and how they ended. In so doing we will find our own indigenous or traditional ways of resolving conflicts. Apart from that we want to develop conflict prevention mechanisms. Neighboring states should not be looking at each other as threats; they need to be looking at each other as neighbors. We need to come up with exercises for conflict resolution as part of our strategy of confidence building on the African continent. □

A SECURITY SICKNESS

COUPS HAVE MULTIPLIED IN WEST AFRICA
AS GOOD GOVERNANCE LAPSES AND
EXTREMIST ATTACKS INCREASE



Burkina Faso has struggled with extremist violence pouring out of neighboring Mali since 2015. But November 14, 2021, became a tipping point for the Sahelian nation.

That morning, extremist gunmen stormed a military police outpost near a gold mine in the northern town of Inata in Burkina Faso's Soum province. The results were sudden, tragic and transformational.

"This morning a detachment of the gendarmerie suffered a cowardly and barbaric attack," Security Minister Maxime Kone told state media as bodies still were being counted. "They held their position."

As it turns out, 49 gendarmes were murdered along with four civilians. The attack came just two days after another assault killed seven police officers near the border with Mali and Niger, Al-Jazeera reported.

On January 22, 2022, violent protests rocked the capital, Ouagadougou, and the city of Bobo Dioulasso as citizens lashed out against the decaying security environment, according to a report by the International Crisis Group. A day later, shots rang out in several barracks, and soldiers stationed at Sangoulé Lamizana camp released a list of demands, calling for more troops and equipment to fight extremist groups, better care for those wounded, and support for families of troops killed in fighting, among other things.

Later in the day, as calm appeared to be restored, demonstrators poured onto capital streets to support the soldiers. Some gendarmes and others once loyal to President Roch Marc Kaboré joined the rebels. Forces attacked Kaboré's home, and by the next evening, the president had been forced to resign. Lt. Col. Paul-Henri Sandaogo Damiba took control as president of the Patriotic Movement for Safeguard and Restoration, the military junta's executive body.

Malian Col. Assimi Goïta has served as interim president of Mali since overthrowing the government on May 24, 2021. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Damiba's rule was cut short, however, when on September 30, 2022, Capt. Ibrahim Traoré overthrew him in yet another coup. Unsurprisingly, the coup came after security forces accused Damiba of failing to curb the continuing extremist violence.

Conditions in Burkina Faso are emblematic of the problems that also beset Mali, leading to two recent coups there, and to an attempted coup in Niger to the east. In fact, the Sahel has been a hotbed of extremist violence for years.

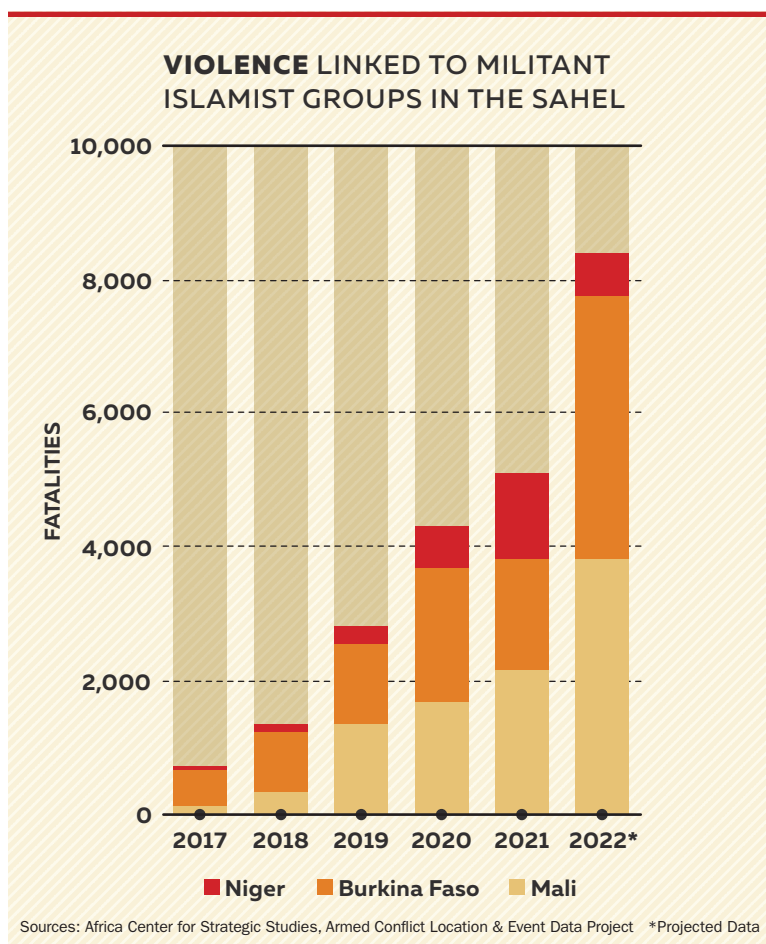


A burned and looted building is photographed in Bamako, Mali on August 19, 2020, the morning after rebel troops seized Malian President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta and Prime Minister Boubou Cissé. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

"A near doubling in violence linked to militant Islamist groups in the Sahel in 2021 (from 1,180 to 2,005 events) highlights the rapidly escalating security threat in this region," the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS) reported in January 2022. "This spike was the most significant change in any of the theaters of militant Islamist group violence in Africa and overshadowed a 30-percent average decline of violent activity in the Lake Chad Basin, northern Mozambique, and North Africa regions."



Malian Col. Malick Diaw, center, was one of two coup plotters who had trained in Russia. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Insecurity inevitably leads to instability, and the Sahel is a stark example of this axiom. Also, in some countries instability and coups stem from leaders who are unwilling to abide by the rules of national constitutions and laws. Such was the case in Guinea in 2021 when President Alpha Condé altered his nation’s Constitution to unlawfully secure a third term in office.

“Although he initially won a democratic election in 2010 — the first Guinean leader to do so — his power grab, combined with corruption and deep inequality, apparently provided the impetus the military needed to mount a takeover last September,” Vox reported in February 2022.

An examination of the upswing in coups for West Africa and the Sahel reveals common factors: a lack of effective or lawful governance, interference from outside actors such as Russia and its Wagner Group mercenary organization, and extremist violence.

MEDDLING, BAD GOVERNANCE

Coups can be attributed to “inward-looking” and “outward-looking” factors, according to Muhammad Dan Suleiman, a research fellow at the University of Western Australia, and Hakeem Onapajo, senior lecturer at Nile University of Nigeria.

“Governance deficits, non-fulfilment of the entitlements of citizenship, frustrated masses (most of whom are young) and growing insecurity are chief among the inward-looking causes,” they wrote.

Although democracy has grown in West Africa, it has remained “superficial,” marked by periodic elections that lack “crucial ingredients of democracy like informed and active participation, respect for the rule of law, independence of the judiciary and civil liberties,” Suleiman and Onapajo wrote. Sometimes, citizens favor certain ruling parties out of fear, and presidents across the continent often tweak their constitutions to extend their rule, they wrote in an article published on The Conversation.

Outward-looking factors that lead to coups often have “foreign fingerprints,” Suleiman and Onapajo wrote.

A September 2020 report by researcher Samuel Ramani for the Foreign Policy Research Institute indicates there was some connection between Russia and those who masterminded the first Mali coup. Ramani wrote that before the 2020 coup, two of the plotters, Malick Diaw and Sadio Camara, had come back from training at the Higher Military College in Moscow.

Despite denying culpability in the initial coup, Russia stood to benefit and arguably already has. The Kremlin signed a military cooperation agreement with Mali in 2019. This, Ramani wrote, strengthened links to

Malian military personnel who supported the overthrow. It also came at a time when Malian citizens were growing tired of French counter-terror operations and were willing to cast their lot with the Russians.

“At the Independence Square demonstrations in Bamako that followed the coup, protesters were spotted waving Russian flags and holding posters praising Russia for its solidarity with Mali,” Ramani wrote.

Russia was also sowing seeds of doubt in neighboring Burkina Faso when the military took control there. In the year running up to the 2020 coup in Mali, Russia backed disinformation efforts that undermined the authority of President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta, wrote Joseph Siegle, ACSS director of research, for the Italian Institute for International Political Studies in December 2021.

“This messaging contributed to the opposition protests against Keïta that were used as a justification for the coup,” Siegle wrote.

Coup leaders seek external validation to make up for their lack of legitimacy at home, Siegle wrote. Soon after taking over, Mali’s military junta allowed Russia’s Wagner Group mercenaries to operate in the country, ostensibly to help stem the tide of extremist violence. The move has been a tactical and strategic failure and has served to further terrorize the Malian people, various accounts confirm.

A man ties together branches to build a tent in the Mbera refugee camp in Mauritania, home to thousands of Malians who fled their homes.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES





A billboard shows a tattered picture of former Guinean President Alpha Condé, who was overthrown in a September 2021 coup. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



THE VIOLENCE CONTINUES

According to a July 2022 ACSS report by Michael Shurkin, director of Global Programs at 14 North Strategies, the number of fatalities linked to combined militant Islamist violence in the Sahel nations of Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger was projected to nearly double in 2022 over 2021 totals.

Conditions were even more acute in Mali alone. An August 29, 2022, ACSS report shows that extremist violence has crept ever closer to Mali's capital, Bamako, since the military seized power in 2020. That advance has seen increased fatalities, especially among civilians. "Militant Islamist groups have killed roughly three times as many people in violence against civilians during 2022 than in 2021," the report said. "There have been more civilian fatalities in each of the first two quarters of 2022 than in any previous calendar year."

Any justification by coup plotters that their mandate stems from the provision of improved security rings hollow, particularly in Burkina Faso and Mali. The coups showed no signs of improving security conditions. In fact, the opposite appeared to be the case.

"Military coups in Mali and Burkina Faso ... have diverted precious attention and resources from the fight, allowing militants to gain momentum and expand," Shurkin wrote.

Since the coups and Wagner's arrival, Malian extremists have become emboldened. In its advance toward Bamako, Macina Liberation Front militants fired rockets at

Mopti-Sévaré Airport, a transportation center crucial to the operation of the United Nations peacekeeping mission there, the ACSS reported in August 2022.

"Regarding time, extremist violence has been worse in every quarter since the military coup than in any quarter prior to the junta taking control," the ACSS reported.

Now, even Russian Wagner Group forces are among the offenders. The mercenaries are offering support in exchange for mineral concessions. In Mali's case, that means access to gold. Since entering that country in late 2021, Wagner fighters have been accused of looting villages and executing civilians by the hundreds.

Malian military officials themselves seem to be coming to grips with deteriorating conditions in the country. In mid-September 2022, Gen. El Hadj Ag Gamou painted a bleak picture for civilians living in the northern village of Djebock and areas between Gao and Talataye.

"There are no armed forces or any entity to guarantee the security of the population in these areas," Gamou said in an audio message in the Tamashek language, according to Agence France-Presse. The message circulated on WhatsApp.

Gamou urged civilians in those areas to flee and settle "in large cities for their safety."

"The enemy will surely take control of these areas because no security is there to stop them." □

The French Institute in Ouagadougou was attacked after Burkina Faso's second coup in less than a year on September 30, 2022.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

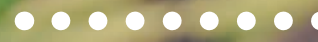


Decision POINTS

Education, Training and Mentorship Can Lead to Ethical Choices

ADF STAFF

For centuries, scholars have studied how best to prepare Soldiers to make ethical decisions. Why do some units choose to violate laws by looting or abusing civilians? Why do others choose to put themselves in harm's way to save a life? At the extreme, why do some troops plot and carry out coups while others steadfastly refuse to become involved in politics?



A military officer serving in Somalia attends training on civilian protection, human rights and gender-based issues.

AMISOM

For those who have tried to mold ethical Soldiers, it comes down to one word: professionalism. Some militaries embody the highest values of their profession while others fall short.

"It is imperative that the institutions of the military be professionalized through training and education so that the military can understand its place in the society and understand that it has a role that is so important to maintain stability in the country," Gen. Robert Kibochi, chief of the Kenya Defence Forces, told ADF.

Establishing that professional culture is not always easy. Militaries use different strategies to weave ethics into their training and build a durable culture that emphasizes respect for the rule of law.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Professional military education (PME) institutions can help instill an ethical culture within the armed forces. According to a study by the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS), there may be a link between PME institutions and coup prevention. The ACSS study found that of the four West African countries that had coups since 2020 — Burkina Faso, Chad, Guinea and Mali — none had a war college or defense college. Only Mali has a command and staff college.

Some military professionals believe there is a connection between the values taught at these institutions and respect for constitutional order and the rule of law.

"Professional military education helps to shape strategic leaders in decision-making and strategic leadership skills," said Brig. Gen. Daniel Kuwali, commandant of the Malawi Defence College. "This trickles down to the troops under your command."

Kuwali said educated military officers have the tools needed to lead disciplined units.

"In that way you tend to develop an esprit de corps to make decisions that are transparent, accountable. You work as a team," he told ADF. "Your Soldiers cannot go behind your back to take over government because they have respect for you. They have ways of resolving conflicts."

Others caution against drawing a direct



TOP: A trainer from the United Nations peacekeeping mission in the Central African Republic holds a class for members of the nation's Armed Forces. MINUSCA

Trainers teach recruits in the Democratic Republic of the Congo Armed Forces how to prevent human rights abuses and protect vulnerable populations.

MONUSCO



link between PME and coup prevention. Dr. Kwesi Aning, a visiting professor at Uppsala University in Sweden, said the recent upsurge in coups is a product of failures by the political class in West Africa to deliver on promises and govern. He believes coups will continue until this is corrected.

"PMEs are necessary, but they are not the bulwark against coups d'état," he told ADF. "The resurgence in coups is reflective of the misgovernance of West African states, and we have not seen the end of it."

ETHICS IN FIELD TRAINING

Ethics are not only learned and reinforced in the classroom. It has become common for predeployment training and field training exercises to replicate real-world ethical scenarios.

In one training scenario a Soldier might be surrounded by a hostile crowd. In another he or she might have to weigh civilian casualties against neutralizing a high-value target.

"The aim is to accustom military personnel to embedding these moral reflections within their execution of tactical actions in the field, in the midst of difficulties, under the pressure of time, weather and real stress," wrote Brig. Gen. Benoit Royal of France in his essay, "Military Ethics: From Theory to Practice." "The behavior of a Soldier in combat must be constantly influenced by the spirit and the core values we have taught them."

The best type of training will simulate stressors such as sleep deprivation, narrow time windows and incomplete battlefield information.

"Military personnel are called upon to make moral decisions under some of the most challenging of conditions," wrote researchers Megan Thompson and Rakesh Jetly in the article "Battlefield ethics training: integrating ethical scenarios in high-intensity military field exercises."

Thompson and Jetly said such situations are ethically muddy. A Soldier might have to weigh conflicting values pointing to two different choices. A Soldier also might confront a situation in which any choice will harm civilians or comrades. The correct decision is rarely obvious.

"Together, these factors create 'the threatening psychological ambiance of combat,'" they wrote.

But if such training is limited to predeployment modules or annual exercises, it will fall short, experts say. It must be reinforced throughout a Soldier's career and become more complicated as he or she advances through the ranks.



In peacekeeping, Aning said, training must be a cyclical process that incorporates lessons learned in the field.

“When that training is done well it becomes a win-win situation, both for the troop-contributing country and its armed forces, the recipient country and then the lessons can be passed around,” Aning said. “I’m a great supporter and believer in updating the curriculum, but it must be a curriculum that is flexible, that responds to the changing needs of the peacekeeping environment.”

Trainers also should collect information on how knowledge is absorbed and used in the field. “We must develop a feedback loop,” Aning said. “How do uniformed personnel understand what they’ve

been taught? How do they apply it? How do they respond to the feedback and use it as part of the learning process?”

MODELING ETHICS

Ethical behavior is not only taught; it is modeled. Many military professionals cite mentors or role models as being key to their professional development.

In its Leadership Handbook, the U.S. Army encourages building careerlong mentor relationships. A large survey of senior noncommissioned officers and commissioned officers found that 84% report having a mentor over the course of their careers. These don’t necessarily have to be



An African Union police officer serving in Somalia shares a snack with children while on foot patrol in Mogadishu.

AMISOM

superior-subordinate relationships. They can be between peers.

“A trusted advisor plays a significant role in shaping a Soldier’s character and development,” the U.S. Army wrote. “Mentors can assist at different stages of a Soldier’s career; a junior Soldier striving to become an NCO up to when they are ready to retire to civilian life.”

Learning also is not a one-way street. “Mentors also learn from their mentees; a mentee can be a leader and not even realize it,” said Cris Arduser, program manager of the U.S. Army Sustainment Command Mentoring Program. “Part of what mentors do is to help the mentee realize the leadership skills they already possess

and how to work with those skills to create their own leadership style.”

TREATED LIKE A PROFESSIONAL

When a breakdown in professionalism or an ethical lapse occurs, it usually is not isolated. It is part of a systemic failure. Soldiers who loot or accept bribes often say they have not been properly paid. Soldiers who abandon their posts or refuse to follow commands sometimes complain of being underequipped. And those who subvert the chain of command complain that the selection process for promotion is corrupt or unfair.

In countries where coups have taken place, Aning said, it is common for things such as recruitment and promotion to be connected to ethnicity and political affiliation. This has a corrosive effect on the military.

“Over time, the institutional ethos is undermined,” he said. “Political decision-making and affiliations begin to play a critical role. And eventually that organic relationship between the political leadership and the military establishment begins to break down.”

A broken system can lead to unethical behavior by the military.

“A lot of people within the military begin to feel as if those who ought to be leading them don’t speak on their behalf,” Aning said. “They are more concerned about speaking for their political masters. And when that breakdown happens internally within the armed forces, then issues of command and control begin to break down, issues of disrespect for civilian authority begin to break down.”

Ethics researchers believe the state has an obligation to its Soldiers just as the Soldiers do to the state.

“The military is entrusted with violent power by the state it defends,” wrote Kula Ishmael Theletsane of Stellenbosch University in South Africa. “The state, therefore, must be able to trust its military with its security. As the military acts on the authority of its state, the state’s image also depends on the military’s international reputation.”

Careerlong ethical training helps Soldiers make these decisions, particularly in complex peacekeeping, humanitarian aid and counterinsurgency missions.

“Military leaders must be able to shift cognitively between applying coercive force and employing restricted force, between securing the interests of the nation and the interests of the international community,” Theletsane wrote. “Ethics prepares officers to lead armed forces in such ambiguous situations.” □





SENIOR AIRMAN CYDNIE WILLIAMS/U.S. AIR FORCE

BUILDING TRUST THROUGH **HEALTH CARE**

ADF STAFF

Military professionals have a stake in the well-being of their fellow citizens. One way military personnel can show their commitment is through medical civic action programs (MEDCAP). These programs typically are conducted during joint or multilateral training and peacekeeping missions. They serve as temporary field clinics to provide medical services to local populations. On August 31, 2022, Ghana Armed Forces personnel from 6 Infantry Battalion participated in a MEDCAP in Yendi, Ghana, where Soldiers such as this Ghanaian nurse performed eye exams and other services.



INTERNET BLACKOUTS RARELY ACHIEVE GOALS

RECENT HISTORY SHOWS SHUTDOWNS, CENSORSHIP INCREASE ANGER, INSTABILITY

ADF STAFF

When war broke out in Ethiopia's northern Tigray region in 2020, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed quickly ordered the severing of the region's internet and telephone connections.

Abiy's order cast Tigray into an information blackout, making it nearly impossible for the rest of the country and the world to know what was going on there as fighting and human rights violations escalated.

Abiy's order ran counter to democratic progress in the country. It also served as a catalyst for more protests and fighting.

"It's like they turned the clock back 30 years," Eyassu Gebreanenia, a resident of the Tigrayan city of Mekelle, told Reuters. "People are suffering — but you might not know about it because we're cut off from the world. It's pretty depressing."

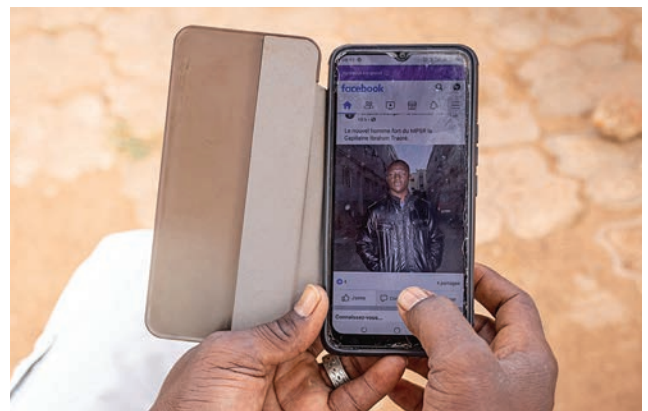
Since Abiy took power in 2018, Ethiopia has experienced multiple internet shutdowns, including eight in 2019 alone. These shutdowns often are justified by citing national security or counterterrorism needs — reasons that human rights groups dispute.

Abiy is not alone in using internet shutdowns against his citizens. Since Guinea became the first African country to impose an internet blackout in 2007, full or partial shutdowns, or the deliberate slowing of access known as throttling, have become common. In many cases, leaders use the tactics to exert control,

particularly in the face of protests, civil unrest or to suppress political opponents.

According to internet-freedom advocate SurfShark, 80% of people on the continent have felt the impact of internet or social media shutdowns in recent years. Of 90 disruptions SurfShark has recorded across Africa, 66 were related to protests or what the group labels political turmoil.

Internet advocates have coined a term for these online tactics: digital repression.



A man in Burkina Faso uses his mobile phone to get information about a coup in that country. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



UNPREDICTABLE EFFECTS

Internet blackouts mirror the decades-old technique of stifling dissent by shutting down broadcast stations and closing print outlets. But modern shutdowns have an even bigger impact than those of years past.

“Network shutdowns trigger a series of cascading, often unpredictable effects on human rights and economic development,” write researchers Moses Karanja and Nicholas Opiyo. They are coauthors with Jan Rydzak of an article on internet shutdowns and protests recently published in the *International Journal of Communications*.

By interrupting online commerce, internet shutdowns can cause billions of dollars in damage to national economies. Online analyst NetBlocks estimated that Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari’s block of Twitter in 2021 cost the country \$1.6 billion in economic losses and obstructed access to vital health information related to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Lost business and disruptions to daily life can have the secondary effect of expanding protest movements instead of shutting them down.

During one of Burkina Faso’s three internet blackouts in 2021, university student Ali Dayorgo told *Voice of America* that the shutdowns blocked him from working and made him sympathetic to the protests happening against the then-government.

“I feel the anger of the youth,” Dayorgo said.

In a blow against one form of digital repression, Zimbabwe’s High Court reversed that government’s internet shutdown in early 2019 that was intended to quash protests over rising fuel prices.

A woman buys newspapers in Algiers, Algeria. Recent history shows that government efforts to silence independent media outlets and restrict free speech are ineffective and unpopular. REUTERS

The court ruled that the government had no authority to institute the blackout, which opponents argued was imposed to censor news about the government’s heavy-handed response to protests.

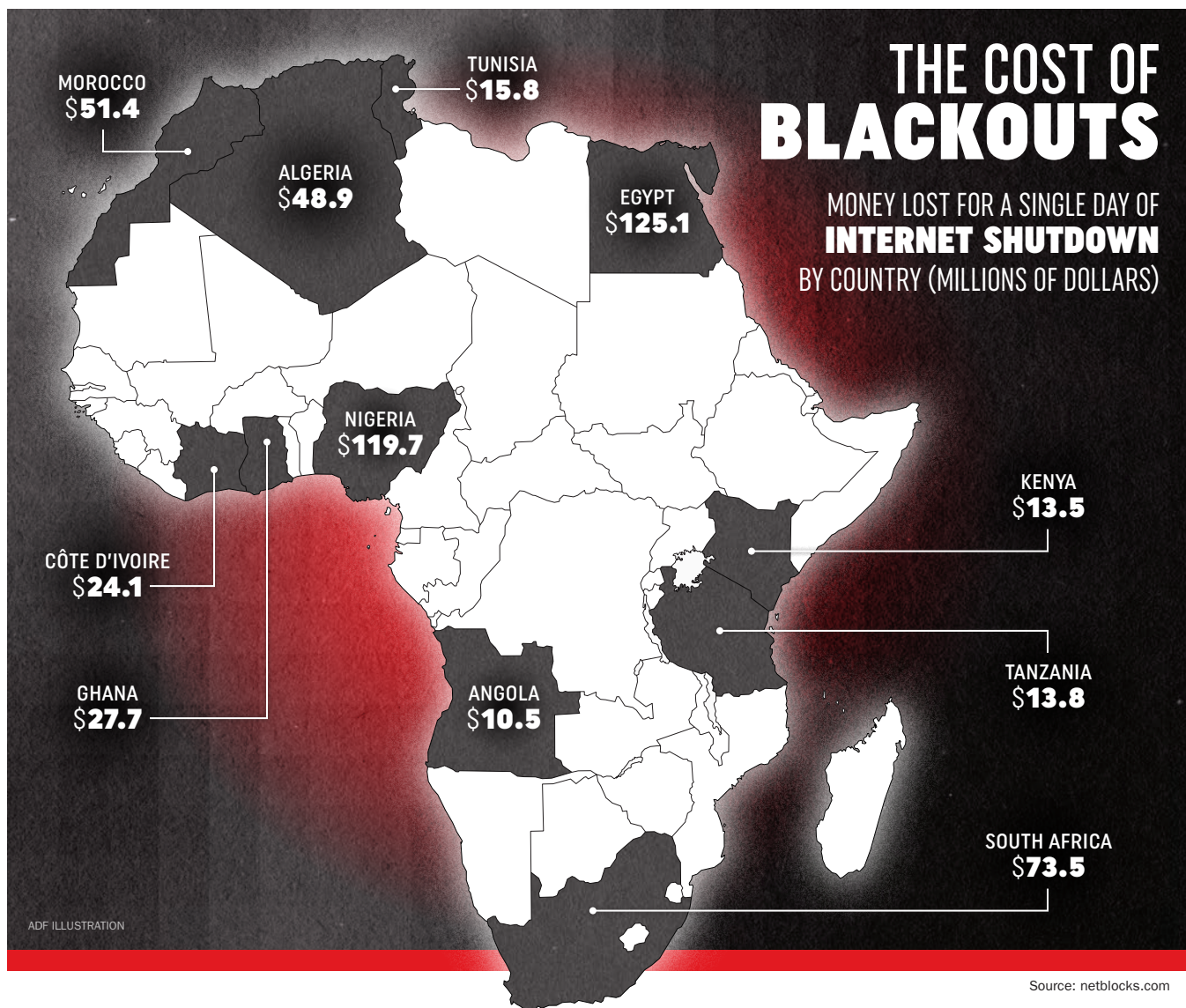
SAVVIER STRATEGIES

As leaders grasp the negative effects of wholesale internet shutdowns, they have taken more subtle measures to exert control and suppress dissent.

Increasingly, anti-terrorism laws have become authoritarian leaders’ method of choice to monitor their citizens’ internet use, track their movements and in some cases act against their political opposition — actions internet advocates decry as a violation of privacy and human rights.

“Several African governments have embraced digital authoritarianism characterized by aggressive and sophisticated measures that curtail internet freedoms,” researcher Paul Kimumwe wrote in a report by the Collaboration on International ICT Policy for East and Southern Africa (CIPESA).

Africa’s rapid adoption of digital technology has proved to be a double-edged sword, according to Kimumwe. Even as digitization expands people’s ability to learn, earn and organize, it also has given governments more tools to surveil their citizens, often through automation and around the clock.



“Although state surveillance is not new, it has dramatically expanded with increased digitization,” Kimumwe wrote in the CIPESA report.

Lesotho, Mozambique, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia have passed laws intended to confront online crime and terrorism that also make it easier for the government to track and repress legitimate activity, according to Kimumwe.

Lesotho, for example, requires internet service providers to funnel internet traffic through the country’s Lesotho Communication Authority, where it can be monitored in real time, an action that perpetuates the government’s infringement on citizens’ privacy, Kimumwe writes.

In Uganda and Zambia, company officials who fail to comply with communications laws face large fines and jail time. Such high penalties can force service providers to comply even if they believe the requests are legally dubious, according to Kimumwe.

With the rapid spread of mobile technology, governments are becoming savvier in the ways they approach internet shutdowns.



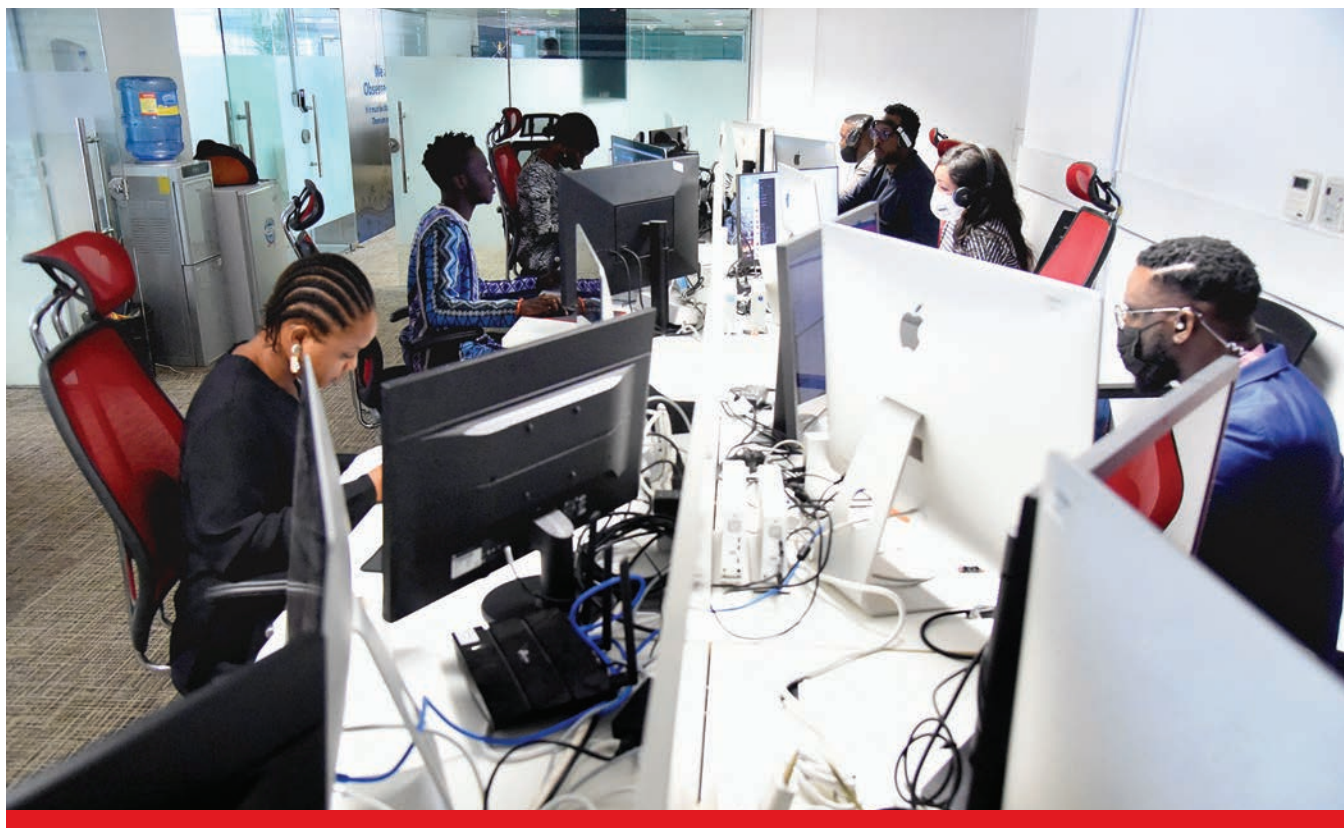
Governments can target censorship efforts by throttling the flow of information to and from smartphones. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Rather than impose blanket blockades, governments now can target their censorship efforts to certain types of technology. They can throttle the flow of information to and from the smartphones held by protesters while leaving the desktops in business offices untouched.



**INTERNET BLACKOUTS CAN PUSH PEOPLE TO
STRENGTHEN THEIR OFFLINE NETWORKS TO OBTAIN
INFORMATION AND, IN THE CASE OF PROTESTS,
DEVELOP RESISTANCE.**





“Throttling can be attributed to the desire to avoid social outrage and political backlash for disrupting connectivity while limiting what can be achieved on the platforms,” Karanja, Opiyo and Rydzak wrote.

A SIGN OF WEAKNESS

Analysts say the shifting nature of digital repression fails to hide a simple fact: Shutdowns and politically motivated censorship are a sign of a government’s weakness.

Simply put, weak governments repress online activity they don’t like, according to author Stephen Feldstein, who addressed digital censorship around the world in his 2021 book, “The Rise of Digital Repression.”

One important predictor of digital repression is the style of government, according to Feldstein.

“The more authoritarian a regime is, the more likely it is to rely on these techniques,” Feldstein said during a discussion of digital repression by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Paradoxically, governments that tighten their grip on their citizens’ electronic lives undermine their own authority by pushing people to find ways around the shutdown.

That was the case with Nigeria’s Twitter blackout. Thousands of Twitter users got around the blackout by using virtual private networks, or VPNs, to access the internet through other channels.

Internet access is an essential communication tool in businesses and educational facilities. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Extensive social media blackouts in Cameroon (93 days) and Chad (16 months) failed to stop citizens from getting around the blackouts to reveal them to the world and demand change.

Internet blackouts can push people to strengthen their offline networks to obtain information and, in the case of protests, develop resistance. By denying people an online space to vent their opinions, authoritarian governments might actually force those energies into the street where they can turn violent.

Ethiopia’s social media blackout targeting the Amhara and Oromia regions in 2017 “completely failed to hinder the patterns of protest that led up to it,” the researchers note. Instead, by pushing protesters offline, the shutdowns came with a surge in ethnic clashes.

Instead of taking an adversarial approach to citizens’ internet use, communication experts say, African governments could collaborate on laws that protect free speech and access to information while blocking terrorist groups and threats to stability.

The short-term gain of throttling or shutting down the internet is outweighed by the economic harm and social upheaval those actions cause, they say.

“Shutting down communications networks is not a guarantee of success in quelling protests,” Karanja, Opiyo and Rydzak wrote. □

Demonstrators gather to protest censorship in Algiers, Algeria, in 2019. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

SERVING

with

PRINCIPLE



MERIT, STRONG CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS, LACK OF CORRUPTION ARE KEY TO AVOIDING COUPS

ADF STAFF

Coups and coup attempts have made a resurgence on the continent in the past few years. In the face of extremist violence, outside interference and political instability, militaries can prevent coups by reinforcing their professional principles.

These principles are the bedrock that have helped security forces preserve peace and support democratic governance for so long in so many countries.

Although there is no guarantee that any country can avoid an unconstitutional change in government, there are certain security sector reform measures that organizations can take to lessen the likelihood of a coup.

Listed below are expert recommendations on reform initiatives that can be implemented to instill stability and professionalism in the ranks, and reduce the likelihood of a military coup. The list is by no means exhaustive, but if collectively implemented, the recommendations can help countries preserve strong, civilian governance and help them avoid falling into the “coup trap.”

APPOINT GENERALS BASED ON MERIT: When leaders stack the top ranks of their militaries with political appointees who act as functionaries, it can lead to resentment within the ranks. Generals and flag officers who ascend based on experience, merit and longevity are more likely to have the respect of the rank and file. They also are attentive to institutional grievances before they rise to the level of a coup.

Moreover, when branch commanders are chosen based on political, ethnic or financial concerns, it



More than 1,000 Nigerian Air Force recruits participate in a passing out parade after completing basic training at the Military Training Centre in Kaduna. NIGERIAN AIR FORCE

subverts the military institution’s promotion process and culture. It also sends a message to the military that flag officers are serving political, rather than national security needs. Choosing leaders this way can lead to the impression of incompetence at the senior command levels and dissatisfaction among junior officers. Some of the continent’s most recent coups were undertaken by junior officers who cited dissatisfaction with their nation’s senior military leaders.

A politicized military sends a message to the public that a peaceful transfer of power through elections is not possible. “If the military took partisan positions or exercised partisan loyalties, voters might reasonably assume that the opposition party would not be able to control the military if voted into office,” wrote Alice Hunt Friend of the Center for Strategic & International Studies.

Friend emphasized that the public must know that decisions about the funding, size and use of the military are driven by national interest, not party politics. “The military serves the Constitution through obedience to democratically elected civilian officials without regard for political party or partisan positions,” Friend wrote. “This idea underwrites the peaceful transfer of power between presidential administrations.”

END ETHNIC STACKING: A more specific subgrouping of unhealthy political military appointments involves the practice known as “ethnic stacking.” With this tactic, a country’s leader deliberately fills the top military ranks with officers of his or her own ethnicity. The thinking is that surrounding yourself with people like yourself will insulate you from public accountability and criticism. The truth, however, is that the practice almost inevitably leads to corruption and poor governance, which ultimately makes the political leader vulnerable.

Scholars have devoted considerable attention to ethnic stacking, linking it to authoritarian repression, coups and political violence. A good example of the practice took place in the former African country of Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Mobutu Sese Seko stacked his officer corps with Ngbandi men from his native Equateur region after he took office as president in 1965. By the time Mobutu’s rule ended 30 years later, Equateur kinsmen made up almost 80% of his officer corps. Mobutu’s tenure might have been extended by the practice, but his legacy was one of corruption, economic exploitation and uncontrolled inflation.

Researcher Dr. Kristen Harkness of the University of St. Andrews in Scotland found that when elections usher in a new leader who is ethnically different from the existing ethnically constructed army, the risk of a military coup rises from under 20% to almost 90%.

Ethnic stacking only works if a leader’s goal is to stay in power. Good and stable governance is more likely with an ethnically diverse military that fairly represents the civilian population. Kenya and South Africa each have ethnic and racial quotas, respectively, that ensure diversity and proportional representation.



The South Africa National Defence Force uses racial quotas to ensure diversity and proportional representation. AFP/GETTY IMAGES





As the 2023 federal elections approached, the Nigerian Army warned its Soldiers to remain apolitical. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Tunisian Soldiers declined to intervene on behalf of the president during protests in 2011. GETTY IMAGES

REMAIN APOLITICAL: Another tactic similar to ethnic stacking and meritless political appointments is the practice of new leaders firing senior military leaders upon taking office. Military professionals can't prevent this from happening during a change of political administrations. But they can prevent its likelihood by taking care to show fairness, political impartiality and support to civilian authorities.

Nigerian commanders modeled this support before and after some Independent National Electoral Commission offices and facilities came under attack in late 2022, in the run up to national elections in February 2023. Some unrest and controversy preceded the vote, prompting commanders and President Muhammadu Buhari to speak out on the importance of security forces upholding civilian rule and authority.

Nigerian Maj. Gen. Aminu Chinade, general officer commanding 2 Division of the Nigerian Army, warned Soldiers in October 2022 against colluding with politicians and parties to influence the upcoming elections. Doing so, he said, would reflect poorly on the Nigerian Army, according to Peoples Gazette, an online news site based in Abuja.

"I am encouraged by your behaviour and professional conduct," Chinade told the Soldiers of Brigade 4 Benin City, according to Peoples Gazette. "I want to implore you to work closely with the host community and contribute to the security of lives and property in the area, especially in this election period."

He continued: "Remain apolitical in order not to dent your career. Whenever you are called upon during the elections, you should remain neutral and apolitical."

Buhari himself shared a similar message in late December 2022. "I have made it very clear to the security agencies that they have a responsibility to remain apolitical at all times. Under no circumstances should they get

involved in anything that could compromise the democratic process, or bring disrepute to their institutions and to Nigeria," he said, according to Voice of Nigeria.

PRIORITIZE PROFESSIONAL MILITARY

EDUCATION: In general, an educated military is a more professional military. There are more than 118 professional military education (PME) institutions on the continent, giving African nations a good base from which to improve professional development. However, not all countries have PME institutions, and some only have entry-level military academies that confer basic training and education to Soldiers and officers. Many militaries around the world are investing in PME throughout an officer's career in recognition of the expanded professional scope and complexity gained with advancement in rank. Providing basic, mid and senior PME opportunities, either through host-nation or partner-nation schoolhouses, is an opportunity to reinforce professional ethics and imbue respect for civil-military relations. According to a report by the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS), PME institutions can reinforce institutional commitments to democratic governance and strong civil-military relations. Moreover, good PMEs can strengthen citizen security, form strategic visions and instill a sense of service among officers.

However, the ACSS report emphasizes that the mere presence of PME institutions does not in itself guarantee a professional military. "Rather, greater attention is needed to strengthen the curricula and culture within PMEs on the values of democratic civil-military relations and an apolitical military," the report said. "In so doing, the prestige of PME institutions can be enhanced and graduates will earn the enormous responsibility bestowed on them to bear arms to protect citizens."



Nigerian students attend a peace support operations course at the Martin Luther Agwai International Leadership and Peacekeeping Centre in Jaji. MARTIN LUTHER AGWAI INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND PEACEKEEPING CENTRE

AVOID CREATING ROGUE UNITS: The establishment of special elite units such as presidential or republican guards that exist outside a nation's normal military command structures often breeds resentment, confusion and creates division. These "sub-state" entities often answer only to a country's president, thereby becoming detrimental to national unity and strengthening party or ethnic loyalties at the expense of society as a whole.

In exchange for exceptional fealty, members of special elite units receive better treatment, higher pay, enhanced training and more sophisticated equipment while the regular military rank-and-file looks on.

Ironically, a presidential or republican guard's proximity to national leadership and its lack of national accountability make it a force uniquely positioned to conduct a coup if its members perceive their fortunes or power are about to change.

"The presence of presidential guards is a recurrent common denominator behind drivers of military

coups," according to a 2016 EU Institute for Security Studies report. "By virtue of the fact that they report directly to presidents, these 'praetorian' guards are detached from the usual military chain of command, thus creating disparities in terms of status and access to political patronage."

One fairly recent example of this phenomenon was in Tunisia under the rule of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, who fled during the Arab Spring protests in 2011. Ben Ali favored his national police force, presidential guard and national guard over the larger Armed Forces.

Decades earlier, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, the first president of Cote d'Ivoire, began his 33-year rule by reducing the size of the military and forming a militia loyal to his party composed mostly of people from his own ethnic group. As a result, some officers received disproportionate pay, positions in the ruling party and other perks. This paved the way for future instability. □

DEEPENING A CULTURE OF MILITARY PROFESSIONALISM

**Educated Armed Forces Managed by Civilians Are a
Stabilizing Presence in Any Country**

— AFRICA CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES —

On the sidelines of the U.S. Africa Leaders Summit in Washington, D.C., the Africa Center for Strategic Studies conducted a dialogue with senior African security officials on December 14, 2022. ADF has edited the ACSS report for length and to conform to the magazine's format.

“The armed forces in many African countries represent a threat to security because of their lack of military professionalism.”

This was an assessment by Gen. Mbaye Cissé, national security advisor to the president of Senegal, speaking to senior security officials from 30 African countries at an Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS) dialogue discussing military professionalism and education on December 14, 2022.

In addition to remarks by Cissé, the dialogue featured insights from U.S. Secretary of the Army Christine Wormuth and commander of United States Africa Command, Gen. Michael Langley.

Between 2020 and the end of 2022, Africa experienced seven military coups and six attempted coups, upending a two-decade trend of diminishing incidences of coups on the continent. At risk is a return to the period known as Africa’s “lost decades,” an era from 1960 to 1990 that experienced 82 coups, and



AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Attendees at the Africa Leaders Summit Ambassador's Roundtable Meeting at National Defense University on December 14, 2022 AFRICA CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

was characterized by misgovernance, stagnant development, corruption, impunity and instability.

Alarmed by the growing number of recent coups, the African Union held a summit on the issue in May 2022. In December 2022, the leaders of the Economic Community of West African States committed to establishing a regional force to restore constitutional order in member countries that experience coups.

Military professionalism is a means to effectively provide security for citizens in a manner that upholds the rule of law and safeguards human rights. Achieving this requires strong ties to local communities and a commitment to educating the armed forces about their responsibilities to society.

Cissé said that “there is a correlation between military effectiveness and the relationship between a country’s military and the public.” The rationale is that military support of community interests builds trust. This trust mitigates against the emergence of violent extremism and facilitates more effective responses against security threats. “An army that does not invest in education and ethics in relation to the population pays a price in terms of security,” he added.

Legacy of Repression

Professionalism can be a particular challenge for African militaries because of the legacy of colonialism. “One aspect of the heritage of colonialism is that security forces’ main mission was repression,” said Cissé. “The forces were not united, they were artificial, and were too present in the political arena. This is an ongoing handicap.”

For these reasons, the leaders of the continent’s military forces must make a dedicated effort to strengthen and sustain military professionalism. Such

professionalism does not emerge by chance but is a dedicated outcome. It must be constantly reinforced, refined and perpetuated.

Central to creating a culture of military professionalism is instilling within service members, from the lowest rank to the most senior officer, core societal values and principles. Values such as integrity, honor, expertise, sacrifice and respect for citizens do not necessarily emerge naturally but must be taught and regularly refreshed.

Nearly all militaries provide tactical training and exercises, establishing core competencies. However, many lack an intentional strategy to build a set of core values. Creating such shared values has a powerful unifying effect, amplifying force cohesion and effectiveness.

Wormuth noted that in the U.S. military, general officers regularly participate in professional development programs, including an ongoing process of instilling values of professionalism and creating leadership development opportunities for subordinates.

Cissé stressed “the importance of teaching military officers the value of democracy and the role of a military within a democratic society.” These values must be learned and cannot be taken for granted, especially in countries without a strong democratic tradition.

There is a role for the international democratic community to help anchor democracy and an ethos of military professionalism in Africa, said Cissé. “When African regional organizations sanction coups, then it is important that the international democratic community get behind and support these sanctions.”

Senegal has emphasized public service as a core value through its “armée-nation,” the engagement of its army in infrastructure, health and education projects at the community level. By supporting human security, the army is also reinforcing norms of ethical behavior toward citizens.



African Union Soldiers work a security detail in Mogadishu, Somalia, during the 2022 presidential election.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

A Professional Military Is an Asset

In a 2015 report, “The Armed Forces: Roles and Responsibilities in Good Security Sector Governance,” the Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance listed these benefits of having a professional military:

- More effective national and citizen security provision.
- Politically neutral military officers.
- National and republican armed forces.
- Clearly defined vision, mission and role for each security organization.
- Greater responsiveness to national security priorities.
- More efficiency in the alignment and use of resources and greater legislative and public support to fund the military.
- Security forces that uphold the law, respect human rights, and are accountable to a military code of conduct and civilian oversight.
- Enhanced public trust, respect and support for security forces.

Embedding Values

Professional military education (PME) is a primary vehicle through which an ethos of military professionalism can be institutionalized. Unlike training, which focuses on tactical skills and operational proficiencies, PME aims to cultivate leadership, strategic vision and ethical values.

Langley’s experience is that PME is particularly vital for “emphasizing democratic values, including upholding the rule of law, especially in conflict.” Likewise, PME is integral for instilling respect for civilian control. The two are complementary as it is the leadership and values gained through PME that enable military officers to be effective advisors to civilian leaders.

Cissé said that “without PME, you will not have stability.” He cautioned that PME must focus on the core priorities of a society. They need to be practical and relevant to the national context. In Senegal, he feels, PME is an essential means of building an army that defends democratic institutions.

Merit-based recruitment and promotion is another means by which military professionalism can be institutionalized. The pattern of recruiting predominantly from the ethnicity of the president, seen in some African militaries, creates a chain of command more loyal to the president than to the constitution. Ethnically biased armed forces lack the popular trust, legitimacy and competency of merit-based forces, hindering their effectiveness. Selection to PME institutions, Cissé said, needs to be merit-based with exams that officers must pass for promotion.



From left, U.S. Ambassador Andrew Young, Col. Leon-Rodance Ndinga of the Republic of the Congo, and Gen. Michael Langley, commander of United States Africa Command, attend a summit on military professionalism at National Defense University in Washington, D.C.

AFRICA CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES



Gen. Mbaye Cissé, national security advisor to the president of Senegal, right, speaks before the Africa Leaders Summit Ambassador's Roundtable Meeting at National Defense University on December 14, 2022.

AFRICA CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

Cissé characterized the recent backsliding in military professionalism in Africa as evidence that PME needs to be reassessed and reoriented.

"We have many PME academies in Africa, but we need to rethink the content they are teaching," he said. "In this sense, PME institutes are not sufficient. Nor are there sufficient resources available to support them."

Civilian and military leaders have critical roles in security decision-making, though they are different and complementary. Democratically elected civilian leaders are responsible for setting a vision, strategy and policy for the security interests of a country. Military leaders are then responsible for implementing that guidance in as effective and professional a manner as possible. The ultimate decision-makers are civilian leaders.

Cissé stressed the importance of the military role being clearly defined. "It is the absence of clear borders between the political and military arenas that leads to decreased stability."

Wormuth said that "civilians bring different perspectives and ask different questions than military leaders. Civilians also bring outside world sensitivities to military decision-making."

In the end, "military leaders need to trust civilian decision-making" under democratic systems, said Wormuth. "Civilians have the right to be wrong. Their job is to make decisions — and then to be held accountable."

In short, effective civil-military relations are a two-way process that requires regular maintenance.

Security is essential for strengthening democracy and economic development in Africa. With most African conflicts and threats to citizen security emerging from domestic political crises, military professionalism can be an indispensable stabilizing factor.

"We need African militaries to serve the public," Cissé said. "We need African militaries to be autonomous, accountable and respectful of democratic values. If they are not, we will constantly be starting over and will not have stability." □

BIG MAN, WEAKENED NATION,



Critics Call Authoritarian Rule ‘An Inherently Flawed and Dangerous Model of Government’

ADF STAFF

Democratic government systems are the overwhelming choice of people in Africa and beyond. Close to 69% of African people support democratic governance, and more than 75% of the continent’s population rejects military, one-party or one-person rule. The latest Afrobarometer research network survey confirms that most ordinary people remain unflinching in their preference for democracy and the balances on power offered by democratic institutions.

But decades of hard-earned democratic progress have come under attack by the return of military coups, with some leaders advocating for “Big Man” autocratic rule.

Big Man rule can be defined as a form of autocratic governance that is highly personalized and restrained little by institutions such as an independent judiciary, elected representatives, a free press or civil society organizations.

So, what are the hallmarks of this style of rule, and how might it be avoided?

COLONIAL ROOTS

Big Man rule is an outgrowth of Africa’s colonial history, characterized by an appointed leader who did not tolerate dissent. Detractors often were jailed and silenced.

In their 2019 book, “Authoritarian Africa: Repression, Resistance, and the Power of Ideas,” Nic Cheeseman and Jonathan Fisher wrote that colonialism taught traditional leaders that they could operate without checks and balances, and in some cases, without any real claim to leadership. Colonial leaders inspired would-be Big Men to rig elections and invalidate the results if they were not to their liking.



Students stand outside the Zaire Embassy in Brussels, Belgium, in 1980 protesting the government of President Mobutu Sese Seko. Seko was president of Zaire, which is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo, from 1965 to 1997. REUTERS

The colonial system often left newly independent countries with few lasting institutions. Instead, it left behind a culture of corruption, coercion, abuse by law enforcement and a disregard for human life. With no playbook for building democracies, the vacuum cleared the way for Big Men to emerge.

In order for an authoritarian leader to survive, he had to implement the same mechanisms of colonial oppression, such as cronyism, corruption, bribery and even violence.

Researchers Camilla Houeland and Sean Jacobs, in a 2016 report, agreed that Big Man rule is a direct product of colonialism.

“Colonial administrators utilized African traditional structures for ‘indirect rule,’ but deformed them by promoting the power of the chief or the traditional leader at the expense of the precolonial checks and balances mechanisms,” they wrote. “Post-independence African presidents have just perfected these systems.”

The flaws of the Big Man model serve as a cautionary tale for military coup leaders and juntas seeking to extend their rule. The most common flaws with the model result from a lack of will and/or a capacity to address complex political and economic problems facing the country.

UNCHECKED POWER

Coup leaders and the Big Man find ways to remain in power at all costs. They often use dubious claims of insecurity and election fraud as a means of staying in power. But the longer their grip on power lasts, the more likely they are to become isolated and prone to bad decisions.

“Decades in office can cause a leader to succumb to megalomania or paranoia,” wrote Gideon Rachman for *The Guardian* in April 2022. “The elimination of checks and balances, the centralisation of power and the promotion of a cult of personality make it more likely that a leader will make a disastrous mistake.”

In his 2020 study, “Breaking the Cycle of Big Man Rule in Africa,” researcher Corey Watson said that for several reasons, such as histories of tribalism and colonialism, Big Man rule has embedded itself in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa.



Jean-Bedel Bokassa overthrew the government of the Central African Republic in a coup in 1966. He served as president of the country for about 11 years before declaring himself “Emperor of Central Africa.” After three years as emperor, he was overthrown in 1979. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

“Virtually every ruler carefully selects those he is surrounded by based on the potential for loyalty, often at the expense of competence,” he wrote. “This can be family members, members from his tribe, or members from his hometown. Some rulers peacefully play off the ambitions of these loyalists, some pay them off, some rotate them in and out of power, some rule by fear and coercion, and some simply trust them.”

Ultimately, Watson wrote, allegiance to a Big Man comes at a price: “If nobody is being paid for their loyalty to the Big Man, then there is no incentive to remain loyal.”

“

Tyrants rule through fear. They reward agents and collaborators and turn them into mercenaries. Tyranny, in short, is marked by particularly impulsive, oppressive, and brutal rule.

~ Researcher Goran Hyden

”

Researcher Goran Hyden, in describing dictators, said, “Tyrants rule through fear. They reward agents and collaborators and turn them into mercenaries. Tyranny, in short, is marked by particularly impulsive, oppressive, and brutal rule that lacks elementary respect for the rights of persons and property.”

BAD ALLIANCES

International, continental and regional isolation results in limited diplomatic options for the Big Man. When operating on the global stage, he finds few partners available. This plays into the hands of some global powers that are eager to strike deals with pariah regimes. In recent years, Russia has sought to build alliances with autocratic regimes in Africa, offering weapons and mercenary manpower in exchange for access to natural resources and other favors.

“The Kremlin has focused on wooing elites: the warlords, generals and Presidents for life whose personal desires are simpler and cheaper to satisfy than the needs of their people or their economies,” Simon Shuster wrote for *Time* magazine.

As the bond deepens, the autocrat becomes more dependent on the alliance to remain in power. This increases the leverage a country such as Russia has and the control it can exert.

DECAYING INSTITUTIONS

The ruling style of the Big Man does not tend to lead to an efficient government. In order for autocratic governments to endure, they must rely on bribery, corruption, cronyism and violence. This can have far-reaching effects on the present and future civil society efforts at self-governance.

The daily management and decision-making of many state institutions are outside the educational background of most autocratic strongmen. Areas such as sanitation, education, power generation, finance, monetary policy, trade and investment require higher education and experience that are not found in military schoolrooms.

Corruption tends to flourish in this environment. The autocrat rewards loyalists with appointments to powerful posts, and the appointee, in turn, seeks to enrich himself from his position of authority.

In its 2019 report on Sub-Saharan Africa, Transparency International (TI) pointed to authoritarianism as a significant factor in creating a corrupt environment.

“While a large number of countries have adopted democratic principles of governance, several are still governed by authoritarian and semi-authoritarian leaders,” TI reported. “Autocratic regimes, civil strife, weak institutions and unresponsive political systems continue to undermine anti-corruption efforts.”

Although TI found that the highest performing countries — Botswana, Cabo Verde and the Seychelles — tended to have vibrant democracies and strong institutions, the lowest performers had other characteristics

linked to conflict and authoritarianism.

“Many low performing countries have several commonalities, including few political rights, limited press freedoms and a weak rule of law,” TI reported. “In these countries, laws often go unenforced and institutions are poorly resourced with little ability to handle corruption complaints. In addition, internal conflict and unstable governance structures contribute to high rates of corruption.”

FRAUDULENT ELECTIONS

One particularly powerful asset Big Men have is that electoral systems operate at their discretion.

“In practice, the president makes the rules, breaks them and changes when he wants to,” wrote Houeland and Jacobs. “... Who controls the count, wins the election and in the lead-up, the police and the army harass and intimidate the opposition, while the president campaigns uninterrupted. Furthermore, equating popular will with the president’s person is key. The president is always patriotic, and it is only the president who is willing and able to do what is needed.”

In such scenarios, the presidency can become a family business, as there is no future or monetary gain outside



Protesters march near the presidential palace in Khartoum, Sudan, on September 12, 2019. The crowd was calling for a new permanent chief of the judiciary and prosecutor general after the ouster of dictator Omar al-Bashir. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Protesters stand above a fallen statue of Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe in 2017 in Harare. Mugabe was president from 1987 to 2017. Critics said he was a dictator responsible for wholesale corruption, economic mismanagement and crimes against humanity. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



A sign held during popular uprisings in Tunisia in 2011 reads, in part, “Democracy for Tunisia.” AFP/GETTY IMAGES

politics. Accumulating wealth and business opportunities are tied to controlling the state. Once a Big Man is out of office, he loses the ability to steer contracts or get a cut from profits. After tenure, the former president and his allies risk prosecution either for embezzlement or human rights abuses.

There is an incorrect perception that many people in African countries value development over democracy and are willing to trade away political rights for a ruling Big Man who can get things done. This belief, according to Cheeseman and historian Dr. Sishuwa Sishuwa, has proved to be “durable, despite being wrong.”

Drawing on survey data collected between 2016 and 2018, Cheeseman and Sishuwa concluded that “strong majorities” in African countries think that democracy is the best political system. The study found widespread support for a form of consensual democracy that “combines a strong commitment to political accountability and civil liberties with a concern for unity and stability.”

“It is both misleading and patronising to suggest that democracy has somehow been imposed by the international community against the wishes of ordinary people,” the authors wrote. “Instead, it has been demanded and fought for from below.”

FOUR KEYS TO PREVENTION

Cheeseman, a professor at the University of Birmingham in the United Kingdom, says there are four key things that a country must have to prevent Big Man rule.

- It must develop institutions that can be autonomous from the executive. “This is hard, but it can be done,” he told ADF via email.
- The population must be educated. “Free primary education has been a boost for democracy, but increasing the quality and duration of education would be good,” he noted.
- An independent middle class that does not depend on government employment and contracts is necessary. The country also must have centers of economic power, such as independent business owners who are not allied to the ruling party.
- It must build a tradition of democracy. When people are invested in their democracy because of a shared history and sacrifice, they’re more inclined to stay vigilant and protect it. “Democracies need founding myths, moments that people come out and protest and force change,” Cheeseman wrote. □

U.S. Gives Personnel Carriers to AU Mission in Somalia

DEFENCEWEB

The mobility of African Union Transition Mission in Somalia troops has been boosted with an additional 24 Puma M36 armored personnel carriers donated by the United States.

The Djiboutian contingent will use the vehicles in joint military operations with the Somali National Army in and around Beledweyne and other areas in the Hiran region, according to a mission release.

Handing over the carriers at mission headquarters in Mogadishu, U.S. Ambassador Larry Andre reiterated his government's support for efforts to bring peace and stability to Somalia and the greater Horn of Africa region.

"An expression of our support, among others, is the donation of these vehicles to help protect African Union forces, in this case Djibouti's military contingent, as they travel roads which often will be booby-trapped by dangerous explosive devices," Andre said.

"We know this equipment will make a difference by increasing pressure on al-Shabaab," he added. "This is in keeping with the Somalia transition plan, which will see an increase in handing responsibilities

to Somalia's security forces."

The Puma M36 is classified as a medium mine-protected vehicle, according to Military Systems & Technology. It was introduced in 2012 and weighs 14 tons. It carries a crew of up to 12. Its V-shaped monocoque hull protects the crew against mines, improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and machine gun fire. It can be reconfigured to accommodate purpose-designed equipment such as additional radio racks, command and control modules, and ambulance gear.

Fiona Lortan, deputy special representative of the African Union Commission Chair, accepted the vehicles on behalf of the mission. She noted that their arrival came as the mission is reconfiguring troops and equipment.

Over time, al-Shabaab has engaged African Union troops and Somali Soldiers in asymmetric warfare. Fighters place IEDs on main supply routes and in other locations. The donated vehicles will enhance the mission's counter-IED capability and help protect civilians, critical infrastructure and sensitive sites, and help deliver humanitarian supplies.



Puma M36 armored personnel carrier

OTT TECHNOLOGIES

MOROCCO BUYING COMMAND AND CONTROL EQUIPMENT

ADF STAFF

The U.S. State Department has approved a possible sale of ground command and control equipment to Morocco for an estimated \$141.1 million.

The proposed sale will improve Morocco's ability to meet current and future threats by providing timely intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance and target acquisition for its security and defense, the U.S. Defense Security Cooperation Agency reported.

"The capability is a deterrent to regional threats and to strengthen its self-defense," the agency said. "Morocco has demonstrated a commitment to modernizing its military and will have no difficulty absorbing these articles into its armed forces."



The Multifunctional Information Distribution System-Joint Tactical Radio System terminal

VIASAT

The Moroccan government has asked to buy six Multifunctional Information Distribution System-Joint Tactical Radio Systems. The purchase will include:

- Additional secure communications, cryptographic devices and precision navigation equipment.
- Unclassified and classified software, software support, and support equipment.
- Spare and repair parts.
- Support and test equipment.
- Publications and technical documentation.
- Personnel training and training equipment.
- Technical and logistics support services and other related elements of logistical and program support.

This proposed sale will help improve the security of a major non-NATO ally that continues to be an important force for political stability and economic progress in North Africa, the U.S. Defense Security Cooperation Agency noted.



UGANDA Opens Armored Vehicle Factory

DEFENCEWEB

The armored vehicle company Streit has opened a new factory in Uganda, built in partnership with the National Enterprise Corp. (NEC).

Streit armored vehicle plant under construction in Uganda NEC-STREIT

NEC announced the partnership with Streit Group for the manufacture of armored vehicles in Nakosongola in central Uganda in late 2021. The new company, NEC-Streit Uganda Ltd., was dedicated a year later and will provide a range of security solutions, including through technology transfer.

Parliament established the NEC in 1989 to serve as a commercial arm of the Ministry of Defence and the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF). It produces goods and services that are beneficial to the Defence Forces and the public.

Ugandan officials said that with local manufacturing, they hope to no longer rely on buying foreign vehicles.

"It's a full-fledged manufacturing facility, not just assembly," Streit CEO Guerman Goutorov said. "All the products it will produce you can proudly say: Made in Uganda." He added that its products will help fight terrorism and crime.

UPDF chief Gen. Wilson Mbadi said the plant would produce vehicles for Uganda's military, police, VIPs and regional requirements.

"By building a self-reliant defense industry, we are capable of securing Uganda and also support the economy," he said. "This will also help us tackle the problem of economic irrationality by consuming what we don't produce and producing what we don't consume." He added that it will help the UPDF enhance fire power, protection capabilities and operational efficiency.

Streit has indicated it is willing to offer Uganda other equipment, including unmanned aerial vehicles, armored boats and communications equipment. Goutorov said Streit's research and development will be shared with Uganda.

In August 2018, Uganda launched an armored vehicle manufacturing and assembly facility in Maga. Its first product was the Nyoka armored personnel carrier, created in collaboration with South Africa's Twiga Services and Logistics via its Ugandan sister company Impala Services and Logistics.

Streit Group's product range includes armored personnel carriers, armored trucks for cash transfers, and luxury and security vehicles. The company has 12 production facilities and 25 offices globally and has delivered more than 15,000 vehicles.



Experts Warn: Blue Economy Must Be Protected From

CYBERATTACKS

ADF STAFF

Observers are calling for a greater emphasis on cybersecurity to protect Africa's growing maritime sector.

The discussion came at a workshop organized by Stellenbosch University, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

About 90% of trade on the African continent is conducted by sea, yet ports and ships remain particularly vulnerable to cyberattacks. Panelists said the 2021 Transnet ransomware attack, which shut down several key South African ports, should serve as a wake-up call to the threat.

"We are dependent on well-functioning maritime infrastructure, which needs to be protected, including from cyber threats," said Denys Reva, a maritime researcher at the ISS.

Cyberattacks on ships and ports grew globally from 50 in 2018 to more than 500 in 2020, according to the Handy Shipping Guide. Observers believe the true number is far higher.

"We don't know the real scope of the problem," Reva said. "Some cybersecurity reports suggest hundreds of thousands or millions of attacks."

Attacks are projected to grow as more aspects of shipping and ports become digitalized. Modern ships use Electronic Chart Display and Information System, GPS, and

remote engine and cargo control systems. Ports are going paperless and becoming automated to load and unload cargo, defenceWeb reported.

Fifty-three, or about 4%, of the world's container terminals are fully automated. That number is increasing.

In a 2021 speech on the issue, Abdul-Hakeem Ajijola, chair of the African Union Cybersecurity Experts Group, offered best practices for improving cybersecurity aboard ships. They include: making sure satellite communication systems are on private IP addresses; regularly updating software; changing passwords regularly; creating separate networks for the bridge, engine room, crew and business on board vessels; ensuring that USB ports are secure; and using encryptions on all onboard Wi-Fi networks.

Ajijola also recommended cybersecurity training of crew members, measures to ensure that technology suppliers are trusted, and conducting vessel and harbor security audits.

"Building trust and addressing cyber malfeasance requires global multistakeholder collaboration, as one weak link potentially undermines global value chains," Ajijola said in a 2021 speech for a webinar hosted by the ISS. "It is thus imperative that Africa, its nations, organizations and peoples are not the weak link."

A ship carrying wheat from Ukraine docks at the Port of Djibouti.

WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME VIA REUTERS

COUNTRIES LOOK FOR AIRLIFT BOOST TO SUPPORT PEACE, SECURITY

U.S. AIR FORCES IN EUROPE-AIR FORCES AFRICA

Nations are working to develop an air transport sharing mechanism (ATSM) to improve Africa's airlift capability, leaders said after a conference in Botswana, co-hosted by the United States in August 2022.

The goal of the ATSM is to help the African Union offer strategic lift for things such as medical evacuation, humanitarian action and natural disaster relief. The lift would be offered through the Africa Air Mobility Command Center, a multinational airlift unit that is under AU authority.

"The role of this Pan-African unit is to provide air mobility in support of peace and security operations and through the support of all African nations contributing to this unit, whether through personnel or any other logistic support," said Tunisian Air Force Col. Kais Sghaier, 11th Air Unit commander.

The ATSM conference was the first of its kind to be held in person. The previous nine meetings were conducted virtually. Attendees discussed issues such as the necessary qualifications of the unit's future commander and personnel requirements.

"We need to come up with mechanisms of optimizing the use of the very limited resources available to us, hence the expectation is that airlift resource sharing is one of the topical issues for this conference," said Botswana Defence Force Brig. Collen Mastercee Maruping, acting deputy air arm commander.

The AU relies largely on external partners and commercial flights to move personnel and material for things such as peacekeeping missions. The ATSM would help employ the airlift capabilities of member states to fill those needs.

"I think it's every African's dream to see an African airplane with all African flags across its tail, flying across the continent providing relief and support to Africans," Sghaier said.

Further proposals for the command center's location and other issues will be discussed during the 12th annual African Air Chiefs Symposium, scheduled for 2023 in Senegal.

Two C-130H Hercules transport aircraft at Nigerien Air Base 101 in Niamey U.S. AIR FORCE



Togo To Host CYBERSECURITY CENTER

ADF STAFF

A new cybersecurity center in Togo will help governments monitor threats, share information and collaborate to stop cybercrime. The Togolese government is creating the African Cybersecurity Coordination and Research Center in collaboration with the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa.

"We aim to become a significant digital hub in Africa," said Cina Lawson, Togo's minister of digital economy. "Our partnership model with the private sector is an innovative approach that we want to showcase to inspire other countries for safer cyberspace on the continent."

Togo is one of the few countries to have ratified the African Union's Malabo Declaration, which commits nations to cooperate to improve cybersecurity. It was also the first country to welcome a landing of Google's undersea internet cable offering high-speed connectivity.

Among the new center's missions will be:

- Building capacity and supporting cybersecurity agencies in African countries.
- Collaborating with governments, policymakers, law enforcement agencies and security experts to create frameworks for assessing risk and mitigating threats.
- Providing technical and research capabilities to promote cybersecurity on the continent.

Cybercrime is estimated to cost African countries \$4 billion per year.

"Cybersecurity must remain a major concern for African nations as a matter of national sovereignty and economic prosperity," Togolese President Faure Gnassingbé said during a March 2022 convention on cybersecurity.

Cina Lawson, Togo's minister of digital economy, speaks at an event titled "The Future of Digital Cooperation."

CINA LAWSON, TWITTER



AMNESTY MONTH

Offers Small Step Toward 'Silencing the Guns'

ADF STAFF

Authorities in Liberia, Tanzania and Togo worked with United Nations officials throughout September 2022 to take illicit small arms and light weapons out of circulation.

The event supported the African Union's "Silencing the Guns" initiative, which is part of the AU's Agenda 2063. Signed in 2013, the agenda represents a 50-year Pan-African vision of an "integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens, representing a dynamic force in the international arena," according to the AU.

More than 40 million weapons are circulating in Africa, many unlicensed, causing more than 500,000 deaths each year.

On the first day of September, Togolese authorities destroyed more than 2,000 illicit weapons of various calibers that had been seized in the country.

"Taking one illegal arm out of circulation means saving lives," said Anselme Yabouri, director of the U.N. Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa.

The weapons amnesty program offers an opportunity for measurable — if modest — impact. During the month, civilians were allowed to safely and anonymously surrender illegal weapons without fear of prosecution.

In 2021, the U.N. Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) supported participation from Madagascar, Niger and Uganda. The effort stretched into April 2022, when 1,497 weapons were destroyed in a public event, according to Africa Renewal, a U.N. publication.

Ivor Richard Fung, deputy chief of UNODA, Conventional Arms Branch, told Africa Renewal in 2020 that civilians hold 85% of small arms and light weapons worldwide.



Ghana's Operation Boafɔ Rescues Citizens From Floods

ADF STAFF | PHOTOS BY GHANA ARMED FORCES

When torrential rains forced operators of the Weija Dam in Accra, Ghana, to release excess water, it displaced thousands of people and left others in peril.

In response, the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) sprang into action, rescuing more than 100 people on October 4, 2022. In some cases, Soldiers carried civilians through waist-high water. In other cases they used small boats to transport people. The efforts were part of Operation Boafɔ, which means “helper” in the Twi language. The annual search and rescue operation

coincides with the rainy season.

“The Ghana Armed Forces continues to support citizens in these emergency situations as part of its civic duty to help mitigate destruction of property and loss of life,” the GAF wrote in a Facebook post.

The 48 Engineer Regiment of the Ghana Army led the rescue. In other rescue events, elements of the Ghana Navy and Ghana Air Force helped the country’s National Disaster Management Organization.

Flooding is an annual occurrence in many low-lying areas of Ghana. The first rainy season is in May



Members of the 48 Engineer Regiment of the Ghana Armed Forces lead people to safety near Tetegu and New Weija after they were trapped by flooding.

and June, with another season in September and October. GAF Soldiers are deployed to flood-prone areas in central and southern Ghana for the duration of the seasons.

“Our men will be deployed until the end of the rainy season, and they are readily available to rescue affected persons and offer our support,” Maj. Sena Affeanyi said at the beginning of the operation.



Authorities display 1.8 tons of cocaine seized from a warehouse in Lagos, Nigeria.

NATIONAL DRUG LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCY

Nigeria Sends Message to Cartels With Record-Setting Drug Bust

REUTERS

Nigerian authorities seized a record 1.8 tons of cocaine from a warehouse in Lagos in September 2022. The drugs had carried a street value of \$278.5 million.

The National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) said the drugs, found in a warehouse on a residential estate, were destined for buyers in Europe and Asia. Authorities arrested four Nigerians and one Jamaican national.

West Africa is a major transit hub for cocaine made in Latin America and sold in Europe. In April 2022, police in Côte d'Ivoire seized more than 2 tons of cocaine, while authorities in the island archipelago of Cabo Verde seized 9.5 tons of cocaine in 2019.

The U.N. Office on Drugs and Crime said that global cocaine seizures reached a record 1,424 tons in 2020.

The Nigerian agency said those arrested

were part of an international drug ring that it had been tracking since 2018 in coordination with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration.

National Drug Law Enforcement Agency Chairman Brig Gen. Mohamed Marwa said the bust “is a message” to drug cartels. “Their investment in the illicit drug trade will go up in flames as you are about to witness while they also risk losing their freedom because the present NDLEA is committed to arresting, prosecuting and ensuring the conviction of those involved in illicit drugs,” Marwa said in a statement.

He called on Nigerian citizens to help put pressure on those who traffic narcotics. “Every citizen shall be fulfilling his or her civic duty by assisting the agency to clean up our communities and cities,” he said. “Together, we can make this country secure.”



U.N. Honors Burkinabe Peacekeeper

UNITED NATIONS

A peacekeeper from Burkina Faso serving in Mali has been honored for her work to boost trust between authorities and local communities, including survivors of gender-based violence.

Chief Warrant Officer Alizeta Kabore Kinda received the 2022 United Nations Woman Police Officer of the Year Award. It was established in 2011 to recognize exceptional contributions of female police officers in U.N. peace operations and to promote women's empowerment.

Kinda is deployed as a gender focal point with the U.N. Mission in Mali, known as MINUSMA.

She supports the Malian Security Forces in the Ménaka region to promote and improve understanding of gender, child protection, human rights and civil protection issues. Her efforts have led to more victims of sexual and gender-based violence coming forward to report their cases to local authorities and to receive medical care. There now are three or more case reports per month, up from none before her arrival.

She also has focused on expanding the number of girls in schools and reducing early marriages.

"Chief Warrant Officer Kinda's work is a shining example of how the participation of women police in peace operations directly impacts the sustainability of peace, by helping to bring different perspectives to the table and making our work more inclusive," said Jean-Pierre Lacroix, U.N. under-secretary-general for peace operations. "Through her actions, she embodies a more

Chief Warrant Officer Alizeta Kabore Kinda accepts her award as 2022 United Nations Woman Police Officer of the Year from Jean-Pierre Lacroix, U.N. under-secretary-general for peace operations.

U.N. PHOTO

representative, efficient police service that is better equipped to serve and protect the public."

Kinda expressed hope that her award will inspire women and girls around the world to pursue policing careers "despite the gender stereotypes often associated with the profession: that men are better suited to enforce the laws and protect the population."

U.N. police enhance international peace and security by supporting host countries in conflict, post-conflict and other crisis situations. Women make up nearly one-fifth of the 10,000 U.N. police officers serving in 16 peace operations around the world.

Throughout her career, Kinda has focused on protecting and promoting women's and children's rights, including between 2013 and 2015, when she was a gender focal point at the U.N.'s mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

She performed these duties in Burkina Faso within the Ministry of Security and the Regional Brigade for the Protection of Women and Children, a unit of the national police, as an investigator on sexual violence and exploitation.



Regional Bloc Deploys Troops to DRC

JENNA RUSSO, INTERNATIONAL PEACE INSTITUTE

The East African Community (EAC) deployed troops to one of its member states for the first time in June 2022. The deployment in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is a test of the regional body's ability to respond to complex conflicts.

Already, the regional bloc has scored some victories. In early December 2022, after peace talks in Nairobi, Kenya, 53 of the more than 100 armed groups operating in the DRC agreed to a cease-fire.

The DRC, which joined the EAC in April 2022, has been trapped in cycles of violence for nearly three decades. The reasons include ethnic intolerance, illegal exploitation of the country's vast natural resources and a Congolese elite that benefits from the chaos.

The EAC also includes Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda, with its headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania.

The most recent wave of conflict comes after the reemergence of the armed group March 23 Movement, or M23. International forces drove the group out of the country in 2013. Its resurgence has led to heightened levels of violence and mass displacement.

The resurgence prompted the EAC to mobilize a regional force that could comprise up to 12,000 troops from member states. It operates under Kenyan command, with a six-month renewable mandate to support the DRC's national forces in containing, defeating and eradicating negative forces in the restive eastern region.

This is the second time regional actors have deployed a military force to tamp down an M23 insurgency. After the armed group's initial uprising in 2013, the 12-member International Conference on the Great Lakes Region proposed an intervention brigade. It was eventually brought under the umbrella of the peacekeeping mission, the U.N. Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It became known as the Force Intervention Brigade.

Maj. Gen. Jeff Nyagah, the East African Community (EAC) force commander, greets Kenyan soldiers upon arrival at EAC headquarters in Goma, Democratic Republic of the Congo.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Uganda Calls for Permanent Peacekeeping Fund

ADF STAFF

Uganda has called for stable, sustainable funding for African Union peace support operations anywhere on the continent.

"Peace, security and stability is the overarching framework for inclusive and sustainable development and socio-economic transformation of Africa," said Gen. Jeje Odongo, Uganda's foreign affairs minister, as reported by the Nile Post. "However, without a sustainable and predictable way of funding the African Union peace support operations, it is likely we may not be able to preserve the gains made thus far."

He spoke at the Tokyo International Conference on African Development in Tunisia.

For 15 years, Uganda has been part of the AU Mission in Somalia. Uganda was the first country to send troops to the mission. In April 2022, the AU formed the AU Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS) as a transition and drawdown mission from peacekeeping operations in Somalia.

ATMIS consists of troops from Burundi, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. The ATMIS mandate will end in 2024, with a full transition of security operations to the Somali National Armed Forces.

Odongo noted that the United Nations Security Council is responsible for maintaining international peace and security.

"We therefore support the call for financing the AU Peace Support Operations through the use of U.N. assessed contributions," he said, as reported by the Post.

He said that financing for peacekeeping could come in the form of grants or "concessional long-term financing" based on a country's specific needs.

Ugandan Soldiers in the African Union Mission in Somalia patrol the Indian Ocean near Mogadishu in 2017. REUTERS





U.S. MARINE CORPS

TWO AFRICAN NATIONS JOIN NAVAL TRAINING IN BRAZIL

DEFENCEWEB

Cameroon and Namibia represented Africa at the UNITAS 2022 multinational naval exercise in Brazil.

They joined the naval and maritime forces of Belize, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guyana, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, South Korea, Spain, the United Kingdom, the United States and Uruguay in the 63rd edition of UNITAS.

The Namibian Navy's NS Elephant departed Walvis Bay in late August 2022 to take part in the exercise. The vessel, with its 120-person crew, traveled 6,000 kilometers to reach its destination. Cameroon, meanwhile, contributed the patrol boats CNS Le Ntem and CNS La Sanaga.

Namibia and Brazil enjoy close defense ties, with more than 600 Namibian naval personnel having been trained in Brazil over the years. Janes reported that UNITAS 2022 marked the third time the Brazilian and Namibian navies trained together in 2022.

The exercise included 20 warships and vessels, a submarine and 21 aircraft. It was conducted mainly off the coast of Rio de Janeiro with about 5,500 military personnel.

UNITAS, which is Latin for "unity," has taken place annually since 1960. It trains forces to conduct joint maritime operations through the execution of anti-surface, anti-submarine, anti-air, amphibious and electronic warfare operations that enhance warfighting proficiency and increase interoperability.



An Mi-17 helicopter flies over landing craft during UNITAS 2022 in Brazil as part of an annual multinational maritime exercise.

U.S. MARINE CORPS

Although the overarching goal was to develop and test command and control of forces at sea, there also were scenarios addressing electronic warfare, anti-air warfare and air defense, anti-surface warfare, live fire, maritime interdiction, littoral operations, and amphibious operations.

The at-sea phase included a multithreat, multiday scenario that allowed participants to work together, further increasing preparedness for real-world crises that would require a multinational force response. Events included surface tactical maneuvers, training to tackle illegal drug trafficking, live-fire exercises, anti-submarine warfare exercises, air defense exercises and maritime interdiction operations.



TANZANIA, KENYA JOIN IN FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

ADF STAFF

In the interests of security and investments, Kenya and Tanzania have reached an agreement to partner in their fight against terrorism and human trafficking at their shared border.

“We have agreed to fight terrorism, drug and human trafficking, and the rest of the transboundary crimes that are making our region uncompetitive and giving us a bad name,” Kenyan President William Ruto said, as reported by Anadolu Agency. He spoke during a news briefing shortly after holding talks with his Tanzanian counterpart, President Samia Suluhu Hassan.

Tanzanian President Samia Suluhu Hassan inspects a Kenya Defence Forces honor guard in May 2021. REUTERS

The two countries also plan to work together in other ways. The Star of Kenya reported that Kenya intends to build a natural gas pipeline from Tanzania’s main city, Dar es Salaam, to Kenya’s coastal city of Mombasa and later to its capital, Nairobi. The plan is to lower energy tariffs, Ruto has said. The 600-kilometer pipeline will cost about \$1.1 billion. The two countries have agreed to fast-track construction of the pipeline.

Extremists have been involved in terrorism, poaching and trafficking along the border of the two countries. The effect has been a loss of investor confidence in vital sectors of the two countries, including tourism and national gas exploration.

Ruto said the two countries will share resources, including information and defense strategies.

In recent years, security forces have been on high alert at the shared border to guard against extremists returning to Kenya from the conflict in Mozambique and plotting attacks. In August 2021, a special Kenyan police unit intercepted and arrested two terrorism suspects in Mombasa who had transported weapons across the border and were plotting an attack on the coastal city, The Economist reported.

“Kenyan security agents have been posted to the border to prevent criminals from crossing and are working with their counterparts in neighbouring Tanzania on joint patrols,” The Economist reported. “The Kenya Coast Guard is also on the lookout for terrorist cells that might seek to return to Kenya via the Indian Ocean.”

NAMIBIA, BOTSWANA IMPROVE COOPERATION

ADF STAFF

Namibia and Botswana are looking to a new era in cooperation and have established a commission to that end.

The inaugural Botswana and Namibia Bi-National Commission first met in Gaborone, Botswana’s capital, in September 2022. Days later, the Namibian and Botswana governments agreed to abolish the requirement of passports for travel between the two countries. Instead, citizens of the two countries will use identity cards.

“Our two countries not only share a common border, but also a common people and heritage,” Namibian President Hage Geingob said, as reported by The Namibian. “A symbiotic and inter-dependent relationship exists along our common borders.”

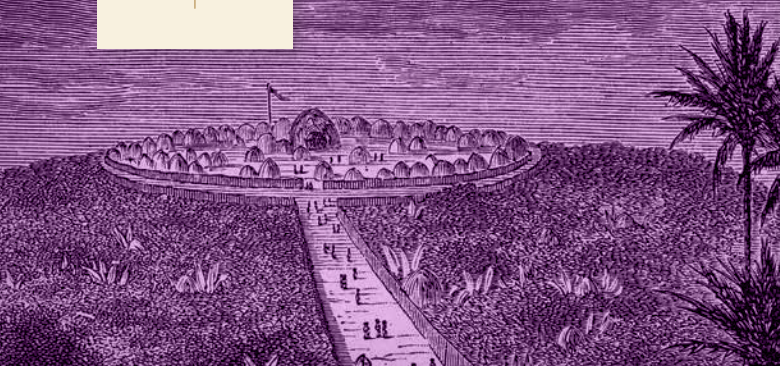
The commission will focus on a wide range of issues of mutual interest, including politics and diplomacy, their economies, and defense and security matters.



Botswana President Mokgweetsi Masisi, left, and Namibian President Hage Geingob have strengthened the two countries’ relationship. OFFICE OF THE NAMIBIAN PRESIDENCY

The two countries, which share a 1,583-kilometer border, already have significant economic ties. The Observatory of Economic Complexity reported that, as of 2020, Namibian exports to Botswana were worth almost \$500 million. Those exports included \$300 million in diamonds, \$131 million in refined petroleum and \$33 million in electricity. In turn, News24 reported, Botswana’s main exports to Namibia have consisted of diamonds, insulated wire and charcoal.

Botswana and Namibia established diplomatic relations in 1990. Since that time, the two countries have had their differences, including a yearslong dispute over ownership of an island in the center of the Chobe River. In 1997, during an extended drought, Namibia tried to limit Botswana’s access to the Okavango River. And in 2020, Namibia condemned Botswana’s “shoot to kill” policy on poachers, when Botswana Soldiers killed suspected poachers of Namibian origin.



Buganda King Muwenda Mutebi II married Sylvia Nagginga Luswata in 1999. It was the first royal wedding in Uganda in 50 years. REUTERS

THE KINGDOM OF BUGANDA

ADF STAFF

Uganda's five kingdoms date back hundreds of years and continue to play a role in the lives of people today. The largest and most powerful was the Kingdom of Buganda, which traces its beginnings to the 13th century, when it was formed by the Ganda people.

It was one of several small principalities along the northern shore of Lake Victoria. In time, the kabaka, or king, came to dominate the region. By the 19th century, Buganda was the largest, most powerful kingdom in the region, conquering neighboring territories thanks to its fleet of powerful war canoes. The kabaka shared his power, making the conquered chiefs his allies.

The explorer Henry Morton Stanley visited Buganda in 1875 and estimated that the kingdom had a population of 2 million. He observed that the kabaka commanded an army of 125,000 troops. At Buganda's capital, Lubaga, Stanley found a busy city teeming with messengers running errands, tribal chiefs attending councils and foreigners seeking audiences with the rulers.

After unsuccessful attempts to stay independent of the British, Buganda became the center of the Uganda Protectorate in 1884. British officials named the protectorate Uganda, the Swahili term for Buganda.

Under British rule, many leaders of the kingdom acquired status as colonial administrators, and Buganda became a major producer of cotton and coffee.

Uganda's path to independence began in March 1961, with elections to determine self-governance. Uganda became an independent nation in October 1962, but the concept of a strong central government was not adopted by everyone. Some wanted a more informal federation, with the local kingdoms still holding power. Buganda, the largest of the kingdoms, insisted on maintaining a separate political identity.

Uganda's founding constitution gave federal status within the government to four traditional kingdoms,

including Buganda. In 1963, Buganda's King Mutesa II was elected to the mostly ceremonial post of president.

In 1966, Prime Minister Milton Obote sent troops to attack Mutesa's palace, with Mutesa fleeing to Great Britain. Obote suspended the constitution and introduced a new one that abolished all the kingdoms and established a true presidency, which he assumed while continuing to hold the title of prime minister.

The following years were a time of uprisings and civil wars, ending with peace in 1986. The Buganda kingdom was restored in 1993, maintaining its mostly ceremonial role. Since the kingdom's restoration, the kabaka has been Muwenda Mutebi II, the 36th kabaka of Buganda.

Today, the 14 million Baganda people make up about 27% of Uganda's population. The Buganda Kingdom is formally known as Central Uganda and includes Kampala, the country's capital.

Although the kingdom is mostly ceremonial, it has elaborate trappings. The kabaka runs his kingdom through his katikkiro, or executive prime minister, who has a cabinet composed of ministers. The Lukiiko is the parliament, working along with administrators from the 18 counties of the kingdom. The kabaka commands that the clan heads maintain the traditions and history of the Baganda people.

Those traditions include hospitality and friendliness.

"Buganda is the gateway to Uganda," notes the official Buganda website. "When you come to see her varied beauty, you will be received with our famous hospitality. Well, maybe there will not be a troupe of traditional dancers to receive you at the airport, but you will be made to feel like there were."



CLUES

- 1** The site has coral reefs, sandy beaches, coastal dunes, lake systems, swamps, and reed and papyrus wetlands.
- 2** It provides habitats for a range of marine, wetland and savannah life that includes more than 6,500 plant and animal species.
- 3** It has 220 kilometers of coastline and covers nearly 240,000 hectares.
- 4** No people live in the area, but about 100,000 people from 48 tribal groups live in villages that surround the park.

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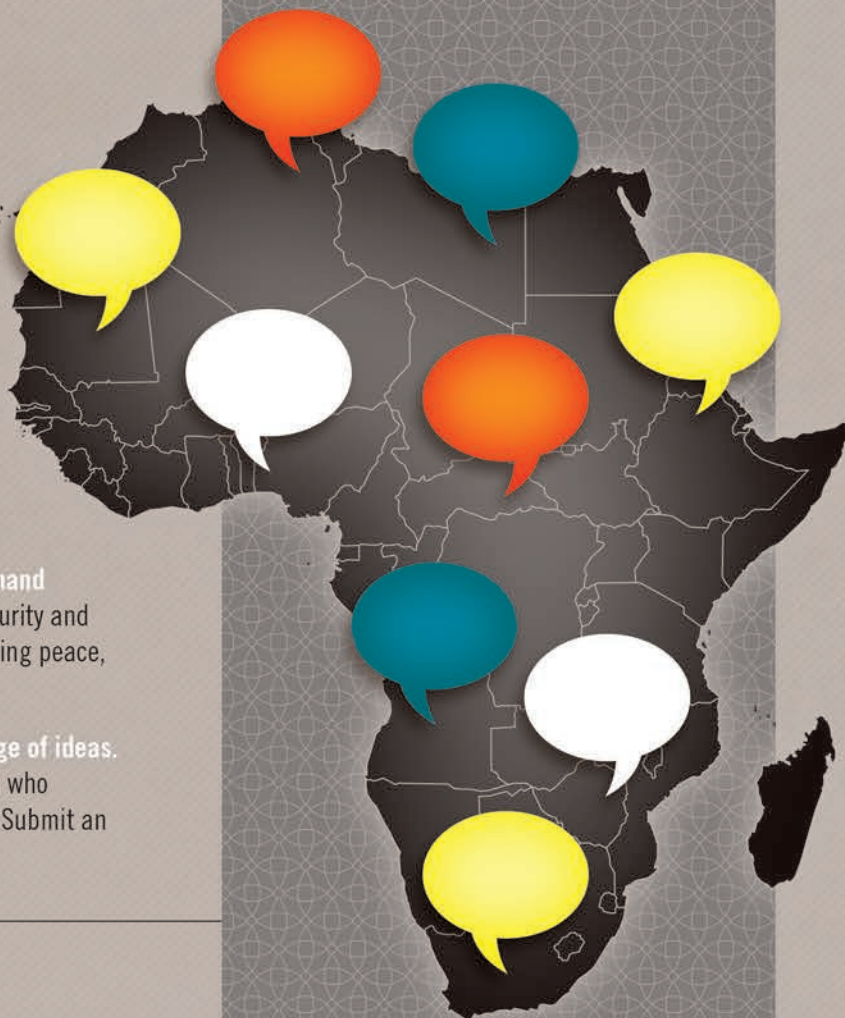
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