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AFRICA DEFENSE FORUM

# SERVING A NATION

Strengthening Civil-Military Relations  
Through Oversight, Accountability and Ethics



**PLUS**

A Conversation With  
Zambia Army Commander Lt. Gen. Dennis Sitali Alibuzwi

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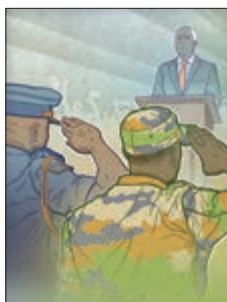
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**ON THE COVER**

Military service to the nation and subordination to elected civilian leaders is under threat from coups, but remains the most durable model to ensure stability and good governance.

ADF ILLUSTRATION

When civil-military relations are out of balance, an entire nation can slide into chaos.

In recent years there has been a spate of military coups in Africa. Burkina Faso, Gabon, Guinea, Mali, Niger and Sudan all experienced undemocratic transfers of power. The details are different in each country, but the pattern is the same. Coup leaders justify their actions by blaming ineffective, corrupt and authoritarian governments. Deposed civilian leaders point the finger at power-hungry soldiers. The coup leaves the nation less safe and diplomatically isolated.

Experts say coups are a symptom of wider dysfunction in the civil-military dynamic. When working properly, the relationship is a bargain among the citizens, their elected leaders and the armed forces. All have an important role to play, and all can benefit.

In effective militaries, service members are trained to be loyal to the constitution and remain apolitical. Subordination to civilian authority is taught during basic training and reinforced throughout a service member's career. Civilians, in turn, exercise oversight through mechanisms such as parliamentary committees, the judicial branch, civil society groups and the media.

Many African countries have made great strides in institutionalizing civil-military relations since the early years of independence, when military dictatorships were common. Countries are investing in professional military education. They are making sure the security sector works for the public through civilian-focused efforts such as disaster response, infrastructure construction and humanitarian projects. Regional organizations are working to solidify democratic norms and mediate in cases of civil-military disputes.

But there is much work to be done. There still are many instances of the military being politicized and acting outside of its constitutional duties. Soldiers, often frustrated by corruption or losses in the fight against violent extremism, see coups as a quick fix.

Putting this relationship back into balance is a whole-of-society task, but members of the armed forces remain the last line of defense. They must strengthen professionalism and accountability within their ranks and resist any temptation to take power at the point of a gun. When successful, the benefits will be felt for generations to come.

U.S. Africa Command Staff



Ghana Armed Forces Soldiers carry donated medicine and hygienic items to be distributed to schools in Savelugu, Ghana. STAFF SGT. AMY YOUNGER/U.S. AIR FORCE



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# ECOWAS and ‘The Pursuit of Peace, Security and Stability’



LUKASZ KOBUS

***Dr. Omar Alieu Touray, a Gambian diplomat, was appointed president of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Commission in 2022. Previously, he was ambassador and permanent representative of The Gambia to the African Union and ambassador to Ethiopia. He spoke on May 28, 2023, to mark ECOWAS Day on the 48th anniversary of its founding. His remarks have been edited for space and clarity.***



Every year on the 28th of May, we celebrate ECOWAS Day to honor the vision of our founding fathers and the huge sacrifice of our

member states and citizens in creating a single socioeconomic and political space for peace and prosperity for all.

For 48 years, our sense of community has remained solid in the face of challenges, and our commitment for inclusive and sustainable development has remained strong. We are grateful to our heads of state and government, who have maintained a resolute and consistent stance on the vision of our founding fathers, investing all the necessary resources to preserve the community, and for the solidarity for the advancement of our socioeconomic integration agenda and the pursuit of peace, security and stability. For the management of the ECOWAS institutions, the job is already cut out for us as the key issues confronting our region are palpable.

In the area of peace and security, [we] are confronted with the persistence of violent conflicts and terrorism. And we live daily with the sad news of loss of lives and property. We have seen many election cycles in our member states, but violence continues to mar the successes recorded. In Mali and Burkina Faso, the intensity of

the violence is concerning. We condemn in strong terms the violence and sympathize with the affected families and the authorities. We reiterate our call for international support to our region in the fight against terrorism and other forms of organized crime.

The humanitarian situation is growing worse because of not only the conflicts, but also climate change and environmental degradation. The global economic crisis, which manifests in the form of soaring prices of food and fuel, is another challenge that tests our resolve for collective security and self-reliance.

On enhanced peace and security, we are implementing the ECOWAS Action Plan Against Terrorism and working to strengthen the ECOWAS Standby Force to support the fight against terrorism and unconstitutional changes of government. We are also tackling the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, enhancing the capacity of our member states against cyberattacks, and operationalizing the maritime security architecture with the full operationalization of the three maritime surveillance and patrol zones.

For good governance and political stability, we have doubled our preventive diplomacy engagements



Vice Adm. Seth Amoama, Ghana's chief of defense staff, left, welcomes attendees to the Economic Community of West African States committee of chiefs of the defense staff in Accra on August 17, 2023. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

in countries undergoing elections and sustained the monitoring of and support for the political transitions in Mali, Burkina Faso and Guinea.

Furthermore, we have focused more on improving food security, alleviating the plights of internally displaced persons and refugees in our region, and building transport and energy infrastructure to attain inclusive and sustainable development. Capable institutions and equitable partnerships are vital enablers of our work and performance.

In addition, we are very grateful for the sustained support of our development partners. They have remained consistent in working with us to promote development and tackle challenges in various areas of mutual interest. We remain open to more collaboration and enhanced partnerships.

Going forward, we intend to make our work more visible to our citizens, implement projects with direct impact on their lives and livelihoods, and become more accountable to our policy holders.

# AFRICA EYES POTENTIAL BOUNTY FROM SPACE

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

**A**fter decades on the sidelines, African countries are venturing into the space industry, hoping to reap rewards in agriculture, disaster prevention and security.

Côte d'Ivoire, which hosted a "NewSpace Africa Conference" in April 2023 organized by the African Union, has announced the creation of a space agency and plans to build the country's first nanosatellite by 2024. Nanosatellites have a mass of 1 kilogram to 10 kilograms. About the same time, Kenya's first working satellite was put into orbit by a SpaceX rocket launched from the United States.

The two countries follow African pioneers South Africa, Nigeria, Algeria and Egypt — a trailblazer that owned the first African satellite sent into space in 1998. According to AU space program coordinator Tidiane Ouattara, about 15 African countries have a space agency.

The AU in 2018 adopted the statute for the African Space Agency, whose headquarters will be in Cairo alongside the Egyptian Space Agency, to promote coordination among AU members.

According to a Vienna-based nongovernmental organization, the Space Generation Advisory Council, African

countries have launched 41 satellites since 2016, led by Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa. Only nine were designed and made in African states. Foreign states provided the rest, including their launch capability.

Experts say that cost — the great barrier to entering space — is dropping thanks to cheaper components and miniaturization, which reduces satellite weight.

"Space is no longer expensive, not at all," Ouattara said. African universities can build a nanosatellite for between \$50,000 and \$100,000, he said.

A top priority for African countries is Earth observation — satellites that monitor cloud cover, rainfall, flooding, drought and related matters, said Mamadou Sarr, head of the Regional African Satellite Communication Organization. This can be helpful for agriculture.

Satellites also can play a security role by monitoring coastal fisheries and the movements of violent extremists destabilizing the Sahel and northern Mozambique.

Another big market is communications. Africa was an early convert to satellite technology, which along with mobile phone networks helped it leapfrog over copper wire networks.



Kenya Space Agency engineers Aloyce Were, from left, Deche Bungule and Andrew Nyawade hold the prototype for the Taifa-1 earth observation satellite, which they designed. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



# SOMALIA

## Prepares to Step Up as ATMIS Draws Down

ADF STAFF

**A**fter 18 years and three multinational peace missions, Somalia is taking full control of its own security. The African Union Transitional Mission in Somalia (ATMIS) is withdrawing troops from the embattled Horn of Africa nation.

The African Union was withdrawing troops gradually and strategically, sector by sector, with an eye toward ending ATMIS by December 31, 2024. Burundi, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda contribute troops to the mission.

As ATMIS troops withdrew, Somali troops were finishing training abroad. The goal was to have 15,000 Soldiers ready by the end of 2023, Hussein Sheikh-Ali, national security advisor to Somali President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, has said.

The plan is to turn security over to Somali forces while consolidating and preserving gains made against the al-Shabaab insurgency by ATMIS and the African Union Mission in Somalia, which preceded ATMIS from 2007 to 2022.

Amani Africa, an Addis Ababa, Ethiopia-based policy think tank, noted in an April 28, 2023, report that ATMIS continues to face a “dire funding shortfall” as the transition continues. Despite that, ATMIS has made “notable progress” by conducting joint kinetic operations with Somali security forces against al-Shabaab militants since August 2022.

A four-phase plan would see ATMIS troop levels decrease from the current 18,586 to just more than 9,500 at the end of the transition period in late 2024. Somalia intends to gradually ramp up its force levels to about 23,000 and take over when ATMIS fully withdraws.

As the first troop withdrawal approached, presidents of ATMIS troop-contributing countries met April 27, 2023, in Entebbe, Uganda, to discuss the mission and the impending drawdown. The officials issued a communique after their meeting calling for “increased logistical support to the Somali Security Forces” and reaffirming United Nations Security Council resolutions seeking a “strategic, gradual, and sector-by-sector approach to the drawdown.” The communique also underscored the importance of force protection such as aviation support. The document also asks that the Security Council lift the arms embargo on Somalia so that the country can meet its security needs.

The communique asks the AU and its partners to provide funding adequate to sustain ATMIS through the end of its mandate.



ATMIS and Somali Police Force personnel stand guard within the Ministry of Justice compound in Mogadishu in March 2023. ATMIS

## SENIOR MILITARY LEADERS SHARE EXPERTISE AT ALFS 23

ADF STAFF

**S**enior land forces leaders gathered in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, in May 2023 for the African Land Forces Summit to discuss shared threats and the need to cooperate as Sahel-based extremists push toward the West African coast.

“The land forces need to come together and work together,” said Maj. Gen. Christopher Musa, Infantry Corps commander of the Nigerian Army. “Asymmetric warfare requires the services of everybody — a whole-domain approach, all-regional approach. That’s why it’s important for us to meet, look at all the challenges we are facing and the best way to go through it.”

Military chiefs and other leaders from 39 African countries attended the five-day summit, along with representatives from organizations such as the African Union and the United Nations. The event was co-hosted by U.S. Army Southern European Task Force, Africa.

Group discussions covered peacekeeping operations in Africa, countering violent extremist organizations, drivers of instability and the importance of command teams.

Lt. Gen. Dennis Sitali Alibuzwi, commander of the Zambia Army, said military leaders often feel constrained and unable to “speak freely” with their counterparts on the continent, but he believed that by the end of the summit they would see the benefit of such candid exchanges.

“African armies have got different doctrines, background and history and, therefore, amalgamating all this experience, I’m sure solutions will be found to the African challenges that we face,” Alibuzwi said.

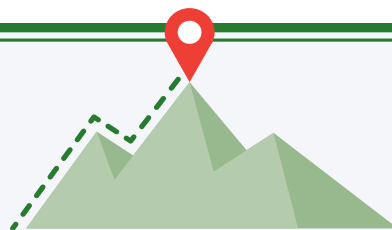
Lassina Diarra, a researcher at the Centre for Strategies and Security for the Sahel Sahara, talked about the intent of terror groups to expand and the efforts to block such movement. Diarra said the key to fighting terrorism is multi-level collaborative efforts.

“Cross-border terrorism calls for cooperation at the level of international, regional, subregional and bilateral cooperation,” Diarra said. “But some states have made the choice to go looking for mercenaries to cooperate with instead of cooperating with states in the fight against terrorism.”

Military leaders tour L’Académie Internationale de Lutte Contre le Terrorisme (International Academy for the Fight against Terrorism) in Jacqueville, Côte d’Ivoire, during the African Land Forces Summit 2023.

SENIOR AIRMAN ELIJAH DORITY/U.S. AIR FORCE

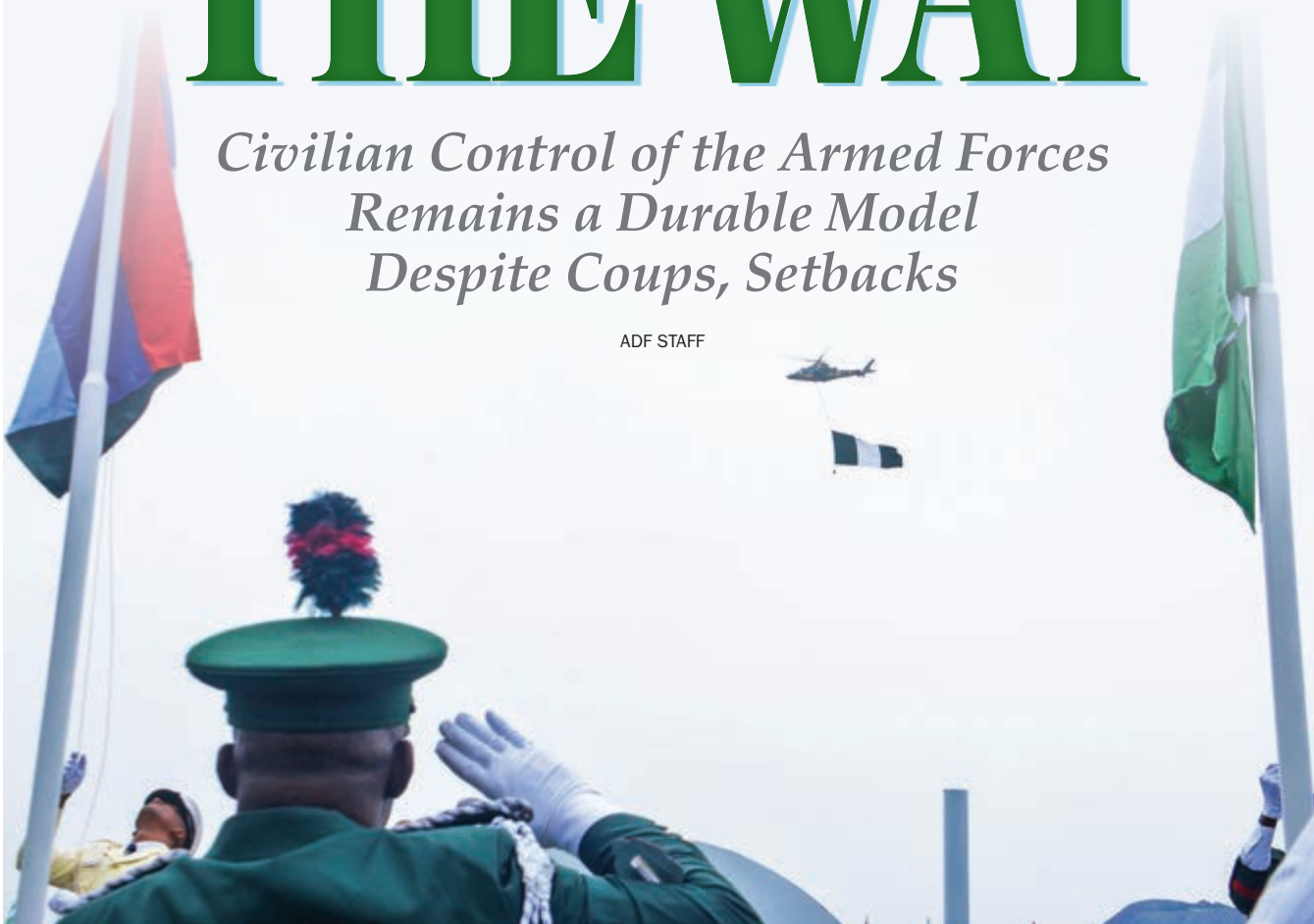




# LETTING CITIZENS, CONSTITUTION LEAD THE WAY

*Civilian Control of the Armed Forces  
Remains a Durable Model  
Despite Coups, Setbacks*

ADF STAFF







In the Senate chamber in Abuja, Nigeria, four nominees to lead military service branches took turns making the case that they were fit for the job. Each presented his credentials and outlined a vision for improving security in the country.

“Under my watch, the armed forces shall continue to serve the Nigerian people dutifully and in line with the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and other extant laws of the federation,” Chief of Defense Staff Maj. Gen. Christopher Musa told senators in July 2023.

Afterward, senators questioned the nominees for three hours before confirming all four.

This might seem like a mundane process, but it embodies a vital principle: civilian control of the armed forces.

The principle that civilians should control the military dates back hundreds of years. Countries that embrace it have determined that an accountable and apolitical military is

best able to provide security without falling for the temptation to grab power.

This and other concepts were enshrined in the African Union charter in 2007, which calls for “constitutional civilian control over the armed and security forces to ensure the consolidation of democracy and constitutional order.”

Despite a rash of recent coups, polls show a strong preference for civilian rule across the continent. According to an Afrobarometer poll from 2021, 75% reject military rule and 69% prefer democracy to any other form of government.

Nigeria’s presidential inauguration ceremony emphasizes civilian control of the armed forces, a concept that has been challenged throughout history but remains the most reliable model for offering security.

REUTERS

“Under my watch, the armed forces shall continue to serve the Nigerian people dutifully and in line with the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and other extant laws of the federation.”

~Maj. Gen. Christopher Musa, chief of defense staff

A Nigerian military officer salutes the national flag carried by a helicopter. Nations with the most successful civil-military relations have instilled professional norms and standards in the armed forces that emphasize civilian oversight. REUTERS



A woman carries her child during a military parade marking Senegal's Independence Day in Dakar.

REUTERS

In countries that require civilian control, decisions about how to define threats and develop security strategies are made by elected representatives of the people. Civilians also make decisions about how the security sector should be staffed and funded, said Dr. Ibrahim Wani, a Ugandan diplomat who served as the director of the Human Rights Division at the U.N. Mission in South Sudan.

"All of the key policy decisions are to be made by the civilian component," Wani said during a 2022 lecture at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS). "The role of the military is very, very specifically defined. It is to give advice to civilian authorities in the formulation of those strategies and policies."

Wani pointed to three mechanisms that solidify this control:

**Formal mechanisms:** Documents such as the constitution and "national defense act" legislation outline the duties and limits of military power. Elected or appointed members of the national security council, legislative bodies and cabinet members, such as the minister of defense, ensure that these documents are respected.

**Monitoring and oversight:** Civilian officials audit and investigate military activities and spending. Parliamentary committees and the media also play a role in monitoring the armed forces.

**Professional norms and standards:** Through recruitment, professional military education, training and promotion, the military instills the core values of an apolitical stance, loyalty to the constitution and subordination to civilian authority.

### A Winding Road

As countries transitioned from colonialism to independence, full civilian control of the military was sometimes called the "forgotten landmark" on the road to a functioning state. It rarely was a straight path. Countries such as Ghana and Togo experienced military coups in their first post-independence years as civilian presidents tried to rein in and reform the armed forces. By 1987, half of the continent's countries were under military rule. Often, militaries viewed civilian oversight as a nuisance.





“In some other new independent countries, the military saw the civilian control as an unnecessary intrusion into the military sphere of competency,” wrote Col. Kemence Kokou Oyome of the Togolese Armed Forces. “Neither the military nor the civilian authorities did know their respective roles in the new national setting.”

Over the years, countries have moved to strengthen the civilian rule principle. Kenya’s 2010 Constitution calls for national security to be “subject to the authority of this Constitution and Parliament.” It also calls for integrity, accountability and oversight measures.

In South Africa, after the transition to democracy, the country adopted a 1996 Constitution that stressed civilian control with multiparty parliamentary committees

given oversight of all defense and intelligence matters.

Wani said the concept is widely accepted today even though, in practice, it is “a lot more give and take” than a hard and fast rule.

As countries look for ways to strengthen civil-military relations, experts say several areas are essential.

***Put security forces in a position to fulfill their constitutional duties:*** Breakdowns in civil-military relations can occur when the armed forces are used in ways that are not provided for by the constitution. Judy Gitau, a Kenyan lawyer and regional coordinator for Equality Now, said this often happens in response to terrorism or domestic instability. The military is deployed domestically, often

Members of the South African National Defence Force line up outside Cape Town City Hall in advance of the president’s annual state of the nation address.

REUTERS



**“The way the military is structured doesn’t lend itself to law enforcement ... they shouldn’t be used for day-to-day law enforcement because they aren’t built for it.”**

*Judy Gitau, regional coordinator for Equality Now*

without approval by the national assembly, and is asked to take on a mission outside of its mandate.

“The way the military is structured doesn’t lend itself to law enforcement,” Gitau told ADF.

In the Kenyan Constitution the military can be deployed domestically only in cases of natural disaster or for peacekeeping. In these cases, the deployment must be authorized by the parliament and limited to a defined period.

“The military serves a military purpose; the exceptions are there in law, such as the military can use its muscle in the event of conflict or in the event of disaster,” she said. “This is when they can come from the barracks, but they shouldn’t be used for

day-to-day law enforcement because they aren’t built for it.”

Too often, Gitau said, the military is asked to take on roles such as crowd control, detaining suspects and gathering evidence that should be handled by police.

“Once that line is blurred, it becomes easy for the administration of the day to use or even misuse the military and breach the civil-military relations as they should be,” Gitau told ADF.

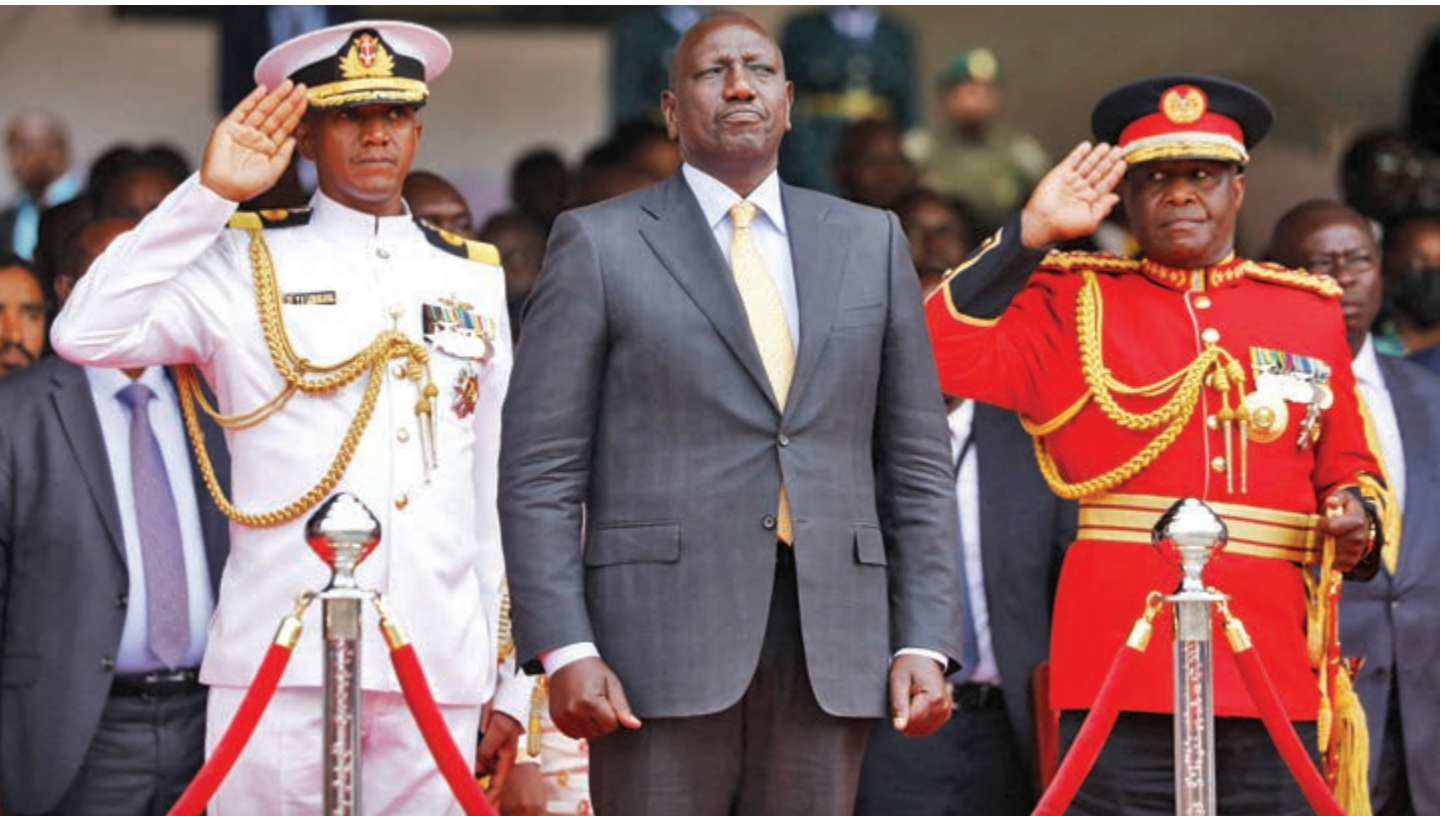
**Improve transparency:** Civilian oversight is only possible with access to information. A lack of transparency about military affairs can lead to corruption. One highly publicized example is payments to “ghost soldiers” that exist on paper but not in real life.

“Information is essential to the exercise of civilian oversight by the executive, legislature, judiciary, and citizens,” wrote Godfrey Musila, a researcher and former commissioner to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in South Sudan.

Musila said that, since 2000, 19 African countries have passed legislation strengthening access to information. In 2012, the AU Commission on Human Rights and

Kenyan President William Ruto stands alongside military leaders as the national anthem is played during his swearing-in ceremony.

REUTERS







Marines stand at attention during a presidential swearing-in ceremony in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

REUTERS

Peoples' Rights developed a model law for this purpose.

Still, Musila said, access to information in the defense sector lags behind other areas of government and hinders civilian oversight. Without transparency, corruption can flourish, and the military can be used in ways that are not in the public interest.

"The challenge is that in the vast majority of states on the continent, the security sector traditionally operates in a culture of secrecy," he wrote. "'National security' is often improperly deployed as an all-trumping consideration; once invoked, it throws up a veil that forestalls any kind of scrutiny of what government does."

**Strengthen Institutions:** When soldiers overthrow the government, they usually justify their actions by pointing to inadequate or corrupt civilian leadership. Gitau said there is a desperate need to improve judicial and democratic institutions so civilians never feel the need to support a coup or nondemocratic transfer of power.

"Systems must work, people should know that they can change in the next election, and they needn't feel that the only saving grace is the military," she said.

Parliamentary committees that oversee funding and staffing of the armed forces can be strengthened. In many African countries, parliaments have a high turnover rate and are not viewed as a credible counterbalance to the executive branch. Dr. Ken Opalo,

a Kenyan-born academic who teaches at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, believes stronger parliamentary oversight would improve military accountability.

"Parliamentarians need to play a bigger role in overseeing the funding of the security sector in their countries but also providing input into the policies that the security sector implements because they know their constituents best," Opalo said during an ACSS forum on accountability.

In the best cases, parliamentarians develop a rapport with military leaders that allows for a two-way discussion about defense priorities and threats facing the country. "That requires trust and constructive dialogue and engagement as opposed to confrontational postures that are common in many legislatures," Opalo said.

When operating properly, the military offers advice and expertise but remains under the supervision of civilian leaders who act on behalf of the public. This leads to security priorities that address the public's most pressing needs.

"The message here is strengthening institutions for purposes of accountability, governance and rule of law," Gitau said. "That way there are proper channels and proper avenues that allow civilians to express their views, hold leaders to account, but more importantly in the question of civil-military relations, that ensures that they remain the principle and the military remains the agent." □





**‘WE ARE  
THE LAST  
DEFENSE OF  
THIS NATION’**

ADF ILLUSTRATION





**Lt. Gen. Dennis Sitali Alibuzwi has served in the Zambia Army for more than 40 years. During his service he has held various command and staff positions. He has served in United Nations peacekeeping missions in Angola, Darfur, Ethiopia/Eritrea and Sierra Leone. In 2019, he was appointed deputy commander of the army, and in 2021 he was appointed army commander. He spoke to ADF from Zambia Army Headquarters in Lusaka. This interview has been edited for space and clarity.**

**ADF:** Zambia has been a major contributor to peacekeeping missions with nearly 1,000 peacekeepers serving in various U.N. missions. Why is this important and how has service abroad helped strengthen the Zambia Defence Force at home?

**Alibuzwi:** Locally, we are mostly engaged in operations that are around our borders. But there is need for mission experience because it is one of the obligations that we have to fulfill as a member of the U.N. In the deployment missions we grew from strength to strength. When we first deployed in Mozambique, we had our own challenges; we did better in Rwanda, and we have continued to improve in other missions. It brings about that exposure that our Soldiers require. We always start with the pre-deployment training. I used to be very active with preparing troops for deployment when I was a major. The training gives a sense of belonging to those who maintain world peace and also peace in Africa. When you prepare adequately, you find that carrying out duties in the mission is very simple. You are prepared to understand the situation on the ground and win the hearts and minds of the host country. This brings a sense of belonging in the host nation.

**ADF:** One group that received particular praise is the Zambian Female Engagement Team. Why are they important?

**Alibuzwi:** When I was in Darfur, I used to have three Zambian police officers — sisters so to say — who could go speak to the locals and get their experiences, especially where rape was concerned. Rape was being used as a weapon of war, and women are free to speak to other women to expose what they had gone through. The Zambian contingent started concentrating on a large scale to train women so they could go out in the field and engage with the locals, especially women and children, to get the desired result and also information from the locals.

The Female Engagement Team has proved to be very effective, and we have since requested of the U.N. that we equally have a neutral team called the Engagement Team, because a number of men are victims too, and they are not ready to speak to the Female Engagement Team. We made a module team to engage the males and, so far, the results are very encouraging. For this reason, ZAMBATT, the Zambia Battalion, wherever it is deployed in the Central African Republic, the locals are not ready to have any other

Lt. Gen. Alibuzwi observes special forces operators training in Mbala District in Zambia's Northern Province.

ZAMBIA ARMY

Alibuzwi addresses general grade officers during a tour of the Defence Services Command and Staff College.

ZAMBIA ARMY

Alibuzwi is inducted into the International Fellows Hall of Fame at the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE

contingent, sorry to say. When you are able to get the desired result, it's very elating that you are contributing to the well-being of the locals.

**ADF:** Zambia is a country without a significant threat from violent extremism and is at peace with its neighbors. What are the biggest threats faced by Zambia today, and how are you working to address them?

**Alibuzwi:** I think the threat that is great at the moment is ourselves. Because we lack loyalty in certain instances, and we lack that noble cause to serve our country diligently. We've seen the rise in illegal immigrants, and the facilitation has been made by ourselves. So, we are a threat to ourselves because we are not security conscious.

Other than that, what is happening in surrounding countries can also happen to Zambia. Our borders are very wide and porous, but we can do better and stop what the Mozambican brothers and sisters are experiencing and also stop the human trafficking, drug trafficking and other vices, including smuggling minerals out of the country. If all of this is left to grow, it will build up a situation that becomes toxic and dangerous to the security of the nation. We are doing everything possible to address the situation, and we've got the goodwill from the President and Commander in Chief, Mr. Hakainde Hichilema, who has promised to adequately fund us and make sure that we train and upgrade ourselves. We are also collaborating with our neighbors in the Southern African Development Community and making sure there is an exchange of intelligence, and we are able to address many challenges as a regional group.

**ADF:** Zambia faces the threat of natural disasters such as floods and cyclones. How is the Zambia Army working to improve disaster preparedness and its capacity to respond?

**Alibuzwi:** We have the Disaster Management and Mitigation Unit. At the moment it's the prime mover for such disasters and challenges. But we do train for disasters. We are reequipping to meet all sorts of disasters under the umbrella of the Central Joint Operations Committee, which carries out the functions of a unified all-of-government approach to dealing with situations like disasters. There is a committee that always meets that looks at how to stock, when to stock, where and why, so as to prepare ourselves as we are given the weather alert from our meteorological department. As an army we are prepared for anything. We prepare for the worst-case scenario.

**ADF:** When you were appointed Zambia Army Commander in 2021, President Hichilema said the military "must have the interest of the people at heart and serve the country diligently." How did you interpret this mission, and how have you tried to improve civil-military relations in the country?

**Alibuzwi:** I'm passionate about this question because I've been teaching the need to be loyal from the time when I was a second lieutenant. I was given the chance to start at the training school; at that time it was called the Military School of Learning. I start from the base of how we joined the army. Zambia is a Christian nation; as we are joining and as we are being enlisted, we hold the Bible in the right hand to take the oath of allegiance. When taking the oath of allegiance, we say that, "I will protect the president of the Republic of Zambia, I will preserve the Constitution of the Republic of Zambia, I will protect the citizens of Zambia, and I will carry out my duties dutifully and diligently." This oath of allegiance is about being subservient to the civil authority under the representation of the president himself. He's the one who gives us orders and instructions through the Defense Act. So, I'm a servant of Zambia, I'm a servant of the president, I'm a servant of the authorities that steer ahead the direction of this country. With this understanding, therefore, one cannot do anything outside of that which is directed to him by the commander-in-chief of the Defence Force. I try very hard to maintain discipline within the rank and file. I try very hard to make everyone see the sense in the saying that "ours is to obey orders promptly and obediently carry out tasks." We are the last defense of this nation, and we cannot afford not to follow orders, not to follow directions, because ours is to perform duties as directed by the president. So, it's very simple: You are able to follow if you know where you're coming from.

**ADF:** Are there any strategic communications tools you use to improve civil-military relations?

**Alibuzwi:** We have opened up for people to know who we are. We've got a Facebook page and an army website where we post matters that help us relate with the population to know what this army is all about and who they interact with when we go out in public, and they see us in uniform. The population is well informed about what the army is all about. The same applies to the air force, Zambian National Service and Zambian Police. This is why we have strategic communication to the population so that they have trust in us and are confident that we are there to defend them. We would not be in uniform if it wasn't for them. We do so proudly, and they should know this is the people's army. We are also using sports as one field to convey who we are. The army has female footballers, and a good number of them are representing the country at the World Cup.

**ADF:** Why do you think coups are occurring so regularly in Africa after decades in which they were on the decline?

**Alibuzwi:** I do not want to speak on behalf of those who are going outside their mandate as prescribed in military law to take over governments. What I want to emphasize is that here, starting with basic training for all Soldiers including officers, we emphasize the need to uphold the





Zambian peacekeepers serving in the U.N. mission in the Central African Republic greet children while on patrol. MINUSCA

law. We also recognize the fact that we are not the ones to correct the wrongs. Ours is to protect the constitution, obey the government of the day and maintain the peace of this nation. Therefore, we make it very clear that, in our minds, there is no time that we should think of taking over government, because that is not our field. The training of our men and women in uniform is tailored toward doing what the law provides for and not what is outside the law. We've managed to keep this in line and in check, and our Soldiers are professionals. Maybe a few elements will entertain such thoughts but once discovered we quickly get rid of them, so they leave this noble uniform.

**ADF:** Early this year you were inducted into the International Fellows Hall of Fame at the U.S. Army War College, which you attended in 2013. What did this mean to you?

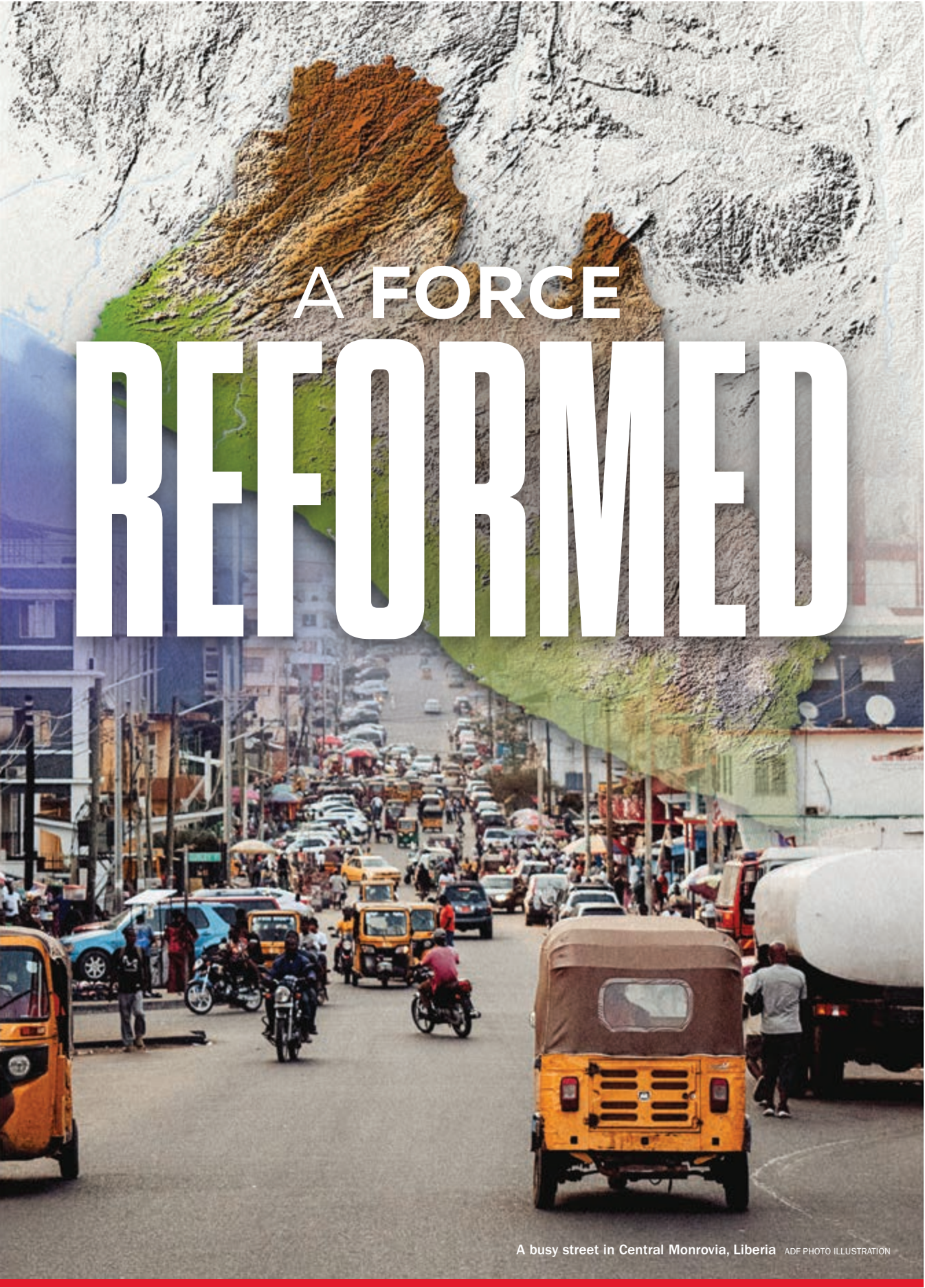
**Alibuzwi:** Being recognized at the highest level is one great achievement. It doesn't come in that manner to many. I would say it's a lifetime achievement, but it came through hard work, it came through remaining loyal to the government of the day, it came through focus of looking at what that course meant and what I wanted to achieve from it.

From the course, I came back, and I was able to magnify my approaches to teaching. I came back and returned to my appointment as chief instructor at our Command and Staff College. So, I shared that experience where I had upgraded my understanding of certain military concepts. Above all, I'm at the peak of my career; the next step is retirement. So, being honored brings gratification that, yes, one led a very good military life.

**ADF:** As you look ahead to the future, what are your goals for the Zambia Army?

**Alibuzwi:** I would have loved to do a lot of programs, but we are coming out of a very challenging economy. Resources have competing needs. Therefore, I don't really get that which I want to carry out the modification of the army in a time frame that I think is adequate. However, I am focused on growing the army to be able to defend this nation adequately, to be able to have the correct and modern equipment for that matter. Slowly but surely, I will continue knocking on the doors of the commander-in-chief and the other government institutions to make sure the army is given the attention it requires to be professional and modern. □





# A FORCE REFORMED

A busy street in Central Monrovia, Liberia ADF PHOTO ILLUSTRATION





## AFTER YEARS OF CIVIL WAR AND REBUILDING, LIBERIA'S MILITARY IS MAKING ITS MARK IN WEST AFRICA AND BEYOND

ADF STAFF

**W**hen eight pirates attacked the fishing vessels Aliman and Shenghai-2 off Sierra Leone's coast, perhaps they thought they would kidnap crew members and extort ransoms for a hefty payday. Maybe they thought one or both of the boats would serve their ongoing criminal enterprises.

What they could not have known is that they were about to sail into the jaws of "Operation Killer Whale" as the Liberian National Coast Guard (LCG) waited to their south. The Sierra Leone Navy had contacted Liberia, which watched as the captured Shenghai-2 entered its territorial waters. When it did, coast guard authorities tracked it, boarded it, rescued 23 crew members and arrested two Nigerian pirates. Six crew members were Chinese; the rest were Sierra Leonean.

"The LCG, though smaller in strength and disposition, has been a very robust component of the AFL," Maj. Gen. Prince C. Johnson III, Armed Forces of Liberia chief of staff, told ADF by email. "The LCG has contributed immensely to national economic development through the safe guiding of our territorial waters through arrest and deterrence. It also provides an enabling environment for our fishing industry to prosper and security for our artisanal fishermen. The LCG has enforced the law against trafficking both on water and land."

The 28-hour Operation Killer Whale is another positive mark in a yearslong journey for the AFL. The force was in disarray after two successive civil wars. As a result, it was dissolved. Efforts to reconstitute the AFL began in 2006, and four years later, Liberia had a new military. Since then, it has distinguished itself in international peacekeeping operations, supported a response to a deadly Ebola pandemic and reestablished its coast guard. It enjoys a strong bilateral relationship with the Michigan Army National Guard under the U.S. State Partnership Program. Now it is working

with Nigerian advisors to set up a new air wing.

The LCG is just one point of pride in efforts to rebuild the AFL into a trusted institution that protects the population and defers to civilian authority. Doing so from scratch is no small task, but the AFL is showing that it can be done.



Maj. Gen. Prince Charles Johnson III attends Liberia's 176th Independence Day Parade at the Barclay Training Center in Monrovia on July 26, 2023. ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA

### PROGRAM RESETS MILITARY

Liberia's two civil wars, the first of which began in 1989, displaced nearly a third of the nation's population and killed about 250,000 people. Many in the AFL were accused of war crimes, which destroyed public confidence in the military. The nation also was awash in weapons, ammunition and rebel fighters from neighboring countries.

The Economic Community of West African States, the Liberian Transitional Government, the United Nations and the United States worked together on an



ambitious security sector reform program to rebuild the nation's military and police force and to disarm and demobilize fighters. Authorities agreed that to reinstate public trust in security forces, the military would have to be disbanded and completely rebuilt.

## “ LIBERIA IS AN EXAMPLE OF THE TANGIBLE IMPACT THAT PEACEKEEPING HAS ON COUNTRIES AFFECTED BY CONFLICT.”

~ Jean-Pierre Lacroix, U.N. under-secretary-general for peace operations

Every departing Soldier got severance pay, and prospective new members had to be vetted and meet a list of requirements. For example, enlisted personnel had to be high school graduates, and officers had to have a four-year college degree. New Soldiers also had to meet physical and medical standards and pass muster with a Joint Personnel Board. That board posted potential recruits' photos in villages, towns and newspapers to see whether any civilians had questions, concerns or information about their past conduct. The nonjudicial vetting process did not lead to prosecutions.

A government militia fighter screams after firing at rebel troops in July 2003 on a bridge in Monrovia during the nation's second civil war.

GETTY IMAGES

Johnson told ADF that the effort “provided the platform for the general population to believe and trust in the process which brought to birth the new AFL. The citizenry knew that the AFL being structured was going to be free of people who were linked to warring factions during the civil crises and [those] who have committed human rights abuses and other illegal acts were not going to be a part of the AFL.”

### PAYING A DEBT OF PEACE

As Liberia came out of its first civil war, which started in 1989, it became the first West African nation to host a peacekeeping mission in 1993 when the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia was established to support implementation of a peace agreement. The mission ended in 1997. Less than two years later, civil war broke out again and lasted until 2003. At that time, another peacekeeping mission, the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), was established and lasted until 2018.

The rebirth of the AFL ran simultaneously with UNMIL, as the new military was formed between 2006 and 2010. About three years after the rebuilding program ended, Liberia began serving in multinational peacekeeping operations. The first was in June 2013 with the African-led International Support Mission to Mali,



which soon transitioned to the U.N. Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali.

As of May 31, 2023, Liberia was contributing 169 uniformed personnel to U.N. peacekeeping missions around the world. Liberia's peacekeeping involvement into mid-2023 consisted of personnel spread across the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mali, South Sudan and Abyei, a small, contested border area between South Sudan and Sudan. The vast majority of Liberian peacekeepers — 96% — served in Mali.

"Liberia is an example of the tangible impact that peacekeeping has on countries affected by conflict," said U.N. Under-Secretary-General for Peace Operations Jean-Pierre Lacroix in November 2022. "For several decades, it hosted peacekeeping operations in the wake of a civil war. ... Today, Liberia, in turn, deploys 'Blue Helmets' to help other countries navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace."

### ORDER AT HOME

Just a few years after re-creating and relaunching its new armed forces with thousands fewer personnel, Liberia had to face a new challenge: a multinational Ebola outbreak that killed more than 11,000 people, of whom more than 4,800 were Liberians.

The pandemic is believed to have originated in

Liberian Soldiers from the 1st Engineer Company set up tents in Tubmanburg where an Ebola treatment center was built in October 2014. GETTY IMAGES



A Liberian Soldier tests his transceiver during a radio familiarization class at Camp Ware, Liberia, in September 2013. U.S. AIR FORCE

Guinea before spreading primarily to Liberia and Sierra Leone. The ensuing chaos would have been a major challenge for any military, much less a new one.

"That was a very bad experience for our nation," said Col. Roland T. Bai Murphy, military assistant to the chief of staff of the AFL, in an August 2019 episode of the War Room podcast. "We had just recovered from a civil crisis, trying to build our economy, trying to build our health sector, our educational sector. And boom, the Ebola came in 2013, and in 2014 it became worse."

The AFL first took action to protect troops and their families at the government's request, Murphy said. As the virus spread, Soldiers had "to deploy task forces



around the country to control the influx of people from the rural area to Monrovia. And things kept getting worse. Two communities got so infected with the virus, we were forced to quarantine on government orders, and we had to quarantine. It was not something nice to do, but we had to do it to protect the larger population.”

When U.S. forces came to Liberia to help fight the pandemic, AFL personnel helped them build Ebola treatment units to treat the sick. The work put the new army at the forefront of civil-military operations during a major crisis.

## A RETURN TO THE SKIES

Despite all the gains made in the past 13 years since the new AFL was formed, one area still needs to be developed: an air component. To start the process of building a new air wing, Johnson visited Nigeria in mid-2022 and was assured by then-Nigerian Chief of the Air Staff, Air Marshal Oladayo Amao, that his country would help with the effort.

Amao pledged to train Liberian pilots and invited the AFL to take advantage of the Nigerian Air Force’s technical training schools for ground support and air traffic control courses, according to the Liberian Ministry of National Defense.

Nigeria also has assessed Liberia’s air facilities to help plan a way forward. A Nigerian contingent, led by Air Vice Marshal Francis Edosa in November 2022, visited James Spriggs Payne Airport and Roberts International Airport and spoke with Liberian aviation



The Liberian National Coast Guard participates in the multinational maritime exercise Obangame Express in early 2023.

SGT. E.W. JOHNSON/AFL PUBLIC AFFAIRS

authorities. “The intent of the visit is to assess and see if we are pointed in the right direction, and with time, things we have documented, like making estimates, will give us an idea in going about the process,” Edosa said, according to Front Page Africa.

Johnson told Front Page Africa that it’s too early to put a timeline on the air wing’s formation.

“The Armed Forces of Liberia had aircrafts but due to the civil war, we ourselves destroyed them,” he told the news outlet. “The strategic objective is to fulfill a Constitutional document — 2008 National Defense Act — that says the AFL needs three branches — the

A Soldier with the Armed Forces of Liberia participates in Armed Forces Day in Monrovia in February 2022.

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







Soldiers with Liberia's Ebola Task Force enforce a quarantine in Monrovia's West Point neighborhood in 2014. GETTY IMAGES

army, Liberian Coast Guard, and the air wings.”

Beyond the constitutional requirement, an air wing is needed to support civilian authorities in tasks such as transporting census takers to remote areas, he said.

“The AFL air wing is an integral component of the AFL. Its key roles are to conduct air mobility, reconnaissance, and search and rescue missions,” Johnson told ADF. “Since the activation of the 23rd Infantry Brigade and subsequently the LCG, the discussion to activate the air wing has been ongoing within the hierarchy of the AFL and the Ministry of National Defense and foreign partners and allies.”

Johnson said the old AFL air wing used three Cessna U-17C lightweight aircraft and refurbished DHC-4 Caribou and IAI Arava aircraft. It conducted reconnaissance and search and rescue operations using airstrips managed and maintained by remote communities.

“These airstrips are still available but require some level of revamping,” he said. “The poor condition of many of Liberia’s roads and bridges impacts the country negatively. During an emergency, it creates a challenge for the AFL and other organizations to respond.”

Having light fixed-wing utility transport aircraft such as the Dornier DO 228 and light reconnaissance aircraft like the Embraer EMB 314 A-29 Super Tucano would be ideal, he said. Such aircraft could perform operations on land and at sea.

“Another advantage of having the air wing activated is the insertion of troops and logistics in hard-to-reach

areas in time to respond to terroristic attacks or armed banditry,” he said. “Slow response time in such incidents could be costly to national security.”

## LOOKING FORWARD

Current AFL leaders have been around since rebuilding efforts began. Murphy, who was the first ALF senior officer admitted to the U.S. Army War College, was among the recruits in the second cohort of the new AFL. Johnson and Brig. Gen. Geraldine George were among the early members. George was the first female general in the AFL and now serves as the first female deputy chief of staff. She has encouraged Liberian women to consider careers in the AFL.

Some years back, a former U.S. ambassador suggested a nickname for the new AFL: “Force for Good.” It stuck. Now Liberian authorities see the name “as a brand for the Liberian people, rebuilding and regaining the confidence of both national and international partners,” Johnson told NewsAfrica in 2021.

Murphy expressed similar optimism about the ALF’s future in the 2019 podcast. “I think what we are going to look at now in the next five years is to have a force that will be robust enough to respond to national and regional issues, to have a force that will be able to serve as a nation-builder and to implement the peace, always.” □



# THE SECOND BATTLEFIELD

AS AN INSURGENCY CONTINUES IN NORTHERN  
MOZAMBIQUE, SOLDIERS GAIN GROUND THROUGH  
**CIVIL-MILITARY OPERATIONS**

ADF STAFF

ADF ILLUSTRATION



**A**t first glance, a football tournament, a literacy drive, food distribution and a medical clinic might not seem like part of the fight against violent extremism. But several contingents in the multinational force in northern Mozambique's Cabo Delgado province are finding such operations useful in a region typically lacking such services.

The Southern African Development Community Mission in Mozambique (SAMIM) is "engaging local communities and leadership through various community building programs aimed at assisting the local communities and leadership to regain normalcy and confidence lost through terror activities that marred the Cabo Delgado Province over a period of years," Maj. Mosala K. Letshwiti, chief public information officer at SAMIM force headquarters, wrote on the mission's Facebook page in May 2023.

There's more to stopping an insurgency than just winning on the battlefield. Soldiers must contend for the hearts and minds of affected civilians so they become allies in the fight against violent extremists. Such work is known as civil-military operations (CMO).

"In terms of civil-military operations and the value that they have, it's essential to any kind of counterinsurgency effort," said Dr. Daniel Eizenga, a research fellow and expert on CMO at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies.

Cabo Delgado province has been under siege from a group called Ansar al-Sunna since 2017. The insurgents, known colloquially as al-Shabaab although not connected to the Somali group, had killed more than 4,700 people as of July 9, 2023, according to Cabo Ligado, a website that monitors violence in the region. The conflict displaced close to 1 million people.

Political grievances against the state, exacerbated by local communal grievances, are the main elements of an insurgency, Eizenga told ADF. CMO mitigates that through various programs and aid, which reconnect communities with the state in a positive way through "short-term infusions into the economy to help get the development engine running again."

Military forces are well equipped for such work because they have the organizational and logistics chains necessary in areas that otherwise might lack a strong connection to government

services, Eizenga said. A force like SAMIM serves to "soften the ground for the government to come back in" and establish and sustain essential services.

Helping civilians in Cabo Delgado has proved especially important, as insurgents reportedly are using money and food to try to win support from the population. Troops with the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) have warned residents of Nkonga village of the tactic. Nkonga served as an insurgent base until a November 2022 SAMIM offensive drove out militants and allowed residents to return.

**"In terms of civil-military operations and the value that they have, it's essential to any kind of counterinsurgency effort."**

— DR. DANIEL EIZENGA,  
research fellow at the Africa  
Center for Strategic Studies

SAMIM forces have performed humanitarian operations as individual contingents and in combination with each other. One prominent provider of CMO has been the South African National Defence Force's (SANDF) Combat Team Alpha Civil-Military Coordination Team, which arrived in Cabo Delgado province in July 2022.

Combat Team Alpha set up a 500-square-meter camp known as Mihluri Base in the Macomia area soon after arriving. Within months an airstrip was under construction at Xinavane, south of Macomia.

The team worked primarily in the Macomia, Mueda and Nangade areas, providing aid in camps for internally displaced people (IDP), until it rotated out in April 2023.



SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENCE FORCE



SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENCE FORCE



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SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENCE FORCE



UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

**1.** Members of South Africa's Combat Team Alpha donated the money to buy footwear for people living in an internally displaced persons (IDP) camp in Mozambique. **2.** Members of Combat Team Alpha sort through donated clothes. **3.** Children at an IDP camp gather to receive donated shoes and clothes. **4.** A South African Soldier helps distribute clothes to children at an IDP camp. **5.** South African Soldiers meet with caretakers of the IDP camp in Xinavane. **6.** Spectators watch a football tournament held in Nangade.



# SAMIM CMO

Cabo Delgado, one of 10 provinces in Mozambique, has been home to the violent extremist organization Ansar al-Sunna since 2017. Civil-military operations there are helping security forces win over local populations.



South African Soldiers visited the IDP camp in Xinavane, home to 350 people living mostly in tents, multiple times. In July 2022, the team distributed food parcels to primary schools serving more than 3,500 students, according to the SANDF. Team members distributed food again in November 2022, raising enough money from among themselves to buy cooking pots and porridge packs to add to the food rations they had provided. A month later, the team donated feminine hygiene products to women and girls at the IDP camp.

“The South African Combat Team Alpha Civil-Military Coordination team mostly relies on the generosity of the deployed members, members so far have been donating or making contribution from their own pockets,” wrote Lt. Cmdr. N. Mhlongo on the SANDF Facebook page.

In addition to food and other aid, the South African personnel intended to establish a library to encourage literacy in the area. The effort started with a box of books donated by the Ponelepe Reading Club in Polokwane, a city in South Africa.

LDF personnel, in tandem with counterparts from the Tanzania People’s Defence Force (TPDF), also have conducted a number of civil-military engagements. In May 2022, the two contingents contributed food parcels to those living in the

Nangade Refugee Camp. Some of the 200 people in the camp had been living there for two years. Nangade is the sector allocated to LDF and TPDF troops under SAMIM.

“I am running out of words because even in a single day we never thought that Soldiers from foreign countries can extend their helping hands to the helpless people of Nangade,” said camp leader Selehe Saide on behalf of the refugees.

LDF and TPDF forces teamed up with staff members from the Nangade Health Centre to hold a medical services event on May 12, 2023. The medical event, which marked International Nurses Day, provided free services to 153 people in Nangade City and neighboring villages, including primary care, and malaria screening and treatment. SAMIM forces also donated medicine to the center.

A few days later, LDF troops joined other local football teams in a tournament organized by Nangade police to mark Police Day. Medical personnel provided health care, screenings and treatment to another 107 people in Alamba village.



A South African nursing officer examines an infant in Cabo Delgado province. SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENCE FORCE

“We are doing our best to fulfil our mission, hence why you always see us patrolling on your areas and even paying you a visit at your villages to build a rapport with you,” LDF Contingent Commander Lt. Col. Malefetsane Makhoahle told participating teams and audience members at the tournament.

In July 2023, LDF and TPDF personnel provided medical services to residents of the Fifth Congresso village in Nangade district. Lt. Col. Boiketsiso Fonane, LDF contingent deputy commander, told civilians there that they should feel free to go about their normal routines. “We are your protectors and your friends,” he said. “We are urging you to put all trust on us. We are ready to hunt the insurgents wherever they are hiding in this district. We will never let you down, and you should know that we are part of you.”

### COORDINATION IS ESSENTIAL

A little more than a year after deploying in July 2021, SAMIM began to switch its focus from primarily military operations to a combination of military, civilian, police and correctional operations, according to SADC.

# MISSION PROFILE:

## SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY MISSION IN MOZAMBIQUE (SAMIM)

The SADC mission was deployed in Mozambique on July 15, 2021, as a regional response to help the nation combat terrorism and acts of violent extremism against civilians in some districts of Cabo Delgado province.

The SAMIM mandate includes neutralizing terrorist threats and restoring security to create a secure environment, strengthening and maintaining peace and security, and restoring law and order in affected areas of the province. It also supports Mozambique, in collaboration with humanitarian agencies, to continue providing relief to populations affected by terrorism, including internally displaced persons.

Since its deployment, SAMIM has recaptured villages, dislodged terrorists from their bases, and seized weapons and warfare materiel, which has helped ensure safer passage for humanitarian support.

Eight SADC countries have deployed troops under SAMIM. They are Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia. SAMIM troops work with Mozambican forces and other troops, such as those deployed by Rwanda, to combat acts of terrorism and violent extremism.

In mid-July 2023, SADC extended the SAMIM mandate for another year.





**SAMIM Force Commander Maj. Gen. Xolani Mankayi of South Africa, right, speaks during induction training for newly arrived troops at force headquarters in Pemba, Mozambique, in 2023.** SAMIM

**A South African Soldier helps fit a pair of shoes on a child.**  
SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENCE FORCE



South African Maj. Gen. Xolani Mankayi, SAMIM force commander, said the transition would see the components working together to restore peace and stability in Cabo Delgado. He called on stakeholders to support the Cabo Delgado Reconstruction Plan, which aims to restore public services, rebuild infrastructure and promote socio-economic recovery.

In July 2022, SAMIM welcomed new troops to the mission. At that time, Brig. Simon M. Barwabatsile of Botswana, mission deputy force commander, explained the importance of humanitarian assistance to new arrivals. “In our achievement as a collective we need civilian involvement to play various roles, such as undertaking confidence-building programs, in order to eliminate mistrust within our society in Cabo Delgado province,” he said, according to a video from SA Defence News. “Cohesion remains our cornerstone in order to foster peace and security as well as to sustain social economic development in Cabo Delgado province.”

As SAMIM forces sought to extend their civilian outreach focus, awareness of humanitarian partners and their differing mandates and responsibilities would be essential. To that end,

SAMIM and the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs conducted humanitarian induction training for new members of the Botswana Defence Force stationed in Pemba during April 2023.

Training included the international legal framework applied to IDPs, the principles of humanitarian action, international human rights law and the various humanitarian actors in the region.

By mid-2023, SAMIM was continuing to make headway in its battle against insurgents. Cabo Delgado Gov. Valige Tauabo told Zumbo FM radio in June 2023 that more than 400,000 IDPs had returned home.

As SAMIM continues in Cabo Delgado, it will be important for the mission to gradually hand over the work of providing essential services to the Mozambican government. This will be challenging, Eizenga said. Mediated political engagement will be needed between local authorities and national officials out of the capital, Maputo, to help make this happen.

“What becomes crucial is that they can pass the baton at some point.” □



# AFRICAN LION

## *A Leap Forward in Cooperation*

ADF STAFF

A member of the Tunisian Armed Forces drifted toward the ground after a free-fall jump from a UH-60 Black Hawk helicopter on May 31, 2023, at the Ben Ghilouf Training Area in Tunisia. He participated with about 8,000 others from 18 nations in African Lion 2023, U.S. Africa Command's largest annual combined, joint exercise, from May 13 to June 18. The exercise also took place in Ghana, Morocco and Senegal. African Lion's goal is to improve partnerships between African, U.S. and other international militaries; increase interoperability; and strengthen shared defense capabilities and cooperation to counter transnational threats and violent extremist organizations. The 2023 iteration included combined arms live-fire exercises; a maritime component; joint forcible entry of paratroopers into a field training exercise; two chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear response exercises; and three humanitarian civic assistance events.





SGT. 1ST CLASS BRANDON NELSON/U.S. ARMY





# A NEW PATH TO PEACE

**The Principles for  
Peace Foundation  
Offers Resources  
and Strategies to  
Nations Trying to  
Resolve Conflict**

ADF STAFF





Burundians march in Bujumbura in 2017 for peace talks aimed at resolving nearly two years of deadly political crises.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



**In** returning to his hometown of Bujumbura, Frederic Gateretse-Ngoga awoke every morning with a strong sense of place and purpose.

It was November 2022, and he was back in Burundi's capital amid the familiar colors, smells, hustle and commotion to host a regional dialogue of people gathered to advance a new approach to conflict resolution called the Principles for Peace (P4P).

A mere 15 kilometers away, the eastern reaches of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) loomed — a blood-soaked battleground awash with multiple armies, rebel groups, extremist militants, scores of armed militias, and millions of civilians crying out for peace and protection.

"Every morning when you wake up in Bujumbura you see the mountains of eastern DRC," Gateretse-Ngoga told ADF.

Burundi's own violent history weighed on his mind as well.

The son of a diplomat, Gateretse-Ngoga saw his adolescence and young adulthood marked by genocide, civil war, coups d'état and countless deaths. Among them were two of his young cousins.

"Their deaths marked me greatly," he said. "I realized that there was not a single family in Burundi that had not been affected by the cycles of violence."

Those events and losses forged his future as a peacemaker.

The African Union's Senior Advisor for International Partnerships, he also has led the Early Warning and Conflict Prevention Division in the AU Peace and Security Department and served as a senior officer for the AU peacekeeping mission in Somalia.

Today, as a member of the P4P's International Commission for Inclusive Peace, Gateretse-Ngoga is working to make the P4P and its Peacemaking Covenant the standard for peacemaking principles. It's a lodestar that mediators, governments, and regional and international bodies can use to chart a course to sustainable peace before, during and after conflict.

The meeting in Bujumbura was one of hundreds of engagements over two years that shaped the Principles.

With the Itombwe Mountains in the background, a conference room full of veteran peacemakers, activists, survivors and unflinching optimists wrestled with the region's violent past and present, seeking to make sense of the ripples between.

## OLD CHALLENGES, NEW PRINCIPLES

The list of conflicts in Africa is long. More than 30 conflicts are affecting hundreds of millions of people across the continent. Some are state based; some are communal. All are devastating to societies and communities, costing lives, economic prospects and social cohesion.

Completed in January 2023, the Principles offer a concrete road map and follow-up mechanisms that its organizers believe will mesh with efforts by governments, regional authorities and international bodies.

P4P Foundation Executive Director Hiba Qasas, who is from the Palestinian territories, says her organization aims to build a movement to revolutionize peacemaking.

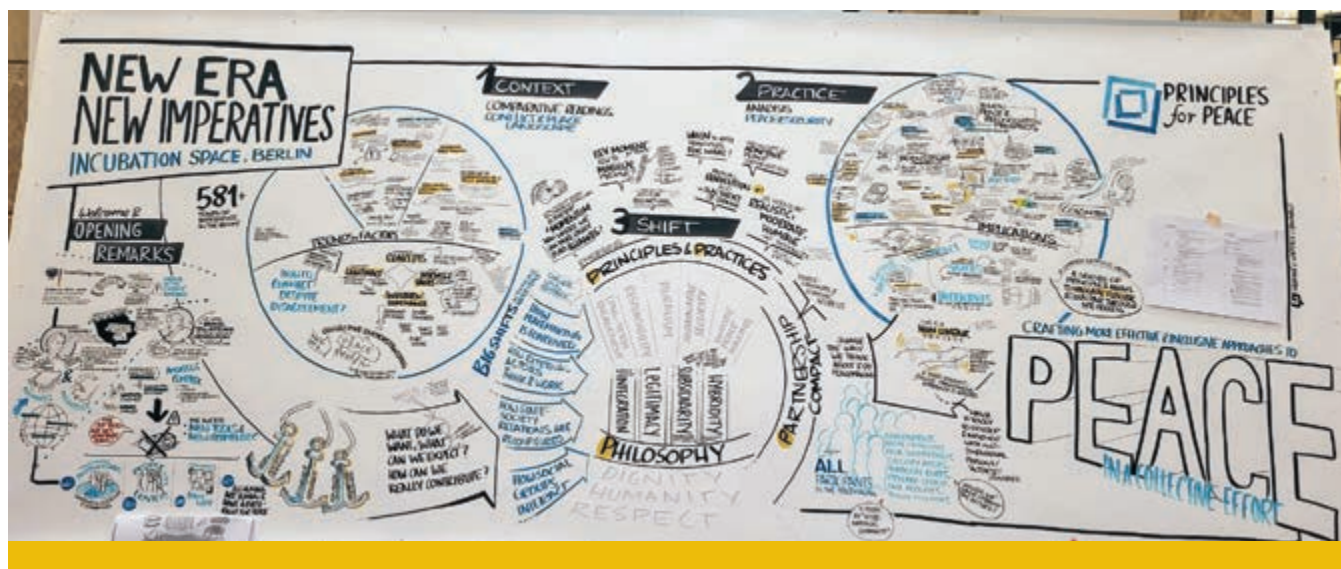
"Growing up in a conflict zone



Retired Canadian Lt. Gen. Roméo Dallaire, former commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, left; Hiba Qasas, center; and Frederic Gateretse-Ngoga are members of the International Commission on Inclusive Peace.

It took two years and hundreds of engagements to create and refine the Principles for Peace.

THE PRINCIPLES FOR PEACE FOUNDATION





deeply influenced my path,” she told ADF. “I have witnessed the stark realities of loss and suffering firsthand.”

The Principles, she said, are bringing the concept of social peace to peacemaking to build “an environment free from conflict and insecurity, with justice and freedom of expression respected, with rights protected.”

The peacemaking and stabilization space previously lacked a common set of standards, she said, noting the impact of the Red Cross’ humanitarian principles, some of which were adopted by the United Nations in 1991.

“It is like the Wild West,” Qasas said. “This absence has resulted in various actors engaging in peace-building using different approaches, starting from different assumptions, and measuring success differently.”

When warring parties agree to a cease-fire or to end a dispute, there is significant risk of a return to conflict. Almost half of global conflicts since 1989 have recurred, some as many as three times. More than 2 billion people live in conflict-affected and fragile states, suffering the direct and indirect consequences of violence and insecurity.

“There are major gaps in the current peacemaking approach,

and these were a significant motivating factor in the creation of the P4P Foundation,” Qasas said. “Too often peace fails when it is not sufficiently legitimate, inclusive or transformative.”

Three core principles of the organization’s Peace Covenant are dignity, solidarity and humility. They address the need to root peacemaking efforts morally and ethically to promote trust and respect.

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Experts and activists attend the International Commission on Inclusive Peace’s regional dialogue in Bujumbura from November 22 to 24, 2022. THE PRINCIPLES FOR PEACE FOUNDATION



The next two principles — enhancing legitimacy and accountable security — serve as a foundation for reaching lasting peace.

Three final principles underscore the commitments needed to strengthen peacemaking: promoting pluralism; adopting subsidiarity, which states that issues should be dealt with at the most local level; and advocating integrated and hybrid solutions.

“It is crucial to recognize that achieving political peace is not enough,” Qasas said. “Peacemaking should be viewed as a broader effort to transform state-society relations.

“It should improve the responsiveness and accountability of governance mechanisms, provide real benefits to communities, and address underlying social fractures.”

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Redwan Hussein, left, representative of the Ethiopian government, and Getachew Reda, representative of the Tigray People's Liberation Front, shake hands over a peace agreement in Pretoria, South Africa, on November 2, 2022. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

**“For a conflict to be transformed into full peace, there must be economic progress that is seen to be open to all. Social peace is more important than a politically negotiated settlement. The absence of war does not necessarily mean peace.”**

~ Desiré Yamuremye, Jesuit priest and member of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Burundi

The Principles for Peace provide these standards as a practical guide and an accountability tool. They are meant to serve as a framework for creating and implementing peace agreements while addressing the key drivers of conflict in a more inclusive process.

The Principles were the product of 700 case studies and 150 consultations in more than 60 countries, in which P4P engaged with thousands of stakeholders from around the world at grassroots and state levels to learn

from experiences and listen to those most affected by conflict.

Qasas described a process in which she and other organizational leaders held dialogues with peaceful actors and nonstate armed actors. They spoke with spoilers, who are members of groups that are excluded from a peace process or who exclude themselves and use violence to attack the process.

“In some cases when you talk to different constituencies they say, ‘We were not part of the process,’” she







Rival South Sudanese security forces raise their hands after a meeting in Juba on April 8, 2022. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

said in Bujumbura. “Peace is done to us, it’s not done with us, and we don’t necessarily own it.”

Desiré Yamuremye, a Jesuit priest who was a member of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Burundi, spoke during the Bujumbura meeting and said most peace agreements made in the wake of conflicts do not reflect realities on the ground. They do not consider the economic damage and psychological trauma of the people.

“For a conflict to be transformed into full peace, there must be economic progress that is seen to be open to all,” Yamuremye said. “Social peace is more important than a politically negotiated settlement.

“The absence of war does not necessarily mean peace.”

#### ‘GIVE IT LEGS’

The Principles for Peace have five state sponsors — Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland — and more than 100 nongovernmental organizations support it.

In May 2023, the Principles for Peace were recognized as an

important shared frame of reference and common standards among peace-building actors at the U.N. Security Council High-Level Open Debate.

The Principles were launched on July 10, 2023, in the Philippines, where they are serving as an accountability tool to track further implementation of the Bangsamoro peace process.

In Africa, the organization held exchanges with the AU, the East African Community regional bloc and leaders in Somalia, who are drafting plans to launch a Principles for Peace initiative there.

Qasas is excited and ambitious about this phase of deploying the Principles. She said she is determined for this work to “not just be words on a page collecting dust.” She particularly likes to talk about implementation with the phrase, “Let’s give it legs.”

“What has truly inspired and moved me was the unwavering energy of the youth, the passion of civil society and the enlightened leadership that emerged from various sectors,” she said of her 20-year journey as a peacemaker. “Their collective determination fueled us to press

forward, breaking down barriers and challenging the status quo.”

Looking at conflict in Africa and the world, Gateretse-Ngoga sees an urgent need to give peacemakers an updated toolbox.

“People don’t have to die because of how they were born, their gender or creed,” he said. “Unfortunately, looking at what is happening globally, we don’t seem to learn our lesson.”

His focus is on finding “noisemakers,” people whose voices for peace can be amplified by the Principles for Peace Foundation.

“There is the normalization of intolerance in our public discourse, and we’re finding it OK,” he said. “We are going where we never went, even in terms of how we treat each other.

“The truth is, people who have their values straight and who have a common humanity, we have a duty to fight back. But we’ve all been shy.” □









# PEACEKEEPING

## *That Puts People First*

Protests Directed at U.N. Peacekeepers Put Missions at Risk. Experts Share Ways to Win Back the Support of Host Communities.

ADF STAFF

**M**aj. Gen. Emmanuel Kotia remembers being deployed to Lebanon in 2006 to command the Ghanaian battalion of the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).

Some southern villages in his area of responsibility had been occupied and badly damaged during the war. Residents had been forced to flee, and their anger as they returned home was palpable.

"They were devastated," he told ADF. "When people came back to the villages, they didn't want to see any U.N. vehicle passing through the road." He said civilians believed the U.N. should have done more to prevent attacks.

Kotia decided to go before the traditional leaders known as mukhtars and offer assistance from his battalion. "I said 'Look, we are here to support you. Whatever could have happened, happened, but let's forgive and forget,'" he recalled. "So, I was drinking coffee with them, chatting with them, going to them and it probably changed their minds."

A Congolese woman with a child crosses a road in front of peacekeepers on patrol in the town of Kiwanja, the Democratic Republic of the Congo. REUTERS



Maj. Gen. Emmanuel Kotia of Ghana speaks in 2019 when he was commander of the Western Sector in the U.N. Peacekeeping Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. MONUSCO



The second time he met with the local leaders, the discussion was more open. Whereas previously they insisted they did not want or need U.N. assistance, now they conceded they needed just one bit of help. They asked the U.N. to use its equipment to move a container that was blocking a road. Kotia immediately made it happen.

That small gesture, he said, opened the door to a stronger civil-military partnership. Before long, the U.N. was offering the community clean water from its tanker trucks and health care services through its medical personnel.

“One of the fundamental issues that peacekeeping missions should have as part of their mandate or concept of operations is that the life of the civilians they are protecting must be improved,” Kotia said. “If there is no improvement of the quality of life, the peacekeeping operation will not be welcomed.”

Kotia has written a book titled “Ghana Armed Forces in Lebanon and Liberia Peace Operations,” and served in missions in Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Liberia, Rwanda, Western Sahara and elsewhere. He said understanding civil-military relations in peacekeeping is more important than ever. The U.N. has faced violent protests against its presence in the DRC and Mali. Kotia and other experts offered guidance on how to win acceptance from host communities and make missions more effective.

## MANAGE EXPECTATIONS

Although experts say it is important for the population to see benefits from a peacekeeping operation, they also caution that people need to know the limits of peacekeepers’ capabilities and mandate.

Often, civilians become angry because there is a gap between what peacekeepers can do and what civilians expect from them.

“We’ve seen peacekeepers return and say the community expected us to respond to every issue: medical supplies, food, access to transportation, dealing with infrastructure, fighting the people they perceive as a threat,” Ouiem Chettaoui, a senior program officer working on conflict management training for peacekeepers at the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP), said during a webinar.

Communicating what a mission can and cannot do is key. This requires community engagement through events such as public meetings, television and radio broadcasts, and other outreach efforts. “If the expectation is for the peacekeeping mission to resolve problems that are outside or beyond its capacity, that creates an issue of trust,” Chettaoui said. “So, managing expectations is essential, and targeted communication is essential.”

Chettaoui said every person in a mission must know the mandate and the mission’s objectives so he or she can communicate them clearly when interacting with the public. Effective public outreach also helps the mission counter misinformation, which can poison the relationship between civilians and peacekeepers.

“Everybody needs to know exactly what the talking points are around the mission’s goals and what it can reasonably achieve in that moment,” Chettaoui said.

## FIND QUICK-IMPACT PROJECTS

Early in a mission it is important for the population to see tangible benefits from the presence of peacekeepers. One way to do that is a “quick-impact project” that improves the lives of the public while also earning the peacekeepers credibility.

Kotia recalled the Italian contingent in UNIFIL facing stiff resistance to its presence. Villagers were shouting at





the peacekeepers and hurling rocks at their vehicles. He advised the Italian commander to go to the local leaders and ask them what they needed, with an emphasis on something that could be completed fairly quickly.

It became apparent that the Lebanese needed road improvements and other assistance. The Italians were able to launch a road-refinishing project, and the civil-military dynamic completely changed. "This endeared them to the people," Kotia said.

These quick-impact projects can be small, like drilling a well for fresh water, or can be more complex, like improving access to electricity or improving railroads. Demining

is another vital need in many war-scarred countries. The key, say those who have led missions, is for the community to see the results.

"Peacekeeping operations must come up with strategies of quick-impact projects that will improve the lives of people in the quickest possible time," Kotia said.

### EMBRACE ACCOUNTABILITY

Peacekeeping missions sometimes have lost credibility due to misdeeds such as sexual exploitation or violence against civilians. In other cases, their inability or unwillingness to act in the face of a threat to civilians fractured

Families displaced by conflict watch as a convoy of peacekeepers from the U.N. mission in the Central African Republic passes. Experts believe a relationship of trust between civilians and peacekeepers is key to a successful mission. AFP/GETTY IMAGES





the relationship. In the eastern DRC, for example, instances when U.N. forces failed to intervene to stop rebel massacres became a rallying cry for protesters calling for an end to the mission.

“We need to strengthen our accountability mechanism as the United Nations,” Claudia Croci, a senior specialist at the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, said during a webinar. “If something doesn’t go in the right direction, I think we need to really pause for a second and try to figure out, ‘Why has this gone so wrong and what are we going to do to correct this?’ And show to the communities that there is an accountability system.”

This could include public forums in which the U.N. explains its actions and the concrete measures it is taking to improve. The U.N. interacts with the public through its joint protection teams, community alert networks and mission staff responsible for community outreach. Still, experts say, more can be done.

“If something goes wrong, it’s not just enough to say ‘Sorry, something went wrong,’ but showing that there are consequences, people are held accountable, that’s really important to avoid this situation,” Croci said.

In 2015, the U.N. issued its Policy on Accountability for Conduct and Discipline in Field Missions, strengthening punishments for personnel found to have committed abuses. For example, U.N. peacekeepers accused of firing live rounds at protesters outside a warehouse in Goma, DRC, in July 2022 were arrested, and the U.N. issued a formal apology calling the incident “unspeakable and irresponsible.”

“Stop and try to figure out why this happened, and if there was a mistake acknowledge there was a mistake,” Croci said. “We are humans, we can make mistakes. But acknowledge it.”

She added that an attitude of impunity or aloofness is a quick way for peacekeepers to be estranged from the population they are there to protect. “We would not



A woman stands near an armored vehicle operated by the U.N. mission in the Central African Republic. The civil-military relationship in many U.N. peacekeeping missions has been frayed by issues including slow responses to threats, peacekeeper misconduct and misinformation. AFP/GETTY IMAGES





A girl holding a child walks past U.N. peacekeepers after heavy rains and floods forced hundreds of thousands of people from their homes in South Sudan. Civil-military relations are strengthened when peacekeepers help in times of need. REUTERS

accept it as individuals; why should we expect communities where we intervene, but are hosted, should accept it?"

### **BE CULTURALLY AWARE, READY TO MEDIATE**

During his time in Lebanon, Kotia saw some peacekeepers breaking local taboos such as openly drinking alcohol. In a majority-Muslim country, this act could discredit the entire force in the eyes of civilians and make the U.N.'s work more difficult.

He said cultural education needs to be incorporated into predeployment training.

"The troops must study the environment, it must be explained to them and they need to know the customs of the people," Kotia said. "That helps them to appreciate the type of people they are going to meet and how they can relate to them."

The U.N. and the USIP are incorporating more real-life scenarios into the training offered to peacekeepers.

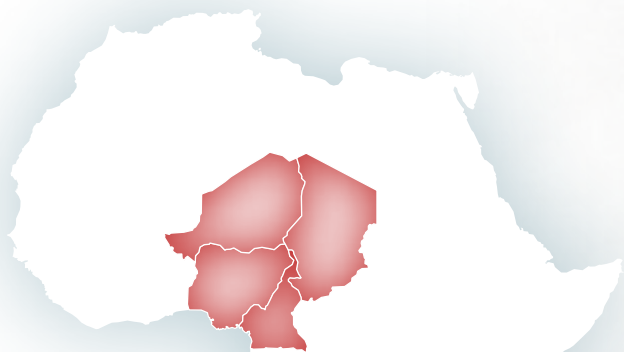
Chettaoui said such tools can lead to better civil-military interactions and promote alternative forms of conflict resolution such as mediation and collaborative problem-solving. This way, she said, the community will see that peacekeepers can mediate disputes rather than "close the gates if it gets too rough, or pull out the guns."

"It is necessary to equip them with the tools of how to negotiate, how to mediate, how to resolve an issue without resorting to violence," Chettaoui said.

Croci said that as the U.N. reforms its predeployment training, it is working to present peacekeepers with the types of charged, complex scenarios they will face when they are in the field.

"The training is directly linked to the experiences that they will live once they are deployed," she said. "The concern was giving peacekeepers the practical tools to operate and make a difference once deployed. It's not about theory ... but how does this translate into your day-to-day work." □





# *Children of* **DESPERATION**

As Military Strikes and Factionalism Reduce Their Ranks, Extremists Turn to Child Combatants in the Lake Chad Basin

ADF STAFF

**T**he 27-minute video shows how one of the Lake Chad Basin's fiercest extremist groups turns children ages 8 to 16 into religious radicals, gun-toting extremists and assassins.

Titled "The Empowerment Generation," the January 2022 propaganda film is from the Islamic State West Africa Province's (ISWAP) "Khilafah [Caliphate] Cadet School." It's the most detailed Islamic State group (IS) video of children released up to that point, according to The Jamestown Foundation. "It is meant to showcase a day in the life of a trainee at the school," the foundation says.

The children spend their days reciting the Quran, praying, and studying Islam and Arabic. "There is also a session where they watch IS propaganda videos and another that involves two physical training sessions that include self-defense and arms training," the foundation reports. "Towards the end of the video, the children are finally seen engaging in urban warfare exercises where they move into an abandoned building in a highly coordinated manner. They capture several hostages, who are actually Nigerian soldiers caught by ISWAP in previous

Former Boko Haram and Islamic State West Africa Province militants wait to be released from the Hajja Camp in Maiduguri, Nigeria, in May 2023 after a five-month rehabilitation program.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES







Using his hands to shield his identity, this teenage boy, who previously was associated with armed militia groups in the Sahel region, lived in a safe house in Niger's capital, Niamey, with 40 others. GETTY IMAGES

battles, and then proceed to execute them.”

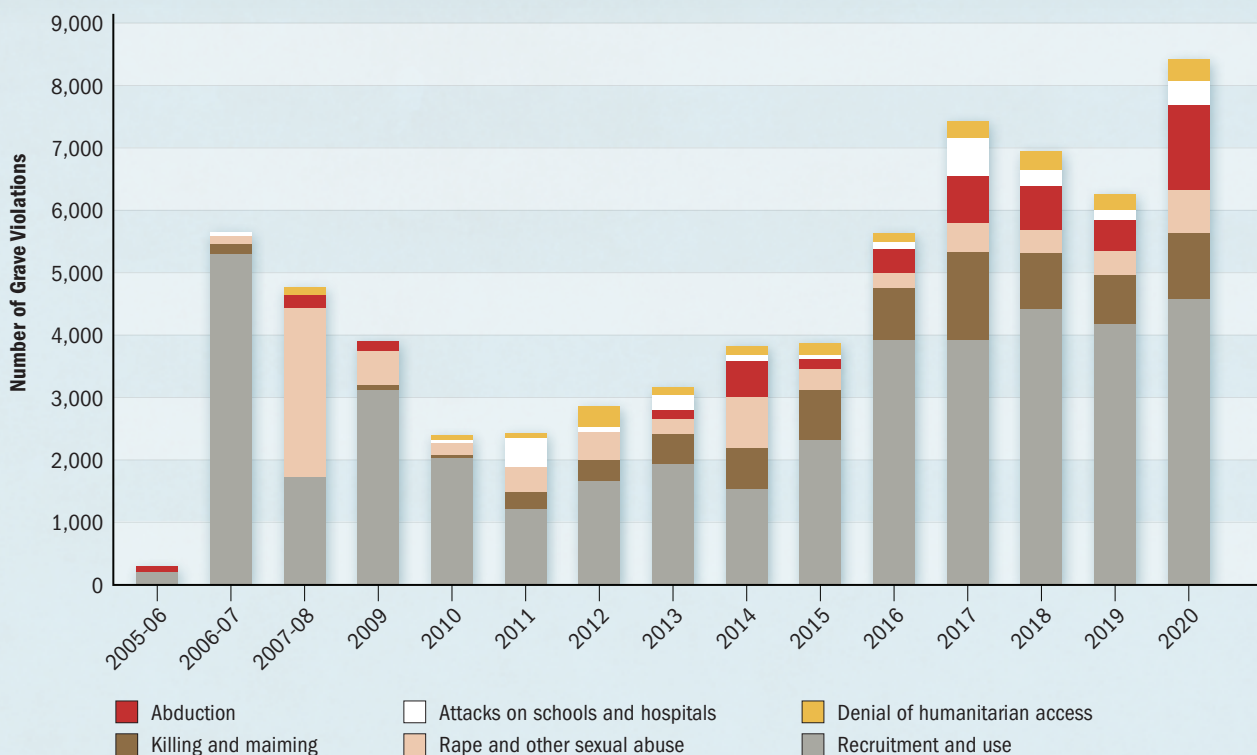
The video suggests that these “Cubs of the Caliphate,” as IS calls child recruits, are part of ISWAP’s long-term strategy to replenish and rejuvenate its ranks.

As conflict rages in the Lake Chad Basin region, the Boko Haram remnant known as Jama’tu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awati wal-Jihad (JAS) and its offshoot ISWAP have continued to fight each other even as they lose ground due to a Nigerian military armed with lethal new assets and fresh resolve.

Soon after Nigeria began pounding Boko Haram and ISWAP positions from the air in 2021 with a dozen newly acquired A-29 Super Tucano light attack planes, thousands of combatants, their family members and associates began to emerge from the region to disarm and surrender.

Nigerian Chief of Defence Staff Maj. Gen. Christopher Musa said in March 2022 that at least 7,000 “insurgents comprising combatants, non-combatants, foot soldiers, alongside their families, continued to lay down their arms in different parts of Borno to accept peace,” according to the News Agency of Nigeria.

## Grave Violations Against Children in West and Central Africa\*



\*For consolidation of the total number of grave violations per year, the number of children affected is used for “Recruitment and use,” “Killing and maiming,” “Sexual violence” and “Abduction,” while number of incidents is used for “Attacks on schools and hospitals” and “Denial of Humanitarian access”

Source: United Nations Secretary-General’s annual report on children and armed conflict, 2005-2021



Some news reports in late 2022 and early 2023 indicated that more than 80,000 men, women and children associated with the violent extremist organizations (VEO) had surrendered to the military.

These factors have combined to foment a sense of panic among the insurgents. The more dominant ISWAP in particular has turned to the recruitment of child combatants and seeks common cause with other IS affiliates in the greater Sahel region, said Dr. Folahanmi Aina, a Nigerian researcher and associate fellow at the Royal United Services Institute security and defense think tank in London.

“First and foremost, it’s interesting to note that ISWAP currently is being very desperate, and they have suffered heavy losses not necessarily as a result of the military staging attacks on them; that’s one part of it,” Aina told ADF.

“On the one hand, it’s correct to say that the use of the Super Tucanos has radically tilted the battlefield in Nigeria’s favor, given especially that these are precision aerial assets intended at precision targets during aerial combat,” Aina said. “But we also should be careful not to put it solely to that. So, what I would be more inclined to say is that it has been a combination of several factors. One, yes, improved eyes in the sky. But also, an improvement with regards to our human assets on the ground, so an improvement in HUMINTS — human intelligence.”

In recent years, ISWAP has sought to distinguish itself from JAS by avoiding indiscriminate attacks on civilians, particularly fellow Muslims. Doing so allowed ISWAP to embed itself in civilian communities in the region and gain support from them.

“It seems ISWAP’s supposed strategy of not targeting civilians has deflected attention from its recruitment of young boys,” wrote Malik Samuel and Oluwale Ojewale in “Children on the battlefield: ISWAP’s latest recruits” for the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in March 2022.

“The ill treatment of civilians, notably the use of youngsters in combat, the enslaving of women and girls, and starving children to death were among the reasons for Boko Haram’s split,” the ISS article states. “ISWAP criticised [JAS’s late leader Abubakar] Shekau in particular for causing many children’s deaths. One would expect ISWAP to act differently, but recent losses of fighters in battle, clashes with JAS and members’ desertion may have compelled it to rethink its stance on child soldiers.”

Dr. Daniel Eizenga, a research fellow at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS), summed it up this way to ADF: “It shows you that ideologically, these extremist organizations are pretty fickle.”

## A REGIONAL TRAGEDY

The West and Central African region leads the world in grave threats against children, which includes recruiting and using them as combatants, according to a 2021 United Nations report. From 2016 to 2021, the region

ranked first globally with more than 21,000 children recruited and used by nonstate armed groups. It also ranked first for child victims of sexual violence, with more than 2,200 recorded violations. The more than 3,500 cases of child abductions ranked second globally during that period.

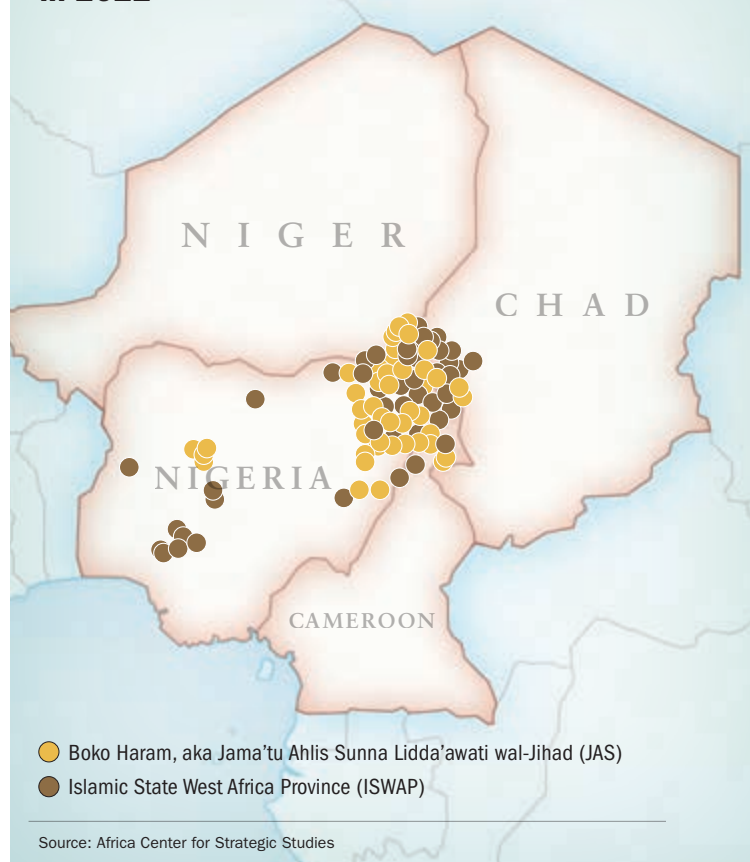
Although ISWAP’s contribution to such statistics can be attributed largely to desperation stemming from military attacks, factional squabbles and defections, Aina told ADF that there also could be some strategic considerations involved.

“A second thing to also bear in mind is that because ISWAP is trying to consolidate its gains in the region, it’s also trying to leverage and expand its influence by having more collaborations with other VEOs across the broader Sahel region,” Aina said.

It is possible, he argues, that there might even be sharing of recruits among ISWAP and other regional IS affiliates, such as the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara. “After all, they have the same agenda,” he said.

There already are reports that more than 200 trained children from the Lake Chad area were sent to Mali and Niger in February 2022 to ally themselves with an IS affiliate there “to wage a campaign of terror,” according to SBM Intelligence, a Nigerian geopolitical intelligence platform.

## Boko Haram and ISWAP Attacks in 2022



## FIGHTING THE TREND

Addressing and preventing the recruitment of children into VEOs will require a multipronged approach. Aina said the Nigerian military has “really upped its game in winning the hearts and minds” and building trust among civilians in the Lake Chad Basin. It has done so by organizing sports activities, providing relief materials and offering medical outreach. Such goodwill efforts help create human assets on the ground that can complement military efforts such as air reconnaissance and air attacks. Even with heightened technology and aerial assets, security forces need the ability to gather intelligence to help locate suitable targets and corroborate battle impact assessments, he said.

The key is parlaying that goodwill into actionable steps to help solidify efforts that prevent the use of child combatants. Aina sees three opportunities to accomplish this.

First, the Nigerian military should intensify its influence operations, which are aimed at winning the hearts and minds of civilians. He said the military can do more in the information environment to discredit ISWAP and JAS narratives that young people might find appealing. One way would be to have young people who have left extremism counter the glorious stories told by terrorists with true stories about the hard and dangerous realities of living with ISWAP and JAS. Targeting recruitment through social media platforms popular with young people such as X, formerly known as Twitter; Facebook; WhatsApp; and Telegram will be essential in such efforts.


The second recommendation would be for Nigeria to fully realize its Safe Schools Initiative, established in 2014. Then-President Muhammadu Buhari signed off on the plan in 2019, and in 2023 there are indications that its implementation is imminent. The initiative’s intent

**The intent of Nigeria’s Safe Schools Initiative is to ensure that children can safely access education in northern Nigeria, given that Boko Haram has a history of attacking and closing schools in the region and kidnapping students.**



The mother of an abducted Chibok girl walks past the school hostel where 276 girls were kidnapped by Boko Haram extremists in 2014. AFP/GETTY IMAGES





**“I think we’re at a moment where there’s a real opportunity for the Nigerian government to root out Boko Haram and ISWAP and degrade them in a way that they haven’t been degraded in quite a long time.”**

**~ Dr. Daniel Eizenga,**  
research fellow at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies

is to ensure that children can safely access education in northern Nigeria, given that Boko Haram has a history of attacking and closing schools in the region and kidnapping students, such as it did with the 276 Chibok girls in 2014. By one Borno State government estimate, insurgents have destroyed more than 5,000 school buildings over the years.

Aina said the Nigerian government should expand the program by leveraging technology to provide virtual and remote learning, including in local languages. Doing so would tilt the program away from just protecting buildings and help provide learning opportunities in settings that are less likely to invite an insurgent attack.

Related to this would be a recent bill signed into law that lets states, companies and individuals generate, transmit and distribute electricity under certain conditions. This could help widen electricity service, making home-based learning more feasible, Aina said.

Finally, Nigeria should expand Operation Safe Corridor, the program started in 2016 to receive defectors so that they can be rehabilitated and reintegrated into society, to specifically cater to the needs of former child combatants.

Eizenga, of the ACSS, said as the Nigerian military continues to take the battle to ISWAP and other insurgents, there is reason to be optimistic about ending the

extremist threat in the northeast. But there also is a need to realize that if they do, they must be prepared to take the steps that will keep that threat from reemerging.

“I think we’re at a moment where there’s a real opportunity for the Nigerian government to root out Boko Haram and ISWAP and degrade them in a way that they haven’t been degraded in quite a long time,” Eizenga said. “I think that these factions have been severely weakened, and so this is a moment where the Nigerian government can choose to marshal resources to prevent them from being able to bounce back.”

To do that, the government and military will have to devise a way to set up a “sustained security presence in the region that’s focused on protecting communities, protecting civilians,” he said. Nigerian and other regional forces have had Lake Chad Basin insurgents on the back foot before, but they have not had the ability to keep them from returning. That will be essential this time around.

“We’ve also seen that these violent extremist organizations can be quite resilient and that they can operate as sort of spoiler insurgencies,” he said. □

**Nigerian Soldiers rescued this boy from Boko Haram in the Sambisa Forest. He stands in front of drawings made by other freed hostages.**

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



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Security workers walk through a gold mine tunnel in Westonaria, South Africa.



# NATURAL RESOURCES FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL

**RESOURCE-RELATED CONFLICT AND MISMANAGEMENT  
DESTABILIZE AND HARM CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS.  
IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE THAT WAY.**

ADF STAFF | PHOTOS BY REUTERS

**O**ver the past decade, Sudan has become the third-largest producer of gold in Africa. The industry gained momentum after the secession of South Sudan in 2011 when the country turned to mining to compensate for the two-thirds of the oil wells it lost in the split.

But this natural wealth has not benefited the population. Instead of the gold being mined by the private sector and taxed accordingly, the mining is in the hands of the military.

Sudan's military is deeply involved in the country's economy, from gold mines to farm fields to weapons manufacturing. That includes the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF), led by Gen. Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, and the Rapid Support Forces, led by a general known as Hemedti. Even before the two generals turned on each other in a civil war, the country's citizens protested the way the military was handling gold mining.

In March 2023, protesters in Sudan's Red Sea State called for the SAF to shut down a gold mine it operated within the Dordeib military base.

"We have been wondering how it is possible that mining plants have been established inside an army base, and why the army diverges from its real tasks and sets up commercial enterprises instead," one protester told Sudan's Radio Dabanga.

Hemedti has ties to the Russian mercenary Wagner Group, which began its own mining operations in

Sudan under former dictator Omar al-Bashir. Wagner smuggles tons of gold out of Sudan each year to help Russia get around international financial sanctions imposed after the 2022 invasion of Ukraine. The smuggling costs Sudan millions of dollars in lost public revenue each year.



Miners work in the Freda Rebecca gold mine in Zimbabwe.

Sudan is not the only country with its military engaged in commercial enterprises. Such military-owned businesses are most prevalent in the natural resource sectors and in the extractive industries. In its report, "Military-owned businesses: corruption & risk reform,"

THERE ARE MANY REASONS WHY NATURAL RESOURCES DON'T END UP BEING A BOON TO NATIONAL ECONOMIES. IN SOME PARTS OF AFRICA, INVADING THIEVES AND TERRORISTS PREVENT COUNTRIES FROM EXTRACTING THEIR RESOURCES. IN OTHER COUNTRIES ... TERRORISTS HAVE TAKEN OVER ENTIRE GOLD-MINING OPERATIONS.







Most of Africa's illegally harvested rosewood goes to China, where it is used to make custom furniture.

Transparency International noted that the military's privileged position in society "enables it to capitalize on its power and patronage networks." Additionally, being in charge of border security, the military has the power to easily import and export goods "without being subject to state customs or inspections."

## SELLING OUT TO WAGNER

In the Central African Republic (CAR), President Faustin-Archange Touadéra has hired the Wagner Group to serve as his private security force, among other things. In exchange for its work, the group has gained direct access to the CAR's natural resources.

Wagner regularly uses violence to seize and profit from natural resources in Africa.

"The story Wagner spins is that the mercenaries are there to train CAR soldiers and help them crush rebel groups that want to overthrow the president," CBS News reported in May 2023. "The reality is that the Wagner Group has captured the country so completely that it can act with impunity, and it stands accused of using horrific violence to ensure there's no competition for its revenue stream from local gold merchants."

The details of projects in the CAR show that



Loggers have taken down huge numbers of rosewood trees in Sierra Leone for shipment to China.

Wagner's mining efforts are becoming increasingly profitable for the organization and create a pipeline of funding for Russia's war against Ukraine.

"Wagner set up shop in CAR in 2018, creating a cultural center and striking several deals to help secure mining sites, including at the Ndassima gold mine located near the town of Bambari in the middle of the country," wrote national security reporter Erin Banco in early 2023. "Since then, Wagner has turned the once-artisanal mine into a massive complex."

As of early 2023, the mine encompassed eight production zones in various stages of development,

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Rwandan security forces stand guard at a natural gas site in Afungi, Mozambique. The country has the third-largest reserves of natural gas on the continent.



with the largest believed to be more than 60 meters deep. Observers believe the group is building the site for long-term exploitation and has fortified it with bridges at river crossings and anti-aircraft guns at key spots. The Russians have made it clear that they don't want any reconnaissance aircraft flying over it.

## MISUSED RESOURCES

There are many reasons why natural resources don't end up being a boon to national economies. In some parts of Africa, invading thieves and terrorists prevent countries from extracting their resources. In other countries, such as Burkina Faso, terrorists have taken over entire gold-mining operations. In West Africa, protected forests of endangered rosewood have been destroyed and shipped to China. Local officials are bribed to look the other way as the trees are cut down.

Rosewood is highly prized in China in the making of custom furniture. Relentless demand from Chinese manufacturers has turned rosewood into the most highly trafficked natural material in the world. Interpol estimated in early 2023 that rosewood was worth \$50,000 per cubic meter.

China turned its attention to West Africa after depleting its own rosewood stocks. Environmental activists say China's lust for rosewood drives a black market that is corrupting government officials and tribal leaders, undercutting international protections, and devastating the environment. According to Raphael Edou, Benin's former minister for environment, rosewood poaching in Cameroon also weakens the rule of law there. Benin was an early target of the Chinese-driven rosewood trade.

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A truck is loaded with crushed granite at a mine in Zamfara, Nigeria. It is the most mined material in the country, accounting for millions of tons each year.

"It's almost as if Africa cannot deal with the Chinese on an equal footing," Professor Abel Esterhuyse of the faculty of Military Science at Stellenbosch University in South Africa told ADF. "African nations cannot say, 'Listen, you're not going to exploit us.' Africa needs to articulate using their own resources as a tool to manage their governments, as a tool of interest to allow other countries to compete for its commercial relations, as a benefit to society as a whole.

"It's fascinating to me what China has done to the northern part of Namibia over the past 10 years in taking every piece of wood, all the trees," he said. "They've also done it in the southern part of Angola. The problem is that it created a huge resentment amongst the people asking, 'What are the Chinese doing with our own land?' It creates this political economy between Africa and the rest of the world in a way that Africans don't benefit from their own resources. It's unbelievable."

## SUCCESS STORIES

Countries throughout the continent have shown the value of properly using their national resources, through private enterprise, for the good of their people. These mined and harvested assets have provide revenue streams and taxes to stabilize and improve civilian governments:

**Côte d'Ivoire** has enjoyed a strong and stable economic expansion for the past decade and has been described as "one of Africa's underrated emerging markets." The Nomad Capitalist website reports that the COVID-19 pandemic interrupted the country's growth, though the economic forecast remains positive. The country's natural resources include diamonds, gold, natural gas and oil. Other resources, such as iron ore, cement and nickel, remain largely unexploited. The country has a relatively stable political sector with strong growth predicted in the coming years.







Miners work at an artisanal gold mine near Kamituga in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The country is the 16th-largest gold producer in the world.

**Ghana's** natural resources include aluminum, bauxite, diamonds and timber. Ghana is the largest supplier of gold in Africa, producing about \$5 billion to \$7 billion annually. Ghana is considered one of the more stable countries in West Africa since its transition to multiparty democracy in 1992.

**Namibia** is one of the driest places in the world, with annual precipitation of about 27 centimeters. But it has large reserves of diamonds, copper and uranium. The country ranks fifth among African countries in diamond production. World Atlas reports that Namibia is the world's fourth-largest producer of uranium, ranking behind Australia, Canada and Kazakhstan.

Namibia ranks fourth among African nations on the Democracy Index. According to Business Insider Africa, the country's score "highlights its commitment to inclusivity, electoral processes, and civil liberties."

**Botswana** is known for its wildlife, with 38% of its land set aside for national parks, reserves and wildlife management areas. The landlocked country of about 2 million people has been described by Business Insider Africa as "one of those quiet yet prosperous countries on the African plain." Although it has a number of resources, its chief export, about 80%, is diamonds, making it second only to Russia in diamond production.

Esterhuysen cites Botswana as an example of a country that knows how to handle its resources.

"Here are some of the things they are doing right," he told ADF. "They have a very strong bureaucracy in place. They have a healthy bureaucracy that is not only well educated, not only well skilled, but it can be trusted by the people and the state. I'm not talking about politicians here. I'm saying they have a mature, bureaucratic administration system."

"There is an institutional history in Botswana based on competency and merit," he said. "To that, you add the security apparatus, which is no different than the rest of the state sector. The security apparatus is well funded, like 4% to 5% of [gross national product]. The security apparatus is well skilled, well trained and professional. And the security apparatus includes intelligence services as well. The intelligence services in many countries are often not spoken about, because often they are not coming to the table in terms of doing their job. That's not the case with Botswana."

Esterhuysen said that problems with exploitation are not unique to African countries.

"I don't think Africa is any different from any other political entities in the world at large where you have an immature political system, where you allow politicians to capitalize on the opportunities that are available, where you don't have a well-balanced and strong parliamentary system that asks the right questions," he said. "Preventing exploitation has to do with governance." □



# Senegal Gets Second C295 Transport Plane

DEFENCEWEB

**S**enegal's Armed Forces took delivery of a second C295 transport aircraft from Airbus eight months after receiving the first.

The new aircraft arrived at Dakar Air Base at the end of March 2023 and was received by Defence Minister Sidiki Kaba.

Kaba said the aircraft's short takeoff and landing capabilities and its versatility allow it to carry out different missions such as transport, paratrooping and medical evacuation. The new aircraft will strengthen the transport capacity of Senegal's military and support domestic and international missions. Senegalese officials said the acquisition demonstrated the country's willingness to modernize its military to meet "security and defence challenges in a

complex regional environment."

Senegal got its first C295 in July 2022. At the same time, Kaba formally received two Mi-17 and four Mi-35 helicopters that had undergone major servicing.

The C295 is increasingly popular in Africa. In November 2021, Airbus delivered a C295 to Burkina Faso. In May 2022, Mali received a second C295 after a year's delay. The first arrived in December 2016 from Airbus. In 2022, Angola firmed up an order for three C295s, four years after its government revealed plans to acquire the aircraft, which will be used in part for maritime surveillance. The Nigerian Air Force is looking at acquiring at least one C295.

Senegal has been dealing with separatists in its Casamance region,

**A Spanish Air Force C295**

REUTERS

the location of one of Africa's longest-running conflicts, and also with Sahelian terror groups. As a result, Senegal has been expanding its armed forces, receiving patrol boats, trainer aircraft, armored vehicles and other equipment.

In June 2022, Senegal's armed forces received 11 Puma M36 armored personnel carriers, heavy machine guns, mortars, recovery vehicles, assault rifles, riot shields, a dozen Toyota Land Cruisers equipped with heavy machine guns, combat ambulances, rocket-propelled grenade launchers and riot helmets.



# Zambia Orders Turbine Helicopters

DEFENCEWEB

**T**he Zambia Air Force has ordered two turbine-powered Enstrom 480B helicopters for training pilots and personnel.

Enstrom Helicopter Corp., a U.S. company, announced the sale in April 2023. The helicopters will be based in Lusaka and used for training and utility missions. A training package is included in the deal.

The helicopters will be equipped with cargo hooks and space for cameras, as well as Garmin avionics and glass panels.

South Africa's Safomar Aviation Group coordinated and assisted Enstrom in the sale to Zambia, including logistics, specifications and configuration of the helicopters. Safomar operates a large regional maintenance, repair and overhaul facility, and a flight school. It maintains and operates Enstrom helicopters throughout Sub-Saharan Africa.



Enstrom 480B helicopter ENSTROM HELICOPTER CORP

The Zambia Air Force has been gradually expanding, taking delivery of light combat, transport and trainer aircraft over the past decade. In 2019, two C-27J Spartan transports were delivered from Italy, and a Gulfstream 650ER jet was acquired for VIP transport. Zambia acquired two Bell 412 utility helicopters from Italy in 2021.

In 2022, South Africa supplied a Bell 412SP utility helicopter and a Cessna 208B EX Caravan transport plane after the U.S. delivered a Cessna 208 EX in 2020.

## Engine Factory Planned in Morocco

ADF STAFF

Aerospace manufacturer Pratt & Whitney will launch an affiliate, Pratt & Whitney Maroc, in Casablanca, Morocco, to manufacture engine parts.

The U.S.-based company said the goal is to “develop cost-effective sourcing capabilities for competitiveness and to optimise operations footprint and asset utilization,” according to defenceWeb. The company selected Morocco “due to its growing hub of aerospace companies, cost of business and trained, available talent.”

The company said the new plant would create 200 jobs by 2030. It will be built in Casablanca's Aerospace Focused Free Zone, an industrial park specifically targeting aerospace production systems. The free zone was designed to offer tax incentives and other benefits for aerospace manufacturing. Construction of the 12,000-square-meter

facility was scheduled to begin in the fourth quarter of 2023, with completion set for 2025.

The company estimated that there are about 3,000 Pratt & Whitney engines in use in Africa.

The aeronautical sector in Morocco accounts for about 140 companies with about \$2 billion in exports, according to the International Trade Administration. The industry employs 17,000 people, 40% of whom are women.

Morocco has 24 commercial airports and intends to invest \$200 million to develop and enhance them, specifically the freight zones of the Casablanca and Tangier airports.

Pratt & Whitney offers global service operations. It is a subsidiary of RTX, the world's largest aerospace and defense company, with 180,000 employees worldwide. The company, with 2022 sales of \$67 billion, is based in Arlington, Virginia.



The future Pratt & Whitney Maroc facility in Casablanca, Morocco

PRATT & WHITNEY

## AI

Helps Predict,  
Prepare for Floods

ADF STAFF

**A** new tool uses artificial intelligence to monitor and forecast flooding around the world.

Twenty-three African countries are participating in Google's Flood Hub artificial intelligence platform. Google launched the platform in 2021, and it expanded to include 80 countries in 2023. It is designed to help disaster management agencies evacuate people up to a week before floodwaters hit and strengthen flood prevention measures in some of the continent's most at-risk areas.

"Governments, aid organisations, and individuals can use Flood Hub to take timely action and prepare for riverine floods, seeing locally relevant flood data and forecasts up to seven days in advance — an increase from last year, when information was only available 48 hours in advance," Yossi Matias, Google's vice president of Engineering and Research and Crisis Response Lead, said in a statement.

Flooding affects more than 250 million people each year, causing \$10 billion in damage, according to Google. In 2023, flooding in Ethiopia and Kenya killed 50 people and displaced 30,000 while wiping out thousands of hectares of cropland. Flooding and mudslides in Rwanda killed 127 people, and

flooding in Southern Africa caused outbreaks of cholera and malaria.

Flood Hub uses a hydrological model to forecast how much water will move through a river and an inundation model to predict the areas most affected by rising water. It collects data from satellite images, meteorological records and other sources.

"We start by collecting thousands of satellite images to build a digital model of the terrain," Matias said in a demonstration video. "Based on these maps, we generate hundreds of thousands of simulations of how the river could possibly behave."

"We receive the measurements from the government, and cross those measurements with our simulations," he added.

The information is free and accessible to anyone who uses Google Maps. The company is using similar technology to forecast and track wildfires.

Participating African countries are Angola, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eswatini, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, South Sudan and Zimbabwe.



## ZAMBIAN PARK RANGERS USE VULTURES TO TRACK POACHERS

REUTERS

In an effort to stop poachers and others who poison wildlife, Zambia's Department of National Parks and Wildlife is turning to an unlikely ally: vultures.

Park rangers at Kafue National Park tag white-backed and hooded vultures with satellite trackers to alert wildlife managers of poached or poisoned carcasses. In many parts of Africa, livestock owners poison cow carcasses with an agricultural pesticide to kill the predator cats that come to feast. This is viewed as a way to stop lions from attacking their cattle.

But the carcasses also attract the critically endangered white-backed vultures, whose population has declined by more than 90% across West Africa in the past 40 years, largely due to poisoning.

"African white-backed vultures will come [to feed] in really large numbers," said Corinne Kendall, curator of conservation and research at the North Carolina Zoo, which is leading the program.

"You could have up to 100 vultures, and they're all going to die. It's had a huge impact on vultures, and it's led to these rapid declines. And it's also a big problem for carnivores."

Since 2021, the team has tagged 19 vultures in Zambia, draping tiny backpacks containing the satellite tags over their wings to get a bird's-eye view of the situation.

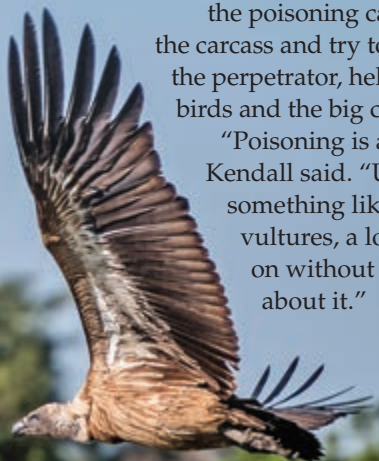
Zambian park rangers fit vultures with trackers to alert them to incidents of poaching or animal poisoning.

REUTERS

Although poisonings aren't "something that have been well known for the Kafue landscape," said Kendall, the tagged vultures have led rangers to two suspected poisonings near the park. In such incidents, park staff members alerted to the poisoning can dispose of

the carcass and try to track down the perpetrator, helping to save the birds and the big cats.

"Poisoning is a silent killer," Kendall said. "Unless you have something like satellite-tagged vultures, a lot might be going on without anyone knowing about it."



## Study: Military Needs Increased Awareness of Cybersecurity

DEFENCEWEB

A study by a researcher at Stellenbosch University found that the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) is vulnerable to cyberattacks and must increase cybersecurity awareness among military officers, offer appropriate training and buy the required technology.

"Military officers are vulnerable to being misled or even forced by nefarious online actors to share sensitive information about operational activities," said Dr. Kyle Bester, a research psychologist and cybersecurity awareness training specialist who conducted the study for his thesis at Stellenbosch. "They could also create involuntary or voluntary points of access for malicious software through which these actors could enter the SANDF's network."

Bester interviewed senior officers enrolled for a professional military developmental course at the South African National Defence College. He also asked students at the South African Military Academy and the South African National War College to complete a questionnaire to collect their views on information sharing, security orientation, cybersecurity awareness and cyber culture.

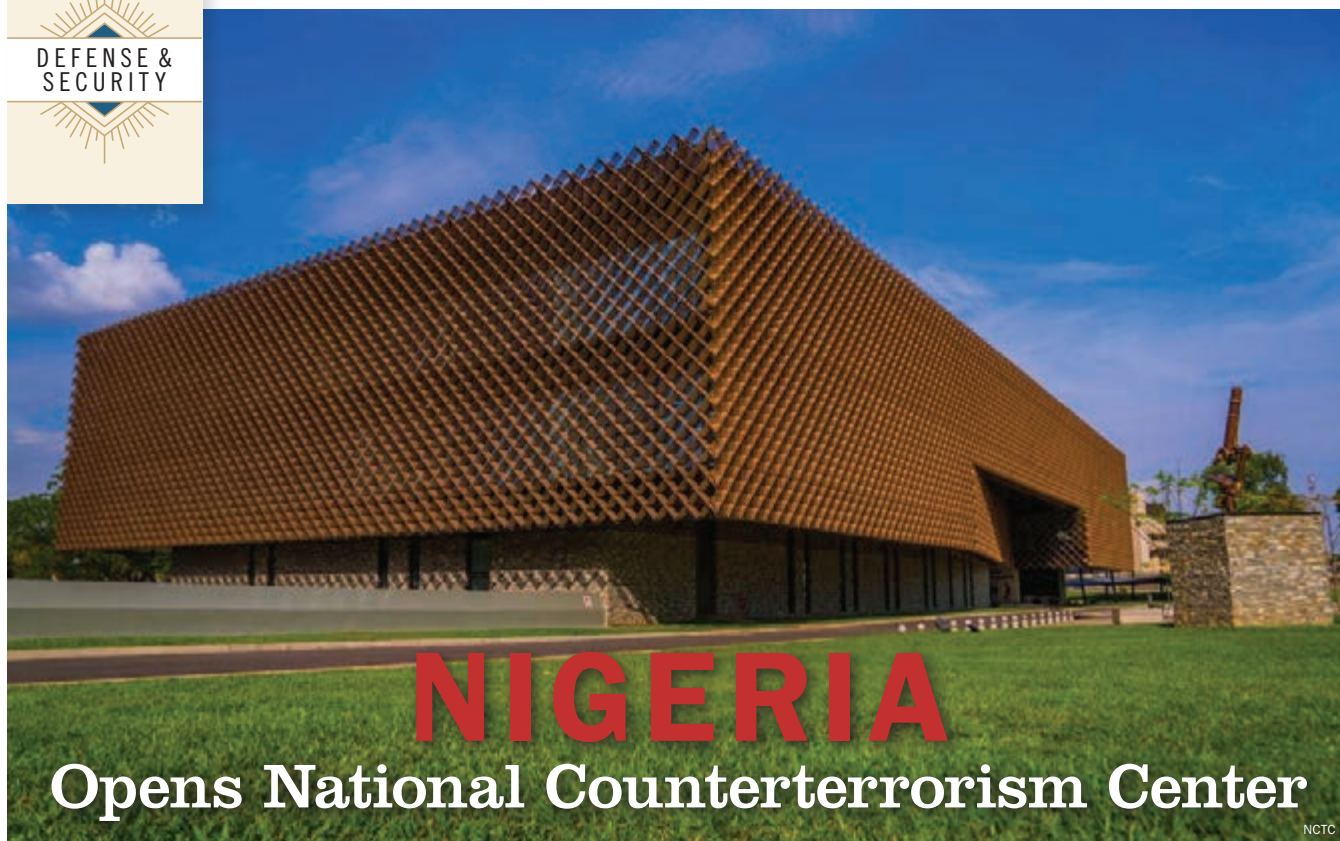
Bester found that officers generally were aware of cyber threats that could harm the armed forces and adapted their off- and online security behavior appropriately. But respondents identified "information sharing practices" as an area of concern.

Participants called for additional cyber awareness education and training and a need for more efficient software and technological tools to deal with cybersecurity threats to the armed forces.

Maj. Gert PJ de Jager told an Electronic Warfare South Africa conference in Pretoria that the uncontrolled use of social media networks posed security risks to the SANDF and other military forces.

De Jager noted that offensive information collection is an important part of military operations and "a valuable input to determine the outcome of battles and victories." Militaries and nonstate actors increasingly turn to social media to obtain intelligence. Militaries must train Soldiers to safely use mobile phones and social media.

"The SANDF may not be able to stop every member from participating online in social networks, but it should focus on ensuring every member is aware of the importance of information security during the use of social networks," de Jager said.



NCTC

ADF STAFF

**N**igeria opened two new facilities that will be the nerve center of its fight against terrorism.

In a March 2023 ceremony near the end of his presidential term, then-President Muhammadu Buhari inaugurated the new Office of the National Security Adviser and National Counter Terrorism Centre in Abuja. Buhari said the state-of-the-art facilities will provide Nigeria's incoming administration with infrastructure to effectively coordinate national security and counterterrorism efforts.

The facilities include office space, team rooms, laboratories, a conference hall, an auditorium and an operations/crisis center.

Nigeria has been plagued by violent extremism, particularly in the northeast, for 14 years, leading to the deaths of 65,000 people.

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu visited the center on June 5, just days after being sworn in. He urged the military and all sectors of the government and civil society to work together to address terrorism.

"You can't have disharmony in an orchestra of this security plan," Tinubu said. "We must focus on one tunnel, coordinate shared information, shared intelligence, coordination and work harder."

The complex is the culmination of new security policies adopted by the country to coordinate its counterterrorism approach. These include the National Counter Terrorism Strategy of 2016, the National Security Strategy of 2019, the National Cybersecurity Policy and Strategy of 2021, and the National Crisis Management Doctrine of 2022.

"In broad terms, these policy documents emphasize a whole-of-government [approach] involving all the ministries, departments and agencies in combination with a whole-of-society involving civil society organisations and the citizenry," Buhari said in March 2023.

The center was established as the coordinating body to counter terrorism and terrorist financing in the country. It is staffed by representatives from government agencies and departments, and it houses Nigeria's Joint Terrorism Analysis Branch, National Counter Terrorism Strategy, Explosive Devices Analysis Office and the Preventing Countering Violent Extremism Unit.



Then-President Muhammadu Buhari, center, cuts a ribbon to inaugurate the Office of the National Security Adviser building in Abuja. NCTC



## SOMALIA Intercepts Hardware, Explosives Bound for al-Shabaab

VOICE OF AMERICA

Somalia's National Intelligence and Security Agency seized two illicit shipments of military hardware and explosive material that were bound for al-Shabaab.

At a news conference in Mogadishu, Somalia's then- State Minister of Defence Mohamed Ali Haga said the agency discovered the arms at Mogadishu's port and airport, in some cases hidden within containers that appeared to be authorized imports.

The intelligence agency said an investigation relating to the illicit shipments led to the arrest of 10 people associated with a smuggling network.

"Our agency has been following the activities of these individuals in Somalia and outside Somalia," Haga said. "It has been following their involvement in this smuggling network. Fortunately, all of them are in custody, and none has escaped."

The U.N. Security Council imposed an arms embargo on Somalia in 1992 because of a civil war and factional violence. However, arms continue to enter the country due to porous borders and an ungarded coastline that's more than 3,000 kilometers long.

After the establishment of a functioning transitional government



Somali authorities confiscated a shipping container packed with military supplies intended for use by al-Shabaab.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY AGENCY OF SOMALIA

in 2012, the successive governments have been working to rebuild stability, good governance and other benchmarks that would help ease the country's arms embargo.

In 2013, the Security Council unanimously voted to partially lift its ban on selling arms to Somalia for a year.

The resolution allowed Somalia's government to buy small arms to help its security forces develop and fight militants, but it kept restrictions on heavy weapons. The remaining sanctions, which require requests for certain weapons to be approved, are renewed annually.

## KENYA NEARS GOAL OF MARKING ALL OFFICIAL WEAPONS

CYRUS OMBATI, THE STAR

Kenya has nearly fulfilled one of its commitments to regional and international treaties on arms control as it nears completion of marking official firearms and ammunition.

The National Police Service has marked 98% of its firearms stock, and the Kenya Defence Forces is at 70%. Security Principal Administrative Secretary Wilson Njega called the progress a huge milestone that sets Kenya on the path to the elite league of nations that have taken concrete steps to combat the illegal arms trade.

The goal, he said, is to prevent weapons from being diverted to criminals while not disrupting legitimate weapons transfers.

"This undertaking will help us identify the source and movement of such weapons and inform our decisions and responses in dismantling the criminal network involved in this trade," Njega said.

He added that this will reduce incidents of gun violence in line with various international agreements, including the Nairobi Protocol and the United Nations Programme of Action on Small Arms.

"Considering that small arms and light weapons are responsible for many deaths and injuries in armed conflicts, it is imperative that we enhance the traceability of our firearms and ammunition," Njega said.

The marking exercise was prescribed by the Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA) to its member states as part of the efforts to combat the illicit proliferation of small arms and light weapons and promote peace and



In an April 2023 ceremony, U.S. officials hand over two marking machines to the Kenya Border Police to support firearms marking and record keeping of official stockpiles. RECSA

security in East and Central Africa.

The intergovernmental agency has organized a three-day workshop to validate the findings from the latest review on the progress of the exercise.

Njega attributed Kenya's remaining unmarked percentages to new stocks and the weapons designated for areas where the marking exercise is yet to reach, including Wajir and Mandera.

Ivor Richard Fung, deputy chief of the Conventional Arms Branch, U.N. Office for Disarmament Affairs, commended RECSA member states for the steady progress in moving from manual to electronic recordkeeping. RECSA has deployed its Software Tracing System, issued for electronic record keeping, to its members.

"This is a very important aspect of controlling small arms and light weapons, and beyond marking is the issue of recordkeeping," Fung said. "RECSA has been able to carry out commendable work in this area and we applaud that, but a lot still needs to be done."



# REPORT: WAGNER GROUP UNDERMINES PEACEKEEPING

DEFENCEWEB

A peacekeeping study shows that in 2022, there were more multilateral peace operations conducted than in any year during the previous decade. The report also says that the Russian mercenary Wagner Group has become “a major source of difficulty” because of its ties to the Russian government and its “implication in human rights abuse.”

The study, compiled by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, was released in June 2023. As in previous years, the United Nations led the largest number of multilateral peace operations with 20, including special political missions. Regional organizations and alliances conducted an additional 38 operations, with ad hoc coalitions of states conducting six more.

Of the 64 operations, 24 were in Sub-Saharan Africa, 18 in Europe, 14 in the Middle East and North

Africa, five in Asia, and three in the Americas.

The number of international personnel deployed to multilateral peace operations around the world increased by just less than 3% in 2022, reaching 114,984 by the end of the year. The biggest year-over-year changes in personnel numbers were an increase of 3,771 in Sub-Saharan Africa and a decrease of 541 in Europe.

Peacekeepers launched new operations in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Kazakhstan and Somalia. The Somali operation essentially was a reconfiguration of an existing operation with a new name and mandate.

The report noted the Stabilisation Support Mission in Guinea-Bissau, which was established by the Economic Community of West African States in February 2022 after a coup attempt, and the East African Community Regional Force to DRC, established in June.

The report also references

Senegalese peacekeepers serving with the United Nations mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo prepare to go on patrol.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

the African Union Monitoring, Verification and Compliance Mission in Mekelle, in Ethiopia’s Tigray region.

The report is critical of Russia’s Wagner Group mercenaries. In 2022, Wagner was operating in the Central African Republic (CAR) and Mali, where U.N. peacekeeping operations also were deployed. Russia has objected to the wording for the U.N. Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in the CAR.

“Russia resisted the inclusion of language condemning ‘the use of mercenaries and violations of international humanitarian law and human rights abuses perpetrated by them’ — an implicit, but clear, reference to the Wagner Group,” one of the report’s researchers said.



# U.N.: Peacekeepers *Are* 'Beating Heart' of Missions

UNITED NATIONS

Since 1948, more than 2 million uniformed and civilian personnel have served in United Nations field missions across the world. Their contributions were highlighted on the International Day of United Nations Peacekeepers, observed on May 29, 2023.

"United Nations peacekeepers are the beating heart of our commitment to a more peaceful world," Secretary-General António Guterres said in his message for the day. He called for continued support for the men and women who help countries transition from war to peace.

"They are also critical to the protection of civilians caught up in the chaos of these deadly conflicts, providing a lifeline of hope and help in some of the most dangerous contexts imaginable," he added.



Two Ghanaian peacekeepers, right, take part in a March 2023 ceremony in Lebanon marking the 45th anniversary of the United Nations peacekeeping force there. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Guterres noted that many have paid the ultimate price, as more than 4,200 peacekeepers have lost their lives serving under the U.N. flag. "We stand in sympathy and solidarity with their families, friends and colleagues, and will forever be inspired by their selfless devotion to the cause of peace," he said.

Today, more than 87,000 peacekeepers from 125 countries serve in 12 U.N. operations in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Middle East. They face rising global tensions and divides, stagnating peace processes, and more complex conflicts, Guterres said.

"Despite these obstacles, and working with a wide range of partners, peacekeepers persevere," he said. "To people living under the shadow of conflict, our teams of Blue Helmets represent hope. As peacekeepers support humanity, let us always support and recognize them."

The International Day of United Nations Peacekeepers has been commemorated annually on May 29, in line with a U.N. General Assembly resolution adopted in 2002. The date marks the start of the first U.N. peacekeeping mission, the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine in 1948.

The theme of the 75th anniversary of U.N. Peacekeeping was "Peace begins with me," which recognized the service and sacrifice of blue helmets, past and present. It also paid tribute to the resilience of the communities they serve, who continue to strive for peace despite many obstacles.



## U.N. CERTIFIES GHANA ARMY SCHOOL

ADF STAFF

The United Nations has awarded its U.N. Training Recognition certification

to the Ghana Army Peace Operations Training School.

Ghanaian Soldiers participate in a ceremony in Accra.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The school was awarded the certificate after a vigorous assessment of the training materials of the facility and a four-day onsite visit by the U.N. Training Assessment team, the Ghana Peace Journal reported.

The school, which is at the Bundase Training Camp near Accra, was established in June 2021 to train troops for peace support operations. Since then it has trained men and women for support operations in the subregion and other parts of the world.

Presenting the certificate, Maj. Gen. Thomas Oppong-Peprah said Ghana's participation in global peace support operations will move to another level after the U.N. designation.

Brig. Gen. Stephen Wose Adzikpo Kweku Parbey noted that after the positive assessment, the school now is one of the U.N.'s recognized institutions with the authority to train and form troops for peacekeeping duties worldwide, the Daily Guide Network reported. Officials said the school soon will begin training partnerships with sister countries.

The ceremony also saw the commissioning of new projects at the school, the Multimedia Group of Ghana reported. The projects include the Bundase Spring Water Production Site, a regimental aid post to serve as a clinical facility and a social center.



*Morocco, Brazil*

# FORCE DEFENSE TIES

ADF STAFF

**M**orocco and Brazil are exploring a defense cooperation agreement that would include research, development, arms purchases and logistical support.

The Brazilian Senate approved the pact in May 2023. The cooperation agreement aligns with Morocco's strategy of diversifying its security partnerships globally. According to the strategic intelligence company ADIT, Morocco's military spending amounted to \$5 billion, almost 4% of its gross domestic product in 2022.

Morocco and Brazil signed an agreement in 2019 to share military technology, which has been viewed as a start in Morocco's intent

to develop its own defense industry and reduce its dependence on foreign-made weapons. Under the agreement, Brazil would share military science and technology and offer training for Moroccan officers in advanced military technologies, according to ADIT.

The two countries, which are 7,000 kilometers apart, are supporting each other in other ways as well. They convened in Brazil in May 2023 for a meeting of the Brazil-Morocco Parliamentary Friendship Group. The group wants to strengthen dialogue between the two countries' members of parliament and "promote cultural, economic and commercial partnership," according to The North Africa Post. Chairman Tiao Medeiros said the countries share the same democratic values and stands on issues of common interest, including sustainable development, the fight against racism, climate change, and the promotion of regional and international peace and security.

A member of the Royal Moroccan Air Force disembarks after landing at an air base in Ben Guerir, Morocco, during an African Lion military exercise. AFP/GETTY IMAGES





## ZIMBABWE LOOKS TO NIGERIA FOR **AIR FORCE ASSISTANCE**

DEFENCEWEB

**T**he commander of Zimbabwe's Air Force traveled to Nigeria to ask his counterpart for technical assistance, including in the operation and maintenance of fighter jets and helicopters.

The Nigerian Air Force (NAF) reported that Air Marshal Elson Moyo, commander of the Air Force of Zimbabwe, visited NAF's then-Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal Oladayo Amao, at NAF Headquarters in March 2023.

Moyo said he wanted to pursue technical assistance in the areas of research and development, drone technology, and the operation and maintenance of aircraft. The identified areas for collaboration, according to Moyo, are of common interest to Zimbabwe and Nigeria as their air forces operate some similar aircraft.

Zimbabwe's air chief noted that the Nigerian Air Force has, within a short time, recorded "remarkable feats" in its transformation effort to develop indigenous capacity. This, he said, provides a motivation for the Air Force of Zimbabwe to look inward as part of efforts to address its technical challenges.

Moyo commended the NAF for its support in the past, including training given to the first batch of Zimbabwean pilots in the 1980s, which he said influenced the decision to seek collaboration with the NAF with respect to capacity development.

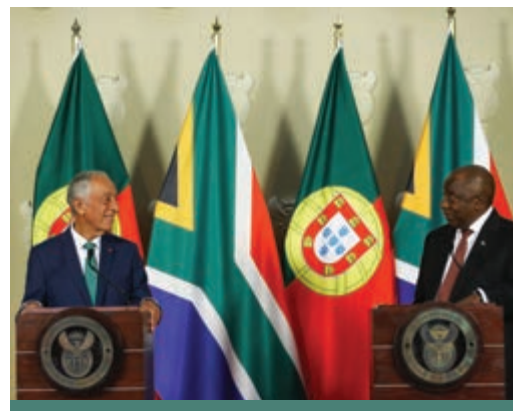
Amao said the NAF is ready to forge a mutually beneficial partnership with the Air Force of Zimbabwe. He said that the NAF has partnerships with other African countries. Improved cooperation among African countries is the solution to many of the challenges, including security, facing the continent, he added.

A Nigerian Air Force helicopter flies the national flag during an Independence Day celebration in Abuja.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

## *South Africa, Portugal* **AGREE TO DEFENSE PACT**

DEFENCEWEB



An agreement signed in Pretoria, South Africa, promises to strengthen defense cooperation between Portugal and South Africa.

Portuguese President Marcelo de Sousa met South

African President Cyril Ramaphosa as part of a state visit by the European country's leader in June 2023. The two leaders also pledged cooperation in the fields of science and innovation, education, and energy.

Ramaphosa said Portugal and South Africa "want to learn from each other" as both are involved in peacekeeping.

"In as much as there is a conflict raging in another part of the world, it does not mean we should be deterred from entering into agreements that will bring us closer and cooperate more effectively," Ramaphosa said, as reported by the SANews agency. "This agreement is a great signal to both countries."

De Sousa's visit coincided with the arrival of the Portuguese Navy submarine NRP Arpão in Cape Town, together with the patrol ship NRP Setúbal.

South African President Cyril Ramaphosa, right, and Portugal's President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa hold a joint news conference in Pretoria.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Benin  
Empire

Gulf of Guinea

ADF ILLUSTRATION

# EWUARE THE GREAT

ADF STAFF

According to the oral histories passed down by the griots, or storytellers, the Kingdom of Benin's greatest king captured his throne by using magic powers a lion gave him for removing a thorn from its paw.

Magic features heavily in any telling of the story of Ewuare the Great, but he was a real man with real accomplishments that historians have documented. Ewuare ruled the kingdom, in what is now part of southern Nigeria, from 1440 until 1473. He was the first powerful oba, or king, by virtue of stripping the authority of the uzama, a group of chiefs who had been responsible for appointing each oba. Ewuare established a hereditary monarchy, with the eldest son first in line. Throughout history, it was believed that when men became obas, they became divine beings. Although their mothers were revered and had powers of their own, they never were allowed to see their oba sons again.

Ewuare was born Prince Ogun, the third son of Oba Ohen. Twenty-five years after taking the throne, his father became paralyzed in both legs, and was stoned to death because his condition meant, as one story goes, that he had lost his divine powers. The uzama allowed Ohen's son Uwaifiokun to take the throne. Ogun traveled to Benin City, the capital, and overthrew his brother in a coup — supposedly using lion magic. Ogun killed his brother and burned down much of the city in the process. In rebuilding the city he had destroyed, Ogun took the name Ewuare, which meant, "The trouble has ceased."

Ewuare made his place in history as a conqueror, taking over cities and towns in the region to expand his empire, making it one of the largest in West Africa. He personally led his army in many of the campaigns. In the towns he took over, he replaced the rulers with ally chiefs home-grown in his bureaucracy. One oral history says that he had 201 victories.

As he expanded his empire, he introduced structure into the political system, improved trade and promoted artwork, especially bronze castings, a signature of the kingdom. He protected the city with walls and moats. The city is said to have had nine gateways and large boulevards, with specific areas for different kinds of crafts, including ivory and wood carving. He invited craftsmen to come live in his city.

Archaeologists now estimate that there were 15 kilometers of walls around the city, and a system of 16,000 kilometers of ditches spread out through the kingdom, perhaps marking the territories of individual villages and towns.



The title of "oba" in the Kingdom of Benin was passed on to the firstborn son of each successive king. Each new king had to commemorate his father's death with a bust cast in bronze and placed on an altar at the palace.

Ewuare established a government of Eghabho n'ore, or town chiefs, and Eghabho n'ogbe, or palace chiefs. His chiefs reported directly to him and were responsible for handling legal issues and collecting tribute. He encouraged the members of well-born families to work in his palace for token wages as a means of learning how to become administrators.

Ewuare dispatched his oldest son, Kuoboyuwa, to rule part of the kingdom known as Iken, and dispatched his second son, Ezuwarha, to rule another region called Iyowa. The brothers became rivals and ended up poisoning each other. Ewuare is said to have become distraught at losing his sons and passed a law prohibiting sex in the kingdom for three years. It drove many members of his kingdom to migrate to other areas. He eventually overturned his own law.

History now remembers him as Ewuare the Great, and his greatest legacy is the tradition of bronze castings and other art. Perhaps its best-known artworks are the bronze — actually brass — busts that each oba commissioned of his predecessor before taking the throne. Ewuare started that tradition, and he is also known as Ewuare the Bronze King.

Little is known about how Ewuare died. His first remaining son was assassinated, and another son ruled the kingdom for a short time before he was overthrown by the uzama. His third son, Ozolua, became the oba in about 1483 and ruled until 1514.

The kingdom endured for close to another 400 years, including its first visit from European explorers in 1485. It had periods of neglect and poor governance but always recovered until 1899, when it collapsed under the weight of British aggression. In that collapse, European looters stole much of the kingdom's works of art, including the bronze busts of its obas. That artwork is now displayed in museums all over the world.

Today, there is a movement to return the works of art to Nigeria. Many, if not most, of the museums say they will cooperate so the priceless pieces can be displayed in Nigerian museums.





# CLUES

- 1** This UNESCO World Heritage Site is one of the Seven Wonders of Portuguese Origin in the World.
- 2** Its port was a stopping place for explorers Vasco da Gama in 1497, on his way to India, and Christopher Columbus in 1498, on his third voyage to the Americas.
- 3** Its position at the crossroads of civilizations gave rise to the first fully fledged mixed-race Creole society.
- 4** Once a key port in the slave trade, it has preserved a “pillory monument” that commemorates this sad history.





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