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AFRICA DEFENSE FORUM



PROFESSIONALS WITH A PURPOSE

Africa's Militaries
Strive for High
Standards

In Sierra Leone,
Security Reform Is
'Everybody's Business'

PLUS
A Conversation
With Former
Nigerian President
Olusegun Obasanjo

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ON THE COVER:

This photo illustration depicting military personnel from different countries and service branches shows the many faces of a professional fighting force.

ADF ILLUSTRATION

Military intervention in politics has left a damaging legacy in Africa. Between 1960 and 2000 there were an average of four coup attempts per year on the continent. In many cases, these armed takeovers were catastrophic for the countries involved. They produced decades of poor governance, insecurity and economic decline.

Fortunately, coups are becoming rarer. There were only two coup attempts per year on average during the past two decades. Most modern coups have failed, and those that have succeeded have been forced to cede power swiftly to civilian governments.

But coups persist in certain countries. Mali, for example, has endured three successful coups in the past decade. This turmoil has left the country unstable and a haven for extremist groups.

So, what can be done?

The best safeguards against coups are a culture of military professionalism and an institutional belief in civilian control. These take years to achieve but result in enduring safety and stability.

Lessons from across the continent offer hopeful signs. In the post-independence years, Ghana was one of the most coup-prone countries in the world. Through reforms to the military in the 1980s that emphasized discipline, individual responsibility and career-long education, Ghana has become a thriving democracy.

Sierra Leone endured a brutal 11-year civil war that left its Armed Forces decimated and mistrusted by the public in the early 1990s. A thorough security sector reform process has turned Sierra Leone from a country dependent on foreign peacekeepers to a country that sends peacekeepers abroad to assist countries in need.

Finally, lessons can be drawn from countries where militaries support democratic transitions. In Tunisia during the 2010 Arab Spring uprisings, the military kept peace in the streets as protesters demanded change. The military also resisted pressure to intervene on behalf of the regime. Although Tunisia's democracy remains fragile, the military was praised for its actions during a dangerous time for the country.

Professionalism takes many forms, but one thing has remained constant through the years: Militaries that support democracy by remaining apolitical help put their nations on the path to peace.

U.S. Africa Command Staff



Cadets in the Rwanda Defence Force are commissioned in Bugesera. RWANDA DEFENCE FORCE



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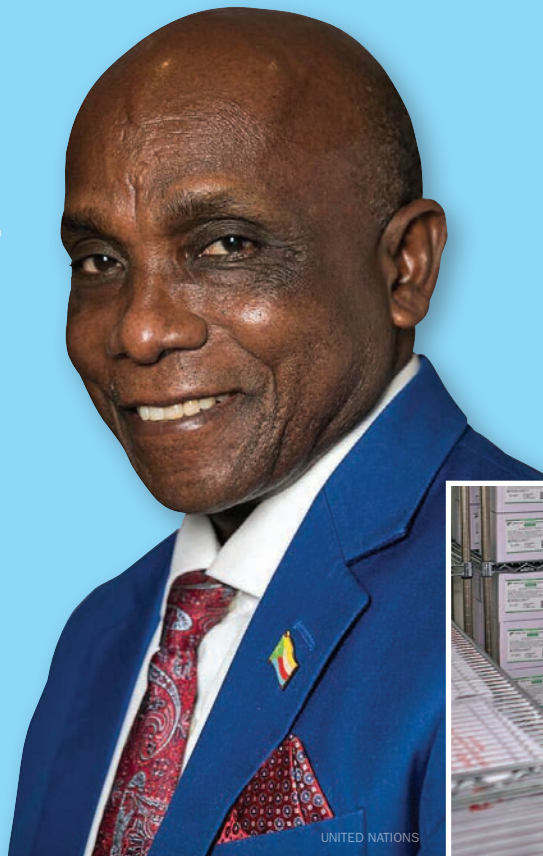
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An Opportunity From Crisis

Issimail Chanfi, permanent representative of Comoros to the United Nations, spoke during the Africa Dialogue Series 2021 on May 28, 2021. The U.N.'s Office of the Special Adviser on Africa sponsored the event. The theme of the series was "Cultural identity and ownership: reshaping mindsets." Chanfi's comments have been edited to fit this format.



During this month of the Africa Dialogue Series we have witnessed that a new narrative is indeed possible if only

we give voice to African experts.

We have shown the world that Africa is a continent full of innovators who are ready to face emerging challenges from an African perspective and take into account Africa's needs and realities.

We have realized that culture and identity are powerful tools that can enable African countries to take ownership of their development. But for that purpose, as the theme of the Africa Dialogue Series suggests, we need to reshape mindsets; we need to change the perspective.

Africa should not continue to be addressed as a continent in need of "aid." Africa's past and present are full of success stories. Great civilizations were born in the continent without the help of external players. Ambitious projects are being promoted in our day and age, such as the African Continental Free Trade Area, meant to be the largest and most important market in the world.

African countries are ready to lead a new approach to development. To implement this new approach, African countries need partners who are committed, partners who respect Africa's role as a global player, partners who ensure that past inequalities are not used to maintain a global imbalance.

2021 is a year of hope and opportunity for Africa and for the world. As it has been noted during these three days of discussions, the disruptions triggered by COVID-19 provide an opportunity for all of us to build forward and to build better. COVID-19 has laid down clearly what the priorities should be.

It has shown the importance of human capital. Health and education cannot continue to be perceived as "social rights" only. They are fundamental components of development. Investing in health and education, investing in human capital is ensuring that our societies will be resilient and able to overcome future pandemics.

COVID-19 has also proved how necessary it is to live in communion with nature. Economic growth needs to be approached from a perspective of environmental sustainability. Initiatives such as the blue

A medical worker at the Nairobi National Vaccine Depot checks COVID-19 vaccine supplies in cold storage from COVAX, the global program to distribute vaccines equitably. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

economy promoted by African countries and the African Union — based on the sustainable use of ocean resources for economic growth, improved livelihoods and ecosystem health — are the future.

COVID-19 has also demonstrated that industrialization is a priority and a responsibility of African countries and their international partners.

Let's make the crisis an opportunity. Let's transform the risk of a vaccine divide into an opportunity to create a stronger Africa that contributes to global prosperity. Instead of trying to solve the shortage of vaccines worldwide in the traditional way, we need to seize the opportunity to increase Africa's capacity to produce its own vaccines and, consequently, strengthen the continent's resilience and its path toward development. We have the tools. We just need political will and the commitment of our partners to make this plan a reality.



Biologist Blaise Kadjo shows a bat in Côte d'Ivoire.
AFP/GETTY IMAGES

BATS OF ABIDJAN FACE TROUBLED FUTURE

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

At twilight, tens of thousands of bats darken the skies over Abidjan's business quarter as they squeak their way between buildings in Côte d'Ivoire's economic hub.

The scene is a feature of the city's Plateau district. But now a range of human perils threatens the little mammals, conservationists say.

As night falls, the bats head for the nearby Banco forest, which was made a national park in 1953. There, the bats gorge all night on insects, fruit and flowers, said Magloire Niamien, a biologist and bat specialist at the University of Korhogo in northern Côte d'Ivoire.

Niamien said the city's bat population might have been as many as a million in 2020 but has since drastically declined because of urbanization and poaching.

"Up to half the population of bats appears to have migrated elsewhere," said Professor Inza Kone, who heads the Swiss Centre for Scientific Research in Côte d'Ivoire.

Scientists say bats play a crucial part in the food web. They eat many crop-damaging insects, saving farmers billions a year in pesticide costs.

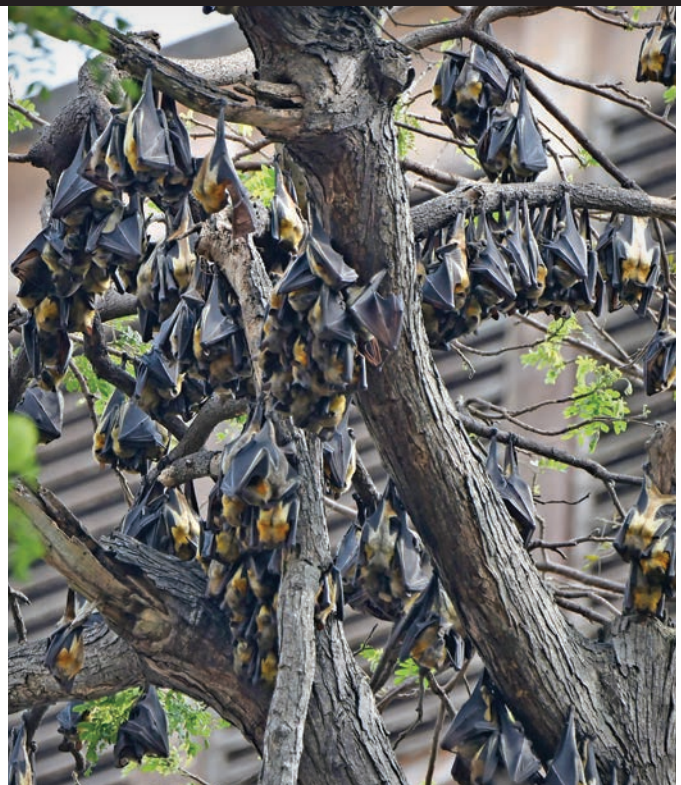
Some people complain the bats make too much noise and tarnish cars with their droppings.

Petitions have demanded that authorities act, and trees have been cut down to make the bats go, said biologist Blaise Kadjo, a professor at Felix Houphouët-Boigny University in Abidjan.

People also fear bat-borne diseases. This risk rises greatly when bats are hunted and butchered for food or when humans encroach on their habitat. Ebola is one virus thought to have spread from bats.

"But we have never recorded a single health incident connected to the bats on the Plateau," Kadjo said. "We carried out tests in 2014 and didn't find any trace of Ebola."

Despite the risks, humans still eat bats. At the Siporex market, in the large working-class Yopougon district of Abidjan, three smoked bats sell for 2,500 CFA francs (\$4.56).



Bats hang from trees during the day and fill the Ivorian sky at twilight.
AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Scientists want Ivorian authorities to protect bats, which play an important role in fertilizing many plants. Bats also are one of the few creatures capable of ensuring the reproduction of iroko, a large hardwood tree whose wood is sold worldwide to make luxury furniture, but threatened by overexploitation in West Africa, Niamien said.

"Their role is essential for maintaining the natural ecosystem," Kadjo said.

BURKINA FASO TESTS MODIFIED MOSQUITOES TO CURB MALARIA

VOICE OF AMERICA

Malaria kills more than 400,000 people each year, and most victims are in Africa. Now Target Malaria, an international group of scientists, is working in Burkina Faso on a genetic solution.

Abdoulaye Diabate of the country's Research Institute for Science and Health said Target Malaria hopes to develop a genetic tool to modify mosquitoes so their offspring will be only male. Any females they mate with after release also will produce just males.

Since only female mosquitoes spread malaria, the disease should drop off quickly along with their population.

In the village of Bana, where the genetically modified mosquitoes first were tested in 2019, locals were worried about the experiment.

Kiesiara Sanou, a Bana village elder, said people thought the survey would release mosquitoes in the village that could cause more diseases. But since working with Target Malaria, they've come to understand the purpose and now even help them with tasks such as collecting mosquitoes.

Genetically modified mosquitoes are just one malaria solution that scientists have tested in Burkina Faso. The country also pioneered pesticide-infused mosquito nets.

Oxford University's Jenner Institute in April 2021 announced that a malaria vaccine tested in Burkina Faso had a breakthrough 77% efficacy.

Naima Sykes of Target Malaria said that according to the World Health Organization's "World Malaria Report 2019," over 94% of malaria cases and deaths took place in Africa.

Sykes added that when finding institutions to partner with, Target Malaria sought out institutions in countries with a significant malaria burden and a strong desire to do something about it.



An entomologist studies mosquitoes in a Burkinabe lab. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

SUDANESE DOCTORS FIGHT COVID FROM ABROAD

ADF STAFF

What started as a small idea between two doctors based in the United States who wanted to help their native Sudan respond to COVID-19 has grown into something much larger.

Dr. Reem Ahmed of Emory University in Georgia and Dr. Nada Fadul of the University of Nebraska met during the early days of the pandemic while working for advocacy groups such as the Sudanese American Medical Association and the Coalition of Sudanese Organizations Against COVID-19.

They raised money, coordinated material and equipment shipments, and conducted a virtual training curriculum with three Sudanese universities.

Despite being more than 11,000 kilometers away, they recognized the impact their medical expertise could have on their home country.

"We started off brainstorming by ourselves how we could help manage mild to moderate cases," Ahmed told ADF. "We thought about utilizing the human resource of all the students in medical schools and universities that were all shut down because of the pandemic."

Ahmed's and Fadul's brainchild was the Community Medical Response Team (CMRT), an initiative that trains and deploys Sudanese students with a medical background across the country to treat COVID-19 patients in their homes.

Ahmed, Fadul and other experts around the world conduct virtual mentoring and training sessions with a group of 40 students who are paid to work in Sudan as trainers for a larger team of 150 volunteers who implement the program, neighborhood by neighborhood.

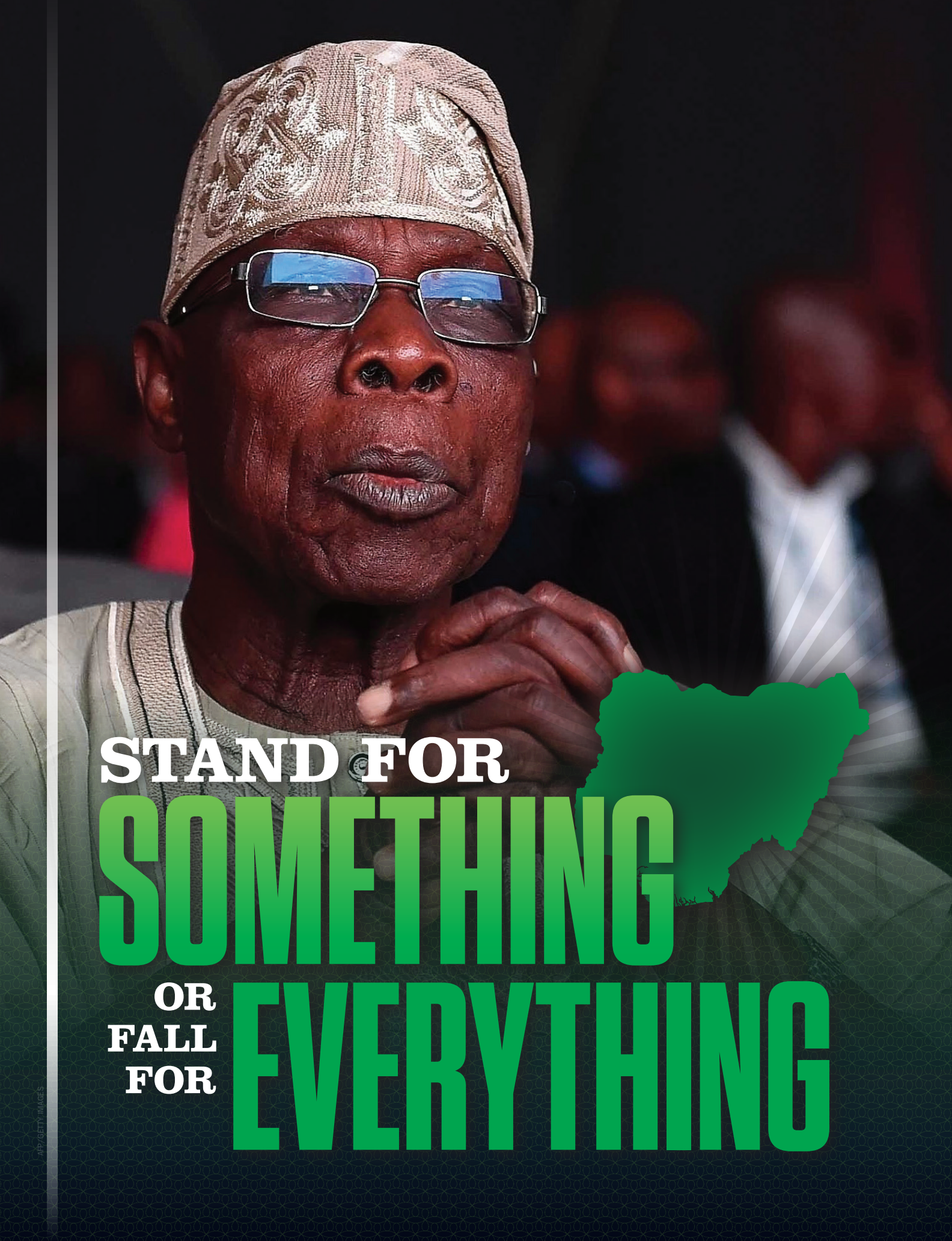
"In the beginning, we connected with medical students, and then one student connected us to a student network — nursing, pharmacy, dental students," Fadul said. "It was great, because not every neighborhood has medical students. Maybe one has a pharmacy student, or another has a nursing student and a pharmacy student. Then we have a team."

The students built new networks and strengthened existing collaborations. Then they recruited volunteers in 50 neighborhoods to start the program.

"It was very clear we needed buy-in from the ministries, and we needed allies in the communities," Fadul said. "We needed to partner with leaders, like the imam of the local mosque, a local physician, the resistance committee or the neighborhood service committee."



Volunteers with the CMRT go into their communities to raise awareness about treating and preventing COVID-19. CMRT



STAND FOR

SOMETHING

**OR
FALL
FOR**

EVERYTHING





Former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo Tells Why He Stood Up Against Military Coups And Believes in Peace Through Dialogue

Affectionately called the “Baba of Africa” or “Africa’s father,” Olusegun Obasanjo has spent time as a military officer, statesman, peacemaker and human rights advocate. Born in 1937 in southwest Nigeria, he spent more than 20 years in the Armed Forces, rising to the rank of two-star general. He served as Nigeria’s head of state twice, from 1976 to 1979 and again from 1999 to 2007. In 1979, he became the first military ruler in Africa to hand power to a

civilian government, and in 2007 he participated in Nigeria’s first peaceful transition of power from one civilian administration to another. After his presidency, he has served as a mediator in numerous conflicts and has headed election-monitoring efforts across the continent. In 2021, he was appointed African Union envoy to the Horn of Africa. He spoke to ADF by phone from his home in Abeokuta, Nigeria. His remarks have been edited to fit this format.

ADF: *As a young man, why did you decide to serve your country in the Armed Forces?*

Obasanjo: In my day, the opportunities for higher education in Nigeria were limited. In the mid-1950s when I was leaving secondary school, there was only one university in Nigeria. I was admitted to the University of Ibadan, but I had no sponsorship so I couldn’t go. Then the opportunity for furthering my education through the Army came when I saw an advertisement to become an officer cadet. It was necessity, excitement and the attraction of something new. I didn’t come from what you would call a military family. The tradition in my family was in the intertribal wars and that sort of thing. My family used to be distinguished in that. But nobody in my family had joined the Army before I joined. That’s what got me in. It was curiosity, excitement and necessity.

ADF: *During more than 20 years of military service, was there an event that was most important? What stands out to you?*

Obasanjo: I probably would give you two things. The first was my training in Accra, Ghana. I joined the Army before Nigeria’s independence, and in those days we had what they called officer cadet training school for British West Africa in Ghana. There I met Sierra Leonean students, Ghanaian officer cadets, Nigerian officer cadets from all parts of Nigeria — Yoruba, Igbo, Northerner — and that really was a very important experience in my life. It was very significant. I carried that for furthering my military training in the United Kingdom where there

Olusegun Obasanjo, center, presides over the surrender of Biafra’s Armed Forces during Nigeria’s civil war in 1967. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS





Then-U.S. President Jimmy Carter meets Gen. Obasanjo during a state visit to Nigeria in 1978.

U.S. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION



Gen. Obasanjo, head of state of Nigeria, in Lagos in 1978

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

were not only African students, but students from the rest of the commonwealth. Very early in my life that was very instructive and a little bit determinant.

The other and more important event was when I had to go to serve as part of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation in the Congo in 1960. That was graphic. The lessons I learned in those early days of my training and the early exposure to international service through peacekeeping as a very young officer remain indelible in my memory and in my life.

ADF: *You have been a vocal opponent of military rule in Nigeria. In fact, in 1979 you became the first Nigerian military head of state to hand over power to a democratically elected civilian government. What drove you to push for civilian leadership?*

Obasanjo: It was mainly influenced by my military training. In the training that I had, the military is subject to the civil authority. That was ingrained in my own training and life. When coups started in Africa soon after the period of independence, this was contrary to my training. It was contrary to the ethics of the military. The other thing that I saw was that it, in fact, undermined the organization of the military. The military is a hierarchical organization. When you find a man who yesterday was your junior now is taking the gun to the statehouse and he has got the prime minister or the president shot or arrested and he then becomes the military president, it disorganizes the hierarchy of the military. It offended the military camaraderie. I believe the best thing to do is put the military back to where it should be: in the barracks. I believe that we should get the military out of government and get them properly trained, properly professionalized, properly equipped. That's what the military wants: to be ready for service in support of the civil authority.

ADF: *You spent three years in prison from 1995 to 1998 for opposing the military rule of Sani Abacha. Why did you stand up for these democratic principles knowing that you could pay such a heavy price?*

Obasanjo: If you believe in something, you must be ready to make a sacrifice for it. You cannot claim to be a believer in something and then not be ready to give what it takes. I believe that the military should not be in government, and I acted when I needed to act on it. I believe that if you don't stand for something, you will fall for everything. In a life that is dedicated to principle, to certain standards and rules, you must be willing to pay what it takes. At the end of the day, you may be proved

right, but if you are proved wrong, you must be ready also to accept that. Over the years I seem to have been proved right in this case.

ADF: *Upon your release, you ran for office as a civilian and were elected president in 1999. You made military professionalism one of your top priorities as president, and after taking office, you forced the retirement of 93 military officers. Why was that important, and what signal did it send to the military and the country?*

Obasanjo: We had this musical chairs of the military removing the civilians, then the civilians come back and the military removes them again, and so on. People were saying, “Look, what can we do to stop this cycle of coups?” Some people said, “We can put it in the constitution that a coup is treason.” The problem with that is the people who carry out coups know that it is treason. That’s why they don’t leave anything to chance. I thought that if you make it easy for people not to go into coup-making, by making sure that — and it doesn’t matter how long it takes — that for those who participate in coups or derive maximum benefit from coups it doesn’t pay. Then you make it easy for people not to want to go into coups. That is what made me retire those officers. It was not because they were otherwise bad, because later on we brought some of them back into the military, we appointed some of them as ambassadors, we even called in some of them to join political parties and so forth. Some became democratically elected governors. But coup-making was discouraged, and it remains discouraged up until today. The idea is when you have come as a military professional, remain professional. Dedicate your life to serving your country and your people and serving humanity that way. If at any time you choose to change your profession, you are free to

Outgoing Nigerian President Obasanjo casts his vote at a polling station in his hometown of Abeokuta in 2007. The election marked the first handover of power from one civilian president to another. REUTERS



do so. But don’t use the military and the gun that is given to protect your state to destroy your state. Don’t take over the running of your country at gunpoint.

ADF: *How did you try to institute military professionalism in Nigeria during your time in office?*

Obasanjo: Because of my own background in the barracks as a second lieutenant up to a two-star general, I know what a military officer wants. He wants to be well trained. He wants to be well equipped. He wants reasonable accommodations. When we had our civil war, the Nigerian Army grew overnight from about 12,000 to well over a quarter of a million. One of the greatest problems was accommodations, so I paid personal attention to this. We even bought prefabricated material so that we could build barracks. That was very important. Another thing was training. We paid attention to training both in Nigeria and out of Nigeria and set up the first staff college. We also went to the extent of setting up the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, which is partly military, partly civilian. All these were a way of really strengthening professionalism. Another thing we introduced was financial. When I was a young officer, you could get a loan to buy a car. I brought that back so the young officers can buy their own car and over five years pay back the loan. Just to give them the normal, basic things that were there when I was growing up in the military. It had been disappearing as a result of the military participating in the civil war and growing to a number that was almost unmanageable. All that needed to be done to cater to the welfare and well-being of officers and men was for them to see themselves proudly as military people.

ADF: *You have a long history as a mediator, playing that role in conflicts in Angola, Burundi, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa. In 2008, you were appointed the U.N. secretary-general’s special envoy for the Great Lakes Region. What special skills and insights do you try to use to mediate conflicts?*

Obasanjo: My upbringing is particularly useful in mediation. I grew up in a culture where mediation is regarded as part of our living and lived experience. We believe that wherever there are people, there will always be something to mediate, to reconcile, to appease and all that. A mediator must hear all sides and must be absolutely neutral. Not that you don’t have emotion as a human being, but your emotion must be subdued. You must also know the background of any issue you are trying to mediate. What is the history? What has gone on before? You must know what is the minimum that either side will accept. They will have a gap, and your job must be to gradually reduce that gap. If one says, “I will accept five” and the other is asking for 10, how do you get the one that says only “five,” to six and the one that says “10,” how do you get him or her to nine? You start narrowing. We believe that a mediator must have

patience. Whatever happens, you are always taking it without being annoyed. People will say things against you, but you should stand for what is true. People don't normally like to hear that. Each side wants to feel that they have won, and a good mediator will make each have a sense of winning.

ADF: *Did your military career help?*

Obasanjo: In the army you learn that at the end of almost any war or conflict, there's always negotiation, mediation, discussion, reconciliation. In my own country we fought a civil war where we destroyed the longest bridge we had, the only refinery we had, we killed on both sides. It was a war that we should never have fought, but at the end of it we still had to reconcile. Mediation requires skill based on experience, skill that you get from the culture of the people. In our part of the world, we say that a mediator should be ready to get a bloody nose. A mediator must not take sides. In the military, of course, there are certain things you learn. For instance, how do you treat prisoners of war? These things that I have come to see in mediation are also essential. Every group should have a sense of something in it for them. There should be no victor, no vanquished.

ADF: *Since leaving office, one of the roles you've played across the continent is election observer, most recently in Ethiopia. Why is monitoring elections so important to you?*

Obasanjo: Monitoring an election gives, particularly the opposition, a feeling that all things will go well. It says that the group or party in power will not ride roughshod over all things. It helps for peace and credibility in elections.

Of course, there is no election that you can ever regard as totally perfect. No matter how large or how meticulous observer missions are, there will still be things that they will not be able to see. But there is a feeling within the country that observer missions are engaged, that, if things go wrong, these people will point them out. I always say to countries where I go for election-observation missions: "We are observers; we are not interventionists. We will report what we have seen, but we are not judges." We also suggest and make recommendations on how things can improve. In some cases that has worked. Initially I did not want to go to Ethiopia. I was wondering, "What purpose will an election serve?" The chairperson of the AU, Ambassador Moussa Faki, called me, and I said, "I'm reluctant." He said, "What purpose would you want the election in Ethiopia to serve?" I said, "I would want it to open the way for negotiation. Open the way for discussion between the Tigrayans and the central government and among the different groups in Ethiopia." And Ambassador Faki said, "Well that is why you should accept this responsibility. If you are there, you may be able to encourage them to do this." That is why I went and, to some extent, he was right. Although we are not where we should be in Ethiopia yet, I believe after the

“A mediator must not take sides. ... Every group should have a sense of something in it for them. There should be no victor, no vanquished.”

Obasanjo heads an African Union election-observation mission in Ethiopia.

ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES





Nigerian Air Force planes fly past Aso Rock in Abuja, Nigeria, during the country's 60th independence celebration. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Troops march in Nigeria's Democracy Day celebrations in Abuja on June 12, 2019. The date celebrates the anniversary of Nigeria's first free elections. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

“ I believe we will swim together rather than sink individually. What we need is not beyond us. We must realize that the world we live in will not give us everything on a platter of gold. We have to struggle.”

election everybody is more or less willing to talk. An election observer mission doesn't solve all problems, but where it can be of service, let's put it in place.

ADF: *As Africa emerges from the COVID-19 pandemic, what is your greatest hope for this generation of security sector leaders and civilian leaders? How should they seize this moment? Do you have any advice?*

Obasanjo: We have a number of things ahead of us, and there are tools to guide us. We have the United Nations Vision for Africa 2030; we have the Africa We Want 2063. We have the challenges that are there for all of us. We have the climate change challenge, the security challenges all over Africa, local terrorism, international terrorism, poor management of our economies, poor governance and, on top of all that, we have the COVID-19 pandemic. What

will I say? Although things look bleak, if we get ourselves together nationally, regionally and continentally, I believe we will swim together rather than sink individually. What we need is not beyond us. We must realize that the world we live in will not give us everything on a platter of gold. We have to struggle. We have to let the world know that we are part of the world, and we will work hard to get what we need. We can do that together within our communities, together in our nation and together within the continent. There must be partnership within Africa, integration particularly on the economic front and partnership between Africa and the rest of the world. The youth must realize that nobody should tell them, "You are the leaders of tomorrow." I would tell them this: "Your leadership begins today." Otherwise, some people will destroy their tomorrow. They must be part of today, so their tomorrow is not destroyed. □



LETTING DEMOCRACY

BLOOM

IN TIMES OF UNREST, MILITARIES CAN PROTECT FRAGILE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS

ADF STAFF

Arab Spring protests swept across North Africa and the Middle East in the early 2010s as citizens rose up in the face of years of autocratic rule. The protests produced a range of results, from the lasting chaos in Libya to a flirtation with democratic rule in neighboring Egypt.

The Arab Spring's reach extended into Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen. It lit the fuse that exploded into the bloody Syrian civil war, which persists to this day.

But in Tunisia, a nation of 12 million people nestled between Algeria and Libya, things were different. Those differences can be attributed in large part to characteristics of Tunisia's military and how it responded to the protests. The decisions commanders made at a crucial moment helped steer the nation away from autocratic rule toward what has been a fairly stable — if imperfect — democracy ever since.

Tunisia's example can provide a valuable road map for other militaries. When a nation stands at the brink of democracy, how its military responds — or chooses not to respond — can make a crucial difference.

"What makes the difference between a democratic handover and a stillborn transition? Where the military's loyalty lies," wrote Dr. Nathaniel Allen of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies and political scientist Dr. Alexander Noyes at the Rand Corp. in 2019. "When security forces backed a dictator's political party over the opposition, as in Togo and Zimbabwe, the old regime has remained in power through a coup or fraudulent election. But when security forces ousted incumbents, as in Sudan and Algeria, or stayed on the sidelines, as in Ethiopia and Angola, there have been opportunities to transform the political system through genuinely free, peaceful and fair elections."

TUNISIA'S EXPERIENCE

Tunisia's military ultimately made the best choices for the citizenry and for the prospects of democracy in 2011. But perhaps most fascinating are the motivations for why it made those choices.

The military's size, structure and connection to the regime of then-President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali offers perspective. As protests began in December 2010, Tunisia's small Armed Forces — about 40,000 uniformed personnel — essentially was disconnected from the Ben Ali regime because the autocratic president had created

a system in which the national police force and the presidential and national guards held most of the power.

That estrangement worked against the regime when Soldiers refused to stand between protesters and Ben Ali, who gave up power and fled the country in January 2011. More than 10 years later, Dr. Sharan Grewal calls Tunisia the Arab Spring's "lone success story" for managing to maintain its democracy, however tenuous it may seem.

Ben Ali and his predecessor, Habib Bourguiba, had relied on a fragmented security system that distanced the military from the regime in favor of the other security forces, Grewal, of the College of William & Mary in the United States, wrote for the Brookings Institution in January 2021.

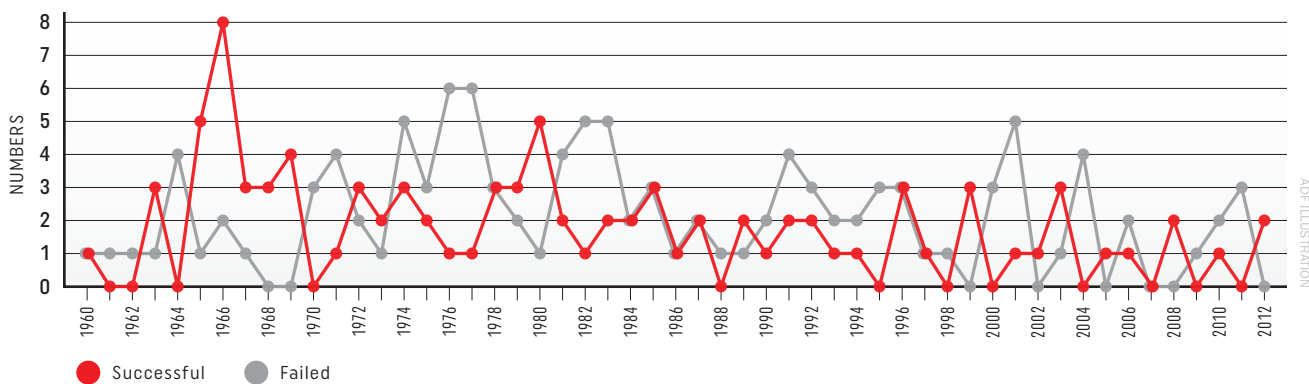
"This counterbalancing was a major advantage during the revolution and transition, as the marginalized military stepped aside from Ben Ali and subsequently allowed the transition to proceed without any vested interests," Grewal wrote. "Moreover, counterbalancing meant that without the military, the internal security forces could not on their own preserve Ben Ali nor stage a coup and thwart the transition in 2013."

In short, the military helped empower the revolution and the nation's march toward democracy by



Tunisian protesters hold flares in Tunis to mark the seventh anniversary of the uprising that ousted President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and launched the Arab Spring. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

TRENDS IN AFRICAN MILITARY COUPS, 1960-2012



Source: African Development Bank

rejecting its own long-standing marginalization. Ben Ali and his predecessor, as Grewal wrote for the Carnegie Endowment in February 2016, kept Soldiers in the barracks, underfunded, underequipped, and away from the levers of political and economic power.

“This lack of vested interests allowed it to quickly move beyond Ben Ali following his ouster in January 2011 and then stand much more removed from domestic political developments than other militaries in the region,” Grewal wrote for Carnegie.

When Bourguiba was in power, he eventually came to rely more on military personnel for security, and some of them assumed more of a political role. But Ben Ali, formerly a brigadier general, began to rise through civilian political positions and eventually removed Bourguiba in a 1987 soft coup.

“Bourguiba did not like the army, but he respected it,” retired Gen. Said el-Kateb, a former chief of staff of the Armed Forces, told Grewal. “The military under Bourguiba were treated better than the police, as far as budget, equipment, and training. Under Ben Ali, the budget allocated to the police was higher than the military’s; the number of police officers increased dramatically. We could feel our marginalization.”

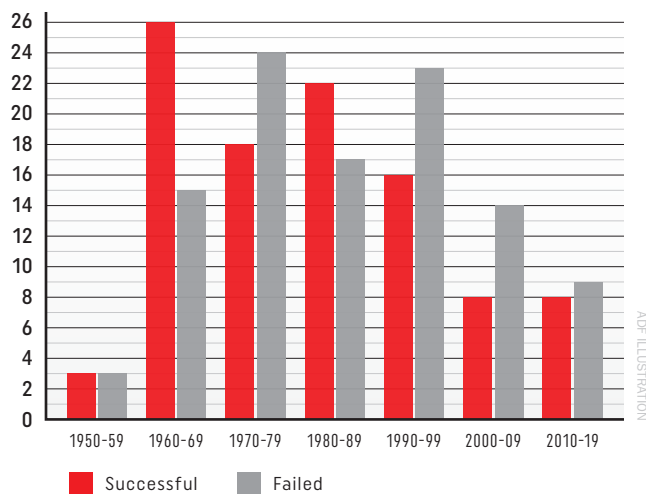
THE POWER OF MILITARIES

Tunisian military commanders could have ordered Soldiers into the streets to violently crush the civil rebellion from the beginning. Instead, troops sided with the people and, ultimately, democracy. Now Tunisia has what Grewal calls “one of the world’s most progressive constitutions” and is continuing its long, complicated journey toward a more established democracy.

Unfortunately, not all African militaries have made the same calculus as Tunisia’s did. Recent history is replete with examples of militaries making the wrong decisions when it comes to intervening in political affairs. The continent’s record on coups provides evidence.

According to the African Development Bank (AfDB), there were more than 200 military coups between the beginning of the African independence movement in

MILITARY COUPS IN AFRICA OVER THE DECADES



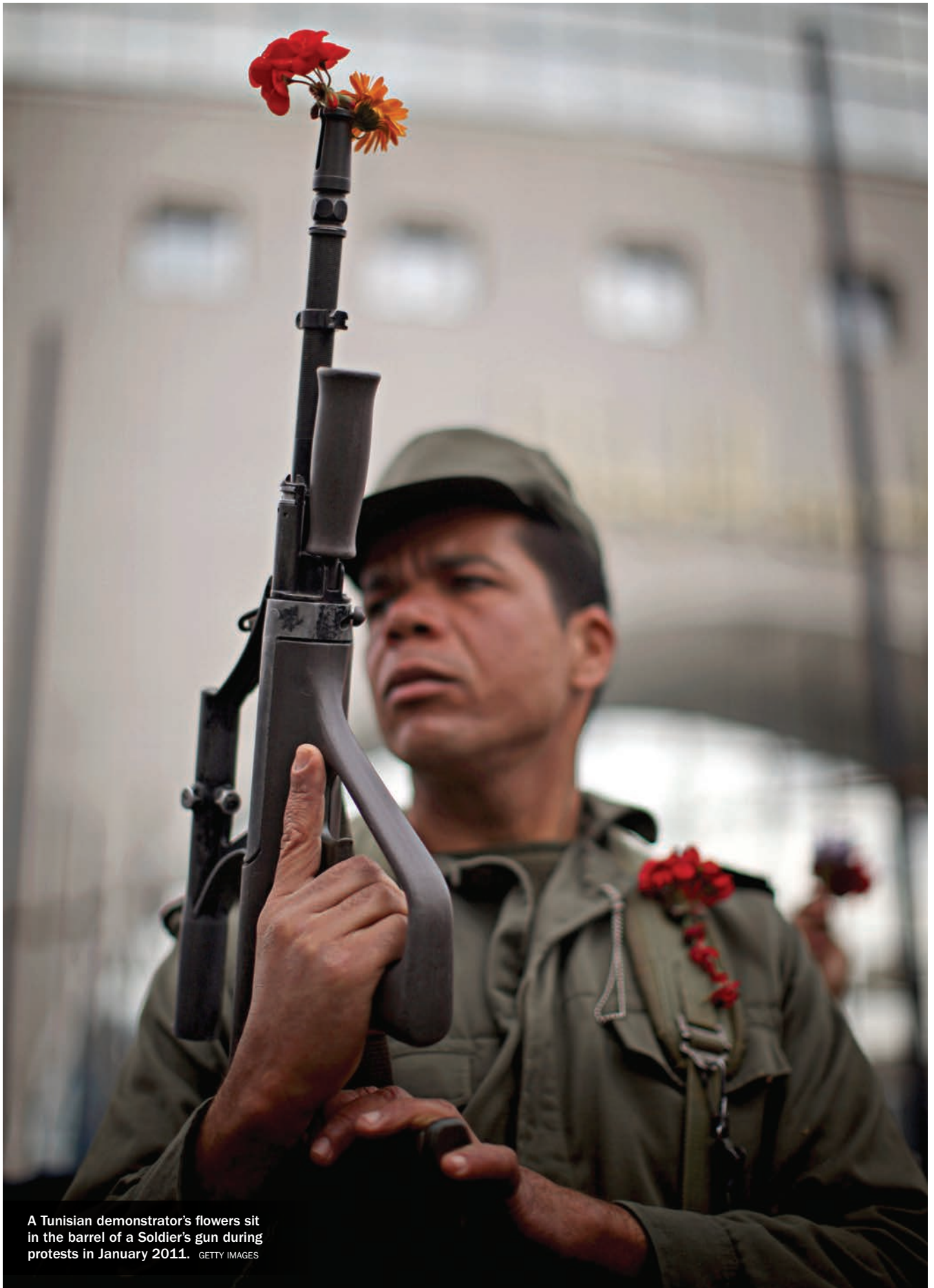
Sources: Research by University of Kentucky and University of Central Florida; published June 2, 2021, by the BBC

1960 and 2012. About 45% were successful, resulting in a change of power at the top. The study looked at 51 African countries, and only 10 of those never had a successful, attempted or plotted military coup in that time span: Botswana, Cabo Verde, Egypt, Eritrea, Malawi, Mauritius, Morocco, Namibia, South Africa and Tunisia. Since that time, Egypt has had a military coup.

The AfDB study found that in the same time frame, 80% of the sampled nations had at least one coup or failed coup. Nearly two-thirds — 61% — had between two and 10 military coup attempts.

When militaries intrude in the politics of a democratic state, they trample on popular sovereignty, Craig Bailie, lecturer in political science at South Africa’s Stellenbosch University, wrote for the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD).

African militaries “must know, understand and accept” their place with regard to politics. “This will



A Tunisian demonstrator's flowers sit in the barrel of a Soldier's gun during protests in January 2011. GETTY IMAGES

**OUTSIDE TRAINING AND CAPACITY
BUILDING ARE MOST EFFECTIVE WHEN
PRIORITIZING ACCOUNTABILITY, FINANCIAL
INTEGRITY, AND HUMAN RIGHTS OVER
TRAINING AND EQUIPMENT PROVISIONS.**



A Zimbabwean Soldier greets civilians in Harare after the resignation of longtime President Robert Mugabe in November 2017. The military forced out Mugabe and helped install another civilian leader. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

lead to what civil-military relations scholars refer to as ‘democratic control’ of the military,” Bailie wrote. “Without the military’s acceptance of the principles of democratic control, democracy cannot exist.”

Dr. Naison Ngoma, vice chancellor of the Copperbelt University in Zambia, summarized the generally accepted principles and responsibilities of professional militaries in “Civil-military relations in Africa: Navigating uncharted waters” for the Institute for Security Studies’ African Security Review. Militaries must:

- Be accountable to civil authorities, society and appropriate oversight agencies.
- Adhere to domestic and international rule of law.
- Conduct planning and budgeting transparently.
- Respect human rights and uphold cultural civility.
- Subject themselves to political control of operational and financial matters.
- Consult regularly with civil society.
- Conduct themselves professionally.
- Support collaborative peace and security.

“Although these principles are not always easy to adhere to, CMR [civil-military relations] in Africa have moved towards and will continue to move closer to observing these principles,” Ngoma wrote. “Therefore it is essential for African militaries to include civic education programmes at all levels of education and training in order to gain a better understanding of and commitment to these principles.”

WHAT FUELS MILITARY LOYALTIES?

Allen and Noyes point to five things that can indicate how militaries will behave amid a potential transition to democracy — whether they will support it or work against it.

First, the more inclusive, bigger and peaceful that popular protests are, the less likely Soldiers are to react violently to them. If protesters are united across economic, ethnic and religious lines, armies will be less likely to suppress them, especially if rank-and-file Soldiers are representative of the society. Such was the case in Algeria, Ethiopia and Sudan.

Second, if military forces are broadly representative and recruited and promoted on merit, they are more apt to support democratic transitions.

One crucial point that Allen and Noyes make is that militaries often will act in their own best interests. Budgets, pay, equipment, living conditions and more can be influential. The Tunisian Army’s marginalization in favor of other security forces is an example. Soldiers there did not see fit to intervene against the public. Likewise, the Ben Ali regime did not depend on them or deploy them in its defense.

This sense of self-interest can cut the other way. In Zimbabwe, for example, the military is closely aligned with political officials. Although it deposed dictator Robert Mugabe in 2017 after 37 years in power, the



A Sudanese anti-regime protester kisses a Soldier near Army headquarters in Khartoum in April 2019, the day autocratic President Omar al-Bashir was ousted in a coup. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

military installed another civilian with whom they had close ties.

“This retained their access to revenue, while avoiding the political baggage that would have accompanied their hanging onto power indefinitely,” Bailie wrote for ACCORD.

The military’s choice to replace Mugabe, Emmerson Mnangagwa, narrowly avoided a runoff in a disputed 2018 election.

Political leaders also can build on personal connections to military forces by using concessions and incentives to help turn recalcitrant military officials toward support of more democratic reforms. Such recently has been the case in Ethiopia, where Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed has instituted a number of changes, including lifting martial law, releasing political prisoners and softening relations with neighboring Eritrea. Ahmed is a former Army colonel. Likewise, civilian opposition must be able to communicate effectively with security forces.

“Opposition groups in Sudan helped end [President Omar al-]Bashir’s rule in part by appealing directly to security forces by avoiding violence, staying united and holding sit-ins in front of military headquarters,” Allen and Noyes wrote.

Finally, outside training and capacity building are most effective when prioritizing accountability, financial integrity, and human rights over training and equipment provisions.

The path from tyranny to democracy isn’t easy. Tunisia still struggles to fully consolidate its hard-won democratic reforms. Sudan stands on a precarious precipice more than two years after removing a dictator; it still could easily fall into chaos. African militaries built on professionalism, appropriate training and protecting the public, not serving a regime, are best positioned to support any successful transition toward democracy. □



ADF PHOTO ILLUSTRATION

FROM BULLIES TO OFFICERS AND GENTLEMEN

HOW THE GHANA ARMED FORCES ABANDONED COUPS AND EMBRACED PROFESSIONALISM

BY DR. HUMPHREY ASAMOAH AGYEKUM
PHOTOS BY AFP/GETTY IMAGES

IN AFRICA, military interventions in politics are an ever-present threat. In recent years, military forces have staged coups in Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, twice in Burkina Faso and twice in Mali. Yet, for nearly four decades Ghana has remained an island of relative stability in West Africa. Members of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) have been praised for their high level of professionalism and their apolitical nature. This raises the question: How does the GAF manage to avoid involvement in coups?

The answer is multifaceted. To understand the newfound professionalism of the Ghanaian military, we need to focus on how it was created and look back at the destructive history from which it emerged. The information for this article is based on first-person interviews with current and former Soldiers of the GAF.

BREAKDOWN OF MILITARY ORDER

In the early post-independence years, Ghana was one of the most coup-prone countries in the world. In this period, soldiers orchestrated and executed five successful coups and many more unsuccessful attempts. These events not only toppled democratically elected

governments, but they also caused social unrest and human rights violations. Nearly all levels of the GAF succumbed to the coup temptation. The coup d'états of 1966, 1972 and 1978 were orchestrated by high-ranking military officers, such as colonels, brigadier generals and above. In contrast, junior officers and other ranks orchestrated the coups of 1979 and 1981, leading to a temporary breakdown of hierarchy and command structures in the GAF.

On February 4, 1982, the coxswain and two naval officers at the Sekondi Naval Base were assassinated. A retired commodore, who was a junior officer then and narrowly escaped assassination himself, recalls chaos taking over. "The killings sent shockwaves through the military," he said. "Everybody feared for their lives, especially officers, because we knew the regime will do nothing for us because it relied heavily on the other ranks for its power."

This was a low point in the history of the GAF. The fear associated with the killings led to a temporary breakdown of order in the barracks as officers and other superiors dared not enforce discipline. At the same time, the junior officers and other ranks were not capable of upholding the disciplinary and professional standards of the military.

SOLDIERLY VALUES

After the assassinations in Sekondi, it was clear that change was needed. For the GAF to become a professional organization, it had to reintroduce and enforce



Soldiers sit near the Electoral Commission in Accra, Ghana, on December 8, 2020, as Ghanaians await results of presidential and parliamentary elections.

“
THE MILITARY IS CENTERED ON DISCIPLINE; IT IS THE
BEDROCK, THE FOUNDATION OF EVERY ARMED FORCE.
WITHOUT DISCIPLINE, THERE IS NO ARMY.”





discipline and hierarchy. This was a complex operation involving the issuance of leadership directives and performance of hierarchy, but it also led to the establishment of what has come to be known as the “human face” philosophy.

In 1983, the junta Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) appointed Gen. Arnold Quainoo to oversee the recovery of the GAF. Nicknamed “Buffalo Soldier” for his tough disciplinary style, the general was trusted by his subordinates. He immediately demanded professional behavior from his Soldiers. He encouraged officers to show leadership by commanding their men and banned officers from using Soldiers for nonmilitary tasks, such as washing and cleaning their superiors’ uniforms. These interventions marked the beginning of reinstating order.

“The military is centered on discipline; it is the bedrock, the foundation of every armed force. Without discipline, there is no army,” a retired general said. Put differently, for hierarchy and the internal structures of the military to function properly, discipline had to be restored. This was done in part by eliminating groups within the military perceived to be a source of indiscipline, such as the Junior Leaders’ Company, Border Guards and the athletes of Super Stars ’74, who were recruited to compete in sporting events on behalf of the military. The Armed Forces also introduced a forum for expressing grievances known as “the monthly durbar,” an overhaul of the military judicial system and a reinforced appeal to model soldierly values.

During this period, each time military leadership visited a base, the commanding officer organized a meeting with officers and men who then staged a performance of military hierarchy and authority. Quainoo, surrounded by officers, dramatically demonstrated his authority, and it was clear he expected to see it implemented at the various battalions and regiments.

In addresses, he emphasized that “a Soldier always works under the authority of an officer, and a Soldier respects his superiors and the rank,” a retired general who served during this period recalled.

The military leadership also emphasized that Soldiers must live by rules and regulations. These were the values instilled in them during their training at the Recruit Training Centre and at the military academies. The leadership emphasized that Soldiers who failed to uphold these values ceased to be Soldiers and became rebels. “I will not allow a military under my command to turn into a collection of rebels,” Quainoo said, according to people who served at the time.

These demonstrations showed Soldiers what the military leadership expected of them in terms of discipline, respect for authority and professionalism. These became the fundamental steppingstones in the transformation of the GAF.

HUMAN FACE PHILOSOPHY

After the initial interventions by the military leadership over the course of several years, further steps were needed. Many well-qualified senior officers who



disagreed with the military's involvement in politics resigned from service voluntarily or were forced out in the early 1980s, leaving an authority and knowledge vacuum. "We basically were not a functioning military, let alone a professional one," says a retired major general who served during this period. The PNDC, in its efforts to stabilize the military, appointed Gen. Winston Mensah-Wood in 1990. He is credited with creating the human face philosophy, which has been instrumental in improving the professionalism of the GAF. The human face philosophy is considered the antidote to the "Obey before complain" modus operandi that was prevalent for many years in the barracks.

The human face philosophy takes a human-centered approach to military management. Compared to the previous stringent approach, the human face philosophy recognizes that punishment is not always the right answer. The philosophy begins by recognizing that the Soldier is a human being who should be approached with empathy and support. "The military is a human institution, with people working in it. We have to treat them as such to get the best out of our people," said a Ghanaian military public relations officer.

The implementation of the human face philosophy called for the Ghanaian military to adjust its recruitment practices. In post-independence Ghana, until the beginning of the 1990s, a majority of the lower ranks such as privates, corporals, warrant officers and sergeants consisted of soldiers who were semiliterate or illiterate. Since these soldiers could not read or write, parades had

Soldiers attend the funeral of Kofi Annan, a Ghanaian diplomat and former secretary-general of the United Nations.

to be organized for the weekly instructions to be read out. "Soldiers were good at their job, like drill, manning the sentry, training and the like, but the larger implications of what it meant for a Soldier to serve his society were lost on most of them," noted a former warrant officer. "Remember, most of them we recruited in the colonial period. They had a different kind of training, and so they were very obedient and not critical at all." Sometimes nicknamed the "Bug-a-Buga" soldiers, a term derived from the Hausa word for "to apply force," this previous generation of soldiers were known to be brutish, rigid and rough. A change in philosophy required a more stringent process to recruit high-quality personnel and elevate the standards for military education.

EDUCATION

Professional military education started as a way to attract high-quality personnel into the GAF, but education has evolved into a way to improve the professional standards of the institution. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the pursuance of certificates in higher education became the norm in the barracks. The justification for this policy was a report published by the military leadership, which stated: "The ever-improving sophistication of modern weapons and equipment, their application and usage will definitely demand troops with

THERE IS NO BLUEPRINT FOR TRANSFORMING A MILITARY FROM ONE THAT VIOLATES THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS AND PARTICIPATES IN COUPS TO A PROFESSIONAL FIGHTING FORCE.

higher educational qualifications. Opportunity should therefore be given to troops to broaden their education.”

Henceforth, the GAF started to recruit only people with secondary education into its ranks, while gradually phasing out those recruited at the tail end of colonialism.

The implication of this policy is that it has contributed to professionalizing the Ghanaian military. “The individual level of education of Soldiers has risen dramatically. The mentality of Soldiers has changed. To be able to get something done around here, you have to be educated nowadays,” a lieutenant said. “Our Soldiers have gone from illiterate to semiliterate to literate.”

Education institutions such as the University of Ghana, the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration, the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College and the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre have been instrumental in this transformation.

This emphasis on education also has contributed to changing Ghanaian Soldiers’ perspectives on their task and coups. In the past, soldiers openly engaged in politics and sometimes plotted coups in the barracks. Today, such activities have been stamped out due to recruitment and training practices. Moreover, commanders are more flexible in their approach to their subordinates. Unlike in the past when Soldiers were harshly penalized for minor infringements of the codes of conduct, the human face philosophy calls for the Soldier’s personal circumstances to be taken into consideration. Depending on the circumstances, commanders can elect to give a reprimand rather than harsh punishments.

In short, there has been a shift from rigidity to a more flexible approach, while education has contributed to improving Soldiers’ understanding of their roles and responsibilities toward society.

PEACEKEEPING

Ghana has a proud history of peacekeeping and has contributed to U.N. missions since the 1960s. It is typically one of the top 10 troop-contributing countries globally, with 2,000 to 3,000 peacekeepers deployed around the world at any given time. This contributes to the professionalism of the Ghanaian military in a number of ways. First, officials provide valuable advanced predeployment training and modern equipment. The predeployment training is provided by the international community, such as the European Union and the United States, which provided millions of

dollars’ worth of training and equipment. Furthermore, Ghana has embraced peacekeeping as a way to provide Soldiers continuing training throughout their careers. “Peacekeeping is good for us,” a group captain said. “When we go out there, we get ‘in field training.’ The United Nations trains us in the theater. This enhances our professionalism as we get new knowledge, which when we come back can be put to use.”

Peacekeeping also exposes Ghanaian peacekeepers to new ideas about soldiering, such as “fighting counterinsurgents but also to international norms of human rights,” said a lieutenant colonel. Peacekeeping has changed Ghanaian Soldiers’ views on coups and war due to exposure to the effects that conflict has had on the societies they have been deployed to. In the words of a veteran of multiple missions: “War is hard. It is something you don’t want in your own country.” The peacekeeping arena is thus a forum for gaining vital military knowledge, insights and social experience. This has contributed to shaping the Ghanaian military’s professionalism by exposing Soldiers to how other militaries are managed.

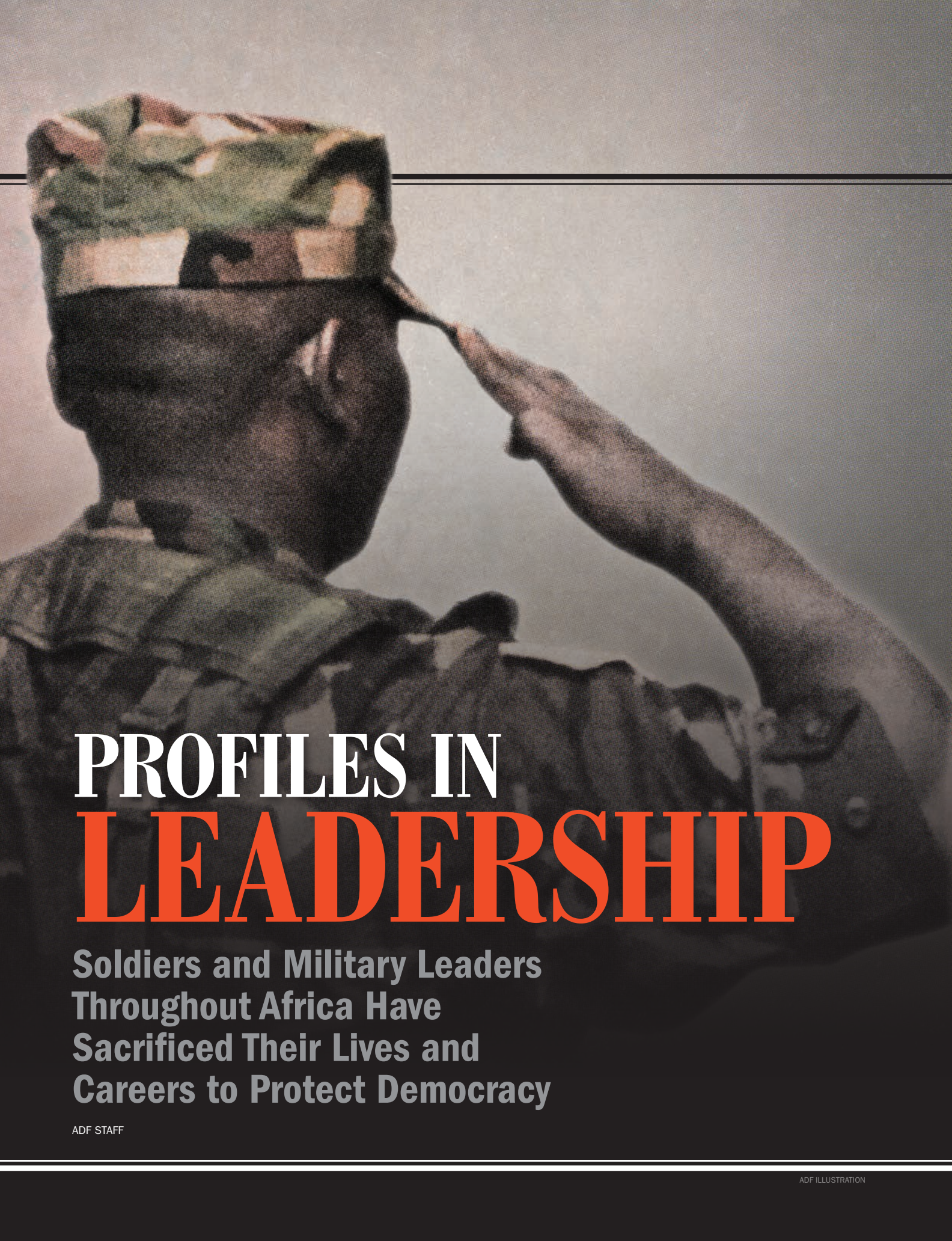
REPLICATING THE GHANA MODEL

The Ghanaian military went through turmoil in its post-independence period due to its involvement in coups and politics. These activities diminished its discipline and undermined military professionalism. To resuscitate the institution, the military initiated a number of important measures, such as the emphasis on soldierly values, the establishment of the human face philosophy and peacekeeping deployments. Key in all of these measures was the move to attract educated personnel into the military. There is no blueprint for transforming a military from one that violates the rights of citizens and participates in coups to a professional fighting force. But Ghana’s experience shows that a military must invest in the recruitment, education and development of its Soldiers. This has allowed it to build a military culture that seeks to serve its country rather than abuse it. □



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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PROFILES IN LEADERSHIP

**Soldiers and Military Leaders
Throughout Africa Have
Sacrificed Their Lives and
Careers to Protect Democracy**

ADF STAFF

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Malawian Pvt. Chancy Chitete UNITED NATIONS



United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres speaks during a ceremony honoring peacekeeper Pvt. Chancy Chitete in May 2019. At right is Chitete's widow, Lachel Chitete Mwenechanya.

ESKINDER DEBEBE/UNITED NATIONS

Tanzanian Cpl. Ali Khamis Omary was serving in the United Nations peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, trying to halt the spread of Ebola. He and his colleagues had been sent to a camp in the eastern part of the country on a joint mission with peacekeepers from Malawi.

Rebels attacked Omary and other peacekeepers on November 14, 2018. He was shot in the leg, and Malawian Pvt. Chancy Chitete rushed to help him, administering lifesaving first aid.

Chitete dragged Omary to safety despite enemy fire, but he was shot and killed in the process.

Thanks to the actions of Chitete, described by United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres as “a true hero,” peacekeepers successfully forced rebels from their stronghold, enabling the U.N. to continue working to eradicate Ebola from the region. “He personally made a difference — a profound one,” Guterres said.

In May 2019, the U.N. honored Chitete at a ceremony in New York, where his family received the Captain Mbaye Diagne Medal for Exceptional Courage on his behalf. It is the U.N.’s highest peacekeeping honor.

There are many such examples of military professionalism, devotion to duty and courage under fire. There are stories of peacekeepers who refuse to abandon the people they have been tasked with protecting, leaders who refuse to participate in military coups, and Soldiers who put down their weapons only because they respect the leaders who have ordered them to do so.

These are Soldiers who know that their countries are best served by civilian, rather than military, rule. These are Soldiers who believe in democracy and the rule of law and know the value of human life.

DUTY TO PROTECT

Capt. Mbaye Diagne, whose name is on the U.N. award Chitete received, was such a man. In 1994, after the

assassination of the president of Rwanda, soldiers of the presidential guard tortured and killed Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana, her husband and 10 Belgian peacekeepers. Hutu extremists took power and began carrying out a genocide, killing members of the Tutsi minority and some politically moderate Hutus.

U.N. peacekeeper Mbaye got word of the murders. The Senegalese captain went to investigate and found the prime minister's five children hiding. Mbaye hid the children under blankets in his vehicle and drove them to the safety of a Kigali hotel, which served as a U.N. compound.

The genocide lasted 100 days, with more than 800,000 Rwandans slaughtered. Mbaye, working on his own, began rescuing people from the roaming killers, hiding them in his vehicle. As a U.N. observer, he always was unarmed.

The U.N. had rules forbidding its observers from rescuing civilians, but Mbaye knew that the circumstance demanded extraordinary measures. In his rescue missions, he could carry as many as five people under blankets in the back of his vehicle. He passed through dozens of checkpoints on each trip.

He never got caught. Two weeks before his scheduled return to Senegal, he was driving to U.N. headquarters when a mortar shell landed behind his jeep. Shrapnel hit him in the back of his head, killing him. He was 36 years old.

In 2014, the United Nations created the award in his honor. The U.N. considered 10 people for the award before deciding that the first one should go to Mbaye's family.

On May 19, 2016, then-U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon presented Mbaye's widow, Yacine Mar Diop, and their two children with the inaugural award.

Journalist Mark Doyle described Mbaye in simple terms. The big Senegalese Soldier was "the bravest man I have ever met."

THE RELUCTANT CEASE-FIRE

In the war against apartheid in South Africa, Nelson Mandela was the movement's face and its diplomat, while Chris Hani was its military general. Because of his intelligence and education, Hani was regarded as second only to Mandela in terms of popularity among the anti-apartheid forces. He was particularly admired for his insistence that women in the movement be treated as equals.

Hani orchestrated daily attacks on businesses and was responsible for the guerrilla warfare that eventually forced the South African government to the negotiating table. On August 7, 1990, after 14 hours of talks between the South African government and leaders of the African National Congress, Mandela announced that all attacks

Yacine Mar Diop and her daughter Coumba look at photos of Yacine's husband, Mbaye Diagne, a young Senegalese captain who saved people during the Rwandan genocide.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES





Anti-apartheid military leader Chris Hani salutes during a rally. Hani was instrumental in the cease-fire that helped end apartheid and was assassinated in 1993. REUTERS



Capt. Mbaye Diagne of Senegal died while protecting civilians during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

would cease immediately so that a new Constitution could be drawn up.

Hani believed the cease-fire was premature and faced the moral dilemma of either continuing the raids or obeying his unofficial commander in chief.

In undated video interviews after the cease-fire, Hani made no apologies for his wish to continue fighting.

“I didn’t sleep when our delegation was locked in negotiations, and when the decision came, I felt like crying,” he said. “I was deeply bitter that it had been taken without consultation with those of us who were involved in the physical side of the struggle. But as a disciplined Soldier I accepted it. When it was later explained to me that this was important to maintain the momentum of negotiations, I accepted to be reined in.”

The relative peace that came afterward would not have been possible without Hani’s cooperation. He was as crucial to the end of apartheid as was Mandela.

Hani was assassinated on April 10, 1993, outside his home. The two men convicted of the murder claimed to be acting on orders from the far-right Conservative Party.

STICKING TO THE CONSTITUTION

When Malawian President Bingu wa Mutharika died unexpectedly of cardiac arrest on April 5, 2012, political leaders decided to keep the death a secret while they looked for ways to block Vice President Joyce Banda from assuming the presidency.

Banda already was unpopular within the administration before the president’s death. Mutharika had delegated some of her duties to his first lady and wanted his brother to succeed him when he eventually left office. There was considerable resistance within the administration to the notion of a woman ever becoming president.

Banda’s opponents asked the military to step in and prevent her from taking office. Gen. Henry Odillo,



Army Gen. Henry Odillo hands over the presidential sword to Malawian President Joyce Banda at her swearing-in ceremony in 2012.

INTER PRESS SERVICE

commander of the Malawian Defence Force, refused, saying he was constitutionally bound to support Banda. He said that any other government would be illegal. He took the additional step of stationing troops around Banda’s house. After two days, Banda was sworn in as president.

“One cannot imagine what would have happened in Malawi if the Army had succumbed to the ill-advised offer to seize power,” Zambian Brig. Gen. Joyce Ng’wane Puta said, according to a report by the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS).

Two years later, in a dispute between Banda and her political opponents, word began to circulate that the military would seize power in a coup against her. Odillo

A Malawian Soldier casts a ballot during general elections in Lilongwe. Despite pressure, the military has refused to interfere in the country's political process.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Then-Chief of Defence Forces of Uganda Gen. Katumba Wamala, center, meets with Soldiers from the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 2014. Katumba would not allow his Soldiers to get involved in politics.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Retired Gen. Henry Kwami Anyidoho of Ghana was the deputy force commander of the U.N. Assistance Mission for Rwanda during the 1994 genocide. Despite orders to shut down the mission, the Ghanaian contingent chose to stay to try to save lives. CITIV

quickly issued a statement in support of Banda and ordered his troops to remain in their barracks until the crisis was resolved.

Peter Mutharika defeated Banda in presidential elections in 2014. Odillo was quickly replaced as chief of staff. Since then, he has faced trial on charges of corruption, but his act to uphold the Constitution still is viewed as a shining example of military professionalism.

NO POLITICS WITHIN THE MILITARY

In 2015, longtime Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni's ruling party, the National Resistance Movement, stood accused of trying to intimidate opposition leaders, including threats of violence. There were reports that some opposition leaders were forming their own militias to protect themselves.

One of the ruling party's officials said that people who opposed the results of the upcoming 2016 presidential election would be shot.

Gen. Katumba Wamala, then commander of the Uganda People's Defence Force, would not abide it. He announced that politics would not be tolerated within the ranks of his Soldiers. The ACSS said Wamala issued an order saying that "all army officers are cautioned not to dare engage in politics and anybody who breaks the law will be dealt with."

He later said that his Soldiers' duty was to preserve the peace and enable people to exercise their right to vote. Shooting civilians, he said, was not part of their mission. "There is nothing as important as peace," he said.

Wamala's reputation as a man of high principles and an intolerance for political meddling are believed to have

calmed the political climate of that time, leading to a mostly peaceful post-election period.

THE GHANAIAV SAVIORS

During the Rwandan genocide in 1994, the Belgian government decided that the troops of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda were in danger. Belgium told Canadian Gen. Roméo Dallaire, commander of the mission, that his troops risked attack by Rwandan fighters as well as the Interahamwe, a Hutu paramilitary organization that was the main perpetrator of the slaughter.

Dallaire instructed Ghanaian Gen. Henry Kwami Anyidoho, deputy force commander, to shut down the mission to avoid any confrontations with the two groups. Anyidoho objected, saying he was determined to keep all 454 Soldiers of the Ghanaian contingent in place, protecting as many Rwandans as possible.

"I hadn't even sought permission from home when I told him that we would stay," Anyidoho told Al-Jazeera in 2014. "We didn't have an alternative. We couldn't abandon these people."

Dallaire estimates that by standing their ground, the Ghanaian peacekeepers helped save as many as 30,000 lives.

"Their country demonstrated the courage that so many others absolutely were unable to sustain in the face of such a horrible catastrophe," Dallaire told Al-Jazeera. "Others ran while the Ghanaians stayed."

"The backbone of the whole thing, my being able to stay and doing anything at all, was due to the Ghanaians and to Gen. Anyidoho staying there," Dallaire added. □



FOR THE COMMON GOOD

**The Indian Ocean Commission
Helps Africa's Island States
Fight Sea Crime**

ADF STAFF

The *Baba Ali*, a Seychellois fishing vessel, was passing through the Seychelles exclusive economic zone (EEZ) when authorities intercepted it in May 2021.

Through an operation coordinated by the Seychelles Air Force, Seychelles Coast Guard and its National Information Sharing and Coordination Centre, authorities boarded and inspected the vessel. What they found — about \$1.2 million worth of heroin and hashish — signifies the magnitude of the regional trafficking threat.

The drug seizure and the arrest of three Seychellois and four Indonesian nationals showed that the island state's efforts to bolster maritime security were working, Seychellois Fisheries Minister Jean-Francois Ferrari said during a news conference.

"With the help of gathered intelligence, we have been able to carry out an operation on this vessel and have placed them in the hands of the police force," Ferrari said. "I will not be able to go into details as this is a police



ADF ILLUSTRATION

case, but according to information we have gathered, the total amount of drugs onboard *Baba Ali* was three times more than what we picked up, as some have gone missing in the Indian Ocean."

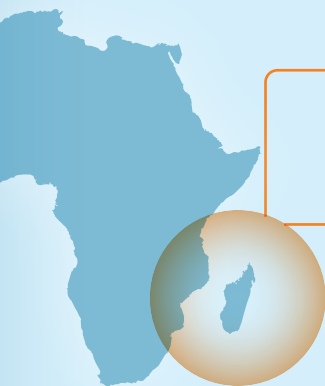
An archipelago about 1,800 kilometers northeast of Madagascar, Seychelles comprises 115 tiny islands, making its waters difficult to police. The same is true for other island states in the Western Indian Ocean,

Comoran Sailors prepare to board a vessel during a training exercise in Djibouti.

STAFF SGT. AMY PICARD/U.S. AIR FORCE



By the Numbers: Western Indian Ocean Drug Trade



40 tons of heroin are trafficked through the region annually.

5 tons of heroin remain at African landing sites, including the continent's small island states in and around the Mozambique Channel.



5% to 10% of the Seychellois population of about 98,000 uses heroin. The archipelago has the highest per capita heroin consumption rate in the world.



30% of global tanker traffic passes through the Mozambique Channel annually.



430 to 450 tons of heroin flow into the global market annually.

Sources: Enhancing Africa's Ability to Counter Transnational Crime, Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime, Randox Toxicology, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

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maritime issues in the region include illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing; piracy and kidnappings; and trafficking in weapons, people and wildlife.

The region's maritime security challenges have led to dire societal consequences. The Seychelles has the highest per capita rate of heroin use in the world. The region's other island states face similar challenges, including an influx of cocaine, cannabis, synthetic cannabis, ecstasy and methamphetamine.

"The per capita consumption [of heroin] in Seychelles and Mauritius is crazy," Yann Yvergnaux, a senior analyst at Trygg Mat Tracking, a nonprofit organization that provides fisheries intelligence to countries and organizations, told ADF. "So many drugs are transmitting that some of it ends up on the local market. Some involved in the trade do recreational drugs. It's horrible. In Seychelles, some shipping boat owners told me they can't find young crew members anymore because they're all on drugs."

The islands are in and around the Mozambique Channel — a 1,600-kilometer waterway between Madagascar and East Africa that carries about 30% of global tanker traffic. The waters are a major route for the shipment of heroin to Western Europe from Afghanistan through Pakistan.

A Seychellois man receives methadone to treat his heroin addiction. Seychelles has the highest per capita rate of heroin use in the world.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

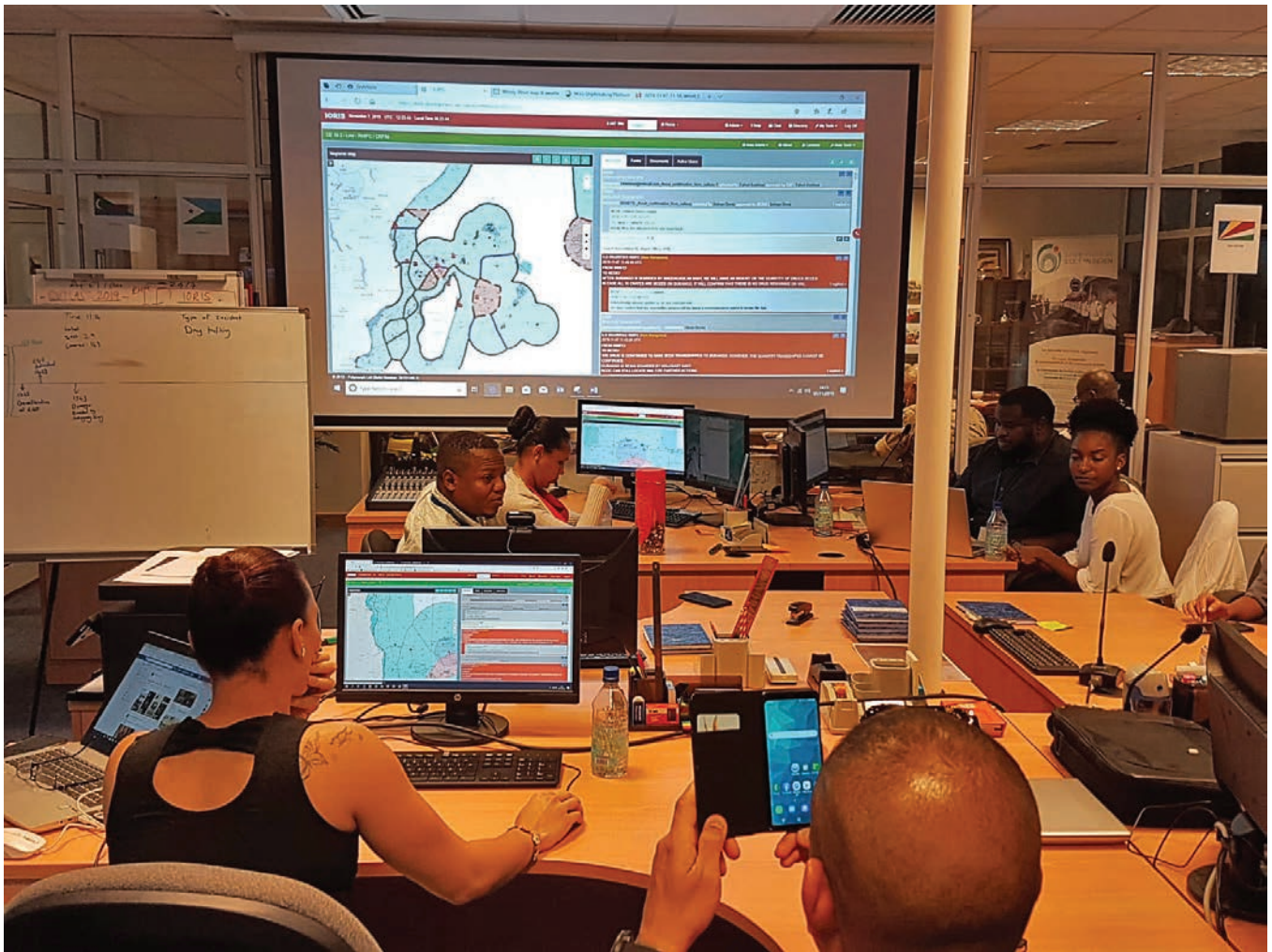
including Comoros, Madagascar, Mauritius, and the French island of Réunion.

For the past 25 years or so, however, the island nations gradually have bolstered maritime security through membership in the Indian Ocean Commission (IOC), which has helped them increase law enforcement cooperation, intelligence sharing and coordination across borders to counter sea crime.

The commission is the only inter-governmental organization composed exclusively of island states. The European Union (EU) funds its maritime security efforts around Africa.

Major Drug Route

The island nations are along a notorious stretch of the Western Indian Ocean that for decades has been a drug transit route. Other



Comoros is near the center of the channel's northern border, and Réunion and Mauritius lie east of Madagascar's 4,800-kilometer coastline.

The amount of heroin seized along the Indian Ocean trafficking route more than doubled between 2018 and 2019, according to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. Wildlife trafficking also has increased due to widespread poverty and increased demand for exotic animal products abroad.

The IOC's involvement in the region's maritime security began in the early 1980s as cocaine and heroin became major revenue sources for drug traffickers. The commission gradually established a network of fisheries and enforcement agencies that exchange information and conduct joint inspections at sea.

"Even if a [suspicious vessel] is in the exclusive economic zone waters in one country, the inspector can be from another country," Raj Mohabeer, the IOC's chargé de mission, told ADF. "That way neighboring countries cooperate."

A 'Sense of Regional Identity'

Inspections typically are initiated when neighboring states share information such as a vessel's licensing and noncompliance history.

The IOC collaborates with regional bodies such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, the East African Community and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa under the EU-funded Maritime Security Programme.

"This has been done by IOC but also through FISH-i Africa, which is a mechanism that until recently was basically conducting monitoring and surveillance of island states, but [it also includes] Kenya, Somalia and other states, exchanging information," Yvergniaux said.

Yvergniaux, a former financial analyst at the IOC, added that a "sense of regional identity" among the smaller island states put them "on the course for regional cooperation earlier than other states on the continent."

By 2019, the Regional Coordination Operations Centre (RCOC) in the Seychelles,

Fisheries officials participate in a maritime security training exercise in Madagascar.

REGIONAL COORDINATION OPERATIONS CENTRE



A member of the Madagascar People's Armed Forces escorts a detainee during a simulated training event at exercise Cutlass Express in Pemba, Mozambique.

PETTY OFFICER 1ST CLASS KYLE STECKLER/U.S. NAVY

which mainly conducts joint law enforcement actions at sea, was working around the clock with the Madagascar-based Regional Maritime Information Fusion Centre, which shares maritime information and alerts the RCOC of suspicious activity at sea.

Through the IOC-created centers, seven countries have signed agreements to exchange and share maritime information and participate in joint actions on the water: Comoros, Djibouti, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Réunion and the Seychelles.

“We are in the early stages of establishing architecture for maritime security that will monitor all vessels in the IOC region and analyze the behaviors and identification of the vessels of interest,” Mohabeer said. “If a vessel of interest is something we need to check, we check it. It’s in the early stage of establishing the system, but we’ve already reached far. Unfortunately, COVID-19 came last year and has hampered our progress.”

The IOC continues to encourage East African coastal nations to join.

“We do that because we are talking about common goods like the ocean, but what do you see worldwide?” Mohabeer said. “Few people look at the common good as something they should look at. You have to work for the common good.”

Despite the IOC’s efforts, maritime crime in the region shows no signs of slowing. According to research by ENACT — Enhancing Africa’s Ability to Counter Transnational Crime — an estimated 40 tons of heroin moves through the region annually, and 5 tons remains at landing sites.

In April 2021, Tanzania’s Drug Control and Enforcement Authority and the Tanzania People’s Defence Force seized more than a ton of heroin from a vessel sailing in the Western Indian Ocean just north of Mozambique, The East African newspaper reported. Seven people were arrested.

Later that month, Tanzanian authorities seized 270 kilograms of heroin from a Nigerian man and two Tanzanian accomplices who trafficked the drug by sea. A month earlier, two people were sentenced to life in prison for trafficking in 275.40 grams of heroin hydrochloride in Tanzania, the newspaper reported.

A Template for Continental Africa

A March 2021 report by the Institute for Security Studies argues that the IOC’s efforts to enhance maritime security among the island states could serve as a template for



other African nations to follow.

The sharing of maritime information and joint patrols has shown some success in the Gulf of Guinea, where the scourge of illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing is rapidly depleting West African fish stocks and has led to an increase in pirate attacks. The region accounted for 130 of 135 maritime kidnappings globally in 2020.

Authorities formed the Fisheries Committee for the West Central Gulf of Guinea’s West Africa Task Force in 2015 to tackle illegal fishing in the region. Participating nations are Benin, Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Togo.

The task force is “working on the same basis for sharing license information” as the IOC, Yvergniaux said. “This is still very new. Joint patrols are not happening now, but they’re learning.” □

Members of the Madagascar People’s Armed Forces prepare to conduct a visit, board, search and seizure drill during exercise Cutlass Express in Pemba, Mozambique.

PETTY OFFICER 1ST CLASS KYLE STECKLER/U.S. NAVY



JOINING HANDS ACROSS WATER, SKY

ADF STAFF

Aircraft from the Royal Moroccan Air Force and U.S. Navy Carrier Air Wing 3 flew over the Nimitz-class aircraft carrier USS Dwight D. Eisenhower in the Atlantic Ocean on March 3, 2021, during exercise Lightning Handshake. The Eisenhower, named after a former U.S. president whose nickname was “Ike,” is the flagship of the IKE Carrier Strike Group (IKE CSG), which participated in the exercise. The training’s purpose was to improve the ability of the U.S. and Morocco to operate together across multiple warfare areas, including surface, anti-submarine

and air-and-strike warfare; combined logistics support; and maritime interdiction operations.

“On behalf of the Sailors assigned to the IKE CSG, it’s an honor to participate in this historic bilateral maritime exercise, hallmarking 200 years of an enduring partnership with Morocco,” said Rear Adm. Scott Robertson, who commands Carrier Strike Group Two. “Exercises like Lightning Handshake enhance the foundation of our interoperability and continued support of our long-term commitment to security in the region.”

A U.S. F/A-18E Super Hornet, right, refuels an F-5E Tiger II from the Royal Moroccan Air Force during Lightning Handshake.

U.S. AFRICA COMMAND



U.S. AFRICA COMMAND

‘EVERYBODY’S BUSINESS’

SIERRA LEONE’S SECURITY SECTOR REFORM EMPHASIZES INCLUSIVITY

ADF STAFF

As a brutal civil war raged in neighboring Liberia in 1991, Sierra Leone’s long-standing government corruption and weakness inched the nation closer and closer to catastrophe. When the forces of Charles Taylor’s National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) crossed the border that March, Sierra Leone soon found itself under attack on two fronts.

As its Army battled the NPFL, Sierra Leone also came under attack from the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), a well-armed and well-funded rebel guerrilla group led by Foday Sankoh, a former Army corporal who found common cause with the invading Liberians. Civil war had come to Sierra Leone.

The ill-equipped national Army, weakened by institutional corruption and a terrible economy, was unable to stop the RUF. By 1994, the RUF controlled lucrative diamond mines and threatened the capital, Freetown. By 1997, a group called the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council had joined the fray.

The complicated conflict continued for years and included some of the most notorious brutality of modern warfare as government and rebel troops alike mutilated and maimed civilians. The government called in a private security contractor to help turn the tide, but even then, fighting continued for

several more years. It would take international intervention in the form of United Nations, British and Guinean forces fighting alongside the Sierra Leonean Army to push the conflict toward its conclusion in 2002 after stopping the RUF from taking the capital. The 11-year civil war displaced 500,000 people and killed 50,000 others.

Perhaps no nation ever has been in greater need of security sector reform (SSR) than Sierra Leone after its punishing conflict. The war laid bare all the weaknesses, neglect and deficiencies of a national army unable to effectively and professionally respond to security threats and protect its borders. In the war’s aftermath, the country disarmed 72,490 combatants, demobilized 71,043 and reintegrated 63,545, which included 6,845 child combatants, according to the Global Facilitation Network for SSR.

The nation’s postwar SSR process has served as a positive example for other nations emerging from conflict and faced with rebuilding national security sectors. A U.N. magazine declared that “the experience of Sierra Leone is not only a major national achievement, but also a shining model that countries in West Africa and in the Sahel could get inspiration from.”



Sierra Leonean Former Police Unit officers arrive in Kismayo, Somalia, in support of the African Union Mission in Somalia.

AMISOM

TRANSFORMATION OVER REFORM

SSR probably is best when it reaches beyond mere reform toward total transformation, according to an article by Sarah Detzner, titled “Modern post-conflict security sector reform in Africa: patterns of success and failure,” in African Security Review. The effort should be inclusive and emphasize civil and constitutional control and “promote professionalism, improve resource utilization and operational effectiveness.”

Success in Sierra Leone seems to validate the value of consulting with the broader population to focus on more comprehensive security through economic development and building police capacity instead of the more traditional focus on national militaries, Detzner wrote.

This approach was emphasized by retired Brig. Gen. Kellie Hassan Conteh, who worked on SSR for Sierra Leone as head of the National Security Council secretariat and now serves as the nation’s minister of defense. In a 2010 panel discussion on SSR in West Africa for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance, Conteh shared some details regarding Sierra Leone’s approach.

As it began its process, leaders looked at the nation’s history and considered several major points.

First, officials wanted to redefine security. Up until that point, Sierra Leone’s security sector primarily was a relic of the colonial era through which the military existed mainly to protect the

ruling regime. Up to and during the civil war, Conteh said, the people thought the military and police had let them down and that there was no access to justice.

“So, we wanted to look at it holistically,” Conteh said in the panel discussion. “What do we really mean by security?”

Officials put the question to the people, not technocrats. “The definition we got shocked the military in particular, because they realized they had little or no real role to play,” Conteh said. “Most of what we really needed to look at are internal issues, and therefore we needed a stronger police force rather than a stronger military force. The military, yes, should be there in case the police would sometimes require their services.”

In short, “our conclusion there was that our security was everybody’s business,” Conteh said. “We all have a part to play.”

THE IMPORTANCE OF INTELLIGENCE

Sierra Leone found that intelligence gaps were a major problem. Before the civil war, the national intelligence apparatus only protected the ruling government. During the war, no reliable intelligence could be produced. Conteh said officials formed a committee to help collect and feed useful intelligence up the chain with an inclusive new architecture that involved people even

A boy walks past a rusted tank abandoned in eastern Sierra Leone years after the nation's brutal civil war. REUTERS





Sierra Leonean troops patrol near Kismayo, Somalia, as part of the African Union peacekeeping mission in September 2013. AU-U.N. INFORMATION SUPPORT TEAM



Rebel Revolutionary United Front and pro-government militia combatants register and surrender weapons at a disarmament, demobilization and reintegration site in Lunsar, Sierra Leone, 50 miles east of Freetown, in July 2001.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

at the local level, such as chieftains, women, civil society groups and youth leaders.

In the past, he said, people were conditioned to view security as “the government’s business.” Changing that thinking — “democratizing” human security — would help Sierra Leone address security problems such as arms, drugs and human trafficking.

Sierra Leone’s Office of National Security (ONS) established links nationwide that let civilians report threats, according to Detzner. These connections led to a security review with a strong consultative element. Locals reported on security concerns in their regions, which drove the focus toward police over more traditional military capacity building.

Simply spending money on military upgrades does not ensure good SSR. In fact, it may work against true reform. An October 2020 blog post by John Campbell for the Council on Foreign Relations underscores an important point about effective SSR: Focusing on providing training and equipment at the expense of institutional reforms doesn’t get the job done.

Such a focus risks “strengthening unaccountable, corrupt, and predatory security sectors” and wasting money on equipment and material that cannot be sustained, Campbell wrote. Instead, a holistic approach that focuses on institutions shows more potential for durability.

That is closer to what happened in Sierra Leone. Transformation efforts reached into internal and external security and created agencies — such as the ONS — that helped ensure the free flow of security information from the local level to the office of the president, according to the July 2017 edition of UNOWAS E-Magazine, a quarterly publication of the U.N. Office for West Africa and the Sahel. The effort “began the difficult task of reversing public suspicion of security forces and involving citizens in their own security.”

“For better or worse, the war acted as a catalyst to move the focus of security away from exclusive emphasis on uniformed security forces (military and police) towards personal security for individuals,” Conteh wrote in 2010 in “Security Sector Reform in Sierra Leone 1997–2007: Views from the Front Line.”



“WE ARE NOW PARTAKERS OF GLOBAL PEACE ENHANCEMENT.” – Lt. Salieu Sankoh

Within five years of the end of the civil war, Sierra Leone held its first peaceful national election in 20 years, an event that observers described as “free, fair and credible,” the U.N. said. The orderly conduct of the vote essentially was assured by the nation’s own security force.

“Seen within the context of the level of violence experienced by the people of Sierra Leone during the 11 years civil war, the fact that Sierra Leone conducted this generally violence-free election only five years after the end of the conflict is a remarkable achievement,” according to the U.N.

The nation’s hard work at rebuilding its security institutions was validated in April 2013 when 850 troops from Sierra Leonean Contingent

Leobat 1 started a 20-month deployment to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

The battalion was the first of its kind for Sierra Leone since the end of its civil war. The West African nation remains the only one from its region to deploy Soldiers to AMISOM’s military component. The country also has sent police personnel to serve in Somalia.

“We are now partakers of global peace enhancement,” Lt. Salieu Sankoh of the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces said in a 2013 U.N. video. “Of course, during our own 10 years of civil war, people came from different countries to support our peace achievement. Now that we have the opportunity to reciprocate that, we are very happy.” □

A Sierra Leonean Soldier walks near a United Nations helicopter on Sherbro Island off the country’s coast in 2010.

REUTERS



SUDAN STUMBLES ON LONG ROAD TO SECURITY

As the Nation Transitions Out of Autocratic Rule,
Many Hurdles Remain to Military Professionalism

ADF STAFF | PHOTOS: AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Sudan was in a hopeful position after shaking off 30 years of brutal, autocratic rule in 2019.

A vicious dictator had been toppled, a new prime minister was talking about forming a more professional security sector, and civilians and military officials had set up a government that was crawling toward democracy.

After two fraught years under the tenuous transitional government, however, the nation's ugly history got in the way.

A failed uprising in September 2021 by soldiers loyal to former President Omar al-Bashir was but a prelude to a coup a month later when the military, led by Gen. Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, dissolved the country's ruling Sovereignty Council, suspended part of the Constitution and placed Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok and others under house arrest.

In April 2021, Hamdok had said Sudan would strive to build a unified national military "distinguished by its professionalism."

The pledge, and the opportunity it sought to exploit, raised international hopes that Sudan finally could write a new page in its troubled history.

It remains to be seen whether that will be so.

Uniting disparate armed groups and their leaders under a common security framework that respects the rule of law and the rights of the people is a tall order for any nation — and all the more so for Sudan.

Despite the challenges, the impending need for Sudan to transform its security sector away from one fashioned to prop up a dictator has gotten a lot of attention since al-Bashir was toppled in 2019.

Before the coup, the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS) sponsored a series of five webinars from March 1 to April 26, 2021, titled "Reimagining the Security Sector in Sudan." In them, experts talked about the role of the security sector in democratic transitions, civil-military relations in Sudan and the importance of having a national security strategy.

Sudan's history has been littered with violence and instability. Then-Brig. Gen. al-Bashir overthrew Sudan's elected government in a 1989 military coup and ruled as chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation. He banned political parties, controlled the press and dissolved the national parliament. With help from a Muslim extremist named Hassan al-Turabi,

Sudanese Soldiers gather in Khartoum on April 11, 2019, after Omar al-Bashir was toppled.



al-Bashir imposed Shariah in March 1991, a move that accentuated divisions between the north and south, where most people follow animist or Christian beliefs.

His power seizure came amid the Second Sudanese Civil War, a 22-year conflict between the central government in Khartoum and the Sudan People's Liberation Army. The war, which started in 1983, led to the eventual separation that resulted in the formation of South Sudan as an independent nation in 2011.

In 1993, the Revolutionary Council was disbanded, and al-Bashir became president of Sudan, though he retained military rule. In subsequent years, he was confirmed as president in an election, lifted his ban on political parties and turned against his former ally, al-Turabi.

As al-Bashir continued his iron grip on the nation, rebels in the western Darfur region took up arms against the central government in 2003. Al-Bashir responded by using Arab militias, notoriously known as the Janjaweed ("devils on horseback"), who brutally attacked and terrorized civilians,

despite global condemnation. Eventually, a hybrid African Union and United Nations peacekeeping mission came in to restore order and protect civilians. The mission ended January 1, 2021.

Years of sanctions and declining oil revenue resulting from South Sudan's independence led to austerity measures that hit civilians hard. Protests that centered on cuts to bread and fuel subsidies ignited demonstrations in the east that soon spread to the capital, Khartoum. Eventually, protests expanded to include demands for al-Bashir's removal.

A mass gathering outside the Defense Ministry that began April 6, 2019, was joined by junior military officers as high-ranking officers declined to disperse protesters, *The Washington Post* reported.

Al-Bashir soon was overthrown amid the popular rebellion led by a coalition of doctors, lawyers and health workers known as the Sudanese Professionals Association.

"This is potentially a new dawn for Sudan," Rashid Abdi, an analyst for the International Crisis Group, told the *Post* at the time. "It shows that even the most entrenched

Sudanese citizens celebrate outside Friendship Hall in Khartoum, where generals and protest leaders formally signed a historic transitional constitution on August 17, 2019, meant to pave the way for civilian rule.



dictatorships are vulnerable. The future is uncertain, but there is now a better chance to engineer a viable, inclusive transition.”

TRANSITIONAL REGIME TAKES CONTROL

Although al-Bashir’s ouster pleased protesters, the type of government that succeeded him did not. After al-Bashir’s removal, military leaders took control under the Transitional Military Council (TMC) and declared a three-month state of emergency. After months of negotiations, military officials and the civilian opposition reached a power-sharing arrangement in July 2019.

The agreement had the TMC and the Alliance for Freedom and Change — a group that represents the pro-democracy civilians — form a Sovereignty Council that served as the head of state. The council had a mix of military and civilian leaders.

Civilian council members nominated the prime minister, the economist Hamdok, who oversaw national executive functions, including about 20 cabinet ministries. A third component, the Transitional Legislative Council, was responsible for legislation and executive oversight.

The Sovereignty Council was to rule for 39 months. A person selected by the military was to chair the council for the first 21 months. The last 18 months were to be chaired by someone selected by civilian members, according to the arrangement.

Controversy continued despite the transitional arrangement. In May 2021, a civilian member of the Sovereignty Council resigned, claiming military members had made unilateral decisions and used force against peaceful protesters, Voice of America reported.

In June 2021, Reuters reported that Sudan’s military planned a joint force to “crack down on insecurity” as economic and regional tensions persisted. Also troubling was who made the announcement: Gen. Mohammed Hamdan Dagalo, deputy head of the council. Dagalo is known by the name “Hemedti” and heads Sudan’s Rapid Support Forces (RSF).

The RSF emerged from the ruthless Janjaweed militias in Darfur in 2013, and Hemedti, a former camel trader, was appointed as force commander, Al-Jazeera reported in June 2019. Human Rights Watch called the RSF “men with no mercy,” and the force killed nearly 200 and arrested and wounded hundreds more during 2013 protests in Khartoum. In 2015, the RSF was deemed a “regular force” and two years later

“There is not one but multiple Sudanese armed forces. The transition provides an opportunity for military professionals to regain control over and rededicate the armed forces to protecting the state and its citizens, with a unified command structure and uniform standards for training, discipline, recruitment, and merit-based promotion.”

~ Dr. Joseph Siegle, ACSS director

incorporated into the Sudanese Army, where it reported directly to al-Bashir and protected him from coup attempts.

The irony that Hemedti and the RSF were involved in the Sovereignty Council was not lost on the Sudanese people.

“We do not want to move forward with the RSF as part of the Sudanese army,” Hajooj Kuka, a protester and member of the Girifna pro-democracy movement, told Al-Jazeera. “At this point, we have totally lost trust in them.”

THE WAY FORWARD FOR SUDAN

After al-Bashir’s ouster, economic troubles persisted in Sudan, and COVID-19 has added to the nation’s problems. Those challenges, coupled with the recent military coup, make Sudan’s efforts to realize Hamdok’s assurance of a professional security sector seem remote.

Dr. Luka Biong D. Kuol, dean of academic affairs at the ACSS, wrote in November 2020

Gen. Mohammed Hamdan Dagalo signs a power-sharing agreement in Khartoum on July 17, 2019.





Sudanese Soldiers prepare to destroy illegal weapons collected from civilians at Hajar al-Asal base in September 2020.

that Sudan's journey toward a professional security sector faced a number of challenges.

In October 2020, the transitional government signed a peace agreement with the Sudanese Revolutionary Front, which includes several rebel groups, to end nationwide violence that killed hundreds of thousands and displaced millions more, Al-Jazeera reported. But two influential armed groups — the Sudan Liberation Movement, based in Darfur, and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North — did not sign at the time.

Kuol wrote that Sudan's Constitutional Charter and the peace pact included only uniformed personnel in their narrow definitions of security. Furthermore, the charter named the military as being solely responsible for transforming its institutions. "In addition to asking the military to reform itself, this approach overlooks the fact that in a democracy, civilians have a vital role in setting the vision and strategic policy of the security sector," Kuol wrote.

Comprehensive reform efforts, he argued, would include lawmakers, civil society, the judiciary, and finance, immigration and customs authorities, to name a few.

Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) also is a crucial component in overall security sector reform in a nation that has numerous armed groups, such as Sudan. DDR is the process of taking weapons from armed groups, getting combatants out of those groups, and helping ex-combatants reenter communities safely and productively.

Kuol said DDR in Sudan was likely to fail unless it was part of a larger national vision or security strategy directed by leaders with sound command and control of the forces involved. A national security strategy is essential to the process.

The ACSS webinars emphasized this point. Medhane Tadesse in the March 29, 2021, webinar said a national policy is "the main entry point" for starting an inclusive conversation about security sector reform and wider state-building efforts. Such conversations should include social and political issues and be as inclusive as possible.

"In broader terms, it can help to build the social contract in Africa by bringing different actors, by bringing citizens, and different stakeholders into national dialogue in framing a common vision," said Tadesse, an expert on African peace and security.

Sudan's security sector also would have a role to play in the nation's transition. In fact, it stands to benefit from successful efforts, argued Dr. Joseph Siegle, ACSS director of research,



in a blog post originally written for the Arabic website Tawazun.net in March 2021.

Military leaders risk inheriting civilian displeasure over Sudan's struggling economy if they cling to power. Turning over the reins to civilian authorities could enhance security by allowing the government to further pursue peace agreements with holdout rebel groups. It also would allow the military to focus on border security and violent extremism, he wrote.

A military free of political duties could focus on reform and leave economic concerns to the state, Siegle wrote. A more robust economy, in turn, would provide revenue for military salaries, pensions and retirement benefits that could ease senior officers' migration to the private sector.

"There is not one but multiple Sudanese armed forces," Siegle wrote. "The transition provides an opportunity for military professionals to regain control over and rededicate the armed forces to protecting the state and its citizens, with a unified command structure and uniform standards for training, discipline, recruitment, and merit-based promotion."

By early November 2021, tens of thousands of civilians were protesting the coup in the streets of Sudan, a development that some observers say had caught al-Burhan off guard. Security forces had killed a number of protesters in response.

"Because of this resistance, and the West's backing for Mr. Hamdok and his civilian comrades, we think Mr. Burhan will have to agree to share power," Zaynab Mohamed, political analyst at Oxford Economics Africa, told CNBC. "Tensions in the political environment will remain high in coming months as stakeholders try to negotiate a new agreement, and we expect deadly violence against anti-coup protesters to continue." □

Sudanese civilians carry a man injured in Khartoum during protests against the military coup in October 2021.

ARMED FORCES

Take Lessons From

COVID-19 RESPONSE

Africa's militaries were thrust into unexpected roles during the pandemic. They hope to learn from successes and failures.





A Tunisian Army officer administers a COVID-19 vaccine to a woman at a high school in Manouba in August 2021. SOPA IMAGES



A Soldier keeps watch in downtown Tunis after Tunisia's president ordered the Army to patrol streets and enforce lockdowns to stop the spread of COVID-19 in March 2020. REUTERS

ADF STAFF

Soldiers in the Tunisian Army were in the village of Kesra in July 2021, taking on duties that once seemed unimaginable. At the village's health center, Soldiers armed with rifles stood guard outside, while military medics administered COVID-19 vaccines inside.

Tunisia was facing its worst COVID-19 surge since the pandemic began more than a year earlier, and the government ordered the military to help lead the response.

Military health workers vaccinated thousands of people in Kesra and other villages in the central part of the country. Tunisian President Kais Saied said he would send military helicopters to the mountain regions to deliver vaccines to remote villages.

Kesra resident Rafika Achour said she was summoned twice to get a vaccine but had refused. But the reputation of Tunisia's Soldiers changed her mind.

"When I heard of the arrival of the army, I decided to come for the vaccine because ... for me, [the army] is more honest than others," Achour told The Associated Press.

Tunisia did more than just send Soldiers to help with vaccinations. The president, frustrated with the lack of progress in his country's fight with the virus, announced in July 2021 that he was turning over management of the COVID-19 health crisis to his military health department.

Other African countries also have called on their military medical corps to help in the pandemic fight. South Africa deployed more than 70,000 troops at the beginning of the outbreak in 2020 to enforce its lockdown. Since

then, the country has sent military medical personnel to hospitals in its Gauteng region, the commercial heart of the country, to help them cope with soaring numbers of COVID-19 cases.

Now, more than a year after the initial COVID-19 shutdowns, African leaders are looking at how things went, hoping to learn from this unique experience.

LOCKDOWNS NEEDED

When COVID-19 reached Africa in early 2020, leaders in many countries imposed lockdowns, trying to keep people at home instead of interacting with others and spreading the disease. When citizens resisted the



Soldiers enforce COVID-19 regulations at a roadblock on the border of South Africa's North West and Gauteng provinces in May 2020.

GALLO IMAGES

Soldiers stand guard as men wait to receive the COVID-19 vaccine during a July 2021 effort managed by the Army in Jendouba, Tunisia. REUTERS

lockdowns, Soldiers were sent into the field to take charge. In some cases, that did not work as planned, with troops in countries such as Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa accused of overreacting to protests.

There can be little doubt that the army-enforced lockdowns were necessary. In the case of South Africa, President Cyril Ramaphosa had the choice of slowing the spread of the virus with a lockdown or risk pushing an already weakened health care system to its breaking point.

There can be little doubt that the army-enforced lockdowns were necessary.



South African National Defence Force Soldiers patrol a men's hostel in the densely populated Alexandra township east of Johannesburg, enforcing a lockdown to control the spread of COVID-19 in March 2020. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

“Faced with this choice,” the Journal of the Law and Biosciences reported in July 2020, Ramaphosa’s “decision to lock down the country cannot be criticized and may prove decisive in containing and slowing down the spread of the virus.”

South Africa had time to prepare its pandemic response. It took weeks for the disease to reach its borders. The country, based on what it had learned from similar crises around the world, knew the importance of drawing up a response. But its reaction was late.

In the journal’s July 2020 report, “Between a rock and a hard place: COVID-19 and South Africa’s response,” researchers said: “Considering the time it took to reach its borders, South Africa had time to prepare a COVID-19 response and draw on the importance of its community-informed response to other epidemics. However, despite the impact that these regulations were going to have on civil society, the lack of public deliberation and community engagement in developing these regulations is concerning.”

There was inadequate buy-in from the public, leading to protests and violence. A major lesson any country can learn from the COVID-19 pandemic is that it’s never too early to get the public involved.

South Africa, like other countries, knew it had to enforce restrictions on movement and other activities and knew people would resist these regulations. But experts believe not enough was done to educate the public about what was to come and to solicit public input on what they needed to stay afloat economically during the lockdown. South Africa’s “militarized” response resulted in eight deaths at police hands during the first week of the lockdown and unfortunate scenes like an entire wedding party being arrested.

“The South African government’s response is characterized by an overreliance on and faith in the power of the criminal law,” the researchers reported. “This militarized response was very evident, with President Ramaphosa appearing in military fatigues on the night the lockdown started. Failure to comply with some of the lockdown restrictions may result in imprisonment of up to 6 months, a fine, or both.”

MILITARY TRAINING STOPS

With the pandemic, nonmandatory training for the military came to a halt and had yet to fully resume as of mid-2021. For instance, the U.S. Department of State’s International Military Education and Training program trains thousands of people, military and civilian, in a wide range of topics, from higher education for

senior military officers to first-aid and rescue techniques for enlisted personnel. In 2019, the program trained 5,181 foreign students from 153 countries, with most of them being trained in their home countries. Only a few traveled to the United States.

COVID-19 did not shut down the program, but it stopped U.S. personnel from traveling overseas to teach on-site. Without online learning facilities in place, such as video conferencing, career enhancement training within Africa’s militaries became impractical. Military leaders learned the hard way that they have to rely more on video conferencing for classroom training in the future.

Such training requires access to a stable internet connection, a reliable electricity supply, computers and a knowledge of how to operate the systems.

That said, as in almost all types of education, video conferencing will never entirely replace in-person classrooms.

“Traditionally the African market favors classroom-based learning, and this allows for discussions and

problem-solving as a group — scenario-based learning is always highlighted as a key benefit,” the International Security Journal reported. “Being able to resolve set tasks brings the theory to life and enables the tutor to stretch the minds of the learners and get them to move away from the outmoded thought of security being ‘gates, guards and guns.’”

RESPONDING TO COMPLAINTS

Many military organizations have a means of soliciting feedback, including complaints, from the public. The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) established the Office of the South African Military Ombud in 2012 to deal with grievances from current and former members of the defense force. The office also investigates complaints from the public regarding the military.

Almost from the start of the COVID-19 lockdown, African News Agency reported, citizens began complaining to the ombud’s office about excessive force and physical abuse by SANDF Soldiers. South Africa’s Daily Maverick reported that by June 2020, the ombud’s office had received 32 complaints about the conduct of Soldiers during lockdown, including the death of a 40-year-old Alexandra man whom Soldiers had accused of drinking in public.

Until the lockdown, the ombud office had dealt mainly with complaints from its own Soldiers. It has since proved to be a valuable safety valve in giving the public a means of airing grievances.

PROTECTING ITS BORDERS

Of the seven continents, Africa has the most countries, 54 in all. Historically, border cooperation among the countries has not been strong. The pandemic forced each country to rethink its border security to slow the movement of the virus. African nations have had to adopt a balancing act, keeping the virus out while allowing border movements and trade.

A typical result of the off-and-on policy shifts came in July 2021 when Senegalese President Macky Sall threatened to close his country’s borders and reimpose a state of emergency after the country registered a record number of daily COVID-19 cases for the third time in a week.

“I would like to say very clearly that if the numbers continue to rise, I will take all necessary measures, including if it means returning to a state of emergency or closing the borders or banning movements,” Sall said in a televised address.

A lack of coordinated border security policies is not a new thing for African countries. In his December 2020 study, “Securing and stabilising borders in North and West Africa,” author Matt Herbert said countries needed to “emphasise coordination, remove conflicts in roles and mandates, and develop a holistic understanding of the border security mission, its challenges, and the role of positive engagement with border communities.”

Herbert, writing for the Institute for Security Studies, made several recommendations. One in particular:



A Senegalese Army doctor examines a local resident at a field hospital during the COVID-19 outbreak in Touba, Senegal. REUTERS



Soldiers walk past firetrucks in front of a male correctional center after a riot erupted amid the spread of COVID-19 in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 2020. REUTERS

Minimize the military’s role in border security in favor of law enforcement units.

Other recommendations included:

- Take into account the impact of neighboring countries’ security approaches on each other’s borders.
- Consider the capacity and ability of neighboring states’ forces to positively shape cross-border trends.
- Develop initiatives that are not only focused on security but also on sustainable development.
- Emphasize regional reform, either as part of centrally designed initiatives or by means of concurrent programs.
- Emphasize coordination, remove conflicts in roles and mandates, and develop a holistic understanding of the border security mission, its challenges, and the role of positive engagement with border communities.

“Military units can play a beneficial role in countering cross-border violence and transnational terrorism, but their utility against smuggling and criminality is more dubious,” Herbert concluded. “The risk of a long-term confusion of civil-military roles probably outweighs the short-term benefits to the operational effectiveness of border security systems.” □

Rally Cars Hit Streets of Nairobi

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

In Kenya, the road linking the capital, Nairobi, and the town of Naivasha had some rather different-looking cars on it jostling with the matatus, buses and lorries.

The rally cars were in the country in June 2021 as the World Rally Championship (WRC) returned for the first time in 19 years. The world-renowned Safari Rally was a regular part of the WRC calendar between 1973 and 2002 and was considered the championship's toughest race.

Financial issues caused the event to be removed from the calendar in 2003. COVID-19 delayed its planned comeback in 2020, but Africa's only WRC event returned in 2021.

Thousands of spectators turned out to see the cars as they traveled from Kenyatta International Convention Centre in Nairobi to the first competitive part of the race at the city's Kasarani stadium complex.

In addition to the foreign entrants, there were a number from Kenya and some from neighboring Uganda. This was the 68th time the rally, which also has been held in Uganda and Tanzania, has taken place. Kenya will host the WRC Safari Rally every year until 2026.

French driver Sebastien Ogier in his Toyota Yaris scooped the first position in the rally, and Kenya's Onkar Rai won in the WRC Category 3.

Driver Sebastien Ogier won the rally in his Toyota Yaris.
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

'Lost Golden City' Found in Egypt

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

The discovery of a 3,000-year-old city that was lost to the sands of Egypt has been hailed as one of the most important archaeological finds since Tutankhamun's tomb.

Famed Egyptologist Zahi Hawass announced the discovery of the "lost golden city" near Luxor. He said the find was the largest ancient city, known as Aten, ever uncovered in Egypt. The city dates to the reign of Amenhotep III, one of Egypt's most powerful pharaohs, who ruled from 1391 to 1353 B.C. The city continued to be used by pharaohs Ay and Tutankhamun, whose nearly intact tomb was discovered in the Valley of the Kings in 1922.

Betsy Brian, a professor of Egyptology at Johns Hopkins University, said the city would "give us a rare glimpse into the life of the ancient Egyptians" at a time when the empire was at its wealthiest.

The dig yielded a large number of valuable archaeological finds, including jewelry, colored pottery, scarab beetle amulets and mud bricks bearing seals of Amenhotep III. The team began excavations on the west bank of Luxor near the Valley of the Kings, 500 kilometers south of the capital, Cairo.

"Within weeks, to the team's great surprise, formations of mud bricks began to appear in all directions," Hawass said in his statement. "What they unearthed was the site of a large city in a good condition of preservation, with almost complete walls, and with rooms filled with tools of daily life."

Several areas or neighborhoods have been uncovered, including a bakery, an administrative district and a residential area.

"Many foreign missions searched for this city and never found it," said Hawass, a former antiquities minister.



Chief excavation worker Aly Farouk stands next to the ruins of the newly discovered 3,000-year-old "lost golden city" in present-day Luxor, Egypt. REUTERS



AFROBEATS DOCUMENTARY RELEASED

ADF STAFF

A nine-part series charting the global rise of Afrobeats has premiered in Lagos, Nigeria. “Afrobeats: The Backstory” was shot over the course of 20 years.

The documentary was produced by Nigerian filmmaker Ayo Shonaiya and financed by the music streaming service Boomplay, according to the BBC. Boomplay, with its 56 million subscribers, has provided a reliable, flexible platform to support African music of all genres. It is the largest music-streaming platform in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Afrobeats is not to be confused with Afrobeat, a genre developed in the 1960s and 1970s and mixed in with American jazz and funk. Characteristics of Afrobeat include big bands, long instrumental solos and complex jazzy rhythms. Afrobeat artist Fela Kuti gave the genre its name.

Afrobeats, however, has been described as a descendant of Highlife and Nigerian Fuji music. Highlife is a music genre that originated in what is now Ghana in the 19th century. It uses the melodic and main rhythmic structures of the traditional Akan music of Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire, but it is played with Western instruments. It is characterized by jazzy horns and multiple guitars, which lead the band. In recent years, it has evolved into an up-tempo, synth-driven sound.

African music critics have been careful to distinguish between Afrobeat and Afrobeats.

Afrobeat, some contend, is basically the music of Kuti, who died in 1997 and remains Africa’s most-influential music artist. Afrobeats is a less-specific genre, simplified as African pop music.

Nigerian singer and composer Fela Kuti performs in 1986 with his band.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Basketball League Launches in Africa

BBC NEWS AT BBC.CO.UK/NEWS

“Africa ... We are here! Game on!” were the words used by Amadou Gallo Fall of Senegal to launch the inaugural Basketball Africa League (BAL) in May 2021. Fall, the league’s president, was on hand for the ceremonial tip-off of the U.S. National Basketball Association (NBA)-backed competition at Kigali Arena in Rwanda.

The honor of scoring the first points in BAL went to former NBA player Ben Uzoh, a Nigerian-American.

“It will change lives. This is going to create opportunities for the people across the continent to feed their families,” Uzoh told BBC Sport Africa. “It is the NBA of Africa, and so for a kid that is growing up here on the continent, this is something they can call theirs and sets up the ballers of the future. That in itself is very powerful. It is transforming.”

The ongoing global COVID-19 pandemic means that all the games are being played at the 10,000-seat Kigali Arena instead of the initial plan of using seven host cities around the continent. Despite the pandemic, 1,500 spectators and invited dignitaries were allowed into the vibrant, colorful arena bedecked in Rwanda’s national colors of blue, green and yellow.

Those lucky enough to be inside the arena gave their backing to the “home” team with cheers and chants of “Let’s go Patriots, Let’s go” and “Defense! Defense! Defense!”

There also was the added excitement of Grammy award-winning U.S. rapper J. Cole making his debut as a player for the Patriots and also getting on the score sheet.

Fans were not disappointed as the Patriots rallied from trailing in the first quarter to win the game, much to the delight of the team’s head coach, Alan Major.

“It is very humble to be a part of this history-making event, and I am really happy for our guys,” he said. “Secondly, to come out and win this game, the first game in this historic event.”



Players compete during a Basketball Africa League match at Kigali Arena in Rwanda. REUTERS

U.S.-Niger Program Warns Civilians of IED Danger

Fingerprints glow during analysis of a component of an improvised explosive device found in Mali. Extremists are spreading the devices from Mali into western Niger.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

ADF STAFF

Two workers from the Samira gold mine in western Niger died when their vehicle struck an improvised explosive device (IED) in October 2020. Five months later, another bomb killed members of the nation's Independent National Electoral Commission on the day of the presidential election.

IEDs have become a major safety issue in Niger, where porous borders allow extremists to cross over from neighboring Mali.

"Improvised explosive devices are one of the major concerns in our operations," Col.-Maj. Hamadou Djibo, head of the Niger Armed Forces (FAN), said at a meeting with members of U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM). "The civilian populations are not also spared."

During the gathering at FAN general staff headquarters, U.S. military personnel presented FAN with 50,000 posters and brochures designed to educate Nigeriens about the risk of IEDs and how to respond when they are discovered.

The posters and brochures include images of weapons civilians should avoid, along with a telephone number to call if they find one. Most of all, the posters warn people to avoid touching a suspected IED.

U.S. Army Capt. Lucas Holmes told the gathering that the information campaign aims to bring together residents, religious leaders and traditional leaders with Niger's security forces to drive out the extremists.

"The path to follow in order to defeat and destroy violent extremist organizations and their criminal networks may be difficult, but one thing is certain: The Nigerien government and its people will win," Holmes said.



U.S. and Niger Armed Forces Soldiers teamed up to produce and distribute posters and brochures to warn civilians about the dangers of improvised explosive devices. NIGER ARMED FORCES

The posters are part of AFRICOM's ongoing counter-improvised explosive device project to train militaries across the Sahel and Lake Chad Basin. Along with FAN Soldiers, U.S. trainers have worked with Soldiers in Cameroon, Chad and Nigeria.

In Niger, U.S. forces have trained 90 Soldiers to defuse IEDs as part of the effort to prevent the devices from killing or maiming people. Djibo said U.S. forces will continue to work with Niger's military and security members to improve their ability to address the spread of IEDs.

"The production of these 50,000 brochures made available to the Nigerien Army by the American government will further strengthen our capacities to counter this threat and reduce these destructive effects on our populations," Djibo said.



CAMEROONIAN LANDMARK

Offers Reminder of Ancient Battles

ADF STAFF

In the town of Gouffey in Cameroon's extreme north, a 12-meter-tall clay tower is a reminder of a bygone era.

The Kotoko people built the Goto-Gouffey Tower about 500 years ago. It was part of a walled fortification that protected the city from invaders and offered a high vantage point from which to view the surrounding area.

Today, the structure has been converted into a museum that tells the history of the region with a focus on the weaponry and battle strategy used to defend the town.

"This museum is first and foremost the history of the Kotoko principal-ity," Abba Aba Kaka, museum communications officer, told EuroNews. "This structure was put up a long time ago and can be traced back to ancient societies."

Many early weapons forged from iron are displayed in the museum.

"In this era we didn't have guns to fight enemies," Abba Aba Kaka said. "We used arrows and bows and spears and anything that can serve as a club. Those were our weapons."

Such was the case in the late 1800s when the Sudanese warlord known as Rabah arrived to convert people to Islam, kidnap slaves and bring the region under the control of the Bornu empire. He faced ferocious opposition. During attacks such as these, all townspeople took up arms.

"When they saw movements and unknown people from above, they knew they were coming for war," museum tour guide Mahamat Abame told EuroNews. "The inhabitants therefore took up arms, went around here and went to attack them outside."

Although ongoing violence in northern Cameroon makes visiting difficult, the structure has been submitted as part of a tentative list for consideration as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

"The tower is a masterpiece of human creative genius that clearly embodies a military strategy that enabled these people to anticipate attacks from neighbors," the UNESCO description states. "This military architecture has allowed the survival of this population in the face of the various wars that have raged in the region during the previous centuries."

Norway, West African Partners Create Maritime Center

ADF STAFF

The Fisheries Committee for the West Central Gulf of Guinea (FCWC) has established a Regional Monitoring, Control and Surveillance Center (RMCS) to help counter illegal fishing.

Headquartered in Tema, Ghana, the center will help member countries Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Togo manage their fishing sectors. The new center was integrated into the FCWC West Africa Task Force, which is financed by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation.

The center opened in May 2021. It is equipped with vessel-tracking systems and can collect data on authorized fishing vessels across the region where illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing has been a scourge for decades.

"The RMCS's establishment brings us a step closer to having coordinated approaches to joint action, including patrols for better security in the maritime domain of our region," said Seraphin Dedi, secretary-general of the FCWC.

Illegal marine trade costs West Africa almost \$1.95 billion across the fish value chain and \$593 million per year in household income. IUU fishing also decimates fish populations, destroys ecosystems, and has been linked to other crimes such as piracy, kidnapping and drug trafficking.

China is the world's worst fishing offender, according to the IUU Fishing Index, and has targeted West Africa for years.

The center is expected to help countries counter the methods fishing trawlers use to evade law enforcement in areas where maritime security is weak, such as falsifying vessel license and registration information, underreporting catch size, using illegal gear and incorrect vessel names, and turning off transponders to avoid detection.

Vessels fishing illegally also are known to fly the flag of a country under which a ship is registered, instead of the country of the ship's owner, to avoid financial charges or regulations. Vessels pay registration fees to the countries.



Members of the Beninese Navy prepare to inspect a trawler suspected of fishing illegally. SEA SHEPHERD GLOBAL



NIGERIA'S 'DEEP BLUE' PROJECT TAKES AIM AT PIRACY

ADF STAFF

With piracy increasing in the waters off West Africa, Nigeria launched its Deep Blue Project, a multipronged approach to confronting crime in the Gulf of Guinea.

The \$195 million effort brings together a mix of ships, aircraft and drones to patrol the busy shipping lanes off Nigeria's coast. It will identify potential problem areas and respond quickly to piracy. The project comes after Nigerian legislators passed the Suppression of Piracy and Other Maritime Offences Act in 2019 to strengthen maritime security.

"This assemblage of new maritime security assets comes at a critical time when global discussions are centered on piracy and the new dimension it has taken in the Gulf of Guinea region," Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari said at the June 2021 launch of Deep Blue in Lagos.

Among Deep Blue's anti-piracy arsenal are 600 specially trained troops, 16 armored vehicles for coastal patrols, four drones and 17 fast interceptor boats, along with other ships and aircraft.

At the same ceremony, Bashir Jamoh, director-general of the Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency, said the country will work with the London-based International Maritime Organization to "restore sanity to our waters."

Nigerian special forces team with Moroccan naval personnel during a pirate interception exercise.

AFF/GETTY IMAGES

Kenyan Defense College Becomes Full University

ADF STAFF

The Kenya Defence Forces' National Defence College has received a charter to become a full-fledged university. The upgrade will let it offer graduate and postgraduate training to local and foreign military and civilian leaders on current and emerging security challenges.

President Uhuru Kenyatta awarded the charter, making the institution the first specialist university in the country under the Universities Act of 2012.

In an address given during an award ceremony at the institution in May 2021, Kenyatta said the renamed National Defence University-Kenya will help the nation's military address the most pressing security problems.

"As you know, our country has suffered a lot from terrorist attacks in the past few years, not to mention the threats posed by transnational organized crimes and intrastate conflicts," he said. "Physical attacks are not our only threats; there are virtual threats to our security as well, such as cyber warfare and hostile takeover of state electronic systems."

Kenyatta emphasized a commitment to support the university to meet its goals for training, research and service. He presided over a graduation ceremony of 55 senior military officers and civil servants from Burundi, Malawi, Nepal, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Kenya.

Kenyan Defence Cabinet Secretary Monica Juma said the university designation is a major step forward in the ongoing effort to give the country's security professionals access to elite training.

"We are no longer going to send our experts abroad for training. It is expensive and takes time," Juma told Citizen TV. "The NDU is adding to a family of training institutions sitting in the Ministry of Defence that are really critical. We have a whole set of centers of excellence globally accredited that the NDU is going to take as part of its colleges."



Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta speaks during an award ceremony at the National Defence University-Kenya.

STATE HOUSE KENYA

Côte d'Ivoire Opens Counterterror Academy to Halt Extremists' Advance

ADF STAFF

In an effort to turn the tide against Sahel-based extremist groups, Côte d'Ivoire has inaugurated the International Academy to Combat Terrorism (AILCT). The 1,100-hectare campus sits 50 kilometers outside Abidjan and includes a school for government officials, a training center for special forces and a research institute.

"The AILCT will be the vanguard of the response of a free and conscious West Africa, specially trained and unflinchingly determined," said Ivoirian Prime Minister Patrick Achi during the inauguration ceremony.

Ivoirian President Alassane Ouattara and French President



Ivoirian Soldiers provide security during the inauguration of the International Academy for Combating Terrorism in Jacqueville, Côte d'Ivoire. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Emmanuel Macron created the counterterror training program in 2017. Since then it has trained 500 security professionals from 15 African countries. The new facility

will have training modules for police, military, customs officials and prison administrators.

Leaders emphasized that its doors are open to all security forces in the region.

"The AILCT must become a hub of expertise and regional competency in the fight against terrorism to help the stability of our states and the security of our populations," Ouattara said.

Backers have given \$27 million for the first phase of the academy with an additional \$45 million anticipated for the second phase. Upon opening, the academy can train three sets of 25 students simultaneously.

Casamance Military Operation Brings Promise Of Long-Awaited Peace

ADF STAFF

Residents of Senegal's restive Casamance region are voicing hope after a military offensive drove rebels out of forest strongholds.

In January 2021, the Senegalese Armed Forces launched a campaign in the southern region to root out separatists known as the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC). The ground strikes, backed by air support, destroyed three rebel bases. In May, Senegalese forces began another campaign about 30 kilometers south of the regional capital, Ziguinchor.

Senegalese commanders let reporters view the abandoned bases where fleeing rebels left behind anti-tank rockets, land mines and AK-47s. Soldiers also uncovered underground bunkers used by the rebels.

"Numerous abuses have been perpetrated against the population in this area, and the armed groups are simply seeking to ensure their ability to exploit forest resources," Col. Souleymane Kandé, commander of Senegal's fifth military zone, told Radio France Internationale (RFI). The MFDC controlled timber and cannabis trafficking in the region. During the February offensive the Army discovered several hectares of hemp fields it said "fed the criminal economy."



A Senegalese Soldier emerges from an underground bunker at a Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance rebel base. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The conflict has raged for nearly 40 years, and fighting has displaced tens of thousands of people who are eager to return. However, the Senegalese Army cautioned that land mines still pose a threat in some areas.

One man, Yaya Bodian, was overcome with emotion after returning to his home village of Bouniack after it was liberated by the Senegalese Army.

"It's the village where I took my first steps, where I went to school in the 1990s," Bodian told RFI. "It brings tears to my eyes and goose bumps to see again the land that my parents and I abandoned 30 years ago."

SENEGALESE VILLAGE BECOMES OASIS

A woman from a Baye Fall community stands beside a baobab tree in Ndem village, Senegal.

“We are pushed towards the love of sharing, of work, reflecting on the improvement of living conditions in our environment in harmony with nature,” said 29-year-old Fallou Mbow, whose great-great-grandfather founded the village.

Mbow’s parents and others founded the nongovernmental organization Ndem Villagers in 1984 to manage a range of development projects. Since then, the group has grown to about 4,600 members who have renewed the landscape with the help of irrigation systems and solar power.

“It’s only in Ndem that there are these kind of work opportunities,” said Mame Diarra Wade,

REUTERS

Beneath the scorching sun that beats down on Senegal’s savanna, the verdant gardens of Ndem village are a sanctuary.

Within a hibiscus fence, rows of vegetables grow under fruit trees. Men with dreadlocked hair and women in colorful robes dye fabrics and stitch handbags destined for luxury boutiques and furniture companies.

They are members of Baye Fall, a branch of Senegal’s Muslim Mouride brotherhood, who believe that labor is a form of prayer. In Ndem, they have created an oasis in a region long plagued by drought.

one of 120 women who process baobab fruit into a consumable powder. “We are happy to see those from the surrounding villages come to work with us.”

At the request of Mouride leaders, the Mbow family moved in 2015 to another village, nearby Mbacke Kadjiar, to replicate their success. That village now boasts busy craft workshops and sprawling gardens too.

“One of the main objectives is to really slow down the rural exodus,” said Maam Samba Mbow, Fallou Mbow’s younger brother, “to create a dynamic local economy that is good for villagers, so they can have a happy life with interesting activities instead of leaving to find work in the big city.”

THE GAMBIA *ELIMINATES TRACHOMA* AS HEALTH THREAT

BBC NEWS AT BBC.CO.UK/NEWS

The World Health Organization (WHO) has welcomed The Gambia’s elimination of trachoma as a public health threat, saying it will save families, including children, from blindness.

Health workers have been urged to closely monitor the trend to “sustain the gains.”

Trachoma is caused by the chlamydia bacteria and is spread from person to person by contaminated fingers, flies and towels. If untreated, the eyelids become chronically inflamed, and this can eventually lead to blindness.

Trachoma remains endemic in 29 African countries, according to the WHO. The Gambia eliminated trachoma after almost four decades of work, the government said in its announcement.

“Gambia’s success in trachoma elimination starts from the community,” said Sarjo Kanyi, manager of The Gambia’s National Eye Health Programme and coordinator of the trachoma initiative.

A network of eye units was set up across the country with the help of nongovernmental organizations, and thousands of volunteers went door to door to find people with the disease.



A surgeon removes sutures from a trachoma patient’s eyes.

FIRST FEMALE CHIEF JUSTICE HOLDS COURT IN KENYA



THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta has appointed Court of Appeal Judge Martha Koome as the East African country's first female chief justice and head of the judiciary.

She won the chief justice position over nine other candidates, including some of the country's most prominent lawyers and academics. The candidates were interviewed live on TV by the Judicial Service Commission in April 2021.

Koome, 61, has had a distinguished career with more than 33 years in private legal practice and as a member of the judiciary. None of the sitting Supreme Court judges applied for the position of chief justice.

Koome now faces the task of adjudicating any challenge to the upcoming presidential election scheduled for August 2022.

She studied law at the University of Nairobi, graduating from the Kenya School of Law in 1987 with distinction, and then was admitted to the roll of advocates.

Koome was appointed as a judge in 2003 and served on the African Union Committee on the Rights and Welfare of Children between 2005 and 2010. She headed the Land and Environment Division of the High Court. Koome obtained a Master of Law degree from the University of London in 2010, and in 2012 she was appointed to the Court of Appeal.

During her vetting, Koome promised to rid the judiciary of corruption and safeguard its independence.

"I am a judge who looks at society, and Kenyans will feel safe with me," she said.

Kenyan Chief Justice Martha Koome addresses members of the judiciary after her swearing-in ceremony in Nairobi.



PANDEMIC RAISES Popularity of Some Crops

REUTERS

In a flowing hijab, Karima M. Imam walks through her fields in northern Nigeria's scrubland as workers harvest ginger, a gnarled brown root that has turned gold since COVID-19 struck.

"If I had the capital, I'd plant more. People are looking for ginger now, and there is not enough," she said at her 5-hectare farm on the outskirts of Kaduna.

As the pandemic rages, people around the world have sought to guard against illness by turning to so-called healthy halo foods. Although scientists have dismissed many claims on social media about how superfoods can fend off the virus, their positive role as part of a healthy diet is widely acknowledged.

As demand for halo foods surges, prices for ginger in Nigeria and acai berries in Brazil have leapt while exports of Indian turmeric and Chinese garlic have jumped in the past year.

In Nigeria, a 50-kilogram bag of ginger, which can help the body ward off germs and is used as a cold remedy, now sells for 15,000 naira (\$39), up from 4,000 to 6,000 naira two years ago.

Thanks to the ginger rush, Imam has been able to start building a new house in nearby Millennium City, with a small warehouse attached so she can store and sell fresh ginger, which sells for more than the dried version.

A boy pours water into a container to wash fresh ginger at a market in Kaduna, Nigeria.



FROM MEAT TO RAILWAYS: KDF LENDS HAND ON DEVELOPMENT

Chief of the Kenya Defence Forces Gen. Robert Kibochi, second from right, views plans for the rehabilitation of the Longonot-Mau Summit-Kisumu-Butere railway line. KDF

ADF STAFF

The Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) is taking the lead on development projects designed to get the country's economy moving after COVID-19. Projects include operating a meat production facility and rehabilitating a railway and port.

Although these are not traditional military tasks, civilian and military leaders say the country needs the KDF's manpower and expertise.

"Security and development are intrinsically related. They are two sides of the same coin," Chief of the Kenya Defence Forces Gen. Robert Kibochi told the Kenyan Broadcasting Corp.

In September 2020, President Uhuru Kenyatta gave the KDF the authority to begin running the Kenya Meat Commission. The national slaughtering and meat processing company had been out of operation due to equipment failures, corruption and other problems, but under KDF leadership it reopened in May 2021.

"The sector is the source of livelihood for millions of Kenyans and the market forces have not lived up to our expectations, especially in times of drought and, therefore, it was necessary to get the government involved," Kenyatta said.

Kibochi said the KDF brought in experts such as engineers, veterinarians and others to help run the plant.



The new management has ensured that farmers are paid promptly for their livestock in contrast to the past, when they sometimes waited years to receive payment.

The KDF also is working with Kenya Railways, National Youth Service and local administrators to rehabilitate a stretch of railway between Longonot and Butere. The work includes building bridges and culverts, restoring drainage structures, replacing train cars, constructing fencing, and aligning rails. The KDF also is working on construction and dredging at the Kisumu Port, which is along the railway line.

Kibochi said the goal is not to militarize civilian tasks but rather to make use of the military's knowledge and efficiency to get results and save taxpayers' money.

"We have huge expertise in almost all areas — engineering, medicine — to name but a few," Kibochi said. "Why not use the knowledge to help our country?"



WORLD BANK TO INVEST \$2 BILLION IN AFRICA

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

AFRICA HAS UNTAPPED WIND RESOURCES

ADF STAFF

The Global Wind Energy Council says Africa has world-class wind power potential, which, if properly exploited, could meet the continent's energy demands and easily replace any jobs lost as consumers shift away from fossil fuels. The council says Africa has tapped into only 0.01% of its wind energy potential, The Southern Times reported.

A council report noted that 27 African countries have enough wind potential of their own to satisfy the entire continent's needs.

"Algeria has the highest resource with a total potential of 7,700 gigawatts, equivalent to over 11 times current global installed wind capacity," the newspaper reported. "Fifteen other countries have technical wind potentials over 1,000 gigawatts, including Mauritania, Mali, Egypt, Namibia, South Africa, Ethiopia and Kenya."

Kenya unveiled Africa's largest wind power project in a barren region 600 kilometers north of Nairobi in 2019. Quartz Africa reported that the Lake Turkana Wind Power farm consists of 365 turbines with a capacity to dispense 310 megawatts of low-cost energy to Kenya's national grid.

Throughout the world, wind is one of the fastest-growing, cheapest sources of new power generation, with more than 650 gigawatts of installed capacity. Installed wind capacity in Africa represents less than 1% of the world's installations.

The council said that a total wind potential in Africa of more than 59,000 gigawatts is the equivalent to 90 times the current global installed wind capacity.

Above: A wind farm in Molteno, South Africa

The World Bank has announced that it will invest \$2 billion to support medium and small businesses in Africa and boost trade as the region recovers from the COVID-19 downturn.

The International Finance Corporation (IFC), the bank's development arm focused on private-sector development in emerging markets, will invest \$1 billion in direct financing for businesses and another \$1 billion in support of international trade finance.

The combined \$2 billion package is "among the IFC's largest ever commitments to specific initiatives in Africa," the corporation said, adding that COVID-19 "plunged the region into recession, reduced foreign direct investment flows and pushed millions more Africans into poverty."



A South African artist works in a small fashion studio in Kayamandi.

"Long-term recovery will depend on getting funding to the pillars of the economy that need it today," IFC Managing Director Makhtar Diop said in a statement.

The economic cost of COVID-19 to African countries has been devastating, with the International Monetary Fund warning in late 2020 that the continent faced a shortfall of \$290 billion in expected revenue up to 2023, undermining development efforts.



‘Women Could Do Whatever They Wanted’

ADF STAFF

Asli Hassan Abade made history as the first female air force pilot in Africa. She is a product of a unique time in her native Somalia’s history.

After Somalia became an independent country in 1960, its military branches grew in strength and skill. At one point, the Somali Air Force had the greatest airstrike capability in the Horn of Africa.

Asli was born in 1958, one of nine siblings. Her family lived on an air force base, and she could see the runway from her home.

“I saw planes take off and land at the airport. That is what gave me the courage to fly my country’s plane at least once in my lifetime,” she said.

During her youth, public education improved, with enrollment multiplying in cities and towns. In the cities, girls like Asli could attend public schools.

“Women could do whatever they wanted,” she told the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia in a 2017 interview. “They were part of

the government ruling elite; they were part of the defence forces including the navy, the infantry. They were university lecturers, members of the ruling party, and they were in every part of the government.”

Asli began training on a Cessna 150 in 1976 before moving on to more complex aircraft. “The practice was rather intense, and my trainers were confident in my skills,” she said. “I proved to be a good student, and I would later be trusted with more advanced aircraft.”

Later in her career she was trained to fly military cargo planes and an Airbus A320.

After 10 years of service, her military career was cut short by the civil war in Somalia in 1991. Like many Somalis of that time, she moved to the United States, where she raised four children with her husband. She returned to Mogadishu in 2011 to deliver medical supplies to a children’s hospital during a devastating famine.

“There were several former

colleagues, officers and pilots, waiting to receive me at the airport,” she said. “I cried, and they all got emotional and cried with me. When I stepped out of the plane, I first kissed the ground. ... I could not believe that I was actually in Mogadishu.”

Her joy was short-lived. Because of the presence of the extremist group al-Shabaab in Mogadishu, she had to flee her beloved homeland after just one day there.

In July 2017, she returned permanently to live in Somalia, where she remains the country’s first and only female pilot.

With her country’s air force currently not operational and with no military aircraft, it could be some time before Somalia has a second female air force pilot.

“My main aim is to empower the youth and women; I want to remain in Somalia so they can emulate me and my efforts to make a mark on Somalia at an early age. I am proud of my history, not just for Somalia, but also for Africa.”



CLUES

- 1 This place also is known as Mij Mkongwe, which is Swahili for “Old Town.”
- 2 The old Swahili trading town includes Arab, European and Indian influences but also retains its Indigenous characteristics.
- 3 Darjani Bazaar is at the center of this town’s commerce area, where food, spices and crafts are sold.
- 4 Many buildings here are made of coralline ragstone and mangrove timber and set with lime mortar.

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Africa Defense Forum (ADF) is a professional military magazine that serves as an international forum for military and security specialists in Africa.

The magazine is published quarterly by U.S. Africa Command and covers topics such as counterterrorism strategies, security and defense operations, transnational crime, and issues affecting peace, stability, good governance and prosperity.

The forum allows for an in-depth discussion and exchange of ideas. We want to hear from people in our African partner nations who understand the interests and challenges on the continent. Submit an article for publication in ADF, and let your voice be heard.

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