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STRATEGIC CULTURE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: THE DIVERGENT PATHS
OF UGANDA AND TANZANIA

by

Kevin Keasbey Frank

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate School,
the College of Arts and Letters,
and the Department of Political Science, International Development, and International
Affairs
at The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2017

STRATEGIC CULTURE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: THE DIVERGENT PATHS
OF UGANDA AND TANZANIA

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ABSTRACT

STRATEGIC CULTURE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: THE DIVERGENT PATHS OF UGANDA AND TANZANIA

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Strategic culture is a concept accepted by scholars and practitioners, but with problematic applicability to states newly independent or emerging from conflict. The elements that comprise strategic culture in the developed world are not always present in emerging states. This research addresses the pertinency of strategic culture in Uganda and Tanzania, and then tests the operationalization of the concept using the case of participation in the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The African Union and the international community expected Uganda and Tanzania to contribute troops to AMISOM in 2007. In the event, Uganda did and Tanzania chose another path. This study shows that the actions of both states were consistent with their strategic cultures.

The small-*n* comparative study describes strategic culture as a concept that influences national security decisions, but does not determine them. Strategic culture is operationalized through path dependence, in which the accumulation of decisions over time create constraints and restraints upon decision-makers. Modes of behavior by the national security apparatus become too difficult or expensive to change. The result is a repertoire, or “tool box”, of national security activity reflective of the state’s unique strategic culture.

The sources of strategic culture are first considered to determine the applicability of the concept, which include explication of each states military history and experience,

as well as resources, political systems, national security organization and geography, with a focus on ethnic geography. Those factors are then assessed against attributes derived from the definition of strategic culture to determine presence and level of maturity. Both states are found to possess an emerging strategic culture. How that influences the decision over AMISOM participation is then considered. The decision by Uganda is consistent with a strategic culture that favors military solutions for national security challenges. The decision by Tanzania to not contribute troops is also consistent with their strategic culture that offers a greater range of decision options, and does not favor military options.

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There are a number of individuals from a variety of nationalities that allowed me to interview them, though they asked for strict anonymity. Their contributions to this research allowed for the theory to not stray far from reality.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife Tracy, whose understanding, encouragement, and assistance made my academic aspiration possible

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ACOTA	Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance
ACRI	Africa Crisis Response Initiative
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
AFDL	Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation
ANC	African National Congress
ARPCT	Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism
ASF	African Standby Force
ASP	Afro-Shirazi Party
AU	African Union
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CUF	Civic United Front
DFC	Defense Forces Council
DfID	Department of International Development (UK)
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EAC	East Africa Community
EASBRIG	Eastern African Standby Brigade
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FRELIMO	Mozambique Liberation Front
IBEAC	Imperial British East Africa Company
ICC	International Criminal Court

ICU	Islamic Courts Union
IDP	internally displaced persons
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGASOM	IGAD Peace Support Mission in Somalia
ISCG	International Somalia Contact Group
JKT	<i>Jeshi la Kujenga Taifa</i> (The Army to Build the Nation) aka The National Service
KAR	King's African Rifles
LARP	Logistics and Accounting Reform Program
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MONUC	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
NCOs	non-commissioned officers
NEC	National Enterprise Corporation
NGO	non-governmental organization
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NUTA	National Union of Tanganyika
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PAFMECA	Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa
PLA	Chinese People's Liberation Army
PME	professional military education
PSC	Peace and Security Council
RDF	Rwandan Defense Force

RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
SADC	South African Development Community
SPLA	Sudanese People's Liberation Army
SRRC	Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TCCs	troop contributing countries
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TNG	Transitional National Government
TPDF	Tanzanian People's Defense Forces
TYL	TANU Youth League
UDES	Uganda Defense Efficiency Study
UDRP	Uganda Defense Reform Programme
UNLA	Uganda National Liberation Army
UNSOM	UN Operation in Somalia
UPDA	Uganda People's Democratic Army
UPDF	Uganda People's Defense Force
WNBF	West Nile Bank Front

CHAPTER I – INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Strategic culture is a concept embraced by military practitioners since its inception in 1977. Taking the United States Army as an example, strategic culture is a subject of pod casts (Brooks and Douds 2017), monographs (Scobell 2002), and the position description for professorship at the U.S. Army War College (United States Army War College 2016). It is part of the core curriculum of the Basic Strategic Arts Program, designed to prepare mid-grade officers for the specialty of strategic planning. In a 2016 review of the U.S. Army War College curriculum, strategic culture is listed as a conceptual competency for the strategic theorist role of Army War College students (Lacquement 2016). As representatives of other western militaries, the U.S. service war colleges and the United Kingdom Defense Academy have found a place for strategic culture in the education of those tasked with the planning and execution of national security.

The concept finds purchase among practitioners because it describes a method of conceptualizing national security perceptions specific to a state's history, experience, and politics. For strategic planners, such a concept is compelling. It reminds strategists that each competitor and ally perceives the environment differently, and that the logic of national security is unique to each country. The decision calculus of one country may not be valid in another.

The basic premise that all states have a strategic culture is problematic. What of countries that have only recently, from a historical perspective, gained independence, or are just emerging from conflict? Most of the scholarship on strategic culture considers

societies and states with histories measured in centuries. Countries of the emerging world have much shorter temporal frames, many punctuated with internal conflict. Sub-Saharan Africa presents an example of states that became independent in the mid-twentieth century, and, in many cases, faced internal conflict to gain independence or survive its arrival. Is strategic culture a viable concept in such cases?

Strategic Culture in Emerging States

The purpose of this comparative study is to consider if strategic culture is an applicable concept for emerging states in sub-Saharan Africa. Uganda and Tanzania will be compared through their decision to participate in a regional peacekeeping mission in Somalia, and the extent to which strategic culture influenced the level of troop contribution. Through an assessment of strategic culture based on history, experience and politics, the study will determine if strategic culture exists, and then pursue a better understanding of each state's calculus for the decision to participate in peacekeeping. Strategic culture is thus offered as a substantial contributor to the calculation towards participation. The definition of strategic culture in this study by Ken Booth:

The concept of strategic culture refers to a nation's tradition, values, attributes, patterns of behavior, habits, symbols, achievements and particular ways of adapting to the environment and solving problems with respect to the threat and use of force (Booth 1990, 121).

The Booth definition captures the key attributes that create an entity's context of behavior, or "thick description" as described by Clifford Geertz (Geertz 1973, 5-6). Missing from this definition is the identity of the entity for which the definition is intended. Does strategic culture refer to the entire country or a sub-set, be that an individual decision-maker, an organization, or an institution? As the literature review

reveals, the most compelling scholarship on strategic culture is narrowly defined. This study will use the entity referred to in the concept's instantiation. In Jack Snyder's (1977) study on nuclear planners in the U.S. and Soviet Union, he posits strategic culture for "members of a national security apparatus" (Snyder 1977, 8). Implied but not stated, the national security apparatus is the group of individuals and organizations that are responsible for the planning and execution of the state's monopoly of violence. It is different for each country and may include entities and influences from outside the government, such as popular opinion.

The literature on strategic culture is complex, but one element remains constant throughout the research: the criticality of history. The importance of history on the concept is existential, for as Geertz reminds us, the meanings and symbols that comprise culture are "historically transmitted" (Geertz 1973, 89). For strategic culture to be present, there must be both a historical narrative and a method to pass it across generations. In many Sub-Saharan countries, the lack of stability puts those elements in jeopardy. Thus, the first research question emerges:

1. *Do post-conflict/newly independent states have a strategic culture?*

If the conditions for strategic culture exist, the effect of its presence in the decision-making process must be explored to determine the extent to which it influences national security decisions, and especially decisions to participate in peacekeeping missions. Considering a less dire circumstance may present a more compelling case, since an invasion or other serious conflicts adjusts existential concerns to the fore. Participation in peacekeeping operations are more considered. With that, the second research question:

2. How does strategic culture manifest itself into the decision calculus for peacekeeping participation?

This dissertation will argue that emerging states develop a strategic culture regardless of the length of their history or the nature of their institutions. The strategic culture is “kept” by the elites since they hold the national security decision portfolios and control of the military. The strategic culture is influenced over time by the experiences of the elites in the execution of the portfolio, and inculcated into the institutions that arise to support national security.

The nature of conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa contributes to the differences between strategic culture in developed and developing states. The developed states that form the majority of the strategic culture research program have histories measured in centuries and have engaged in wars and conflicts since the establishment of the state system in the seventeenth century. Over that time, national security institutions develop and become the keepers of strategic culture. Such institutions influence the course of conflict (Legro 1996; Keir 1997; Scobell 1999). As importantly, there is evidence that losing wars can change strategic cultures (Iriye 1991; Eckstein 1998; Berger 1998). For states newly created or emerging from conflict, there is a challenge in understanding how strategic culture is established, since its creation is not a conscious decision but a tapestry of “traditions, values, attitudes, patterns of behavior, habits, symbols, achievements and particular ways of adapting to the environment and solving problems with respect to the threat or use of force (Booth 1990, 121).

The Importance of History

History is an intrinsic, and critical, part of strategic culture (Snyder 1977, 9). How the elements of history, geography and political culture combine is not altogether clear (Macmillan, Booth and Trood 1999, 9), but the transmission of strategic culture over time is a paramount element, outlasting all but the most major changes to a state (Booth 1990, 121). The operationalization of history is through the concept of path dependence as presented by Paul Pierson. Over time, decisions accumulate and are supported by positive feedback, to the point where changing the decision becomes too difficult or expensive (Pierson 2004, 20-21). In the case of national security, the result is decisions that are embedded in the national security apparatus and difficult to change. Historical precedent establishes the track record of decisions. The expectation of a historical track record and the effects of “major changes” on a state are two circumstances facing emerging states that differ from the majority in the literature. The historical record of sub-Saharan Africa rarely presents a narrative thread of a people, society, kingdom, and modern state that share a well-defined geographic area. Colonialism left its own unique legacy on the societies and politics of Africa. The history of Africa after colonialism was created on a tableau forever changed by the colonial states as to geography and the relations of many ethnicities within those boundaries. Thus, there was little coherence between the history of Africa before colonization and after. Yet, the fight for independence required a sense of “nation” and homogeneity at odds with pre-colonial realities (Novati 1996, 132-133). The use of history to engender the “nationalism” that Benedict Andersen (2006) envisions is more difficult without this coherent narrative thread. Specifically, the effects of history on the development of

national institutions is reflective of the colonial past as exemplified by Kathryn Firmin-Sellers's observations on the differences of French and British colonial administration on Bamileke kingdoms in Cameroun (Firmin-Sellers 2001). Since independence, many developing states, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, are beset with cycles of government change and violence. Such instability, combined with low levels of development, create different security decision-making dynamics than in other states with more stable environments. The time required to build experience in governing rarely exists. Especially concerning major decisions, such a lack of experience increases governing difficulties since "decision-makers always draw on past experience" (Neustadt and May 1986, xxi). In many cases, governance change is the result of conflict that by its very nature traumatizes a society. These conditions may impinge on the development of strategic culture in developing states.

This contrasts with the long histories of the many states that have been studied in the strategic culture literature. For example, the swelling strategic culture scholarship on China includes extensive discussions on the effect of Confucianism and *The Seven Military Classics* on the use of force by the Ming Dynasty (Johnston 1995b) as well as its influence on current Chinese policy concerning the use of force (Scobell 2014). The history of France and its imprint on military thought was compelling for Kier in her analysis of French military doctrine between the world wars (Kier 1997). The United States' historical tradition of engineering in its military academies has led to the observation of an over-reliance on technology for decisions pertaining to the use of force (Harris 2008).

History provides a touchstone from which examples can be used to bolster the attributes of strategic culture. As Harold von Riekhoff observes, the history of the inter-war period in post-Communist Eastern Europe influenced the burgeoning development of civil-military relations across the area (von Riekhoff 2004, 13). Yet even such a limited historical period is not available to the emerging states in sub-Saharan Africa. Common attributes of both culture and strategic culture are artifacts (in the broadest sense of that term) developed over an extended timeframe and transferred across generations. In many definitions, the ability to transfer the messages and symbols of the culture is an important factor unique to ‘culture.’ With limited historical horizons, how can those attributes of strategic culture manifest themselves in states that have just emerged from conflict? In many cases, the winner of the conflict wants to distance themselves from the near past. Accepting Anderson’s argument that revolutionary leadership adopt “the putative *nationalnost*¹ of the older dynasts and the dynastic state” (Anderson 2006, 160), they may skip the generation of their adversaries and harken back to a more historical narrative. In Africa, where the Westphalian state is a foreign concept, is such a tactic possible? Or for lack of geographic description, must an ethnic description suffice, and can a strategic culture develop therefrom?

The second factor challenging strategic culture in an emerging state is that traumatic events often directly precede the new state’s creation. Culture is considered a societal attribute that is long-lived and presents a consistency over time not shared by other societal attributes. Strategic culture is no different. Yet in both cases, scholars have

¹ The term is from the Soviet era concept of nationality that further identified an ethnicity within the Soviet People within the spatial boundaries of the USSR (Bromley 1974).

argued that major events, especially events that are traumatic to the society under consideration, do change the culture. Within the strategic culture literature, there is an analytic thread positing that the complete defeat of Japan and Germany in the Second World War was such a traumatic event (Berger 1996). Consequently, the militarism historically associated with those societies was replaced by a new pacifist outlook. The states of sub-Saharan Africa have suffered a profusion of culturally dislocating events. Can a strategic culture emerge in developing states which suffer a profusion of conflicts, or are there certain conditions which have to be met, including the passage of time without conflict?

Contributing Factors to Strategic Culture

Post-conflict states face a myriad of issues related to their economic, political and social development. Focusing on the security sector, issues will arise concerning society-military relations, external versus internal security, and design and capabilities of the armed forces to name the most obvious (Huntington (1968) 2006). Accepting the argument as to the importance of “the keepers of strategic culture” to the transmission of strategic culture over time (Lantis 2014, 174), the changing of elites and the lack of institutional capacity in developing states makes the question of “who are the keepers” of critical importance. The new leadership may have limited governmental experience, and the skills required to govern and establish the required institutions may not be readily forthcoming.

Regarding the use of force, the identification of governance choice and the elites who are responsible for such decisions is by no means an easy or always obvious choice. Rarely does a state emerging into independence or from a conflict have the luxury of

strictly internal focus. The regional and international environment will have some effect on the choices which need to be made. Depending on the nature of the conflict, neighbors may have been more involved and create a fluid situation depending on their support for one side or the other. Allies of the winning side may consider that they are owed a role in development due to their support. There may also be a wider mosaic of conflict in the region that the new state is a party to, willingly or unwillingly. All these factors create difficult choices for a new government, especially one without the benefit of previous governing experience.

The political landscape of sub-Saharan Africa presents unique challenges to political development, and the historical track record of the region presents a challenging environment for the development of strategic culture. As the literature review will demonstrate, the research program that encompasses strategic culture is complex and multi-faceted. How the emerging states of sub-Saharan Africa might be integrated into such a research program serves as the core focus of study.

Research Design

This study is a small-N study comparing the development of strategic culture in Uganda and Tanzania. It considers the existence of strategic culture in both these states, and offers whether strategic culture was part of the decision calculus for Uganda's and Tanzania's participation in the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The choice of comparative event is based on the presence of both states and the nature of the event that did not threaten the survival of either country. In existential crisis, survival of the state trumps all other considerations in the decision calculus. Contributing to regional peacekeeping does not rise to such a level. The decision to participate in peacekeeping is

predicated on a range of factors, as research into the such motivations for emerging states attest. Current theories on state's participation in peacekeeping operations are usually based on domestic imperatives, monetary incentives and "a perceived need to perform political signaling" (Sotomayor 2014, 22). Vincenzo Bove and Leandro Elia (2011) offer a number of reasons for peacekeeping participation based on their quantitative research: participation is linked to geographic proximity to the conflict and threats of spill-over; that poorer states will take advantage of the remuneration of peacekeeping operations; the higher the threat, the more likely the participation; the greater the humanitarian consequences the greater the expectation of participation; and the fewer the number of concurrent operations will increase the possibility of participation (Bove and Elia 2011, 707-712). The previous study considered participation motives for a wide range of state types. Jonah Victor (2010) looks at circumstances of African states. He finds that high authoritarianism did not result in peacekeeping operation deployments as a diversionary tactic to curry favor with the military, and that less repressive states contributed more often (Victor 2010, 226). He also notes that states with lower GDP per capita are likely to participate, and that states with lower levels of state legitimacy also contribute more often and with higher numbers (Victor 2010, 227). Such motivations are contributory but fail to capture the extent of the factors that would comprise the decision calculus.

Given these factors, both Uganda and Tanzania would have been expected to participate in the African Union Mission in Somalia; one did (Uganda) and the other did not. A qualitative research design is employed as the research is focused on the 'why' and the 'how' of strategic culture's effect upon state decision making.

To determine the presence of strategic culture in Uganda and Tanzania, the elements of Booth's definition are used as an assessment tool to establish not only the presence of strategic culture but a subjective judgment as to the maturity of the concept in the respective state. Maturity level provides an indication of inculcation of strategic culture into the national security apparatus, and thus how much the concept influences decisions. Following the exploration of presence and maturity level, the influence of strategic culture on the decision to participate in AMISOM will facilitate understanding of the operationalization of the concept.

The two countries selected for this study, Uganda and Tanzania, reflect the realities of comparative historical research as well as casing based on a positive and negative example of a specified outcome. Data collection expectations for historical cases are substantial as the researcher must "act like a historian. That is to say, social scientists seeking deep historical knowledge will be pushed toward studies of developments in fewer countries or places within a country over briefer periods of time" (Amenta 2013, 354). To be able to conduct the in-depth research required to describe the processes and historical contexts of these cases, a large sample would create an unattainable research goal.

Unlike large-N statistical approaches, Goldstone offers that comparative historical analysis "generally face a finite set of cases, chosen against a backdrop of theoretical interests, and aim to determine the causal sequences and patterns producing outcomes of interest in those specific cases" (Goldstone 2003, 43). For example, in the present study of African state participation in AMISOM, the sample size is limited by the number of African states represented in the African Union (54), and by the number of states which

offered participation in AMISOM (5). Mahoney points out that case selection in comparative historical analysis is more sensitive to homogeneity than large-N research that may violate such assumptions through the arbitrary selection (Mahoney 2003, 351). The current research uses an outcome-based casing method tempered by the inclusion of a population based case (Ragin 2013, 526). To use the language of Ragin (2014), the cases selected for comparison in this study reflect a theory- driven choice, based on a most-likely expectation, and in which the author believes strategic culture will play a contributory role in the outcome.

Data collection is focused on available primary sources such as archival news accounts, official documents of the two states involved in the research as well as the African Union (AU). Additionally, documents from the United States are collected that bear on the issue of troop contribution to AMISOM. The United States is an important participant in the narrative, but the reporting also provides insight into how Uganda and Tanzania presented themselves to a major donor state.

A limited number of interviews were conducted to gain greater fidelity on the decisions of Uganda and Tanzania to participate in AMISOM. These interviews are important as they provide a view of the decision process not available in primary and secondary sources. As in all such interviews, especially amongst elites, care must be taken to ensure that material is corroborated where possible to obviate against possible narrative design of the interview subject. While attempts at such corroboration were made, not all statements could be so validated.

Summary

The research at hand derives from the question of whether strategic culture is a viable concept for states in sub-Saharan Africa. With relatively short histories since independence, and in many instances internal conflicts since the end of colonialism, emerging states challenge the precept that ‘all’ states develop strategic culture. Arguing that the concept is applicable to emerging states, this research considers how strategic culture influenced the decisions of Uganda and Tanzania in their participation in AMISOM. As this research posits, Ugandan strategic culture favors the use of the military to solve any national security issue. Tanzania, on the other hand, places less importance on the military as the solution for such challenges, preferring other options. Strategic culture does not determine national security decisions, but influences them by shaping the repertoire of actions that are available to a state’s national security apparatus. This is especially important in national security issues that are not existential, where the logic of survival overwhelms all other considerations.

Understanding the motivations for possible troop contributing countries (TCCs) is important to better prepare those who must proselytize for a peacekeeping mission. As already noted, the current explanations for the motivations for TCCs seem incomplete. By the logic of many of the explanations, TCCs gain substantive benefits from participation and should welcome such opportunities. The evidence suggests just the opposite; most countries do not deploy their troops on peacekeeping missions. Based on the June 2017 UN) contributors to UN Peacekeeping - both troops and police - of the 193 states in the UN, 127 contribute troops/police. Of that, 45 percent contribute over 100 troops/police, and 18 percent contribute over a thousand. There are six states that

together contribute almost 43 percent of troops and police to UN peacekeeping operations² (UN Peacekeeping 2017). A few states carry an inordinate burden, and the top six TCCs represent states in the bottom half of worldwide GDP. What combination of factors influence states to contribute to peacekeeping operations? Such understanding is critical to the accomplishment of regional peacekeeping systems. Especially in Africa, where stability of post-conflict is often questionable, the ability of the AU's African Standby Force to quickly muster an appropriately sized force will determine the success of the concept. The current record is not encouraging. While a number of peacekeeping missions have been deployed by the AU, many have been deployed late and understrength, as in Somalia. Many more have been requested, but not deployed due to lack of resources. Such opportunities lost cannot be regained.

The literature of both peacekeeping and strategic culture gain contributions from the current research. As regards peacekeeping troop contributions, strategic culture presents additional context to understanding peacekeeping operation participation decisions. To the scholarship on strategic culture, this study contributes to the under-represented scholarship on the concept in Africa in general and sub-Saharan Africa in particular. It also offers an assessment method for determining the presence of strategic culture based on definitional attributes that may have wider application.

This research will be structured as follows. Following this introduction, a literature review will consider the research regarding strategic culture and its role in influencing a state's strategic calculus. The literature of strategic culture is complex, with

² Bangladesh, Ethiopia, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Rwanda.

periods in which the viability of the concept was questioned. Current research has focused on the operationalization of the concept vice its existence. Of particular note is the identification of “keepers” of strategic culture which not only embody strategic culture but are the mechanism to historically transmit strategic culture across generations. As will be evident, there is little scholarship on strategic culture in the emerging world, and specifically in Africa. Finally, the conceptual framework of strategic culture is articulated as an influencer of national security decisions. The subsequent chapter provides details of the methodology used in this dissertation. The rationales for design decisions regarding case method and case selection are followed by a consideration of data sources. The study then explores the two cases of Uganda and Tanzania to identify the sources of strategic culture. The results present two states with different histories and transitions to independence. In Uganda, the army plays a pivotal role. In Tanzania, the army is less important but has served as a vehicle for nationalism. An analysis succeeds the explication of the cases of Uganda and Tanzania, and provides an assessment of the presence and maturity of strategic culture in the respective countries. As both countries have strategic culture, analysis shifts into the operationalization of strategic culture using the example of the decision to participate in AMISOM. While the decisions of both countries are consistent with their strategic cultures, Tanzania’s unwillingness to deploy troops was counter to expectations. Strategic culture is argued as the most compelling factor amongst the alternative explanations of troop contribution. But there is no such thing as a unitary answer to complex political activity, and it is important that strategic culture be placed in the calculus of state decision making as an influencer of policy, not a

determinant. Finally, a concluding chapter provides an overview and notes area for future study.

CHAPTER II – LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This study is concerned with determining the effect of strategic culture on the decisions of national security in developing states. In order to do so, it compares the decision to participate in a regional peacekeeping mission by two states who would be expected, *ceteris paribus*, to both contribute. Therefore, a review of the literature was carried out across the three topics that comprise the argument for the position of strategic culture in the national security decision calculus: strategic culture, path dependence, and peacekeeping.

A literature review presents more than a simple review of the scholarship on a topic. Joseph Maxwell considers it the heart of scholarly writing where the approach of the research is matched to the theoretical framework (Maxwell 2016, xi). As this research joins an ongoing body of scholarship, it is important to understand how the current study fits into the corpus (Cooper 1984, 9). This is especially important when the research program has developed over an extended timeframe.

The topics of discussion in this literature review are strategic culture, path dependence and peacekeeping participation theories. Strategic culture forms the basis for the argument of the research, but the concept has undergone a range of interpretations and approaches. Rather than take the broad view of the concept, the analysis of the current literature is that strategic culture is most compelling when considered narrowly. With the importance to strategic culture of history, the theory of path dependence provides the mechanism for the development of strategic culture through the accumulation of small decisions over time. The importance of strategic culture is best

demonstrated within the context of a decision, and the use of regional peacekeeping participation provides such context. Most importantly, peacekeeping participation represents a national security decision that is non-existential. Thus, concern over survival that would trump other factors is markedly decreased, if not eliminated.

This section includes two parts. The first will be the literature review bearing on the topics discussed above. The second will outline the conceptual framework that will describe how the three concepts interrelate and will set the conceptual foundation for the research.

Literature Review

Strategic Culture

The literature for strategic culture covers almost fifty years, if one measures from the seminal article in 1977 when Jack Snyder coined the term “strategic culture” (Snyder 1977). Yet the concept has a legacy which traces back to the Second World War. The extent of the literature has spawned a complexity of variations and interpretations. While scholars have chronicled the development of the strategic culture chronologically, following Alastair Iain Johnston into the parsing of the scholarship into “generations” (Johnston 1995b), this literature review will categorize the literature into two themes. The first, and broadest in scope, is an “expanded” strategic culture. This theme positions strategic culture as a constant which influences all actions within the security apparatus of a state, drawing upon the totality of a state’s experience over history to influence current actions. The second is a “narrow” strategic culture that presents a closer connection between observed strategic culture elements and national security activity. Rather than focus on the historical underpinnings of strategic culture, this theme

describes the current strategic culture and its explanatory role in national security through a historical lens closer to the events under discussion. For example, rather than assigning explanations of events to the influence of distant events and ancient tomes, the scope of strategic culture is defined by a timeframe within the decision maker's timeframe.

The distinction between the expansive and narrow strategic culture literatures is not absolute. Even the seminal Snyder article can cross into both realms. Was Snyder describing the entire weight of Russian/Soviet history, values and mores affecting Soviet nuclear planning, or just the experience of the Soviets within the lifetime of the planners, a tumultuous enough period? That very distinction is non-trivial, and the research at hand will argue that the most compelling strategic culture scholarship is accomplished when examining culture closer to the event under consideration.

Culture and the use of force have been intimately intertwined throughout history, but the specific study of strategic culture in political science is a product of the Cold War. The distinction is one of focus; prior to the introduction of the term in 1977, the 'culture' of a state influenced how a state fights. After that, it was used to help understand *when* a state used force. Notwithstanding debates over methodology or between theories of international relations, the narrative thread of strategic culture concerns how a political entity is influenced by its culture of national security. Such holds from the Snyder 1977 study until the recent publication of scholarship on the strategic culture of Asia (Lantis 2014).

The two themes identified in the opening of this chapter have existed across the literature even in the period prior to 1977. The various threads that represent the themes were not as noticeable in this earlier period as the scholarship was not as coherent as after

1977, though the description of pre- and post-1977 strategic culture literature is used cautiously. Even though the threads of the themes do not fully emerge prior to 1977, it is important to understand this formative period. The effect of behavioral scholarship on the issue of how a state fights provides the intellectual underpinning of strategic culture, and follows the attempt generally to bring culture to the study of political science. The attempt to bring the cultural turn to security studies was as difficult as was the attempt to integrate it into the study of politics writ large.

The antecedent period is temporally bounded by the Second World War, though the linkage of culture and warfare can trace its lineage back to Thucydides' observations of cultural differences amongst the Greeks (Hornblower and Stewart 2005, 267). Two tracks run parallel through the historical perspective of strategic culture and the scholarship on culture more generally. The first involves the development of the concept of culture emanating from anthropology in the blossoming of behavioral science in the 1930s and 1940s, and its transformation into political culture as an offshoot within political science. The other track is the effect of methodological development as the more positivist approach increasingly demanded greater precision in the social "sciences," the Kuhnian revolution notwithstanding.

The concept of strategic culture is similar to other concepts of culture that have developed since the beginning of the Twentieth century, and is closest to the concept of political culture. As Lucian Pye (1991) notes, the increased scholarship associated with the behavioral sciences allowed for the development of culture as an idea, led by the work of Bronislaw Malinowski and Franz Boas in the 1920s. Pye credits them for

developing culture as an element that, along with personality, provided the structure for the individual (Pye 1991, 489).

In the case of strategic culture specifically, the Second World War ushered in the desire to train the military in the cultures of the countries in which they would operate, which led to the development of area studies (Pye 1991, 489). These anthropologically focused and psychologically informed centers extended their cultural look at United States adversaries into the Cold War period. Pye is surprised that the concept of culture did not find purchase in political science until the 1950s, and he offers that political thought through the ages included elements that were aggregated into culture. “All classical theorists from Aristotle and Plato through Montesquieu and Tocqueville have stressed the importance for understanding politics in terms of customs, mores, traditions, norms, and habits—all of which are aspects of culture” (Pye 1991, 490).

The concept of culture ranges from those that consider culture and personality as essentially identical and those that scrutinize culture without recourse to individual personality traits. National-character and strategic culture are close cousins, and current scholarship includes the use of national-character to explicate on subjects as diverse as political thought in interwar Eastern Europe (Trencsenyi 2011) to the interrelationship of national character and charismatic leadership (Ibrahim and Wunsch 2012).

Pye credits scholarship in national character as providing the initial efforts in political culture (Pye 1991, 495). The decade and a half following the war was a period of increased national character research (Terhune 1970, 205). Desch observes that the utility of national character studies declined in the face of the “nuclear revolution” in which the level of destructiveness of nuclear weapons made cultural differences moot

(Desch 1998, 145). With the research on nuclear strategy based on rational-actor theories, there was little room left for issues of culture.

Terhune makes a distinction between national character and culture. Three attributes describe the distinction. First, culture is not geographically contained within national borders. Second, culture includes a wide range of variables, and national character is confined to “the psychological attributes” of people. Finally, “whereas the culture concept emphasizes heritage from the past, a cumulative quality is not an essential part of the definition of national character” (Terhune 1970, 222-223). The aspect of time, and the cumulative aspect of culture, will be raised in subsequent scholarship in strategic culture.

Terhune offers a broad perspective of the difficulty in being able to measure the “typical” personality of a nation, and he identifies 1966 as the year in which scholars declared that national character research was in “general disrepute” (Terhune 1970, 205.) While political culture would continue to develop, it too would face intellectual criticisms in consonance with concern over the general concept of culture in anthropology (Pye 1991, 503). Dependency theory in the 1960s and 1970s made cultural issues irrelevant with its focus on the relationship between the “center” and the “periphery.” Likewise, with the ascendance of rational choice, culture could not overcome opportunity maximization. There was also a “methodological attack” which “generally produce only unexciting answers to trivial problems” with its quantitative emphasis (Pye 1991, 505).

Heavily criticized within social science, national character was still considered a useful concept for policy formulation (Terhune 1970, 206). Such a realization provided continued viability for the concept. With the assault on political culture in full force, the

next step in the development of strategic culture would emanate from the bowels of rationality; the discussion of nuclear strategy.

Though the academic study of national character waned, the appreciation that states had specific attributes that colored their decision-making did not. Strategic culture was instantiated in 1977 in a RAND study for the U.S. Air Force by Jack L. Snyder. The development of more limited nuclear strike options ordered by the Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger, in 1974 created a new environment for Soviet nuclear options. Snyder sought to challenge the assumption of a generic “rational man” as the decision-maker, and offered a more nuanced approach. Soviet leaders should not be presumed “as generic strategists who happen to be playing for the Red team, but as politicians and bureaucrats who have developed and been socialized into a strategic culture that is in many ways unique and who have exhibited distinctive stylistic predispositions in their past crises behavior” (Snyder 1977, 4). The strategic culture concept of Snyder is not much different than that of Terhune, with its emphasis on personal sociopsychological attributes.

Snyder offers that analysis of actions is the key element in discerning the nature of Soviet decision-making. Those experiential events are envisaged through the lens of cultural factors such as education, societal norms, organizational ethos and beliefs unique not only to “Soviet man” but to the Soviet nuclear fraternity. Snyder’s resultant definition is thus: “strategic culture can be defined as the sum total of ideas, conditioned emotional responses, and patterns of habitual behavior that members of a strategic national community have acquired through instruction or imitation and share with each other with regard to nuclear strategy” (Snyder 1977, 8). Culture affects organizations as

well as individuals and the two provide the constraints that determine human action (Snyder 1977, 9).

It is interesting to note that Snyder does not search for sources of strategic culture in the distant past. The historical episodes that affect Soviet military thought are the Second World War and the post-war period of the Cold War. These factors are integrated with the position of the Soviet military within the formulation process of policy and doctrine. The deference of the Politburo to the military in such manners is considered as important as other cultural issues. The effect of “unique historical experiences, distinctive political and institutional relationships, and a pre-occupation with strategic dilemmas different from the U.S.” is a Soviet-unique outlook on such issues. As Snyder explains, “‘culture’ is used to suggest that that these beliefs tend to be perpetuated by the socialization of individuals into a distinctive mode of thinking” (Snyder 1977, 38).

In this regard, Snyder reflects the “national character” forbearers as represented by Terhune. Culture for Snyder represents the inculcation of “distinctive modes of thinking” amongst those defining nuclear strategy. It is the passing down of those attributes that make it culture, not the elements of “culture” as academically defined. History plays a part, but it is recent history of the current generation, not the cumulation of past artifacts implied in the various definitions of culture. As the concept of strategic culture develops, such temporal issues arise to add increasing complexity.

The concept that Snyder espoused found fertile ground almost immediately, but it would quickly be expanded from his focus on the nuclear planners to a broader discussion of the effect of a state’s culture on its strategy. Representative of the scholarship on this issue, Colin Gray expanded on the work of Snyder to offer that there

is a discernible U.S. strategic culture based on the national historical perception, self-characterization and “distinctly American experiences” (Gray 1981, 22). Gray believes that the American military experience from the Seven Years War until 1945 has created an environment where “strategy” is less important, and characterized as “alien” (Gray 1981, 30). Gray notes that debates over nuclear policy display the attributes of American “attitudes” and that these substantially affect the way nuclear policy is developed. Gray expands the bounds of Snyder’s strategic culture by reference to the range of American military experience, bringing the definition closer to the anthropological definition of culture.

The end of the Cold War challenged International Relations and security studies scholarship by demonstrating a case in which realism, and especially neorealism, was unable to provide a satisfactory explanation for the end of the Cold War. Consequently, there was an acknowledgement that the scope of International Relations was too narrow, and that the political, historical, economic, cultural and psychological aspects of inquiry had been limited (Nye and Lynn-Jones 1988, 6). A conference report on the “state of the field” in security studies observed that ethnocentrism and the lack of cultural differences was specifically identified as an intellectual problem in the field (Nye and Lynn-Jones 1988, 14). The increased awareness of culture as an explanatory element within international relations and security studies resulted in a continuation of the focus of study of the effects of historically substantial periods and their effects on modern decisions.

As Gray continues to point out, there is an inherent logic to the concept that culture is a lens that informs strategic decisions, and which can explain it “accurately enough to grasp the essentials of ‘the plot’ concerning strategic culture” (Gray 2006b, 1).

Another example of the expanded theme is the study by Allister Ian Johnston on Chinese strategic culture. Disregarding the methodological battle Johnston's book would create, the substance is to determine if the tenets of the Chinese *Seven Military Classics*, written between the fifth century BC and the tenth century AD, influenced the strategic calculus of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). Johnston found that the Seven Military Classics did influence the use of force by the Chinese during the period, but not in a specifically unique way as opposed to other states (Johnston 19995a, 248-249), and not in the way that Johnston expected. Regardless, Johnston feels confident enough in the evidence to state that strategic culture does exist and affects decisions in “non-trivial” ways (Johnston 1995a, 266). Interestingly, he does not see the *Seven Military Classics* as evident in the post-1947 China of Mao (Johnston 1995a, 254-257), and that reference to historical predilections to justify Communist Chinese concepts of nuclear deterrence may be justification by historical means (Johnston 1995a, 256).

The expanded theme has received a constant set of adherents such as Rasheed Uz Zaman (2009), who takes up the mantle of culture as an important determinant of understanding war despite the research inconsistencies. David McCraw (2011) positions the *real-politik* of Australia and emerging conception of global society in New Zealand, as well as the respective effects of such strategic cultures, on defense policies. The historical evolution of the strategic cultures of both states is directly responsible for their current security policies (McCraw 2011). Brice Harris (2008) analyzes the national level strategic culture in the problems experienced in the Iraq invasion. Harris posits the ineffectiveness of the course of the war with the United States' predisposition for technology as a substitute for strategy (Harris 2008, 2). He traces the American military

culture from its inception as focused on engineering and technology, from the emphasis on those skills in the United States Naval and Military Academies to the focus on technology in modern concepts such as net-centric warfare and the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA). It is the American national culture of engineering and the appeal of all things scientific that determines the culture within organizations, rather than the culture of the organization itself.

There are criticisms of the expanded theme and the usefulness of casting back across centuries for the classical foundations. For example, George Gilboy and Eric Heginbotham (2012) remain skeptical that a review of the Chinese and Indian classic military texts can present a picture of how those nations might be predisposed in the use of force. They note that the interpretation of classic texts change over time and in different historical contexts. “The classics themselves are embedded in complex literary traditions – no single text is a final authority (Gilboy and Heginbotham 2012, 36-37). The most their analysis offers is the pragmatism of the historical texts, which they consider an indication “to doubt unambiguous conclusions about unique preferences for action derived from a review of strategic thought and culture (Gilboy and Heginbotham 2012, 39).

This quick survey of the expanded theme is provided as a point of comparison to the explication of the narrow theme within the strategic culture scholarship. While the current research agrees with those who find the narrow approach more compelling, that should not mask the importance of the expanded theme to the study of strategic culture. The linkage of culture and warfare remain an important element in understanding how force is used, and when. The real issue under debate is how far back must history go to

create a strategic culture? The nature of the expanded theme is one that captures the imagination, but as Johnston offers in his research difficult to establish causality. The alternative theme in strategic culture is narrower in both scope and over time. Where the expanded theme considers the effect on the broadest definition of culture across extended periods of time, the focus of the narrow theme contracts both those elements. As its name implies, it focuses on a more limited instance of strategic culture and a shorter time scope. By so doing, it aligns more closely to the phenomenon observed by Snyder (1977). In answer to criticism of the strategic culture concept in a 2005 conference at the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, this dichotomy is identified as a problem within the concept. “Some of the most interesting current work on the topic takes a very narrow approach, looking within particular organizations rather than trying to characterize “national” cultures” (Stone, Twomey and Lavoy 2005). Twomey continued his focus on the narrow academic approach in a presentation at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting in 2006 in which he solidified his position that the more expansive claims of strategic culture were not supportable.

In contrast with the limited utility of work at the level of national strategy, other bodies of work are more promising. In some sense at a lower level, there is a body of work that looks at organizational cultures, rather than at national culture. These are used to explain operational or tactical preferences or tendencies, rather than the national level ways of war or grand strategy (Twomey 2007, 9).

The Twomey comment is particularly interesting and speaks to the desire within the current research to describe a national security apparatus as something akin to an organization.

As the expanded theme has generated a range of subject matter, the narrow theme has followed suite. For example, in research focused on military culture and escalation during World War Two, Jeffrey W. Legro (1994) uses culture to define the “beliefs and norms about the optimal means to fight wars,” arguing that such military culture is critical to how government considers when and where escalation is appropriate (Legro 1994, 111). Military organizational culture shapes strategic decisions, an element noted by Snyder, but not as inclusive as Gray’s cultural context.

Various aspects of strategic culture are explored in the 1996 volume edited by Peter J. Katzenstein (1996), a leading scholar in the constructivist tradition. The book “concentrates on two underattended determinants of national security policy: the cultural-institutional context of policy on the one hand, and the constructed identity of states, governments, and other political actors on the other” (Katzenstein 1996, 4). The chapters reflect a range of scholarship, some specifically related to strategic culture, others more focused on identities and the sources of the construction of those identities, one aspect of which is cultural. The chapters include an argument by Dana Eyre and Mark Suchman (1996) that advanced weapons procurements in the Third World are driven by “status” and “norms” rather than materially driven rationality. Such decisions are driven partly by the culture of institutions as well as the interaction with the wider international culture. Eyre and Suchman observe that the norms of international culture shape the strategic actions of states, an argument supported by Richard Price and Nina Tannenwald (1996) concerning the use of nuclear weapons. The same point is made by Martha Finnemore (1996) in her discussion of increasing international intervention for humanitarian objectives. “Standard analytic assumptions about states and other actors pursuing their

interests tend to leave the sources of interests vague or unspecified. The contention here is that international normative context shapes the interests of international actors and does so in both systematic and systemic ways” (Finnemore 1996, 154). The Katzenstein volume thus tries to remain close to the roots of culture within identity.

Another example of cultural influences on security studies is provided by a focus on institutional and organizational cultures and their effect on strategic issues. Kier provides a culturally based explanation for the military doctrine of France between the wars. “What the military perceives to be in its interest is a function of its culture. In short, by accounting for policy makers’ cultural environment, we can better explain choices between offensive and defensive military doctrines” (Kier 1996, 187). Beyond the organizational culture of the military or the national security organizations, Thomas Berger (1996) considers the effect of the cultural change brought upon by defeat in World War Two and foreign occupation for the culture of Japan and Germany, and the effect on security policy. Rather than consider the international environment, Berger focuses on the institutionalization of the experiences on the domestic political actors. For example, Thomas Berger (1996) notes the ability for strategic cultures in Japan and Germany to change after the shock of losing the Second World War. The debate over the nature of the evolution of change was of interest to Jeffrey S. Lantis (2002) in his review of strategic culture. He notes that strategic culture did not represent a paradigm shift and “that most supporters of strategic culture have adopted the more modest goal of ‘bringing culture back in’ to the study of national security policy” (Lantis 2002, 113). Lantis considers the compatibility between strategic culture and realism, and the integration of the two in extending the understanding of the national security apparatus (Lantis 2002, 113).

In this connection, Theo Farrell considers the role of strategic culture and its effect on the use of force to maintain the “American Empire” (Farrell 2005, 3). First, Farrell claims to be increasingly convinced of the “idea of a cultural system operating at the national level to shape a distinctly U.S. approach to the use of force” (Farrell 2005 8). This is an interesting comment, since it refers to a “cultural system” rather than a “strategic culture.” Are they different? Farrell continues to define strategic culture around the use of force. But what he is really discussing is not when the United States decides to *use* force to reach its objectives, but the *manner* in which Washington wages war once the decision has been made. Farrell’s focus on technological fetishism, casualty aversion and legal pragmatism are all attributes of the way the United States wages war, but not determinants of when it decides to go to war. Is the definition of strategic culture that malleable?

Secondly, Farrell extends the definition of strategic culture to include public beliefs and civil institutions as being on par with elites in the creation of strategic culture (Farrell 2005, 11). Again, the evidence as to the ability for the population to affect the decisions to go to war are varied, while evidence suggests that the public has greater influence over how a conflict is fought. This raises the question as to who are the “keepers” of strategic culture, of which Farrell is much more inclusive. “A focus on the beliefs of policy and military elites can tell much about the cultural biases that shape how the United States does and will use force (Farrell 2005, 13).

While providing insights into grand strategy, strategic culture has provided the narrower focus espoused by Christopher Twomey (2007). For example, Yee-kuang Heng (2012) provides a view into the ‘keepers’ of strategic culture “and how elites like (Tony)

Blair amend long-held strategic assumptions, especially when decision-making involves small groups of individuals” (Heng 2012, 556). He notes that globalization influenced the Blair government to adopt an increasingly interventionist bent (Heng 2012, 572). Focusing on the effects of the individual on the strategic culture of a nation, Dennis Merrill (2006) explains the historical effect of the Truman Doctrine through the evolution of Truman’s worldview. “The Truman administration addressed [Cold War fears] by fashioning a world order rooted in both a traditional balance of power and a set of forward –looking civilizational values” (Merrill 2006, 28). While offering that the doctrine, and those of other presidents to follow, was aimed at a domestic audience, the effect on the political culture was to focus on an expectation that the world is “fundamentally a dangerous place” (Merrill 2006, 37).

Norms and their effect on strategic culture development has been discussed in both national and trans-national contexts. The development of national norms for the use of force is directly tied to strategic culture for John Gentry (2011). He builds his case around the inculcation of two specific norms, casualty avoidance and force protection, as key elements of the culture of the United States military in the late twentieth century and into the twenty-first. These cultural attributes affected how the United States military fought, and advised its civilian leadership on usage (Gentry 2011, 212-216). Shared norms are thought to contribute to the establishment of a strategic culture within the European Union. “Strategic cultures in Europe have become more similar, albeit not across all the dimensions surveyed concerning the use of force” (Meyer 2006, 11). Christoph Meyer ties his findings to the changing norms within Europe, reflective of a “moderate constructivist position” (Meyer 2006, 5). More stridently, Asle Toje (2012)

considers the European Union in “clear possession” of the attributes required for the development of a strategic culture (Toje 2012, 19), though its actions versus its ideas and expectations are found wanting.

The role of elites is a burgeoning focus in strategic culture analysis, and of particular importance in emerging states where their roles are magnified in the absence of more coherent institutions. In a special issue of *Contemporary Security Policy* (Lantis 2014) focused on the strategic culture of the Asia-Pacific region, Lantis continues his interests in the “keepers of strategic culture.” Acknowledging the importance of elites to a state’s historical narrative, Lantis notes that the expectation that elites strive to maintain the status quo is not absolute (Lantis 2014, 174). Such a perspective mirrors the role of elites in Pakistan, or what Peter Lavoy (2005) refers to as “strategic myth makers.” The ability to change the strategic culture remains limited, as Renato Cruz De Castro identifies a small group of 400 families in the Philippines that “constitute the country’s politic-strategic elite” and are the primary way that strategic culture is transmitted generationally (De Castro 2014, 253). He credits their influence with maintaining an internal focus to Philippine security policy even as the government attempts to refocus to threats outside the country.

The “keepers” are not always the elites, especially in more developed states. For example, Nina Graeger and Halvard Leira identify the “keepers” of strategic culture in Norway as historians/academics, politicians/bureaucrats and officers/’friends of the military’ (Graeger and Leira 2005, 57). The politicians are local and do not necessarily reflect the perspective of the national government on matters pertaining to cross border issues with Russia (Graeger and Leira 2005, 50-51).

These examples of the narrow theme of strategic culture provide a much closer relationship between the culture described and the effect on actions and practice. The grand sweep of strategic culture developed in the strategic theme may be absent, but so are the intervening centuries that complicate the demonstration of strategic culture's influence.

The concept of strategic culture is not without its internal debates and its detractors. Debates over methodology as well as the concept's place amongst international relations' theoretical landscape have been questioned. As in all discussions of culture, strategic culture has been afforded a wide range of definitions, though not nearly as many of the 170 that imbue the concept of "culture" as listed by Kroeber and Kuchln (1952). One would expect that the number of definitions for culture have not declined in the intervening sixty years.

The debate over definitions generally follows the expanded/narrow divide. The definitions of strategic culture are, at a minimum, compatible with each other, if not similar. The expanded theme as described by Colin Gray includes definitions that are predicated on his concept of strategic culture as 'context.' Since all people and organizations are social entities, they reflect the cultures in which they operate, and make decisions based on the cultures that imbue them as social beings. As Theo Farrell analyzes, "for Gray, separating out the components of strategy, and strategic ideas from action, is artificial and meaningless" (Farrell 1998, 408).

Such an all-encompassing definition presented by scholars within the "culture as context" group creates problems for the study of strategic culture, according to Alastair Iain Johnston (1995b). He identifies two primary problems in the deterministic nature of

“strategic culture as context” and the implication that the public and decision makers share a strategic culture; more broadly, that a state has a single strategic culture (Johnston 1995a, 8). Johnston is looking for a definition that is falsifiable in order to meet the positivist test for empirical analysis. “The utility of strategic culture as an analytic concept disappears rapidly without an effort to test for its effects on strategic behavior” (Johnston 1995b, 52). The definition that Johnston develops has the elements required for empirical research. Noting the influence of Geertz (1974), an interesting choice given that authors association with “thick description” and his negative views of positivism, Johnston offers that the definition of strategic culture is still broad in scope even if this definition supports the objective of determining the effect of strategic culture as an independent variable, and thus separable from non-strategic variables and the dependent variable (Johnston 1995a, 36).

The distinction between strategic culture and strategic behavior set by Johnston garnered a response from Gray who considered it “seriously in error” (Gray 2006a, 152), if for the laudable objective of developing tests for strategic culture. That there are aspects of strategic thought that are not influenced by culture is inconsistent with Gray’s concept that strategic culture both shapes and is a “constituent” of the strategic behavior (Gray 2006a, 151). However methodologically progressive, Gray considers Johnston’s attempt to consider culture distinct from behavior ill-formed (Gray 2006a, 154).

Observers of the debate find utility in both perspectives. Farrell offers that Gray describes a concept that provides a cultural context for state behavior writ large, while Johnston posits a narrower method for linking culture as a cause of state behavior (Farrell 1998, 408). Stuart Poore (2003), who supports the “strategic culture as context” school,

sees the usefulness of Johnston's conceptualization for his own research (Poore 2003, 280). Subsequent scholarship has followed the Gray prescription more than the methodology of Johnston. As will be discussed, the scope of strategic culture studies has continued along the lines demonstrated in Katzenstein's compendium, and few have used the more positivist influenced, falsifiable methodology suggested by Johnston.³

Criticism of strategic culture has not been confined to internal discussions of the concept. Michael C. Desch (1998) is representative of such criticism. He offers that strategic culture, or any culturally based theory, could not replace realism, but only offer a supplement (Desch 1998, 142). In the broad research program of culturalism, Desch offers that to provide a convincing case that cultural factors should supplant realism requires the study of "hard cases," that Desch considers "crucial tests that enable us to distinguish which theories are better" (Desch 1998, 158).

Reactions to Desch's article elicited a wide range of responses. John S. Duffield notes a number of imprecisions on the part of Desch in his characterization of the debate and his realist bias, including a question as to the definition of "hard case" (Duffield, Farrell, Price and Desch 1999, 159). Attention to identifying cultural variables and rigorous testing are hallmarks of current culturalist scholarship according to Theo Farrell, and the characterization of the culturalist research program that Desch provides is flawed (Duffield, Farrell, Price and Desch 1999, 168). Richard Price challenges Desch's assumption of realism's superiority. "This conception of social science, like the realist

³ I'm indebted to Andrew Scobell, PhD, for this insight. Paola Rosa (2014) is a notable exception.

conception of world politics, is one of confrontation: a zero-sum game where there is room for one, and only one, theory that must be declared the “best” and “prevail”” (Duffield, Farrell, Price and Desch 1999, 169).

While Desch may be guilty of a realist bias, the debate over positivist methods in strategic cultural research reflects points raised by Johnston. If the goal of scientific research is inference (King, Keohane and Verba 1994, 7) and the path to that is through the accumulation of cases, the research program of strategic culture within the expanded theme presents too wide a range of definitions and research agendas to accumulate enough data to build a unitary model. Yet the concept moved on from the methodological debate. If the usefulness of the concept can be established by the continuance of the research program rather than through agreement over research methods, strategic culture’s viability has continued in the subsequent two decades.

Though the debates regarding methodology continued, the research program came to accept the presence of strategic culture, and focus explanation on its effect on state behavior. Thus, in Carl G. Jacobsen’s (1990) edited comparison of the strategic culture of the U.S. and USSR, Booth assumes the presence of strategic culture and that it affected behavior.

A strategic culture defines a set of patterns of and for a nation’s behavior on war and peace issues. It helps shape but does not determine how a nation interacts with others in the security field. Other explanations (e.g., technological push) play a greater or lesser role in particular circumstances. Strategic culture helps shape behavior on such issues as the use of force in international politics, sensitivity to external dangers, civil-military relations and strategic doctrine. As a result of continuities in these matters, it is legitimate

to talk about a particular national ‘style’ in the theory and practice of strategy (Booth1990, 121).

With the “cultural turn” in international relations scholarship as evidenced by the argument of Katzenstein (1996) and as embodied in constructivism as articulated by Martha Finnemore and Katheryn Sikkink (2001), endlessly debating the presence of culture is less interesting than accepting its presence and researching the extent of its effects on the behavior of states. The acceptance of Jacobsen’s assumption on the existence of strategic culture allow subsequent scholarship to focus on whether the concept is immutable and established over the long history of a nation, or could change, and how rapid the pace of such change.

The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have increased interest in cultural issues related to the planning and conduct of operations in the contexts of those conflicts. While “culture” has become a commonly used term inside the United States national security apparatus, the focus has been on the understanding of the cultures associated with the operational environment; how the “culture” of a Pashtun village in Afghanistan should be leveraged to support local warfighting needs. Likewise, in a report from the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff on the planning and conduct of the wars, lack of cultural understanding hindered operations (Joint and Coalition Operations Analysis 2012). Contrast this usage with the broader issues reflected in the strategic culture literature where “traditions, values, attitudes, patterns of behavior, habits, symbols, achievements and particular ways of adapting to the environment “(Booth 1990,121) influence how states design military doctrine or procure military hardware. The increased reference to

culture in regard to the U.S. military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan is substantively different than strategic culture.

Returning to the primary strategic culture literature, the Naval Postgraduate School Center for Contemporary Conflict conducted a workshop on Comparative Strategic Cultures in 2005. The conference discussions resulted in a number of observations that indicate a research program beset by problems. The danger of “superficial stereotypes” was highlighted as a continued concern in the field where “it remains profoundly difficult to make objective statements about a particular country or group.” The use of an “analytically weak” definition would be too vague to alleviate such concerns and could make them worse. The malleability of culture was considered by academics and policymakers as a detriment to policy prediction. A wide range of narratives could be used by elites to further political gains. Such narratives would not reflect a strategic culture developed over time, but the expedient needs of current elites to frame a narrative supportive of their near-term objectives. If strategic culture as a concept is mercurial, then scholars will place less weight on it as a vehicle for the prediction of state behavior.

In this connection, John Glenn (2009) admits that the field lacks a “level of coherency” that is assumed by its proponents (Glenn 2009, 530), and offers an alternative approach to the research. He identifies four core concepts of strategic culture: epiphenomenal strategic culture; conventional constructivist; a post-structuralist concept and an interpretive conception (Glenn 2009, 531). He posits that attempts by strategic culturalists to reconcile with neoclassical realists may be misplaced and that the positioning of the concepts as a competition does not account for the commonalities

between strategic culture and realism (Glenn 2009, 545). Glen considers that common methodologies between epiphenomenal/ constructivists and neoclassical realists may result in fruitful endeavors that integrate material factors and non-material considerations in international relations (Glenn 2009, 545). Despite these criticisms of the concept, strategic culture continues to draw academic and policymaker interest across a wide range of topics reminiscent of previous stages.

A major observation of the literature review is the lack of research on emerging states, and especially sub-Saharan Africa. Most of the literature focuses on the major world power, which should not be a surprise considering the concept's genesis during the Cold War. Early in the history of strategic culture's development, non-Cold War confrontation states were included based on their nuclear ability. The end of the Cold War did enlarge the scope of research, especially outside the nuclear context. For example, George Tanham (1992) harkened back to the original concept of Snyder and Gray to describe the Indian worldview. The unique, but not immutable "strategic Culture in the Asia-pacific Region" was explored by Desmond Ball (1993). Xavier Carim (1995) evokes strategic culture as an explanation for South Africa's post-Cold War security sector, but almost as an afterthought. Strategic culture provides some insight into the negotiating style of North Korea, but is not as compelling an explanation as structural issues for Scott Snyder (2000). Indian strategic culture is further discussed by Kanti Bajpai (2001) who argues for an Indian strategic culture results from the juxtaposition of three strategic articulations. Rajesh Basrur (2001) uses strategic culture to frame the Indian nuclear policy and strategy, describing a sophisticated concept and following it through post-independence Indian history. He notes that strategic culture "as an

intermediate structure supplements rather than undermines the neorealist concept of system structure” (Basrur 2001, 196). The use of weapons procurement data provides a window into South Korean strategic culture for Victor Cha (2001) who considers strategic culture an indicator rather than a determinant of future action. Marcin Zaborowski and Kerry Longhurst (2003) focus on Poland’s historical victimization as the basis for strategic culture. These examples represent as wide a range of strategic culture perceptions as do the majority literature.

A significant contribution to this stage in the strategic culture literature is made by the edited volume by Ken Booth and Russell Trood: *Strategic Cultures in the Asia-Pacific Region* (1999). The volume considers the strategic cultures of a wide range of states within the area of interest, from China and Japan to Singapore and Myanmar. Booth and Trood designed the work to be comparative, and to that end included a specific template for contributors to follow. The result is an effort that captures a wide range of strategic culture types, and allows for the identification of commonalities across the different types of states. Most importantly for the current work, the inclusion of small states, especially juxtaposed to major powers, provides important insights into the unique strategic culture of those nations.

Regarding the strategic culture of the small states included in the volume (Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore) William T. Tow (1999) identifies some unique aspects. Layered across his analysis that states in the Asia-Pacific area use strategic culture to reinforce legitimacy (Tow 1999, 324), he identifies the need for strategic culture as a mechanism for smaller states to bolster their cultural identity (Tow 1999, 325). With the proximity of a major power in

the form of China, he notes that for the smaller states, “power flowing from identity and tradition matter more than geography or material resources” (Tow 1999, 326). The needs of a strategic culture are, then, directly linked with the national identity of the small state, and become part of its legitimization, both to an external and internal audience. Such analysis is consistent with previous scholarship, especially considering the focus on identity of Katzenstein (1996), and has certain implications for the strategic culture of small states. Most notably in our case, are the conditions of small states in Asia extant in sub-Saharan Africa?

While the situations in Asia and Africa are not analogous, there are elements of similarity. Sub-Saharan Africa lacks a hegemon such as China, and the attendant history with the major regional power. There are local hegemons in western Africa, Nigeria, and in southern Africa, South Africa, but the relationships between the surrounding states do not mirror those in Asia. Of greater interest is Tow’s observation on the role of strategic culture to reinforce legitimacy. Establishing a regime’s claim to govern a state is an important part of maintaining power and gaining international recognition. As in Asia, demonstrating a strategic culture may have some importance to establishing legitimacy for a new regime in sub-Saharan Africa.

The place of norms within strategic culture has implications for the concept’s study in sub-Saharan Africa. If a non-state actor with a limited history can develop a strategic culture, then the scope of historical experience does not demand an ancient heritage. Additionally, emerging states are affected by the international environments in which they live, and may reflect a degree of norm transference regarding strategic culture from a range of sources, including former colonial powers.

The more local nature of norms notwithstanding, there is little consideration of the unique circumstances for the development of strategic culture in the emerging states in Asia and Africa. Rather, the tendency is to impose the concept on states without regard to the nuances of the local situation. Strategic culture in the United States is not different from the strategic culture in Turkey. The result is that much of the strategic culture scholarship is not greatly different from that of the developed world.

The inter-relationship between norms and history can be found in Malik Mufti's (2009) assertion that the external focus of neorealist theory does not explain the Turkish security policy, but must be found in the "historically conditioned paradigmatic beliefs, values and symbols that shape how decision-makers perceive the security and well-being of their polity" (Mufti 2009, 3). His look at Turkish strategic culture is holistic, in that he does not focus on a single level of analysis, but considers the effect of historical and cultural trends on organizations such as the Turkish military as well as its effects on elites.

An interesting perspective regarding the strategic culture of small states is offered in the research conducted for a special issue of *Cooperation and Conflict* (2005) focused on the Nordic region. The issue's editors, Iver Neumann and Henrikki Heikka, base their concept of strategic culture on two premises. The first is that regardless of the strategic culture "generation" (after Johnston), "culture" is reified. Such is the result of strategic culture research being uninformed with recent scholarship on culture in the social sciences, especially anthropology and sociology (Neumann and Heikka 2005, 6). As an alternative methodology, the special issue uses practice theory as the basis for defining strategic culture. This "practice turn" does not change the nature of the attributes on

which strategic culture is determined (Howlett and Glenn 2005, 121-122), but as the discussions of strategic culture in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland demonstrate, practice theory provides a powerful, empirically based understanding of strategic culture.

The focus of Lantis on the keepers of strategic culture is particularly germane to an exploration of strategic culture in emerging states. One of the primary attributes of culture is the passing of it across generations. Following a war of independence or a civil war, how is that done? The new leaders of the state may have been guerrillas prior to victory; do they have a strategic culture to pass down? While some small states such as Sweden or Vietnam can harken back (or convincingly construct) a historical narrative, can the same be said for a sub-Saharan state? If history is a major source of strategic culture, what happens if the new state regime has a different historical perspective than the previous one?

There is a notable lack of scholarship on strategic culture in Africa. Some limited attempts have been made (Vrey 2009a, 2009b) and there has been some research into a broadened concept called “security culture” that includes policing (Haacke and Williams 2008, Kasaija 2013) but a focus on sub-Saharan Africa has been lacking. Regarding smaller states in general, while there has been some focus on the Asia-Pacific region as demonstrated by Booth and Trood, as well as Lantis’s recent effort, they tend to be in an area of high interest, represented by almost anything having to do with China. Scholarship concerning the small states of Europe has been periodic as well. The strategic culture of South America has been addressed in a series of monographs by Florida International University as part of an academic partnership with the U.S. Southern Command (Trinkunas 2009), but there has been little beyond that effort. As we have

seen, research into the strategic culture of smaller states has identified some elements unique to their particular circumstances, like the effect of victimization on Poland and Pakistan, and the place of elites as keepers of strategic culture (Philippines and Pakistan). For sub-Saharan Africa specifically, there has yet to be a focus on the unique circumstances of strategic culture development.

As a concept, strategic culture requires a measure of history to be operationalized. Regardless of whether the period of history covers centuries as the scholars of the expanded theme would argue, or the narrower focus of an individual's history as the definition Snyder imbues to the Soviet nuclear planner, history matters. But there must be a mechanism beyond that simple admonition. In what way does history inculcate itself into culture, and more specifically the specific culture of a national security apparatus? The present research argues that history manifests itself in strategic culture through path dependence, and specifically through a path dependence of characterized by increasing returns established through cumulative effects, after Paul Pierson (2004). As with strategic culture there are a number of competing conceptualizations of path dependence. There is also an assumption that must be accepted to fully meld the two concepts.

Path dependence represents a generalizable model for institutional development (Boas 2007, 33). For the purposes of this study, the national security apparatus will be considered an institution and strategic culture its "institutional culture." This claim is not foreign to the strategic culture discussion as it reflects the argument of the constructivist wing of the concept. The members of the national security apparatus develop over time the "ideas, norms, knowledge, culture, and argument (in national security affairs), stressing in particular the role of collectively held or 'intersubjective' ideas and

understanding on social life” (Finnemore and Sikkink 2001, 392). Many descriptions of strategic culture appear similar to those of institutions. As John Duffield (2007) has paraphrased Wendt (1999), “constructivists regard institutions as fundamentally ideational phenomena involving ideas that are shared by members of a collectivity.” Strategic culture describes those ideas shared by a state’s national security apparatus. That apparatus will be slightly different for each state, but will include the military and the civilian decision-making structure. In the U.S., that apparatus would be the president, the NSC, the IC, the military, State, congress, and a broad category of influencers that have some effect, but not directly on a decision. There are some natural affinities of national security apparatus as an institution to the concept of “keepers” of strategic culture espoused by Lantis.

There are specific criticisms of such a view of the national security apparatus actually holding to the concept of institutions. Issues of membership and established rules are challenges that need to be addressed, as well as the place of other viewpoints within the decision process.⁴ Yet, for the purposes of this research, the assumption of the national security apparatus and strategic culture as an institution provides an important element of the argument.

Path Dependence

Path dependence is a concept that political science has borrowed from economics. In its purest form, it relates current actions to previous actions. As explained by Jack Goldstone:

⁴ I am indebted to Dr. Lantis for his views on this issue.

Path dependence is a property of a system such as the outcome over a period is not determined by any set of initial conditions. Rather, a system that exhibits path dependency is one in which outcomes are related stochastically to initial conditions, and the particular outcome that obtains in any given “run” of a system depends on choices or outcomes of intermediate events between initial conditions and the outcome” (Goldstone 1998, 834.)

The initial development of the concept is derived from the economic history example of the QWERTY typewriter keyboard and its sustained popularity over more efficient examples (David, 1985,1986). The compelling analogy is the Polya urn scheme used by Arthur et al (1983) to display the generalizability of the concept. An urn contains four balls of different colors. A single ball is removed, and replaced by two balls of the same color. The process continues until the urn is full. The first color chosen will have a distinct advantage, but does not guarantee a particular outcome since subsequent choices will affect the outcome. Goldstone notes that such problems do not show outcome determination since the final count depends on the sequence of chosen colors (Goldstone 1998, 834). Pierson observes that the accumulation of effects creates “a powerful cycle of self-reinforcing activity (Pierson 2004, 18).

The translation of path dependence from politics and political institutions seems a natural extension of the concept. In both political science (Pierson 2000) and sociology (Mahoney 2000), path dependence argues for positive feedback to maintain constancy through self-reinforcing mechanisms. Since the critical path concept championed stasis over change, Herman Schwartz offered that change was thus the result of critical junctures (Schwartz 2017, 4-6). Two other mechanisms to explain change were proposed by Thelen (2003) in conversion, when an institution would change through repurposing, and layering in which change occurs over time incrementally as new regulations and

practices are added to old (Thelen 2003; Schickler 2001). By integrating increasing returns, conversion and layering into a concept called the composite-standard model, Boas offers that a more accurate description is possible, and one based on the analogy of the Internet vice QWERTY (Boas 2007 51-52).

Paul Pierson in 2004 offered a different path, in a way integrating the incremental approach of layering into his original interpretation of path dependence. As such, this draws a sharp distinction between two themes within the theory. One is the study of reactive sequences, in which events are identified within a sequence that leads to a specific outcome, and from which the initial historical event in the sequence “must have properties of contingency” (Mahoney 2000, 509). A contingent event is one whose presence could not have been theoretically predicted, and thus establishes a historical “breakpoint” (Mahoney 2000, 527). The alternative explanation is described as self-reinforcing sequences. Pierson has adopted this theoretical branch for the study of politics. The steps in a sequence reinforce each other so that the cost of change is prohibitive. “In the presence of positive feedback, the probability of further steps along the path increases with each move down the path” (Pierson 2004, 21). It is the cumulation of different decisions across time that creates the path. The claim of the current paper is that participation in regional peacekeeping is the product of just such self-reinforcing behavior in a state’s decisions to use force.

Path dependence is not a new concept, nor has it been totally absent from the discussion of strategic culture. Thomas Banchoff referred to path dependence in his discussion of the centrality of the ‘German Question’ in post-war European and world politics (Banchoff 1999). Lantis highlighted the use of path dependence by Banchoff to

demonstrate the flexibility of the strategic culture concept (Lantis 2002, 100). Most recently, in the concluding chapter of a special issue of *Contemporary Security Policy* on strategic cultures and security policies of the Asia-Pacific, David Haglund advocated for path dependence as the “next generation” in strategic culture research (Haglund 2014). Haglund builds on the work of Pierson who has argued for the utility of path dependence in comparative politics, and especially the importance of positive feedback to reinforce actions taken and institutions designed to the point where the cost of change is prohibitive (Pierson 2004). Haglund then extends path dependence as a means to use history to present strategic culture as more “policy-relevant” (Haglund 2014, 319).

Path dependence is particularly germane to the decision-making of elites in emerging states. Scholarship indicates that in more complex scenarios, an individual’s “mental map” biases the decision (Pierson 2000, 259). “Once established, basic outlooks on politics, ranging from ideologies to understandings of particular aspects of governance or orientations toward political groups or parties are generally tenacious. They are path dependent” (Pierson 2000, 260).

Institutional development in emerging states suffers from colonial legacies and lack of resources, hence their ability to reach full operating capacity is limited. Combined with rapid government change through conflict, there is little stability to sub-Saharan institutions or the creation of an institutional culture. In the absence of a long history to draw upon, and the stable institutions that can transfer that history to subsequent generations, translating what works into how institutions are developed aids in the creation of institutions which codify state behaviors. What has, and has not, been successful becomes the basis for what will come next. These previous decisions influence

how subsequent decisions get made, and get institutionalized in a state's security apparatus. As Pierson notes, it is not necessarily the "big" events that influence future actions, but the accumulation of smaller actions (Pierson 2000, 263). Of greater importance is not historical precedent "but the unfolding of processes over time" (Pierson 2000, 264), that creates the institutional environment in which decisions are made. Each event in a path dependent sequence influences the next. In self-reinforcing sequences, the positive feedback to the decision makers of their actions suggest continued selection of a particular course of action, until the opportunity to choose an alternative course of action becomes difficult or impossible.

Accepting the assumption of strategic culture as an institution, the path dependence of Pierson provides an important mechanism for history to influence how strategic culture develops. Regardless of the historical period, events over time will influence strategic culture. The horrors of the Russian experience in the Second World War affected the Soviet nuclear planners as much as the decision in the Ming dynasty to shape their strategy using the *Seven Military Classics* consolidated in the Song dynasty a hundred years previously (Johnston 1995a, 46).

Peacekeeping

Participation in peacekeeping operations, and especially regional peacekeeping, is an area of continuing scholarly interest since the 1990s. Most peacekeeping scholarship has focused on the execution of peacekeeping operations as well as the place of peacekeeping within conflict resolution. Even as recently as 2007, Oldrich Bures was lamenting that there was yet to be common agreed upon definition of the phenomenon (Bures 2007, 408-411). Research into which states participate in peacekeeping

operations are increasing, and this section will present an overview of the concepts for state participation in peacekeeping. The intent is to place the expectations for participation decisions of the two countries in the case study within the context of the current theories.

In the midst of the re-emergence of peacekeeping activity after the end of the Cold War, Laura Neack (1995) researched the Cold War instances of peacekeeping and found that the Liberal IR theories were less compelling than the Realist school in explaining peacekeeping operations. Bures offers that the change in the make-up of UN troop contributing states meant that the Realist theories for participation could not remain operative (Bures 2007, 424). Other factors have been identified and form the majority of the thought leadership on this process. Vincenzo Bove and Leandro Elia have offered a number of reasons for peacekeeping participation based on their quantitative research (Bove and Elia 2011). They find that participation is linked to geographic proximity to the conflict and threats of spill-over; that poorer states will take advantage of the remuneration of peacekeeping operations; the higher the threat, the more likely the participation; the greater the humanitarian consequences the greater the expectation of participation; and the fewer the number of concurrent operations will increase the possibility of participation (Bove and Elia 2011, 707-712). Bove and Elia provide the most cogent argument for the “mercenaryization” of UN peacekeepers through the provision of remuneration for participation. The allure of economic benefit as a private good was also highlighted in the research of Gaibulloev et al, who considered this an especially important element for poor countries (Gaibulloev et al 2015, 728). Jonah Victor (2010) looked at circumstances of African states. He found that the high

authoritarianism did not result in peacekeeping operation deployments as a diversionary tactic to curry favor with the military, and that less repressive states contributed more often (Victor 2010, 226). He also notes that states with lower GDP per capita are likely to participate, and that states with lower levels of state legitimacy also contribute more often and with higher numbers (Victor 2010, 227). Yet the reasons proffered by the above research would indicate that Tanzania should be as enthusiastic as Uganda to participate. The previous explanations of peacekeeping participation are heavily influenced by economic justifications, the observations of Victor concerning authoritarian states notwithstanding. The alternative theme identifies non-economic motivations. While there is no unitary explanation for participation decisions, the current research finds these explanations provide greater insight into why developing states consider peacekeeping participation. Victor's identification of less authoritarian states participating and the higher instances of participation with states with lower levels of legitimacy provide a step off into the theme of non-economic participation. Peacekeeping contributions are also influenced by the commonality of foreign policy outlooks by other participants, as observed by Ward and Dorussen (Ward and Dorussen 2016, 393). They consider that peacekeeping provides private and public produced good to the international community, and that the place of the state in the network of peacekeeping participants matters. As importantly, they note that "insufficient attention has been given to the political motives behind peacekeeping" (Ward and Dorussen 2016, 394). Other research supports such assessment as Bellamy and Williams offer that financial gains claimed by research do not match empirical data (Bellamy and Williams 2013, 10) and Coleman notes the small troop contributions usually made by developing states (Coleman 2013). Along with trade

ties, not direct economic benefit, Rost and Grieg demonstrate that ethnic and even colonial relationships influence peacekeeping mission participation (Rost and Grieg 2011).

The literature of motivations for peacekeeping participation presents both an economic and non-economic track. With Coleman's observation of the small number of troops usually supplied by developing states, there is room for strategic culture to enter the conversation. It does provide the context for how strategic culture fits into the non-economic track of peacekeeping research. As such, this short review of motivations for participations establishes the landscape on which the argument for the current research is based.

Conceptual Framework

The literature identified above describes three ideas: strategic culture, path dependence, and peacekeeping participation decisions. This section will show how the three are integrated together in a conceptual framework that articulates the model on which the study is based. As Joseph Maxwell reminds us, the conceptual framework is a critical element of the research design as it refers "to the actual ideas and beliefs you hold about the phenomena studied" (Maxwell 2013, 39).

As previously discussed, decisions concerning participation in peacekeeping operations are influenced by a wide array of factors. Amongst the economic and non-economic motivations for peacekeeping participation lies a combination of factors that influence the national security apparatus. Which factors are most important will depend on the nature of the state and its national security elites. But the factors described in the literature do not benefit from a historical context. For example, factors such as GDP and

levels of legitimacy are descriptors of the states at the time of the decision. It is more likely that participation decisions will be considered within the continuum of action and activity that is occurring or has occurred within the experience of the elites.

History as exemplified by the path dependence of Pearson creates a context based on past decisions that influence current choices. The positive feedback of previous decisions will temper current decisions, for, as May and Neustadt have demonstrated, decision makers will tend to look for compelling analogies that can guide their deliberations. The most powerful analogies will be ones in which the decision maker has been involved. Thus, current decisions are influenced by the historical context.

Path dependence offers more than just an argument that precedent influences. It also offers that past decisions constrain and restrain current options in the results of the previous decision. Past decisions will result in creating circumstances in which only certain decisions are now available to the decision makers. Should a state decide to only build an army, and provide for a small littoral naval capability, that will remove the option of open ocean or naval expeditionary operations. Strategic culture embodies those factors that path dependence has established over time and inculcated into the national security apparatus.

Consider strategic culture and the decision calculus within the construct of system architecture, as demonstrated by Figure 1 below. The position of strategic culture at the bottom of the graphic identifies it as the platform on which the rest of the system is built. As provided for in the definition of strategic culture provided above, the emphasis is on how the elements of strategic culture affect the members of the national security apparatus. The strategic culture provides those members with a historically based bias.

Strategic culture thus provides the lens through which the factors in the middle layer of Figure 1 are considered, which then renders a decision on participation.

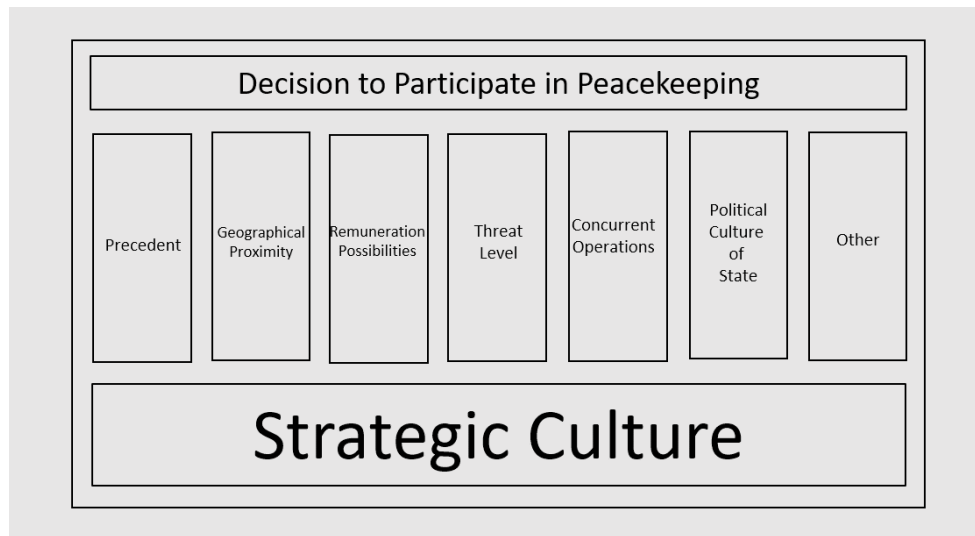


Figure 1. System Architecture View of Decision Calculus for Peacekeeping Participation

Such a representation can be interpreted as presenting strategic culture as the primary determinant of decisions. There is no claim to such primacy in this research or that strategic culture is the most important or determinant factor. That level of influence would be counter to the literature and logic. Rather, the result of strategic culture is that decision makers are constrained by their own experiences/outlooks and restrained by decisions already made. In the words of Swidler (1986), the decisions open to the state represent a toolbox, but with only particular types of tools represented. In another evocative concept, strategic culture defines the *repertoire* of national security decisions about war that are acceptable at a particular point of time.

The use of history and its effect upon strategic culture appears oddly similar whether the subject is French and British policy (Kier 1996, 1997) or Latin America (Trinkunas 2009). If norms do influence strategic culture, and we accept that they change

over time, the perception of the historical effect on strategic culture will change. As Swidler (1986) described with her “tool-box” analogy and Charles Kupchan (1994) continued with the constraining effects of strategic culture on decision-maker options, strategic culture sets the repertoire of actions available to decisions-makers in their deliberations of when to use force. As Charles Tilly and Lesley Wood describe repertoires in social actions, they reflect time, place and accepted norms of protest actions (Tilly and Wood 2013, 5). For example, the 1960s activist tactic of the “sit-in” would not be understood, or applicable, given the acceptable methods of Nineteenth century social activism. Likewise, strategic culture constrains the use of nuclear weapons today, different from the acceptable strategic repertoire in 1945.

Within the context of strategic culture, such a repertoire is exemplified by the change in acceptance concerning the use of chemical weapons since the First World War. Unrestricted use of chemical weapons was an acceptable tool of war in the Western trenches. Yet in the years following, the acceptance of such tactics declined to the point where the use of chemical weapons is considered unacceptable today. The “tool” remains in the national security kit bag, but the repertoire of conflict in the early twenty-first century constrains its use. While the capability may exist, the “tool” has essentially been removed from the decision maker’s toolbox (Legro 1994).

Strategic culture therefore informs the repertoire of national security decisions. In considering the strategic culture of developing countries in Africa, what historical experiences and norms does a new leader in a sub-Saharan African state bring with him? After fighting for ten years in the bush, the new leader now has to govern. What does he bring with him as a strategic culture? African states have been subject to high levels of

conflict and governmental turnover. Accepting that each new government will create a historical narrative supportive of their cause (Geertz 1973, 244; Huntington (1968)2006, 311-312; Katzenstein 1996, 23), how can a strategic culture be established and “kept” if the historical record of which it is comprised is changed to conform to a new narrative? Or is the “history” required for strategic culture development not defined in centuries, but in years?

Strategic culture is thus a combination of attributes that influence a state’s decision making on national security matters. It is manifested in several ways, and those manifestations are the “keepers” of the concept over time. Of particular importance in the concept of strategic culture is history. That historically based analogies are central to government decision making is well documented (Neustadt and Mays 1986), but the role of history in the development and maintenance of strategic culture is a cornerstone of the concept. One of the central ideas is that the martial history of a people or state is reflected in succeeding generations. It is carried forward by the “keepers” of strategic culture that Lantis identifies, and determine not only how a state fights but why and when. It is thus interesting that the historically based concept of path dependence, transferred successfully between economics and political science, has not been more prevalent in the research on strategic culture. Perhaps there is some reticence among scholars concerned over criticism of strategic culture as deterministic. Others may not be as willing to accept the “historical turn” in political science that Rogers M. Smith argues as the “culmination of the methods of social science” vice “a surrender” to historical narrative (Smith 1996, 148). History and causal explanations are not mutually exclusive.

The conceptual framework provides the rationale for the research design. Accepting the assumption that strategic culture exists, per Jacobson (1990), the research question seeks to understand the specific nature of the strategic cultures in developing states that have a notably short “history,” open to manipulation as well as interpretation. By understanding the manifestations of strategic culture and the keepers, a better view of the repertoire of the national security apparatus may provide greater insight into how strategic culture influences the decision to participate in peacekeeping operations.

CHAPTER III - METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH APPROACH

Introduction and Overview

This study is a small-N study of strategic culture in sub-Saharan Africa.

Comparing the development of strategic culture in Uganda and Tanzania, this study argues for the presence of strategic culture in the decision calculus of these countries as they considered participation in the AMISOM in 2007. Two research questions guide this study: first, do post-conflict/newly independent states have a strategic culture; and second, if the answer is yes, how does strategic culture manifest itself in the decision calculus for peacekeeping participation? Current theories on emerging state's participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations favor a combination of three explanations: domestic imperatives, monetary incentives and "a perceived need to perform political signaling" (Sotomayor 2014, 22). Both Uganda and Tanzania are emerging sub-Saharan states for which Sotomayor's logic for peacekeeping participation would apply, and thus their participation in AMISOM would be expected. In the event one did (Uganda) and the other did not. A qualitative design is employed as the research is focused on the 'why' and the 'how' of strategic culture's affect upon state decision-making.

This chapter will discuss the use of qualitative inquiry to address these research questions, as well as provide a rationale for the use of case studies. The method for selection of the cases will be described since the importance of case selection in small-N research is a critical element in research design. A description of the information required to be collected will precede how the information was acquired and analyzed. Ethical considerations are discussed pertaining to interview protocols. Issues of study

trustworthiness and limitations examine the weaknesses of the research design and how they are mitigated, followed by a summary.

Methodology

To determine the presence of strategic culture in Uganda and Tanzania, an assessment was conducted of attributes derived from the Booth (1990) definition of the concept: traditions, values, attitudes, patterns of behavior, habits, symbols, achievements, and “particular ways.” These attributes build on factors identified by Booth and Trood (1999) and discussed by Lantis (2014) that characterize strategic culture. The use of these attributes provides a framework of strategic culture to determine if postulated sources of the concept result in presence. The assumption of strategic culture is obviated by the circumstances of many emerging states in sub-Saharan Africa, accordingly, an appraisal of strategic culture presence is a key first step in this research.

In conformance with Bruce Berg, qualitative research is optimal for helping understand “the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things” (Berg 2009, 3). To Donna della Porta and Michael Keating, a “qualitative method is any method that is not quantitative [which is] strictly any method involving numbers” (della Porta and Keating 2012, 354). While somewhat glib, such a distinction is not trivial. The attributes derived from the Booth definition do not lend themselves to quantification in any meaningful way. While some aspects of the political interactions of people can be described by statistical methods and models, too often the aggregation and substitution of proxies for the preferred variables result in broad inferences that are unenlightening. King, Keohane and Verba acknowledge that qualitative methods can “provide an insightful description to complex events” and “if

quantification produces precision, it does not necessarily encourage accuracy, since inventing quantitative indexes that do not relate closely to concepts or events that we purport to measure can lead to serious measurement error and problems of causal inference” (King, Keohane and Verba 1994, 44).

Qualitative methods have demonstrated their usefulness in comparative research. Mahoney notes that qualitative methods are no longer the technique of “last resort, but are used to address questions of interest in comparative politics through the unique advantages inherent in qualitative methods” (Mahoney 2007, 122). Large quantitative studies can identify general overviews, but qualitative research encompasses country differences and “the complexity and more profound nature of the issues studied” (Gomez and Kuronen 2011, 694). Charles Ragin also considers the primacy of qualitative methods in comparative research, noting that “comparative work is one branch of contemporary American social science that accords high status to the qualitative analysis of a small number of cases” (Ragin 2014, 17).

The result of these observations is that strategic culture is best explained through the “rich causal insights qualitative researchers may gain from thick analysis” (Collier, Brady and Seawright 2004, 255). The importance of history to strategic culture suggests a qualitative research design. As Tilly notes, historical, and thus qualitative, explanations are key to understanding political processes (Tilly 2006, 420). Such an approach builds upon the existing strategic culture literature that is informed by qualitative methods. The comparative case study method between two states is employed in this study to access the complexity that qualitative research demands. Modern historical comparative methodologies expect the researcher to “act like a historian. That is to say, social

scientists seeking deep historical knowledge will be pushed toward studies of developments in fewer countries or places within a country over briefer periods of time” (Amenta 2013, 354). To be able to conduct the in-depth research required to describe the processes and historical contexts of these cases, a large sample would create an unattainable research goal. Unlike large-N statistical approaches, Goldstone offers that comparative historical analyses “generally face a finite set of cases, chosen against a backdrop of theoretical interests, and aim to determine the causal sequences and patterns producing outcomes of interest in those specific cases” (Goldstone 2003, 43). For example, in the present study of African state participation in AMISOM, the sample size is limited by the number of African states represented in the African Union (54), and by the number of states who offered participation in AMISOM (5). Mahoney points out that case selection in comparative historical analysis is more sensitive to homogeneity than large-N research that may violate such assumptions through the arbitrary selection (Mahoney 2003, 351).

Case Selection

The current research uses an outcome-based casing method tempered by the inclusion of a population based case (Ragin 2013, 526). To use the language of Ragin (2014), the cases selected for comparison in this study reflect a theory- driven choice, based on a most-likely expectation that strategic culture will play a contributory role in the outcome. Such a premise is based on the author’s review of the strategic culture literature and experience dealing with the militaries of East Africa *in situ* during 2008-2009. Both states present a history of single-party politics, and thus are examples of

competitive authoritarianism (Levitsky and Way 2010). Table 1 presents comparative data for both states.

Table 1 *Comparison of Country Attributes circa 2006*

Attributes	Uganda	Tanzania
Population 2006(1)	29million	4.26million
Population Density (per sqkm) 2006(5)	143.43	45.451
Total Land Area (4)	197,100sqkm	885,800sqkm
GNI,PPP (1)	34.66 B	66.8 B
GNI per capita, PPP2006 (1)	1200	1710
Mortality Rate, under-5 (per 1000) 2006	99.7	85.8
Military Expenditures (% of GNI) 2006 (1)	2.2	0.8
Life Expectancy at birth, total (rears) 2006 (1)	52.8	56.6
Failed State Index Score (high is worse) 2006 (2)	94.5	78.3
Failed State characterization 2006 (2)	Alert(low)	Warning (low)
HDI (score/rank/characterization) 2006 (5)	0.483/163/low	0.521/151/low

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Comparison of these states represented in the Fund for Peace’s *Fragile States Index 2015* (Fund for Peace 2015) indicate greater instability in Uganda due to the flows of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) resulting from the conflict with the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) in Northern Uganda and being a neighbor of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Tanzania is more stable, with the greatest concern to the index analysts being the inability to provide public services. Both states share the characteristic of “some worsening” in the index’s trend analysis from 2006-2015. Comparing attributes within the index, the two countries are close regarding demographic pressures, human flight, uneven development, poverty and economic decline, public

services and external intervention. Where they diverge, the issues appear to be single issue occurrences: high levels of Refugees and IDPs. Uganda has a historical issue with group grievances which have been ameliorated in Tanzania by policies put in existence directly following independence to mitigate ethnic conflict. The legitimacy of the state in Tanzania has been bolstered by elections and the transfer of power of the head of state four times, while Uganda has maintained a single leader since 1986. Human rights scores in Uganda suffer from a history of anti-gay laws. Uganda scores lower on the security apparatus index which measures the number of groups competing for the monopoly on the use of force driven by a number of low-level insurgencies in Uganda LRA and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) as well as an increased level of violence amongst the Karamojong population due to the greater availability of small arms. The single party/leader issue also drives Uganda's low score concerning factionalized elites. The Gross National Income (GNI) per capita is \$1710 for Tanzania and \$1200 for Uganda in 2006 (UNdata 2016). The two states share membership in the AU, the East African Community, and the UN. They also belong to sub-regional organizations: the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the case of Uganda and the South African Development Community (SADC) as regards Tanzania. No states share all attributes, but these states share a level of homogeneity across their attributes that should highlight the role of strategic culture in differing outcomes regarding peacekeeping participation.

The number of states in the research sample is based on considerations of resources and methodology. Within the research population of African states that considered participation in AMISOM, the logical contender to expand the study would be

Burundi, which has provided the second largest contingent of troops to AMISOM.

However, Burundi does not compare well against Uganda and Tanzania, most notably in issues of stability. Internal security and inter-ethnic conflict present a much different set of circumstances for comparison. As well, research in additional countries would increase the time and cost of research.

Methodologically, the objective of qualitative comparative historical analysis is not optimized by an increase in the number of cases observed. The objective of comparative historical analysis is the explanation of specific outcomes (Mahoney and Terrie 2013, 415). Describing her concept of comparative historical analysis, Skocpol notes that the method is designed for the analysis of phenomenon “of which there are inherently only a few cases” (Skocpol 1979, 36). Generalization may be possible, but is not a goal, and universalization is specifically avoided. If the objective is to understand the complexity of the cases in order to best compare the attributes in each, there is little to be gained in increasing the number of cases and “losing the advantage of close familiarity with the complexity of (the) cases” (Rueschemeyer 2003, 323). Mahoney and Terrie note that comparative historical researchers “restrict the scope of their analysis to a limited number of cases.” He continues,

Given the kind of explanatory theory that these analysts pursue, built around the idea of realized causal effects for particular outcomes, they must quite carefully and deliberately define their population to try to avoid the heterogeneity problems. Once the population is defined, even a modest increase in the number of cases runs the risk of excluding key causal factors relevant to the new cases or introducing measurement problems for the variables that are already included in the theory (Mahoney and Terrie 2013, 416).

Given the level of detail required by the requirements of comparative historical analysis, and the rigor inherent in the search for causation, expanding the population for this study would not result in greater benefit to the research goal.

Information Requirements

A historical comparative study requires a detailed analysis of like activities in order to offer a comparison of commensurate observations. The present study provides insight into two types of information with which to address the research questions. The first considers the attributes by which strategic culture is propagated within a state. The second question deals with the path down which each state proceeded in their decision to participate in the Somali peacekeeping operation initiated in 2007. Though many of the sources of information for these questions will be the same, the data derived from these sources will be distinct to the questions. While the majority of data will be qualitative, the opportunity to use quantitative data has been included where its explanatory usefulness is appropriate. This section will discuss the information collection requirements needed to answer the research questions.

The first research question of the existence of strategic culture in the two states requires an assessment of the attributes that enable operationalization of the concept; traditions, values, attitudes, patterns of behavior, habits, symbols, achievements, and “particular ways.” Regarding tradition, Edward Shils provides a useful definition:

In its barest, most elementary sense, it means simply a *traditum*; it is anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present...the decisive criterion is that, having been created through human actions, through thought and imagination, it is handed down from one generation to the next (Shils 1981, 12)

Within the context of strategic culture, those “things” that are transmitted across generations can be as simple as uniforms and the rank structures to ideas as complex as a consistent worldview and the deployment decisions that emanate therefrom.

Values, as in traditions, also require a longevity that establishes their presence beyond that of a rhetorical flourish:

An enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence (Rokeach 1973,5)

The “mode of conduct” most important to strategic culture should be codified in some way so that it can be transferred across generations. While more easily identified in the military culture, consistency of outlook and national security decisions can provide understanding of the values of the national security apparatus. Values do not imply judgment as to the inherent benefit of such principles to society, only of their existence.

Attitudes represent an attribute with less longevity, but within the strategic culture perspective, a characteristic that infuses the national security apparatus. Attitudes are thus defined as:

A relatively enduring organization of beliefs, feelings, and behavioral tendencies toward socially significant objects, groups, events, or symbols (Hogg and Vaughn 2005, 150)

Once again, is there a consistency in actions, practices, or decisions that would provide evidence of such attitudes by the national security elite? Immediate concerns will tend to dominate the decision process, and attitudes may only be evident in the manner in which problems are framed. As an illustration, the use of a compelling analogy during decision deliberations may indicate the attitudes of the participants toward the issues under their purview. For example, the use of pre-World War Two analogies toward early

engagement during the decisions on U.S. actions toward the North Korean invasion of South Korea provides the attitudes of national security decision-makers toward blatant military aggression (Neustadt and May 1986, 41).

Patterns of behavior are indicated by consistency of actions in similar circumstances. “Patterns only can be construed when behavior is consistent or is perceived to recur at various times and under various conditions” (Bolling et al 2006, 145). What practices does the national security apparatus display through their decisions? If they consistently deploy police to control civil disturbances rather than the military, a pattern of behavior can be said to occur. As with other attributes, consistency remains a key variable.

Habits are a similar concept which describe patterns of actions that are actually accomplished by the members of an organization (Sidky 2017,173). Habits are more codified and are evidenced within the military by tactics, techniques, and procedures. These can be written or taught without benefit of record, or express a way of operating that is defined by the reality of operating. These habits develop over time as they are inculcated into the members of the organization. For example, a habit of U.S. military planners is to include an information operations annex to all operational level plans. In the 1990s, that was not being done. The habit was ingrained through training curricula and codified in planning guidance to establish it as a pattern of behavior. Similarly, North Vietnamese defenders were alerted to U.S. bombing missions since flight planners were in the habit of filing flight plans with air traffic controllers in the Philippines. Both patterns of behavior and habits describe how actions get done, though at different levels of analysis.

Symbols and symbolism present another aspect of strategic culture that can provide evidence of a more cohesive environment in which national security decisions are made. The definition of a symbol is contested; Barry O'Neill describes symbols as "obscure and figurative" (O'Neill 2001, 3). His approach to symbols in support of international relations categorizes them into three groups: message, focal, and value. Message symbols are just that; they convey meaning through an act designed to present meaning from one actor to another. The presence of Nelson Mandela's jailor on the podium of his inauguration was a deliberate message to the South African people (O'Neill 2001, 6). Focal symbols also convey a message, but were not designed as such. O'Neill provides the example of the return of an officer's club in Latvia as the Red Army withdrew. The Soviets turned the facility over in the normal course of their transition. To the Latvians, however, the restoration of control over the officer's club was considered a reclamation of national honor (O'Neill 2001, 6). Finally, a value symbol elicits "a strong attitude toward the idea it represents, and the symbol itself comes to be valued by the group... [as well as uniting] various ideas under one cognitive entity" (O'Neill 2001, 7). A national or party flag is an example of a value symbol. O'Neill notes that these categories are far from absolute and that symbols can have multiple responses and are thus resident in different categories simultaneously. Regarding strategic culture, these symbols can be discerned from within the national security apparatus as well as external to it. Patterns of participation in specific forums and with other specific groups provide a symbol of how a state's national security apparatus messages the international community as to its position on international issues. Within

the strategic culture of a state, symbols can exist which indicate the cohesiveness of the military within the state.

Prior outcomes, or achievements per Booth's definition, represent an important contributor to strategic culture. A primary tenet of Pierson's concept of path dependence is the reinforcement of a particular path by the positive outcomes of previous actions. "Once a particular path gets established...self-reinforcing processes are prone to consolidation or institutionalization" (Pierson 2004, 51). Prior outcomes are also noted as a variable in the sociocognitive approach of Vertzberger to decisions to militarily intervene in another state (Vertzberger 1998, 109-112), and in the importance of historical analogies to decision making in Neustadt and May (1986, xii). Strategic culture includes achievements because of the power previous successes have in the calculus of decisions. One can consider that the inclusion of achievements in strategic culture represents the "consolidation and institutionalization" discussed in the Pierson quote above. Important to note is that the "achievements" are so considered by the members of the national security apparatus, not by outside observers.

The final attribute of a strategic culture is in the "particular way" in which the state adapts to its environment. For the discussion of strategic culture, the environment is a combination of the geopolitical milieu in which a state finds itself and the domestic reality of how its government works. States that inhabit geography surrounded by conflict will have policy attuned to that reality of warring neighbors and the effects of conflict, such as refugees. From the domestic perspective, a fully authoritarian government may feel less compelled to heed the will of the people, while an emerging multiparty government may require a greater consensus from the various sources of

power that make up the polity before taking action. How these two concepts interact and are balanced, or not, defines the “particular ways” as presented in the Booth definition of strategic culture.

The assessment of the attributes of strategic culture determine its presence, and thus address the first research question. The second research question regarding the effect of strategic culture on the decision to participate requires a separate collection effort. In order to determine the effect of strategic culture on the decision, a more thorough understanding of both the context and the decision process itself must be described. Both of the countries under discussion have separate places within the structures of East Africa, Africa writ large and within the world. They also have domestic considerations that influence their decisions, especially national security decisions that are not existential, such as peacekeeping participation.

The context for the establishment of an AU peacekeeping force is available through archival and interview methods. The process to create AMISOM seemed precipitous at the time, yet it was actually the culmination of a process that had been ongoing for years. Records of the United Nations, IGAD and the African Union will form the basis of understanding the context, as will interviews with participants.

Recollections of participants will be the basis of understanding the decision process for both countries as to their participation in AMISOM. Visibility into the national security elites will provide a window into those aspects of the decision that were particularly compelling as they created their calculus. If unable to actually interview participants, those observers with unique and/or firsthand access to the events, such as foreign diplomats and journalists, will provide the requisite visibility.

Such information needs will drive what is collected and how it will be processed and analyzed. The information requirements will also determine to a certain extent the research design that the following paragraphs will discuss in greater detail.

Research Design

This research applies a historical-based comparative method to two specifically chosen cases. As noted by Charles Ragin, comparison is “central to empirical social science as it is practiced today” (Ragin 2014, 1). Skocpol discusses her preference for comparative historical analysis in order to “develop, test, and refine causal, explanatory hypothesis about events or structures integral to macro-units such as nation states” (Skocpol 1979, 36).

The majority of research on strategic culture has focused on the single case, including the original explanation of the concept by Snyder (1977). With the Cold War focus of the early strategic culture literature, the United States and the Soviet Union were the two cases most often described or compared as in Jacobsen (1990). Johnston focused on an in-case comparison of China (1994) and Booth and Trood (1999) collected single case studies with synthesizing chapters, a method used by Lantis (2014) to update strategic culture in the Asia-Pacific region. In Keir’s study of military doctrine, she compared two cases to argue that the distribution of power domestically combined with the organizational culture of the military created doctrinal choices (Kier 1997, 140). Practice would indicate small-N studies are appropriate for research on strategic culture.

The research design for the current research embodies the precepts explained by Stephen Van Evera (1997) in his discussion of methods for research in political science, and especially case study. He notes that research designed to test explanations follow a

straight forward path from theory to analysis. This dissertation argues for the centrality of history in the concept of strategic culture, and that history is embodied in the mechanisms that are used to “keep” strategic culture over time within a state’s national security apparatus. Strategic culture is operationalized through the path dependency of Paul Pierson.

A selective literature review was conducted across three supporting elements germane to this study: strategic culture, peacekeeping operations and path dependency. By so doing, previous scholarship is leveraged to build a foundation of knowledge, as well as identifying gaps in previous studies. As importantly, the literature review provides an opportunity to frame the theories necessary to approach the research questions. The review of strategic culture literature highlights the centrality of history, but fails to explain how history embodied strategic culture into the national security decision calculus.

Review of research into path dependency provides an indication of how strategic culture is operationalized. Strategic culture is the accumulation of a series of decisions which constrain and restrain the nation in how it can use military force in the accomplishment of its goals. The concept of Pierson’s path dependence describes the many small decisions made over time that shape the military and the way national security decision-makers use it.

It is interesting that the historically based concept of path dependence, transferred successfully between economics and political science, has not been more prevalent in the research on strategic culture. Perhaps there is some reticence among scholars concerned over criticism of strategic culture as deterministic. Others may not be as willing to accept

the “historical turn” in political science that Rogers M. Smith argues as the “culmination of the methods of social science” vice “a surrender” to historical narrative (Smith 1996, 148). History and causal explanations are not mutually exclusive.

Path dependence is neither a new concept, nor has it been totally absent from the discussion of strategic culture. Thomas Banchoff referred to path dependence in his discussion of the centrality of the ‘German Question’ in post-war European and world politics (Banchoff 1999). Lantis highlighted the use of path dependence by Banchoff to demonstrate the flexibility of the strategic culture concept (Lantis 2002, 100). Most recently, in the concluding chapter of a special issue of *Contemporary Security Policy* on strategic cultures and security policies of the Asia-Pacific, David Haglund advocated for path dependence as the “next generation” in strategic culture research (Haglund 2014). Haglund builds on the work of Paul Pierson who has argued for the utility of path dependence in comparative politics, and especially the importance of positive feedback to reinforce actions taken and institutions designed to the point where the cost of change is prohibitive (Pierson 2004). Haglund then extends path dependence as a way to use history to make strategic culture more “policy-relevant” (Haglund 2014, 319).

Path dependence is particularly germane to the decision-making of elites in emerging states. Scholarship indicates that in more complex scenarios, an individual’s “mental map” biases the decision (Pierson 2000, 259). “Once established, basic outlooks on politics, ranging from ideologies to understandings of particular aspects of governance or orientations toward political groups or parties are generally tenacious. They are path dependent” (Pierson 2000, 260).

Institutional development in emerging states suffers from colonial legacies and lack of resources, hence their ability to reach full operating capacity is limited. Combined with rapid government change through conflict, there is little stability in sub-Saharan institutions or the creation of an institutional culture. In the absence of a long history to draw upon, and the stable institutions that can transfer that history to subsequent generations, translating what works into how institutions are developed aids in the creation of institutions which codify state behaviors. What has, and has not, been successful becomes the basis for what will come next. These previous decisions influence how subsequent decisions get made, and also get institutionalized in a state's security apparatus. As Pierson notes, it is not necessarily the "big" events that influence future actions, but the accumulation of smaller actions (Pierson 2000, 263). Of greater importance is not historical precedent "but the unfolding of processes over time" (Pierson 2000, 264), that creates the institutional environment on which to build.

The first set of observable implications of path dependence concerns the existence of the strategic culture attributes. Strategic culture requires a temporal framework for its development, in order to pass the first test of most "culture" definitions: the passage of cultural artifacts (in the broadest sense of the term) across generations. Much of the traditional research observes multiple generations, if not centuries, as the period over which strategic culture develops. Yet the emergence of the Soviet Union and Communist China have questioned such positions. The debate over whether the current Chinese policies reflect more ancient strategic mores continues, as does the debate over the activity of the Soviet Union and the strategic activity of the current Russian Federation. Of note, in the original explanation of strategic culture, Snyder was focused on the effects

of recent history on Soviet thought, rather than extending a narrative thread back to Tsarist Russia.

Within the context of sub-Saharan Africa, the timeframes are more analogous to the periods of post-war China and Russia. The African examples are made more difficult by the instability of states in the period following independence. Political instability and poor economies hold national institutions at risk, and the national security institutions are not immune. In both the countries of this comparative case, there has been stability for sixty years in the case of Tanzania and thirty years for Uganda. These periods have not been without their national security challenges with insurrections in Uganda, the shift to multi-party politics in Tanzania, and conflicts endemic in neighboring states. Both nations have had the opportunity to accumulate national security decisions that inform strategic culture, and this research expects to find active institutions that embody strategic culture, a civilian-military relationship that is recognizable and militaries that display a deliberate pattern of design, if not supported by usage.

Both countries have military and national security apparatuses that indicate the presence of a strategic culture. Given this observation and the literature on the reasons states participate in international or regional peacekeeping operations, predictions can be inferred as to expectations of Tanzania and Uganda in reference to Somalia.

The expectations for Uganda are straightforward; the strategic culture and the position established by President Museveni in East African relations all argue for participation in AMISOM. While not a large contributor to UN sponsored peacekeeping missions, Uganda was experienced in the use of the military to solve its security needs. The importance of the military in President Museveni's conception of international

relations was born out in their use in solving internal insurrections and also in interventions into the Congo during the course of that country's conflicts. Uganda has also been a long-term participant in the negotiations to reach some solution in Somalia, most notably in the IGAD deliberations that began in 2001/2002 (Healy 2009, 10). The willingness of Museveni to be engaged in regional stability efforts, and the leadership role taken by Uganda as IGAD attempted to lead a peacekeeping force in 2006, indicates the level of commitment Uganda was willing to make in Somalia. As articulated in the literature for peacekeeping participation, a myriad of factors indicate participation by Uganda in Somalia peacekeeping operations, including proximity, concerns over spill-over, perception of Uganda as a regional leader and pecuniary benefit. There are also factors that would argue against participation, such as the on-going counterinsurgency operations against the LRA in northern Uganda and northeast Congo, as well as a concern over financial viability of an IGAD or AU mission vice a UN mission. Such issues noted, the expectation is that Uganda would be a full participant in Somalia peacekeeping.

The position of Tanzania in this regard is less straightforward. Like Uganda, Tanzania provided limited troop support to UN peacekeeping operations, but still desired to be considered a leader in East Africa. This regional leadership legacy was built by President Nyerere from the establishment of Tanganyika through subsequent administrations. Nyerere was fully supportive of the liberation movements in Africa, and backed that moral and rhetorical backing with material aid. He organized with the leaders of Zambia and Botswana to create the Front-Line States to better coordinate efforts toward majority rule for African states. He led the Organization of African Unity (OAU)

Liberation Committee. He was a founding member of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference in 1980, the organization that would become the Southern African Development Community. With the peaceful transition of Tanzanian leadership from Nyerere to Ali Hassan Mwinyi in 1985, and subsequent transitions, the role of regional leader has been continued.

The regional leadership role displayed by Tanzania through its history is consistent with one of the primary factors of peacekeeping participation, specifically the desire to create a positive place within the international community. Rost and Grieg (2011) note the importance of ethnic and regional ties for decisions to participate in peacekeeping. Together with these non-economic reasons to participate can be added the pecuniary benefits for a small, poor country such as Tanzania to participate. While the debate continues concerning the priority of economic and non-economic factors, it would be expected that given its traditional regional role, Tanzania would be expected to participate in a peacekeeping operation in Somalia.

Testing the inferred predictions that Uganda and Tanzania would participate in AMISOM relies on observing their actions in the event, and determining if the theories of peacekeeping provide satisfactory explanations. The congruence method is well established in case research (George and Bennett 2005,181-204; van Evera 1997). The understanding of the outcome informs the current research: Uganda participated in AMISOM, Tanzania did not. Given the outcome, the importance of this research is to understand the factors that contributed to the decisions of each country. If the theories of peacekeeping participation fail to fully explain the outcome, then the explanatory

variables must include other factors; this research argues that strategic culture is such a factor.

Guided by the research methods of van Evera (1997), the test used in the current study is considered a “straw-in-the-wind” test (van Evera 1997, 32). Unlike stronger testing regimes, straw-in-the-wind tests are inherently indecisive; passing or failing the test is not fatal to the presence or absence of the theory. This circumstance is created by the inability of this study to collect the highly detailed data needed to describe the decision-making progress from participants. Yet the presence of strategic cultures will be shown to provide an environment influential in the outcome.

Data Collection Methods

Data collection for this research displayed all the vagaries associated with studies of Africa conducted by those not present on the continent. Primary sources of information on decision-making in Uganda and Tanzania did not make themselves available for interview, and reliance on observations of non-participants, reflections in primary sources and the use of secondary sources was relied upon. That said, some of the circumstances of these particular cases allows for the collection of detailed data.

The attributes of strategic culture are understood by collecting both primary sources from press reporting and government documents, as well as secondary sources based on commentary from electronic media representing opposition viewpoints, as well as memoirs and books penned by opposition figures. These last sources are especially important since freedom of the press is not robust in Uganda due to single party governance. In Tanzania, while multiparty politics has been in place over the last decade, economics as well as politics play a part in reducing the size of the press and the number

of opposition outlets. Especially concerning national security, Tanzania has a reputation as an overly secretive society.

To the importance of understanding actual military deployments as opposed to the rhetoric or recollection, event data is collected and analyzed. For this part of the research, information is derived from the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) (Raleigh et al 2010). The ACLED contains over 100,000 events gleaned from three primary sources: local, regional, national and continental news media reviewed daily; Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) reports that supplement media reporting; and Africa-focused news reports and analyses (Raleigh et al 2010). The database focuses on Africa, and provides a wealth of information on each reported incident. Correlations amongst manually generated conflict data bases (ACLED and the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP)), a program of the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)) are high, especially when geolocational information is removed (Hammond and Weidman 2014), indicating that such databases have a high level of trustworthiness. In addition, the ACLED project reviews historical data with new information on a regular basis to ensure a high degree of accuracy (Raleigh et al 2010).

Past performance in peacekeeping operations is determined by databases of the United Nations and the African Union and its predecessor, the organization of African States. Other primary and secondary sources supplemented these sources to avoid missing participation in a sub-regional peacekeeping operation. Regarding information on Ugandan and Tanzanian professional military education, primary and secondary sources are used for the majority of details on the nature and curriculum of the professional military education. These archival sources are supplemented by interviews

with United States military personnel who were stationed in the countries and were in a position to both observe and have unique knowledge of the nature of professional military education in the two countries in 2006-7. The focus on these two years relates to the time-period of the peacekeeping participation decision this research addresses. Professional military education (PME) has evolved substantially since that time, and an accurate description of PME on a decision must reflect the time of the decision. The use of both types of information is useful in identifying dichotomies between the plan and intent as found in government documents and the perceptions of observers.

Once the data has been collected, it will be analyzed using an assessment scheme that determines the presence and maturity of strategic culture. The maturity level assists in the determination of the degree to which strategic culture is inculcated into the national security apparatus. A less mature strategic culture has less influence on decision-making than one which is fully absorbed throughout the apparatus. Depending on societal organization, decisions are less apt to reflect the strategic culture. For example, a new leader with limited governmental experience may not share the perspective of the keepers of strategic culture, which may lead to friction.

Once the presence of strategic culture is determined, the operationalization of the concept is considered. Through an understanding of the decision-making organization and a characterization of strategic culture, the decision to participate in AMISOM provides evidence of the influence of the concept. Was the decision to participate consistent with the expectations of participants and observers? Did the decision reflect the strategic culture? These questions will frame the analysis and form the test for congruence.

Ethics Considerations

While the study primarily relies on archival data to build its argument, some interviews were conducted. In accordance with ethical standards and the research regulations of The University of Southern Mississippi, steps were taken to protect the privacy of those interviewed and ensure that no harm came to interview subjects as a result of the interview process. To that end, the interview process and questions were reviewed by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of The University of Southern Mississippi and approved for use. The IRB's approval is found in Appendix A of this document.

Of greatest importance was ensuring that informed consent was solicited and provided from interview subjects. Then, providing the appropriate level of anonymity was discussed with interview subjects. When considering political issues, there can be various levels of information association with subjects. Understanding what the desires of interview participants were regarding the information they provided allowed for the proper association and positioning within the research analysis. It also assured the interview participants that the information provided was properly handled with the research output.

Denaturalized or edited/intelligent transcription is used to capture information from the audio. The denaturalized transcription does not record the specific patterns of speech or involuntary vocalizations (Oliver, Serovich and Mason 2005, 1276). The method is optimized for gathering the informational content, and omits pauses and utterances that impede the flow of the interview narrative.

The audio and transcripts are made anonymous by assigning a number to the interview subject. Discussions with the transcriptionist are also conducted to best insure anonymity during the transcription process. The master list of names to numbers is maintained in a secure location.

Storage and disposition of interview data was also considered as an important facet of interview subject protection. All recorded interview data, as well as transcripts, were immediately downloaded to external media to avoid any loss of data through data breaches. External media was then stored in a locked facility.

Trustworthiness

Following Yin (2003), there are four tests required to establish the trustworthiness of a case study: construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability. The following paragraphs discuss these issues and explain specific methods used to address such concerns.

To mitigate construct validity concerns over addressing the correct measures of strategic cultures and assessing objective aspects of those measures, the selected attributes of strategic culture provide a level of mitigation through diversity. Within these measures, multiple sources of evidence have been collected across both the qualitative (i.e. traditions, symbols etc.) and quantitative (use of military) materials. Regarding documentation and archival data, as many different sources were used and cross-checked to avoid concerns of bias displayed by different media sources looking at the same event (Jacobs 1996).

Since the research at hand is explanatory, tactics were chosen to address concerns over internal validity. Specifically, in order to avoid the argument that inferences of

causal relationships are spurious, the analysis includes a discussion of rival explanations. In this way, the concerns over factors entering the causal chain that were not otherwise included can be reduced. To further increase the argument regarding the validity of inferences, pattern matching was used to strengthen the argument concerning the effects of strategic culture through the mechanisms identified. The rival theories expounded for peacekeeping participation provide the patterns of behavior that should be expected. The analysis of strategic culture operationalization is thus keyed to the expected outcomes, which are different for Tanzania and Uganda.

Are the findings of this study generalizable beyond the two cases being compared? The question of external validity is addressed in the comparative research design that depends on literal replication logic. The expectations of the current peacekeeping participation theories predict similar results in the cases of Tanzania and Uganda, but the outcomes are different. Identifying the difference through the strategic culture of each state provides for an element of explanation that is more compelling in these two cases. At most, the current research is designed to be generalizable in that strategic culture influences national security decisions, but due to the limitations of the study, cannot claim that strategic culture directly influenced the specific decision. Regardless, the use of replication logic in this comparative study strengthens the external validity.

The final test is for reliability in that the research is repeatable and bias free. To achieve a high level of reliability, documentary and archival sources have been assiduously collected and catalogued in order to insure subsequent researchers can emulate the study and reach equivalent findings. Within the bounds set for privacy and

per the desires of the interviewees, transcripts have been maintained for review by future researchers. By detailing the collection methods and analytic framework, reliability of the current research is established.

Limitations

The limitations of this study have already been alluded to in that the collection of information concerning the politics of sub-Saharan Africa is difficult for a wide range of reasons. While current technology provides a greater expectation that events during the period in question (2006-2007) will be forthcoming, getting at “why” they occurred is only available through direct contact with participants. Alas, the current research is unable to reach that level with African participants, and thus falls short in demonstrating that decision-makers used the language of strategic culture as they considered peacekeeping participation.

This is by no means a fatal flaw in the research. The majority of strategic culture explanation has been solely dependent on documentary and archival sources, including major works such as Jacobsen (1990) or Kier (1997). This research aligns with that tradition. Yet the identification of the attributes that operationalize strategic culture should allow for greater insight in how decision makers use strategic culture. For example, Neustadt and May (1986) have established the importance of historical analogy to the decision-making process in the United States. Assuming that decision makers across cultures and traditions are alike in that regard, the choice of analogy will be the key variable in the decision process. But without direct access to the decision-makers to determine their choice of historical analogy, there is no way to build such a causal relationship in this research.

Summary

In summary, this chapter articulates the methodology used for the research into the use of strategic culture in the decision-making process of peacekeeping participation. Given the nature of the research subject, the justification for the qualitative research tradition is provided, and its applicability to the research goals. Qualitative and especially case study has a long tradition in the study of strategic culture, and the current research maintains that practice.

As case selection is such an important aspect, the decision to use Uganda and Tanzania as the case subjects is enumerated in detail. No two states are going to be exactly the same, but Uganda and Tanzania provide examples of states relatively comparable. More importantly, both states were involved in the same decision to undertake peacekeeping in Somalia. The use of two cases for comparison allows for a greater depth in describing the circumstances of their positions regarding peacekeeping participation, and provides a justification for this case-oriented research.

The details of the research are then explained in the comparative research design through the theory framing and interpretation phases of the study. This forms the basis for a subsequent discussion of the trustworthiness of the research, in which validity and reliability tests for the study are embedded in the data collection and the research design. While the realities of data collection impose limitations upon the research, the current study still is in line with the research tradition of strategic culture.

CHAPTER IV – CASE STUDIES

Introduction and Overview

The purpose of this study is to determine the effect of strategic culture on national security decision making for two emerging states. By understanding the strategic culture of Uganda and Tanzania, additional insight can be gained into the calculus of national security decision makers in each country to participate in regional peacekeeping. In order to determine if strategic culture creates an environment that influences national security apparatus decisions, a determination must be made as to whether a state has a strategic culture. As noted previously, the assumption of the presence of strategic culture discussed in the literature may not be appropriate for newly independent states, or for countries emerging from, or in the throes of, conflict. Sources of strategic culture are elements that have been influencers of strategic culture formulation, and this study will investigate the sources for Tanzania and Uganda to determine if strategic culture is present. Strategic culture describes influences on the decision of states to use force. Accepting Weber's dictum that the state "claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a given territory" (Weber 1965), strategic culture assists in understanding how a state uses its monopoly. Perforce, an understanding of the state's military and its relationship to the government and the population is key. The military is the embodiment of the state's monopoly of force. The nexus of the sources of strategic culture combine to reveal both its existence and character.

The following case studies present sources of strategic culture of Uganda and Tanzania. Following the example of Booth and Trood (1999), each case will consider a multitude of factors, including history, experience, geography, resources, political

structure and defense organization (Booth and Trood 1999, 365-366). As the foundations of strategic culture, the interaction of these categories determines if, and to what extent, a country possesses a unique strategic culture, rather than just a national security apparatus that reacts to events as they arise. As previously noted, the current dissertation asserts that history is of paramount importance as prior decisions will influence current deliberations through both the modalities of decision-making and the options available through the design and resources of the armed forces.

The case studies reveal two states that, while geographically co-located, present two very different contexts for the development of their strategic culture. Both countries emerged from colonialism peacefully, but the polity of Uganda was much more divisive, leading to authoritarian rule and a military coup within six years. Tanzania was spared such instability and violence, but faced its own challenges as its leadership instituted a unique form of African socialism.

The respective roles of the military are also affected by their colonial paths. Both countries emerged from British colonial systems but Tanzania (then Tanganyika and Zanzibar) came under British suzerainty after the First World War when control was ceded by the Germans. The German colonial practice and predominance of the military in German culture resulted in colonial practices that displayed a brutal response to the loss of control, as opposed to the British colonial system that relied on decentralized control through local chieftaincies. As such the British colonial officers were predominantly neither military officers, nor beholden to the British military as were the Germans. The British went about dismantling the German use of indigenous military

units, disenfranchising the former *askari*, and decreasing the importance of the military throughout Tanzania.

These different approaches to instituting and maintaining control created different military establishments, and *ipso facto* different ways in which the military was employed by national leaders. The explication of history and experience forms the first part of the case studies as the foundational sources that mold strategic culture.

Geography and resources present different elements to shape strategic culture. Both countries are sparsely populated outside urban areas, making the issue of control (within the colonial context) and sovereignty (within the post-independence context) a challenge for the government. The current government in Uganda came to power after a civil war, and the use of armed forces to ensure internal security is readily evident. Conversely, Tanzania transitioned from colonialism peacefully and used its military much more sparingly for internal security, relying upon a system of local militia to provide defense needs from external threats given the small size of the Tanzania Peoples Defense Force (TPDF).

The ethnic geography of the two countries, while outwardly similar, present important dissimilarities. Both states have highly diverse ethnic makeups within their boundaries with Uganda having 43 languages within 14 ethnic groups and Tanzania having 120 ethnicities with 126 languages. British colonial rule designated ethnicities for specific roles exacerbating ethnic friction points. In Uganda, these ethnic divisions were carried over into post-independence politics, most notably in the ethnic make-up of the armed forces. In Tanzania, the ethnic divides were less factious at independence and not reflected in the military which played a less important role in the struggle toward

independence. Most importantly for Tanzania, the post-independence leadership sought to establish a nation by declaring a common language and taking steps to inculcate Tanzania nationalism over ethnic association. The TPDF was a primary vehicle for instilling this sense of nationalism. The result of these factors is Uganda riddled by civil wars and coups between 1962 and 1986, and a post-1986 history of insurgencies. Tanzania has been spared such conflicts. Thus, the place of the military in Ugandan and Tanzanian culture are diametrically opposed.

In Uganda, the ethnic salience within the military resulted in a major friction point for successive governments. Symbiotically, control of the military determined national leadership, and the armed forces were, or would become, populated by supporters of the sitting government. Since coups and violence are a reoccurring theme of Ugandan history from 1962 to 1986 the maintenance of the “monopoly of violence” increases the importance of the military in Uganda society.

Limited national resources and consistently low GDPs have positioned both countries to be amenable to military aid in both equipment and training. Uganda has been the beneficiary of first British and Commonwealth support and then a wide range of other donors dependent on the government of the day. Military aid has been received from a significant list of countries with the most notable being the Soviet Union, North Korea, Israel, Libya, China, and the United States. With the myriad changes in leadership between 1962 and 1986, unique doctrine developed, and military practices were built on the British military tradition of the colonial army.

Tanzania made a more coherent break from its colonial past as it re-built its army after disbanding the armed forces in the wake of the 1964 mutiny of the Tanganyika

Rifles. Initially a recipient of military support from Western countries, the leadership of Tanzania positioned within the non-alignment movement and specifically its role amongst the Front-line states of the liberation of southern Africa brought greater dependence upon the communist bloc for military aid, especially from China. However, the Tanzanian leadership sought a uniquely African “way of war” concomitant with the concept of *ujamaa* as an African construct for social and economic life. Professional military education within the TPDF is especially broad, and has been so since 1964, to include Western, Communist, South African, and North African training and education. As the Cold War ended, the broad range of training opportunities did not, but a reliance on a long-standing relationship with the Chinese is evident, though tempered to this day with respect for the legacy of non-alignment.

Each country has evolved specific political structures and defense organizations to determine how force will be used in the pursuit of national objectives. The final sections of the case studies will describe the elements of the national security apparatus and how national security decisions are made. Uganda, with a single leader since 1986, has a decision-making process heavily influenced by, if not dependent upon, President Museveni and those he deems appropriate to be in the inner circle. Tanzania has been less dependent on a single personality as the president, but through single-party rule coupled with the establishment of an uneven electoral playing field that guarantees electoral success, the leading party thereby monopolizes the decision-process with the party faithful, even if the personalities change. These different political and organizational styles are additional sources of strategic culture.

An important contention of the current study is that path dependence describes the mechanics of how history creates strategic culture through the accumulation of decisional effects over time, until the weight of those decisions make change too expensive or simply too hard to accomplish. These cases describe the evolution of each state's military and its operational experience that is so critical to understand the path of development.

Colonial history established certain proclivities that were not necessarily overcome by the arrival of independence. Post-independence provided new leaders and new decisions that would reinforce tendencies or provide incremental change. In some cases, the states would reach critical junctures at which time major change would ensue. Likewise, the actual operations of the armed forces of Uganda and Tanzania would establish precedent, positively or negatively, in how force is applied in the service of national security. These factors determine the role that national security decision-makers perceive is important in their deployment of the military, and to what end. History and experience presents the foundation on which strategic culture is built; additional sources of strategic culture add nuance and complexity to the formula.

Case One: Uganda; Changing Course

Overview

The Uganda People's Defense Force (UPDF) is increasingly regarded with approval by the people of Uganda. In the Afrobarometer survey conducted in 2005/2006, the closest to the key events in this study, 36.5% of Ugandans trusted the UPDF 'a lot' and 37.3% trusted them 'somewhat,' the two highest categories on this survey (Afrobarometer 2005/2006). Considering the history of the military in Uganda is one in

which the armed forces have treated the civilian population poorly, the survey results represent an indication of positive change implemented by the winners of the Bush War in 1986. The increase in trust is likely due to the public perception that the army is no longer an instrument of repression against the population. While such an impression is not shared across all of Uganda, the general fear in which the army was held has abated. The change in the population's perception of the military was not a foregone conclusion upon the assumption of power by Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement (NRM). Museveni brought very specific ideas and incorporated high levels of discipline into the National Resistance Army (NRA), the military wing of the NRM. The armed forces that the NRA replaced lacked discipline and conducted themselves as the coercive arm of government leadership. The military in Uganda represented an institution at odds with the welfare of the greater population ever since the colonial period.

The change in perception is due to the stated desire of Museveni to create both a capable and professional armed forces, one that represents the ideals of professionalism of Western militaries, and is thus beholden to the state rather than the state's leadership. He has made changes across a wide range of areas including structure, recruiting and training. Whether such aspirations are being met is contested, but the importance of them is not. The military remains one, if not the, most important organization in Uganda. Museveni consistently supports the importance of the armed forces to the people of Uganda, and framing the military as the "people's army." This is a consistent message from the creation of the NRA to the current UPDF. Security and the sovereignty of the Ugandan people were the most important elements in President Museveni's 1986 swearing-in address (Museveni 2000, 5) and that security is dependent upon a military

that is accountable to the people. Given the predilection toward the UPDF as a primary problem solver, one should expect that the UPDF would be called upon as a primary tool in the national security box, regardless of whether the threat is from within or outside Uganda. Over time, a strategic culture has emerged, one that is not yet fully formed but that is clearly evident. The analytic framework suggested by Booth and Trood will be used to organize that argument and display the sources of strategic culture. The military is an institution informed by its colonial past, but which took on a new level of importance in the post-independence era. The role of the Uganda military became that of guarantor of leadership through coercive use of its monopoly of violence to impose a solution for the population. The victory of the NRM/NLA in 1986 changed that dynamic. But not immediately; operational necessity required the UPDF to focus on adversaries internal and external, and not on transformation. As concerns over insurrection have waned, the longevity of stability provided by the thirty years have provided an environment for professionalism of the armed forces and evolution of a strategic culture evidenced in national security decisions and the usage of the armed forces.

Some observers argue that the UPDF is the primary foreign policy tool of the Ugandan president (Murry, Mesfin and Wolters 2016, 5). Both the style of foreign policy decision making and the nature of the military in Uganda contribute to the primacy of the military in the strategic culture of Uganda. This section will first discuss the history of the military in Uganda. History is a primary source of strategic culture, and the importance of understanding its path is important, especially its relationship to the civilian population. More detail on the experience of the Ugandan armed forces is explored. How the army was actually used provides a method to counter the rhetoric of

governments, which articulate narratives beneficial to governmental objectives.

Geography, resources, the political environment, and national security are also discussed as sources of strategic culture. A short summary will conclude.

History

In 1986 the last chapter of civil war ended for the Ugandan people. Conflict did not end as numerous small groups took up arms against the winners of the Bush War, but the arrival of the victory of the NRM and its military, the NRA, ushered in the end of an era of conflict, violence and terror that extended back almost all the way to independence in 1962. This new era for Ugandan society also brought a different military. From an organization which preyed upon the population, it became one that was positioned as the “people’s army.” The transformation is more remarkable by its ability to sustain that relationship. As demonstrated by the Afrobarometer results noted previously, the majority of Ugandans trust the military. The conduct of the UPDF and its leaders has not been without controversy from allegations of human rights violations in northern Uganda and the Congo, to malfeasance in the conduct of senior officers in lining their own pockets. Yet, the UPDF has sustained its positive role since independence, and is slowly becoming a more professional force. The change within the Uganda military is most evident in comparison with the history of the military in Uganda. This section will trace that path from the colonial period with major emphasis on the post-independence military.

British colonialism brought the professional military to the region of East Africa that would become Uganda by hiring Sudanese to support the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) as guides and guards as the company penetrated the continent

(Omara-Otunnu 1987, 12). When the IBEAC charter ended in 1893, the new British protectorate depended on Sudanese troops for the Protectorate Army, and it was this army that would be used in the initial efforts to expand British influence against the region's various ethnic groups. From this initial military organization would arise the Ugandan Rifles, tied to the 1894 declaration of a British Protectorate in Uganda. These troops, while still mainly Sudanese, were supported in times of crises by troops raised from local Ugandan ethnic groups. But, the primary manning source of the Ugandan Rifles were Sudanese as the Ugandan Protectorate focused on squelching internal dissent to British interests. The status quo changed in September 1897 with a mutiny of Sudanese troops (Omara-Otunuu 1987, 22). The mutiny was quelled in part by troops brought in from India, and the Indian experience would have a profound effect on the evolution of the Protectorate's military.

The loss of confidence in the Sudanese troops, and experiences from India, convinced military planners in the Uganda protectorate that a larger army was needed, but that soldiers should not serve in areas of their own ethnicity, on the theory that they would be less likely to sympathize with different ethnicities than their own (Omara-Otunnu 1987, 24). This precept continued to influence military composition decisions in East Africa generally, and Uganda specifically, as the century turned and the British Empire headed toward the First World War. In 1900, the Uganda Agreement with Buganda transitioned military rule in Uganda to a focus on civil administration, and a focus on external defense as a constabulary was developed to handle internal matters (Omara-Otunnu 1987, 28). The Ugandan Rifles were then integrated into the King's African Rifles (KAR), and a greater emphasis was placed on the recruitment of Africans

for these units, though as late as 1903 the majority of the KAR continued to be comprised of Sudanese and Indian troops (Omara-Otunnu 1987, 30). By 1913 the composition of the KAR would change to become predominantly African. The Ugandan contingent was not representative of Uganda writ large, and as such this represents an important legacy of the colonial period. It was in the period before the First World War that the Ugandan military became ethnically focused on the Lwo language cluster, specifically the Acholi and Langi.

The British rule in India established the theory of ‘martial races’ as a method to identify ethnic populations from which to recruit indigenously. The early history of British recruitment in India saw the use of ethnicities to define military enlistment, but the concept saw greater utility after the Sepoy uprising of 1857 (Rand and Wagner 2012, 240-241). The use of this theory in East Africa is not surprising given the use of Indian troops in the British colonies and protectorates and the Indian experience of the British-officers detailed to the KAR. Rand and Wagner (2012) make the observation that despite the early twentieth century narrative focused on the martial attributes of certain ethnicities, the classification decision was more complex. The same observation is made by Omara-Otunnu regarding the designation of the Acholi as the primary ethnicity for military accession in Uganda. He notes that the attributes most favored by the British administration were acquiescence to British rule and a lack of mature governance/leadership within the ethnic group, in contrast to the Buganda which had an advanced hierarchical governance structure upon which the British focused as the area’s leading group (Omara-Otunnu 1987, 32-33). The long-term implication of these policies was to solidify the Ugandan military within the peoples from the province of the Acholi,

but also to create the perception that the military writ large was for the uneducated. While the more educated Ugandans of Buganda aspired to other professions, the perceived disdain for education was thus linked to the Acholi in their role as providers of the military (Omara-Otunnu 1987, 44). Such was the state of the Ugandan military on Independence Day, 9 October 1962. The Ugandan military was an ethnically identified organization, and as the politics of independence began, the military represented a power base for ethnic groups from the periphery rather than in the center, as well as providing it with increased power. Such became even more noticeable as the pace of Africanization increased after the KAR mutiny in 1964. Of importance for this research is that the mutiny resulted in the Ugandan leader, Milton Obote, accommodating all the demands of the mutineers, including increasing the pace of Africanization. The mutiny compounded the ethnicization of the military as a power base alternative to civil authority, especially for ethnic groups traditionally on the outside of that structure.

From that point on, the Ugandan Army become ever more embroiled in the nation's politics, and its leaders became ever bolder in using military force to forward their preferred leaders. Representative of such action was the ouster of the traditional king of Buganda who was forced to flee in 1966 when the Army exceeded its authority and crushed Bugandan political resistance (Omara-Otunnu 1987, 76).

Although the struggle was of a political nature, it was only resolved by one party using the military as the instrument to attain its objective...What had been achieved by the use of force could only be maintained by the threat of force. Henceforth the administration relied on the Army as its principle safeguard. But once the military had been used as the deciding factor in the struggle for power between two political opponents, it would no longer be content to assume a low political profile, and the ruling party was obliged to enter and sustain a partnership with it. In this way, the Army assumed a pivotal role in the political process in Uganda. (Omara-Otunnu 1987, 77)

The Ugandan Army became the primary power mechanism to sustain the government. The implication is that the army had to be treated in such a way as to solidify its support. Patronage became an increasing reality. The domination of northern ethnic groups continued, though the makeup of the northern ethnicities was being adjusted to favor the Sudanic language cluster rather than the Lwo cluster of the Acholi. This change was orchestrated by Major General Idi Amin, Commander of the Army. The culmination of the Army's presence in politics was the coup engineered by Amin on 25 January 1971. If the Army had been compromised by political patronage, Amin's use of the military as the guarantor of his survival ushered in a particularly dark episode in the history of the Ugandan military.

The Ugandan Army under Amin began to use their position to engage in increasingly hostile relations with the civilian population. More importantly, the rift between the two primary language groups, the Lwo and the Sudanic, resulted in a purge of the former as Amin supporters killed them off. Other purges of Lwo speakers would occur in 1972, 1973 and 1977 (Avirgan and Honey 1982, 7; Omara-Otunnu 1987, 124). Concurrently with the purges, there was a marked increase of recruits from the Sudanic language block. For example, based on recruiting numbers parsed by language block, of the total force in 1978, 64 percent were Sudanic vice 6 percent for Lwo (includes Acholi and Langi). The very nature of the military was being changed, as was their relationship to the population and the relative power they held to other institutions. Other observers noted the increased integration of foreigners into the Ugandan security services and military, most notably from southern Sudan and eastern Zaire. "It was a foreign

occupation army. Whenever Ugandans saw their own national army coming, they would run” noted a Catholic priest (Omara-Otunnu 1987, 7).

(P)articularly in the army and security system, Amin effectively turned Uganda’s predominantly Christian and Bantu society upside-down, creating a ruling elite that had no local base and owed its position and loyalty only to Amin himself. (Avirgan and Honey 1982, 8).

The Amin regime reached its culminating point when its highly dysfunctional army invaded Tanzania in October 1978. By April 1979, the TPDF and elements of the Ugandan opposition had taken Kampala, and the war ended with the TPDF on the Ugandan-Sudan border on 3 June 1979. This did not end the suffering of the Ugandan people nor the predatory relationship between the military and the civilians fostered during the Amin regime.

Fighting alongside the TPDF were Ugandan opposition leaders who banded together to join in the ‘liberation’ of their country. Upon victory, the alliance fractured, and two short-lived presidencies governed before the election of 1980. These new leaders of Uganda, installed and sustained with the assistance of the TPDF, regenerated the military in the form of the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA), a conglomeration of the opposition forces that accompanied the TPDF on their march to Kampala. During the period between the end of the war and the elections of 1980, measures to change the ethnic proportions of the UNLA were taken as recruitment focused on the Bantu language cluster rather than the Lwo, which represented the traditional Acholi and Langi predominance of the military and which held true for the UNLA. Depending on the commentator, these actions were either to establish a Bantu language power base in the military (Omara-Otunnu 1987, 148) or to counter the ethnic-

based UNLA that supported leaders from the north (Museveni 1997, 114). Regardless, the result was an army that was being organized along ethnic lines. The UNLA also competed for fighters with other extra-legal armed groups, and was unable to secure Uganda from killings and general lawlessness. In many instances, the UNLA was implicated in these crimes. It was also quite clear that the military held the upper hand in Ugandan politics as the country suffered through two dysfunctional presidencies before the powerful Military Commission took the reins of government and called for general elections in December 1980. The election resulted in the return to power of the Uganda People's Congress led by Milton Obote, who had been overthrown by Amin in 1970. For the UNLA, this cemented the traditional predominance of the Acholi and Langi. The ascension of Obote also sent Yoweri Museveni into the bush to fight an armed struggle against the new Obote regime, along with other armed groups.

With the movement to the bush of a major military contributor to the liberation from Amin, the UNLA under Obote was a depreciated, but by no means moribund, entity. The Tanzanian military remained in place until 1982, and was considered a role model for the emerging Ugandan military. However, the presence of the Tanzanians did nothing to dispel the lawlessness, as well as the retaliation and revenge activity by those with weapons and an official mandate. The most difficult aspect of the regeneration of the UNLA was that it was being asked to re-create itself while fighting a dispersed insurgent war against a number of small, but active, groups. Such circumstances resulted in a certain level of cognitive dissonance within the army.

In one aspect, Obote was trying to return the UNLA to a level of professionalism that had been cast aside in the Amin years as the military was used as a personal tool for

power. As the legally elected government, Obote could take advantage of military training from allies, with training missions in-country from both the United Kingdom as well as North Korea. Officers were sent to initial training in Uganda military academies as well as in Tanzania. More senior officers were allowed the opportunity to attend foreign training. For example, Col John Charles Ogole, one of the most renowned UNLA commanders against the LRA, spent a year at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Ft Leavenworth, Kansas. The UNLA received a sizable portion of the Ugandan national budget over the period 1980-1985, on average 23% (Omitoogun 2003, 105), and the military hierarchy was being trained to manage the military budget and personnel more effectively by the British Army (Black Star News 2014). Recruiting continued, as well as an elaborate officer recruitment program for a country fighting multiple insurgencies (Engur 2013, 46-78). Such activity to move the UNLA toward a classic military structure were overcome by the fissures that ethnicity brought to the military.

In the wake of the horrors of the Amin military whose composition and lethal activity had been strictly based on ethnicity, the UNLA could not overcome the burden of their ethnic make-up. The solidarity exhibited by the Ugandan armed groups accompanying the Tanzanians during the overthrow of Amin frayed in the period after victory. Already noted is the recruiting efforts by Museveni to increase non-northern Uganda peoples into the Army, but when he went to the bush, those non-northern elements left the UNLA, either with Museveni or in the half-dozen organizations that also withdrew to fight the Obote regime. As the UNLA become more homogenous to the Lwo language cluster, tensions rose between the Acholi and the Langi within the UNLA.

President Obote was a Langi, and he initiated major military leadership decisions that were interpreted by the Acholi as counter to their interests. There were issues that newer officer recruits entering after 1979 were more educated than most Acholi officers, led by the Langi (Engur 2013, 106). The units that were being assigned to the anti-NRA counter insurgency were thought to be mostly Acholi. With the fighting in the Luwero Triangle particularly brutal based on the nature of the combat and number of civilian casualties, the Acholi in uniform thought they were being unfairly sent into the “meat-grinder” as the president’s ethnic group was allowed to avoid combat. Over time, these fissures widened to become the impetus for the July 1985 military coup that pitted the Acholi members of the UNLA against the Langi and other ethnic groups within the army. The result of the coup was the displacement of Obote to exile in Kenya and the establishment of a military council by the leaders of the coup, General Tito Okello and Brigadier General Bajilio Okello. All factions which had been fighting the Obote regime agreed to work with the Okellos except for the Museveni’s NRA. With the coup, the NRA gained a strong foothold in Fort Portal in western Uganda, and as the Okellos negotiated with the NRA, the forces of Museveni were able to reconstitute themselves to parity with the much hobbled UNLA (Kalyegira 2010). Talks in Nairobi between the Okello government and the NRA/NRM appeared to result in a cease-fire and accord, but fighting erupted almost immediately after the signing, and the NRA marched into Kampala on 25 January 1986.

The victory of Museveni and the NRM/NRA in early 1986 created the traditional problem facing the successful rebel: how to run the country. This was especially important for the NRM since the justification for its guerilla war went beyond simply

replacing the country's leaders; it advocated systematic change. So too had Obote (twice) and Amin, setting the onus squarely on Museveni to provide demonstrable differences than former regimes. This was nowhere as true as with the military and its role in Uganda. As one contemporary observer argued against the simple explanation of the triumph of Bantu over Lwo language clusters, the NRM/NRA had decided to seek fundamental change outside a system in which the military was used as a tool for the peonage of the population.

(The NRM/NRA) taking up arms was a crime; but not so much so as the continuation of the system which had been used by all of Uganda's leaders since independence to subjugate and terrorize the people of the country (Mutibwa 1992, 155).

With the UNLA beaten and remnants located across Uganda, the new army in Uganda, the NRA, was confronted with new challenges that required an increase in the size of the military to address the geographically separated security concerns. Increasing the size of the NRA, especially quickly in order to take advantage of the immediate post-conflict momentum with the population, required less stringent recruitment standards. Furthermore, increased numbers and high operational tempo decreased the level of political education for new additions to the LRA. The NRA's reputation during the insurgency had been of a disciplined force respectful of the population it was trying to represent. This reflects the concept of people's war that Museveni chose as the strategy for the NRA. Applying his experience in Tanzania, and especially his time in the FRELIMO camps in Mozambique in 1967-68, Museveni was impressed by the Mozambique liberation movement's instantiation of "people's war" and the use of safe

zones⁵ (Museveni 1997, 28-31; Kasfir 2005, 276). During the war, it was important to ensure that the NRA be considered the solution to the repression from Northern ethnicities that the Bagandans suffered, especially in the Luwero Triangle which was ethnically Bagandans as opposed to Museveni's Banyankole ethnic group. The NRA abided by a strict Code of Conduct as well as creating mechanisms for local government which provided non-coercive support (Kasfir 2005, 284). The commitment to civilians extended to assistance in withdrawing from the Luwero Triangle safe zone when the UNLA attacks became too strong and negatively affected civilians (Kasfir 2005, 288-289). Kasfir reports from interviews of LRA and civilians that the NRA Code of Conduct was strictly adhered to, pertaining to not stealing food, treatment of civilians and even providing a level of civilian authority over NRA soldiers (Kasfir 2005, 284-285). As the NRA began to become the new national army, it worked to maintain that reputation, providing a level of law and order that contrasted significantly with the UNLA who rampaged through Kampala after the military coup of 1985. In the early stages of its transition the NRA could maintain its high level of discipline, but three years on, that reputation was starting to fray as crime and violence associated with the army began to increase. Yet it did not devolve into the undisciplined state its predecessor armies had, nor did it become the tool of repression demonstrated by previous Ugandan army iterations.

The military culture of the 'people's Army' has endured through the evolution of Uganda's army, transferring from the NRA to the UPDF, a name change which occurred

⁵ "A 'safe zone' is an area in which guerillas are the dominant power, but unable to prevent attacks disrupting civilians along its many borders" (Kasfir 2005, 293n19).

in 1995 with the enactment of the Constitution of Uganda. That the UPDF mirrored the TPDF in name and stated function should come as no surprise given Museveni’s history with Tanzania, his admiration for President Nyerere of Tanzania, as well as the success of the TPDF in maintaining its non-interference in Tanzanian politics. The benefit of such a moniker is in the daily reminder of the army’s premise for existence, even if that premise has been aspirational at times. Two particular challenges for the UPDF have been the integration of rival armed groups and the high operational tempo required of combat operations to counter ongoing insurgencies.

In the immediate years following the victory of the NRM/NRA (1986-1992), rival armed groups, and the remnants of the UNLA, continued to be active in anti-government activity (Figure 2).

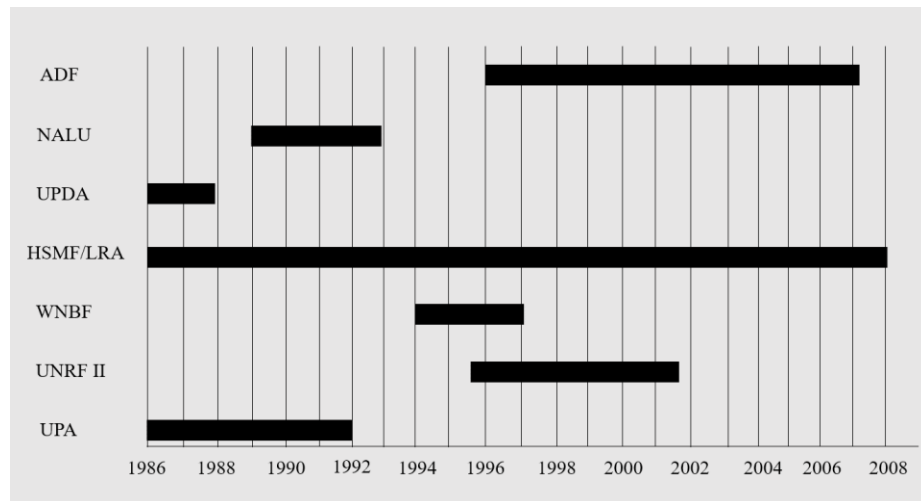


Figure 2. Insurgency Duration in Uganda 1986 – 2008

ADF-Allied Democratic Front; NALU- National Army for the Liberation of Uganda; UPDA- Uganda People’s Democratic Army; HSMF- Holy Spirit Mobile Forces; LRA-Lord’s Resistance Army; WNBF- West Nile Bank Front; Uganda People’s Army (Day 2011).

As Lindemann notes, the promise of a non-sectarian NRM appears to have been harder to accomplish in the decade following victory, leading to disenfranchisement by a number

of ethnicities, especially in the north (Lindemann 2011). Seven insurgencies in Uganda between 1986 and 2006 trace their start to ethnic disparities. The NRA was hard pressed to keep up with these multiple conflicts, though over time they ultimately prevailed. These insurgencies ended through a combination of military action and negotiation, which in three of the four conflicts included the integration of insurgent fighters into the NRA. A deal with Museveni thus became not an ending of a struggle, but a road to integration into the national security infrastructure. While this method may have degraded the discipline of the NRA in the short term, the benefits to society at large were substantial in that armed groups creating insecurity were stopped. These armed groups were integrated into the NRA, with varying levels of success from full integration to failed assimilation that resulted in rapid demobilization (Museveni 1997, 175). Museveni provides three reasons to inculcate former foes into the national army. The first is technical; the NRA needed to increase its size to become a viable organization across a country the size of Uganda and opposition armed groups provided a source of trained personnel. The second was to have the population see that the NRA was not going to be comprised of a single ethnic or linguistic group, counter to the practice in previous governments. Finally, integration provided the impetus for former opposition members not to be disenfranchised from the country's institutions. As a method of post-civil war disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, the NRA could shed between 30,000 and 35,000 soldiers 1993-1998, and integrate them back into society successfully.

The time spent in the NRA prepared former combatants for demobilization, and eased the transition by associating the former soldier with NRA service vice as a vanquished member of an armed group. Such represents a major accomplishment in the

demobilization of so large a group of combatants when compared with other less successful disarmament, demobilization and reintegration efforts in Burundi or Sierra Leone (Museveni 1997, 174-176); Toft 2010, 106-108).

The adjustments and evolution of the NRA/UPDF occurred during a period of continuing conflict within Uganda's borders. The NRA/UPDF has faced continuing combat operations since 1986 as Figure 2 displays in relation to insurgencies since 1986. While confronted with a high counterinsurgency operational tempo within Uganda, the NRA/UPDF has conducted interstate operations as well.

In the wake of the NRM/NRA victory, the Okellos troops moved north to create the Uganda People's Democratic Army (UPDA), which operated in northern Uganda until defeated by the NRA resulting in an accord in 1988. Many from the UPDA joined the NRA, while others branched off into armed groups which would eventually become the LRA. This armed group, known for its disregard for civilian casualties and dependence of forced conscription of children, continues to pose a challenge to the UPDF, but has become less active since 2006. In eastern Uganda, the Uganda Peoples' Army (UPA) emerged from the Iteso ethnic group, which considered themselves aggrieved by the NRM for being part of the Obote army and police and their alignment with the Langi. Major unemployment and victimization from cattle-raiding by other armed groups resulted in rebellion. Intense fighting occurred in the Teso sub-region of the Eastern Region of Uganda, bounded by Lake Victoria to the south and Kenya to the east, until a peace settlement was reached in 1992. In the northeast, the Karamojong ethnic group found their tradition of cattle rustling disrupted by an increase of small arms that overcame traditional patterns and increased the lethality of rustling activity. Local

militias had been disbanded, and the activity in that area became more violent. In the west of the country, an armed group arose from former UNLA and Amin-era soldiers as the West Nile Bank Front (WNBF) in 1994, operating from Zaire and Sudan. The LRA and the WNBF were used by the Sudanese military against the Sudan People's Liberation Army, a group supported by Museveni, in 1995. The WNBF would be overcome through focused counterinsurgency operations by the UPDF, and become operationally ineffective by 1998. In 1996, the Sudanese combined several alienated and disenfranchised groups to create the Allied Democratic Front (ADF) operating from the Ruwenzori Mountains in Zaire. The ADF would be destroyed as a cohesive military group by 1999. United Nations and Congolese troops would destroy the remaining ADF bases in 2005.

External to Uganda, the UPDF has operated in two countries: the Congo (as Zaire and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)) and the Sudan, prior to the 2007 deployment to Somalia. Uganda supported the Rwandan Patriotic Front with its invasion of Zaire and the overthrow of Mobuto Sese Seko by providing training sanctuary in Uganda and advisors to the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL) (Reyntjens 2009, 54-58). The overthrow of Mobuto in 1997 and the establishment of the DRC did not end the conflict. To prove he was not a foreign puppet, President Kabila of the DRC expelled his foreign backers in July 1998. Claiming that the DRC government could not protect the ethnic Banyamulenge in eastern Congo, the UPDF and Rwandan forces invaded. They would remain until 2003. The outcome of the operation was mixed. While military objectives were reached, the extended presence of the UPDF in the DRC as an occupation force caused its own instability in the area.

Evidence suggests that the UPDF took advantage of long-standing informal economic ties between eastern Congo and Uganda to exploit the newfound control the UPDF exerted over that part of the Congo (Vlassenroot, Perrot and Cuvelier 2012; United Nations Secretary General 2002). Additionally, the UPDF was significantly cited in a UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner (UN OHCHR) report on human rights violations between 1993 and 2003, charges the Museveni government vehemently rejected (UN OHCHR. 2010).

To the north of Uganda, the relationship with Sudan has been characterized by conflict. Museveni has supported the Bantu population of South Sudan against the Moslem north, just as he supported the Tutsi against the oppression of the Hutu in Rwanda. Museveni had good relations with the leader of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), John Garang, and materially supported the SPLA. That proclivity increased through three developments. First was the retreat by the remnants of the UNLA to Juba in South Sudan. Second, Khartoum emerged as a center of Islamic radicalization, and its effects were felt in Uganda. Third was the presence of the LRA in South Sudan after the UPDF had displaced them from northern Uganda.

As Kampala fell to the NRA, the remnants of the UNLA retreated to Juba, where they were supported by the Bashir government in Khartoum in response to the close relationship between Uganda and the SPLA. From 1987 until 1989, the NRA was heavily engaged with the SPLA against the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) in the south of Sudan. NRA support would evolve from combat operations to the provision of advisors through 1990 (de Waal 2004, 185-186).

The Allied Democratic Front (ADF) has previously been noted, but its ties to Sudan created another justification for continued Ugandan military engagement. One of the groups that comprised the ADF was an Ugandan Islamic group, the Tablik youth movement. In what could be interpreted as a reaction to the use of Islam during the Idi Amin years, actions taken by Museveni were considered counter to the Moslems in Uganda. As Tablik became more radicalized, the movement moved to eastern Congo to set up a camp for insurrection, supported by Sudan (de Waal 2004,199). The Sudanese support of the ADF, as well as their support of the LRA as will be discussed below, resulted in Uganda breaking diplomatic ties with Sudan in 1995.

The most significant aspect of the Ugandan-Sudan relationship concerned the LRA. When the UPDF displaced the LRA from northern Uganda, the rebels relocated to the contiguous regions of southern Sudan. In 1990, the LRA teamed with a local anti-SPLA militia to fight, and by 1993 had become a proxy force for the SAF (Schomerus 2012, 126). While the UPDF had been observed in South Sudan since the early 1990s, it wasn't until 1996 that UPDF presence became noticeably more evident, with battles fought against the LRA and then the battle of Yei in which the UPDF supported the SPLA against the SAF (Schomerus 2012 128). In 2002, the UPDF initiated a major operation against the LRA: Operation IRON FIST. This action had the permission of Sudan, since the Nairobi Agreement signed in 1999 had mandated that both Uganda and Sudan would stop supporting their proxies in the south. The operation was not successful in defeating the LRA, and the UPDF would remain in southern Sudan, even as it chased the LRA into northeastern Congo and through the Central African Republic into 2008. The peace discussions with Kony used designated assembly areas in southern Sudan, and

the relations between the UPDF and SPLA remain in place, as of 2007, the time horizon for this study.

When contrasted with pre-1986 history, the Uganda military has been focused on counterinsurgency within its borders and with foreign deployments rather than involved in the repression of the population and political machinations. The new Uganda Constitution of 1995 codified the role of the UPDF, and provides a foundation on which the role of the military continues to be built, if at times imperfectly.

Experience

History presents a view into a military's predilections. Actual deployment patterns indicate how national security decision makers consider the role of the military and to what end. The victory of the NRM/NRA again provides the break between concepts in how the Uganda military is used. Given the historical focus of the post-independence military on regime survival resulting in a military optimized for internal repression and not much else, the changes afforded by the ascension of the NRM are fundamental. This section will present data that supports the perspective that the internal mission has declined while the external mission has become the primary focus of UPDF effort.

The Ugandan military was blatantly used as a vehicle for the suppression of dissent and the maintenance of power from Obote's rise in 1964-1967 until the ascendancy of the NRM/NRA in 1986, and some observers accuse Museveni of continuing such use of the military. Yet there are distinct differences between the use of force by previous Ugandan leaders and that of the Museveni administration.

The Amin regime remains the most blatant abuser of the armed forces to maintain power, subjugate civilians, and instill the will of the leader on the country. The use of non-Ugandans within the military during this period, and the use of the military and the security apparatus to terrorize other ethnic groups and those out of favor are well known and documented. To accept these as “one-off” actions denies the narrative arc of history reaching back into the colonial period after 1890, and the continued use of the military for internal security. The Amin regime conduct was so egregious that it represents an example of such usage at the extreme in post-independence sub-Saharan Africa.

The use of the military by Obote in both his administrations is subtler, if no less focused on regime survival. Omara-Otunnu identifies the Obote response to the 1964 military mutiny as the beginning of the use of the army as a political tool (Omara-Otunnu 1987, 65-77). Mudoola observes that the army under the second Obote regime was predatory and undisciplined, and regraded by Ugandans as an “instrument of repression” (Mudoola 1991, 236). As importantly, the role of the Ugandan military was to provide internal security. A disastrous course for the Ugandan people was set during the second Obote presidency, the combination of an army focused on such a mission, and the politicization of the army as a method for consolidation of power (Mwakikagile 2012, 157). Since the military has always been favored by leadership, it received greater resources than the civil police organization to provide policing services, to the detriment of the development of an independent police capacity in Uganda, exemplified by the head of the Ugandan police being a senior military officer (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative 2006). The high levels of violence against civilians during the Bush War of the NRM/NRA against the UNLA prior to 1986 solidified the negative perceptions of the

army of the government. It indicates a strategic culture focused solely on internal security and maintenance of the incumbent regime. The demonstrated strategic calculus of Ugandan leaders during these periods provided greater weight to these two factors, and reflected an historical legacy back to independence in 1962.

National security decisions changed when the NRM/NRA marched into Kampala. As previously discussed, Museveni designed and employed his army differently than previous Ugandan leaders. The emphasis of the NRA as a people's army was instilled in the NRA fighters, and demonstrated in their deportment toward civilians. Public pronouncements by Museveni and the NRM established the NRA as the protector of the people and is a legacy that the UPDF still carries today.⁶ Under Museveni, the UPDF has been deployed out -of-country to a far greater extent than before the NRM came to power. The willingness to deploy beyond Ugandan borders indicates less of a concern over the need for the army to provide internal security, although issues as to the capacity of Ugandan police to maintain internal security remain suspect. Can foreign deployments of the UPDF simply be a method of coup-proofing, or an attempt to placate the military by keeping it busy (Tripp 2010, 33)? Yes; yet the frequency and the technical requirements needed to forward deploy speak to different considerations in the use of force by the Museveni government. The equipment, training, and manpower needed to deploy outside the borders are different from those needed to be a repressive force within borders. Consider the Amin era military which was very good at repression of civilians,

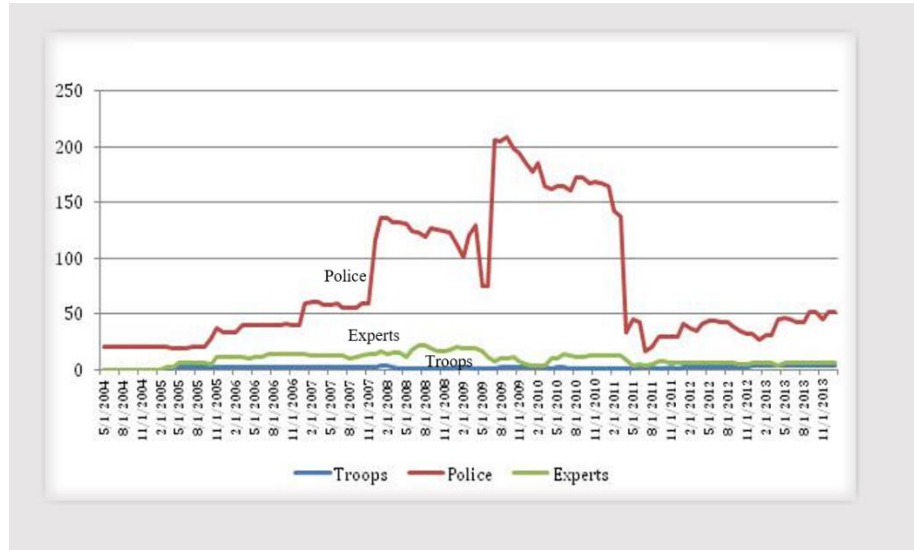
⁶ Interview with U.S. official, 13 March 2017.

but when used to attack a foreign state (e.g. Tanzania in 1978) failed completely, and was ineffectual in stopping the subsequent Tanzanian invasion.

Additional insight into military usage can be derived from event reporting. Given the change in the usage of the Ugandan military after 1986, the expectation would be that military activity against civilians would be low, as an overall percentage of violence against civilians. Accounting that event reporting based on media faces criticisms on accuracy and reporting bias, especially in a single-party system, as well as concerns over underreporting (Chojnacki 2012; Raleigh 2012; Weidmann 2016), the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) database of conflict events in Africa provides a rough order of magnitude to establish usage of the army against civilians. Current research with the ACLED establishes a 35 per cent level of violence against civilians (hereafter VAC) for politically violent African states (Raleigh et al 2010). Analysis of VAC in Uganda between 1997 and 2006 reveals activity associated with the UPDF was 3.27 per cent of all the VAC recorded. Even including unidentified armed groups in the total VAC numbers, since some events may not be accurately associated with UPDF or specialized units of the army, the number rises to 7.69%. The numbers fall well below the 35 percent threshold expected if the UPDF is primarily focused on population repression. There is enough reporting to indicate that certain specialized units have been used to quell opposition to the Museveni regime, and the UPDF has deployed in ways during election cycles that are in contradiction to western election norms. Neither of those observations obviate the strategic calculus that the evidence suggests: the primacy of the UPDF as a tool of foreign policy rather than internal repression. In addition to unilateral operational deployments, Uganda has contributed to peacekeeping operations,

but modestly. Ugandan contributions have provided police and prison officials since 2005, but only a handful of soldiers. (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Uganda’s Uniformed Personnel in UN Peacekeeping Operations 1990-2014



Source: Jowell 2014.

Evident from the chart above is the unwillingness of the Uganda leadership to participate in UN military deployments. President Museveni and the UN have been on opposite sides of issues, as the initial deployment of the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) demonstrated when MONUC liaison officers arrived in Kampala in 1999 as part of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. Further experience with the UN has convinced Museveni that the UN may be effective with logistics and combat service support tasks, but not as effective in the fight (Pflanz 2012).

Uganda is active in AU and sub-regional - specifically the East African Community (EAC) - security venues and regimes, even before the major deployment of the UPDF to Somalia. Not all experience in the field has been efficacious. In 1994 as part of a U.S. initiative to integrate non-West African countries into the Economic

Community of West African States (ECOWAS) mission in Liberia, Uganda provided a battalion of troops, along with Tanzania (Howe 1996, 159). The deployment did not go well, with accusations of a lack of commitment on the part of the Ugandans, as well as poor performance in combat (Howe 1996, 169). Uganda withdrew in 1995, as did the Tanzanians (Berman and Sams 2000, 103).

Perhaps in response to the experience in Liberia, Uganda has been more active in East Africa. Especially with Tanzania and Kenya, the UPDF has participated in integration discussions, been active in command post level exercises and conducted planning to support AU sub-regional security practices. These activities are consistent with Museveni's role as a leader in security in East Africa, but also indicate less of a desire to participate with the UN, even with the funding initiatives that accrue with such cooperation. Uganda is establishing itself as a competent military force capable of increasingly complex operations in East Africa; less so in the rest of the world.

Geography

The bounded-space that became Uganda offers a number of geographic contrasts that are reflected in the societies that inhabited the area prior to British dominion. Uganda occupies an area of lacustrine Africa slightly smaller than the United Kingdom. The verdant plateau of southern and generally southwestern Uganda provides fertile soil for farming, and the lake areas (encompassing Lakes Edward, Victoria, Albert, and Kyoga) are devoid of the *tse tse* fly and its attendant illness (Prunier 2017, 99). The pre-colonial societies that developed in these regions included the kingdoms of Buganda, Toro, Ankole, and Bunyoro that represented complex societies with hierarchal systems, and, in the case of the Buganda, relatively large military organizations. To the north and

the northeast, less rain falls and the societies that emerged in these areas, the Acholi and the Karamojong (both aggregates of several distinct ethnicities) were pastoral and less complex than their southern neighbors. The relative complexity would affect the perception of the British colonial authorities, but at this juncture presents the link between topography and society before colonialism.

The amalgamation of these societies and kingdoms by the British into Uganda, from the Swahili word for “country of the Buganda,” parallels other British colonial acquisitions, and has been credited with providing the foundation for future instability (Karugire 1988) by coercing a “false” state. Yet Richard J. Reid (2017) is not so quick to dismiss the pre-colonial history of the geographical box that would become Uganda as a pure artificiality of European creation.

Uganda can be interpreted as an economic, political and cultural ‘community’. Or ‘zone’, which in fact has a degree of cohesion and interconnection in the deeper past. In other words, there is a precolonial crucible that becomes Uganda, a zone of interconnectedness in which the seeds of ‘Uganda’ are sown (Reid 2017, 8).

Accepting that the geographic colocation of pre-colonial societies results in such a ‘zone,’ the creation of the Ugandan Protectorate by the British obviated the legitimacy of such a state. Rather than creation of political entities through the cooperation of populations, realization of economic and power commonalities, or other mechanism through which states evolve, Uganda emerged through coercion and imposition of a foreign power. Yet such an argument can only be taken so far. As Penderel Moon (1989) notes about the conquest of the India, the establishment of Uganda was a product of cooperation between the British and their allies, the Buganda. Karugire identified that the British initially assumed responsibility for only the Kingdom of Buganda after the

religious wars between 1888 and 1892 (Karugire 1988, 6) and that British expansion beyond Buganda occurred as a response to protect Buganda.

[T]he British occupation of Eastern and Northern Uganda, as that of Western Uganda, was motivated primarily by the British desire to secure a firm hold over Buganda by eliminating all kinds of threats to her security from whichever direction these threats emanated or were imagined to emanate (Karugire 1988,9)

The results of this “forceful despoliation, dissolution and amalgamation of pre-existing kingdom states and their involuntary union with non-centralized communities” (Mutengesa and Hendrickson 2008, 12) and the indirect governance style of British colonialism was the codification of ethnicity as a tool of governance through the establishment of district boundaries based on upon ethnicity (Karugire 1985, 13), which continued on in post-independence Uganda. The indirect method of rule depended on the collaboration of local chieftaincies to propagate British control from the center. As will be discussed in more detail below, the British also exported the concept of societal roles based on ethnic “attributes” from India. Thus, the Buganda were considered the primary collaborators with the British as the indirect rule was established using the Bugandan concept of *Kiganda* a uniquely Bugandan form of centralized governance throughout the country (Karugire 1988, 14). Less sophisticated communities of Northern Uganda, such as the Acholi, were considered more suitable for manual labor, and especially soldiering. Through these modalities of colonialism, the multi-ethnic make-up of Uganda was prescribed and codified in such a way that its presence would be difficult to overcome once independence was achieved.

At independence, the ethnic roles established by the British remained in place, but came under pressure as northern ethnicities gained power, most notably in the rise of

Milton Obote and as the army, manned predominantly by Acholi and Langi became an increasingly important participant in politics. But not only ethnic divisions caused friction of newly independent Uganda. Former kingdoms that had been granted a greater degree of administrative autonomy by the British now clamored for independence, including the Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro (Mwakikagile 2012, 28). Regionalism rose as a concern, exemplified by the secession of groups into the Republic of Rowenzuro in the western border with the Congo, which fought the central government until 1970 (Mwakikagile 2012, 20). Even religious fissures from the pre-colonial period between Protestants and Catholics re-emerged (Karugire 1988, 41; Mwakikagile 2012, 54). Into this maelstrom stepped Milton Obote with a solution combining two political parties and a power sharing scheme. The two parties were diametrically opposed. One, the party of Obote, desired for a “modern” state devoid of ethnicity. The other represented the power and status of the Buganda Kingdom. The alliance failed spectacularly and Obote used the failure to impose his vision on Uganda and consolidate power in a constitutional crisis in 1966. He was backed by the army and its Deputy Commander, Colonel Ida Amin, while not a fellow northerner, a representative of an ethnicity that has been marginalized by the colonial system. The culminating action was the ouster of the Kabake (king) of Buganda, and the slaughter of Bugandas by the army at Mengo, led by Amin on Obote’s orders. “The battle of Mengo was the first major bloodbath in independent Uganda.” (Mutibwa, 1992, 39). It was based on ethnicity, and would not be the last as within five years Amin would rise to power.

The army had accepted Obote by his response to the 1964 mutiny. The army struck over pay and conditions, as well as decrying the slow pace of Africanization.

Obote acquiesced to all demands of the mutineers (Mutibwa 1992, 36). He also increased spending on the military, which increased the capacity of the army to subdue internal threats (Reid 2017, 67). The army had become a significant participant in Ugandan politics. The 1971 coup and establishment of Idi Amin in power has been linked to the use of ethnic politics for control of the army between Obote and Amin (Mutibwa 1992, 71). Amin's ethnic based campaign to maintain power solidified ethnicity as a central discriminant in Ugandan politics. The politics which returned to Uganda upon his ouster did not change, and Milton Obote's second chance at leadership fell under the same weight of ethnic-tinged violence in response to the multitude of insurgencies it faced. The challenge, and promise, of the NRM/NRA victory of Museveni was to overcome ethnic politics, and nowhere as important as in the armed forces. The rhetoric of such change did not always match the reality as the UPDF, so named in the new constitution of 1992, was embroiled in counterinsurgency operations and foreign deployments during the first fifteen years after victory. The insurgencies were ethnicity based, and created the same condition that had led former Ugandan leaders to violence against ethnic enemies. Museveni took actions to break that particular cycle of violence. As previously described, one tactic was to integrate former fighters into the UPDF to foster both a sense that the UPDF is a national army and to integrate former fighters into society. Concomitantly, the UPDF increased its capacity to fight against other insurgencies. Some situations could not avoid ethnic association. The fight against the LRA has continued to provide an environment in which the northern ethnicities, the Acholi and Lango, have continued to be marginalized, especially given the concentration tactics of the UPDF counterinsurgency and the horrific violence attributed to both sides in the fight.

Ethnicity continues to be a factor that affects the UPDF and thus strategic culture. As will be discussed below, ethnicity continues to be a part of Ugandan's identity, and thus the national security apparatus must be cognizant of such activities and how the armed forces represent the promise of a united Uganda, not the dangers of the past revisited.

The negative effects of ethnicity figured into the decision by Museveni for the establishment of the NRM as a "movement" with single party rule and the evolution into a competitive authoritarianism in which a civilian government establishes democratic institutions but sets conditions to provide incumbent leadership with an unfair advantage (Levitsky and Wiay 2010, 5). Aili Mari Tripp has categorized the current Uganda government as a hybrid regime and specifically "semi-authoritarian" (Tripp 2010, 13). The distinction between Tripp and Levitsky and Way appear to be the modalities of creating an "uneven playing field" for elections and the willingness to let the political process run. Yet these descriptions describe the result of the issue that faced Museveni and the NRM upon investiture in Kampala.

The problem to be solved had its roots in the post-independence parties, according to the NRM, so that rather than re-establish the conditions that led to instability, the answer was a single party that would elect leaders by personal merit rather than party affiliation. These reforms were met by a supportive population who saw the NRM as a change for the better (Reid 2017, 54-55). This was not the first example of a Ugandan leader wishing to consolidate political power in the center and disenfranchise regional and ethnic competition. Obote considered the post-independence era in Uganda in these same terms, though a different frame of reference, and is credited with adherence to both Nkrumu of Ghana and Nyerere of Tanzania as advocates of an Africa that would institute

socialist modernization over the legacy of colonialism. For both Nkrumu and Nyerere, such modernization was at the expense of the ethnic groups. Phares Mutibwa categorizes Obote as a “radical nationalist, bent on creating a united republic” (Mutibwa, 1992, 50). Obote sought to fulfill his vision by disestablishing the kingdoms within the Ugandan polity: Bunguro, Toro, Ankole, Busoga and especially Buganda. These kingdoms represented a British administrative reality and the leading position of Buganda had been in place from the establishment of the colony (Mwakikagile 2012, 36). The result was the abolishment of the kingdoms in the 1966 consolidation of power by Obote and the massacre at Mengi.

Whatever the actual motivation of the actions taken by Obote, they were framed through the ethnic lens of Ugandan politics as the consolidation of power by the northern ethnicities led by the Longi Obote and supported by the army composed of northern ethnicities. The 1971 coup by Amin repeated the ethnic nature of power politics in Uganda, as Amin’s western ethnic representatives took control of government and the army, until deposed by the Tanzanians in the 1979 war. The expectation of a united Uganda was again shattered as ethnic politics returned Obote to power supported by an army inhabited by co-ethnicities. Interestingly, it was inter-northern ethnic politics that brought Obote down and ultimately led to the victory of Museveni.

It was in such an environment that Museveni chose to establish a “movement” through the NRM that would acknowledge Ugandan diversity, but provide no mechanism for political modernization of ethnicity. Even though the Kingdoms were re-established as cultural icons, the single-party state would only elect members of the NRM to office. As Godfrey Mwakikagile observes:

With regard to multi-party politics (Museveni's) refusal to allow party politics is justified on the grounds that having political parties encourages sectarianism, tribalism and regionalism and could easily take the country back to the dark past when such divisions placed the nation in chaos and civil wars. (Mwakikagile 2012, 266).

Have the actions instituted by Museveni increased Ugandan unity? Observers note that Museveni has favored his own ethnicity in government jobs (Kugman, Neypati and Stewart 1999, 25), the single-party rule is a power ploy to avoid democracy (Mwakikagile 2012, 267) and that semi-authoritarianism is a system that is both manipulatable and must be constantly reinforced through violence and patronage (Tripp 2010, 195). With such a mixed record, it is difficult to understand how ethnicity is currently manifested.

No one can deny that Uganda has been stable and suffered no violent attempts of regime change, even with the insurgencies of the NRM/MRA era. These considerations are appropriate for what Billig (1995) describes as "banal nationalism." Through exposure to consistent nationalist messages in media, national holidays, national sports teams and the display of national symbols, notably the state's flag, members of society develop a default of national identification. The period of stability in Uganda after 1986 to the present provides the environment to establish such banal nationalism and decrease the effects of ethnicity. Using data from Afrobarometer surveys which posit a question to measure the importance of national identity over ethnic identity, surveys from 2005/2006 in Uganda indicate that 49.7 per cent of the population feel that national and ethnic identification are equal, far outstripping those favoring national (31.1 per cent) or ethnic identities (18.8 per cent) (Afrobarometer 2017). Subsequent surveys through 2015 are consistent with 2005's findings. Without being able to note change prior to 2005,

analysis is problematic. Yet what is evident is that ethnicity remains an important part of Ugandan society.

Geopolitics

The geopolitics of the Great Lakes region presents another source of strategic culture within Uganda from effects on experience and outlook of the national security apparatus. Uganda is positioned in what can be described as a ‘bad neighborhood.’ Of those states contiguous to Uganda, only Kenya and Tanzania can be characterized as stable; and Uganda went to war with Tanzania in 1979. Sudan to the north, the Democratic Republic of Congo to the west/southwest and Rwanda to the south, have all suffered high levels of strife and instability, with only Rwanda truly emerging as a stable state over the last decade. As described in detail above, Uganda has been involved in all of these conflicts. That Uganda has been surrounded by constant conflict is an important source for strategic culture. The threats posed by the wars and conflicts are myriad, and influence the country’s perception of the need to develop appropriate capabilities to protect.

Conflicts in states contiguous to Uganda present a range of challenges. Refugees from the conflicts previously listed are a burden on Uganda even if international funding is available. Since 1955 accepting over 78,000 refugees from Sudan in 1955, Uganda has hosted refugee populations from Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sierra-Leone, Senegal, Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. The most politic refugee numbers have come from neighbors: Rwanda, Congo and Sudan, with a small number from Kenya. Refugee settlements are an economic burden on Uganda, with the additional strain on the Uganda government ability to support, as well as causing strain on the local

districts in which refugee populations reside. Conflicts in neighboring states indicate instability in border regions that result in safe havens for insurgent groups. Such armed groups not only create destabilizing conditions within the areas of Uganda in which they operate, but can be used by competing states as proxies against Uganda. The use of the LRA by Sudan in late 1990's is an example of a state attempting to influence Uganda actions against them by creating a new threat. Thus, the LRA becomes the foil to Uganda support to the SPLA in southern Sudan.

Concomitant with the issue of rebel safe havens is the proclivity of states to interfere in conflicts along their borders, justified by claims of self-defense. Once cross-border operations have been initiated, it becomes increasingly difficult to extract these forces. Whether the justification to remain is based on actual security concerns, fear of reprisals against co-ethnicities or resource exploitation, there are many reasons to become mired. Such was the experience of the Ugandans in their 1996 interactions in Zaire that would continue through two rounds and put Uganda at odds with its former Rwandan ally. Living in a bad neighborhood has implications across all sections of Ugandan society.

Ethnic geography and regional geopolitics presents a complex environment for Uganda and how it contemplates the use of force. The role of the military and its primary forms of internal or external concerns inculcates strategic culture with attributes unique from those set by history. Geopolitics set the threat perception and define the threat and from whence it comes. Threats are not always military. For example, the economic burden of refugees can be exorbitant. Thus, refugees present humanitarian and national security concerns to a nation.

Resources

The effect of resource challenges on the development of Uganda's strategic culture is a story of dependence on other states for military assistance. With low GDP since independence, Uganda has had limited government funds for the military. Reporting is incomplete, especially regarding military expenditures as a percentage of state spending prior to 1999⁷, but some trends can be discerned from military expenditures as a percentage of GDP. From a low of .121% of GDP at independence, military spending increased to over 4 percent during the Obote years to the Amin coup of 1971. During this period, the Ugandan economy was comparatively robust. Both the general economy and the military share of GDP generally declined during the Amin administration, reaching a low of 1.8 percent in 1979. The second Obote regime and the Bush War would drive military spending to a new high of 4.5 percent in 1987. But with the NRM/NRA victory, other economic priorities would result in a decrease to 1.9 percent in 1993, during a period of military downsizing from a high of 70,000 in 1993, to 41,500 by 1998. From 1993, the military budget would hover between 2-3 percent of GDP. More interestingly, the data for military expenditures as a percentage of central government expenditures started as high as 19 percent in 1999, falling to a low of 10.3 percent in 2002, before climbing back to 12-14 percent range subsequently. Such levels are consistent with other developing countries such as Ethiopia, Bahrain, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The military budget, however, can cover the basics of force maintenance, and observers agree that to increase force capacity, foreign military aid in equipment and

⁷ All data based on World Bank information (World Bank 2017).

training are required. Such military assistance has also been forthcoming, starting with the Israelis who became the primary provider of military equipment and aid immediately after independence (Omaru-Otunnu 1987, 67). China was active during this period, as was the Soviet Union who would become a major supplier of equipment and integration training after 1965 to the Ugandan military. During the Amin years, over 700 Ugandan military personnel received training in the Soviet Union, but a falling out with Moscow required Amin to shift to support from Libya and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, which provided troops during the 1979 war with Tanzania. After the war, Tanzania took on a role in training the new Ugandan National Army, and upon their withdrawal, the United Kingdom resumed a military training role with the second Obote administration. Obote received military aid from North Korea, who put advisors into the field during the Bush War. Museveni did not break relations with any of the countries providing military support, continuing to receive arms and training from the North Koreans, Libya and the Soviet Union. Starting in the late 1980s, Museveni increased relations with the United States, and by 1990 was receiving limited U.S. assistance, which would blossom in 2001 as Uganda became a key African ally in the Global War on Terror (GWOT). The UK and France continue to have military training missions in Uganda, as well as China and North Korea.

The importance of this litany of military assistance providers is that over the history of the Ugandan armed forces, equipment and training has been provided by a wide range of countries, each providing unique equipment and training founded on the strategic culture of the providing state. Few sources of military assistance have been refused, and relationships have continued based on the donor state's ability to provide

assistance rather than any ideological basis. The result of this method of resource augmentation is greater complexity for the Ugandan military. Training, maintenance and repair capacities must be established for each piece of unique equipment and type, as well as maintaining a logistics inventory to fix it. Many equipment types may not even have identification plates and manuals in English or Swahili, and certainly not local Ugandan languages. Faced with a multiplicity of equipment types, troops become frustrated, don't use the equipment and maintenance suffers, decreasing availability. In a more positive light, training and education from a range of providers presents the Ugandan military the opportunity to experience doctrines from which they can pick the most pertinent doctrines for the Ugandan environment. This is not an easy endeavor, but feedback from observers of military staff colleges in Africa indicate that Uganda is up to the task. It is difficult to assess if all these various equipment and doctrinal inputs have had any effect on the Ugandan armed forces. While this circumstance provides for the needs of the UPDF, it also results in challenges for integration of military equipment and doctrines espoused by the donor states.

Limited military budgets have also led Uganda to establish commercial enterprises run by the UPDF to control costs and generate additional income. The involvement of the military in commercial endeavors is not novel. In China, the military has been involved with economic production since the revolution. Mulvenon notes that Moa Zedong regarded such activity "as an ideological task...not simply as a tactical necessity of guerilla warfare" (Mulvenon [2001] 2015, 1). Many other states, notably in Latin America and Southeast Asia, have such military enterprises. Indonesia created an

extensive military business enterprise after budget cuts in 1952 that by 1988 accounted for half of the Indonesian military budget (Mulvenon [2001] 2015, 2).

Studies of these military enterprises has provided examples of success as well as failure (Mani 2007), and Pakistan and China represent examples of the effective use of military business practices, albeit with differing results. In Pakistan, the military business, mostly focused through retired military foundations, has established funding sources not tied to the state budget, and become a political and economic actor in its own right. In China, the success of the military business enterprise generated concern over a political power base independent of the Communist Party, which led to the disestablishment of the military businesses. These practices, in countries to which Uganda has sent military officers for professional military education, were not lost on the Ugandans.

A desire to be self-sufficient in supplies for the military is referenced during the second Obote regime by Engur who notes he was a university trained agricultural specialist recruited into the UNLA to join “the production center of the Uganda Army to make the Army self-reliant” (Engur 2013, 47). The desire or tradition of the army striving to be self-sufficient continued after the NRM/NRA came to power. An act of parliament in 1989 established the National Enterprise Corporation (NEC), a conglomerate run by the military to provide supplemental funding and provide a self-sustaining military industrial capacity. For example, one of the company’s subsidiaries manufactures small arms and explosives. Unlike the example of Pakistan and China, the NEC has languished at times and required government bailouts. Industrial capital of the NEC has not been fully utilized, sometimes for decades, and the company has not won

government contracts. A 2015-2016 Uganda Government Auditor's General report noted that the NEC had lost Shs 31 billion (\$8,599,400 in 2017 U.S. dollars) since its inception "due to poor management practices" (Kyeyune 2017). Thus, the influence that the military business activity has gained in Pakistan and China (Mani 2007) has not been forthcoming in the case of Uganda.

While success has been elusive for the NEC, the Government of Uganda continues to invest in the organization's future. The NEC holds a broad portfolio of companies, many of which are run at a loss, including sport stadiums, railroads and tractor leasing businesses. Other subsidiaries, directly related to military functions, appear more successful, such as munition production. The legacy that the NEC represents of self-sustainment for the UPDF is directly tied to a government budget process in which the military is not always the priority, a powerful source of strategic culture.

Political Structure

To borrow the language of Levitsky and Way (2010), Uganda presents a stable competitive authoritarianism with high organizational power. "Competitive authoritarian regimes are civilian regimes in which formal democratic institutions exist and are widely viewed as the primary means of gaining power, but in which incumbents' abuse of the state places them at a significant advantage vis-à-vis their opponents" (Levitsky and Way 2010, 5). The extensive power and reach of the NRM results in an uneven playing field on which other parties compete. Such a categorization of the Museveni regime was chosen to highlight the dependence of the national security apparatus on Museveni and the NRM elites without recourse to substantive input from other sectors of the polity. As

enshrined in the UPDF Act of 2005, there are three elements to the decision to deploy the military: the president as Commander and Chief; the UPDF High Command; and Defense Forces Council (DFC). The DFC consists of members of the High Command,⁸ specified senior officers of the NRM on 26 January 1986, all Directors of Services and commanding officers of brigades and battalions and officers commanding equivalent units in the Defence Forces. These organizations seem large for decision-making, and may be used by the smaller group of Museveni and his immediate advisers to present the veneer of consultations or to present the decision to the primary stakeholders. As constituted through the UPDF Act of 2005, the power of the president is preserved in his position in the High Command, and through the inclusion of Historicals (those senior officers/members of the NRA on January 26, 1986) and the NRM representatives. Research of Ugandan security decision-making cases validate the view that Museveni “overshadows” all other national security apparatus entities:

(Research) demonstrate(s) a significant level of autonomy on the part of the Presidency and the hegemony of the president in relation to other sectors of the state responsible for determining security policy. It is important to point out that the hegemony of the president is not confined only to decision-making in the security domain, but also extends to all other areas of state management... (Mutengesha and Hendrickson 2008, 65).

Parliament has a codified role to play, but examples abound of their disenfranchisement when the decision has been already made. For example, Parliament debated the inclusion of the Historicals (The Monitor 2004), with no discernable effect on the outcome. This

⁸ President, Vice President, Minister of Defence, designated members of the High Command of the NRM on January 26, 1986, Chief of the Defence Forces, Deputy Chief of the Defence Forces, all Service commanders, the Chief of Staff, all Service Chiefs of Staff, all Chiefs of Services of the Defence Forces, all commanders of any formations higher than a division, all Division commanders, commanders of equivalent units and Commander of the General Headquarters, designated members of the NRM, and other commanders and experts as the President may direct to advise.

trend extends to other aspects of defense, including the deployment to Somalia, but the uneven playing field created by the NRM monopoly on power predetermines debate in the president's favor.

The lack of power to affect decisions does not stifle debate within the Uganda Parliament over national security decisions. In 1998 when the UPDF deployed to Eastern DRC, members of parliament voiced concern over the designation by the President of the DRC of Uganda as an aggressor, as well as asking "why government is so quick to employ the military option to all problems that come its way" (The Monitor 1998). There are stipulations within the Uganda Constitution that require parliament to "...make laws regulating the [UPDF], and, in particular, provide for the deployment of troops outside Uganda" (Uganda Constitution §201), but the NRM presence in the parliament makes debate hollow. To institutionalize this reality, a bill was proposed in 1999 that provided for Parliament to approve a request to deploy troops out of country with a simple 50% majority of members of parliament (New Vision 1999). It was hotly debated, and withdrawn by government in mid-2000 (The Monitor 2000), resurrected and finally approved in March 2005 (The Monitor 2005). The bill had grown to more than just a vehicle for the approval of deployments by the UPDF out of country, but included direction on the composition of the High Command and that armed forces recruiting occur in "every district of Uganda" (The Monitor 2005). That the outcome would be in the government's favor is beyond doubt, and the bill ultimately codified actions that the High Command desired, paving the way to further consolidation in the UPDF Act of 2005. Evidenced by the debate over the UPDF bill that began in 1999, the national security apparatus is designed to support the desires of the decision-making elite with the

primary hub around President Museveni. The debates and questions in parliament that are counter to the national security apparatus are overcome by the NRM majority.

Likewise, the DFC and to a certain extent the High Command are vehicles for decision support rather than deliberation.

Defense Organization

As explained by Samuel Huntington (1957), a professional military will focus on its profession and not be as tempted to enter the political fray. The four attributes that define Huntington's professional military are expertise; the ability to conduct combat operations (Huntington 1957, 11); responsibility in that the expertise in the use of violence is used for the "benefit of society" (Huntington 1957, 15); and a sense of unity of effort that supports the other attributes, described as corporateness (Huntington 1957, 10). Without entering the debate over the concept of civil-military relations for which Huntington provided a foundation (Janowitz 1960; Finer 1962; Nielsen 2012), this study supports the interpretation of military professionalism that hold subordination to civil authority as integral to the concept (Feaver 1996). In other words, it doesn't matter how much of the other attributes are present, without civil subordination *ipso facto*, the military is not professional.

Based on these attributes, the Uganda military was not professional prior to 1986. To be sure, many countries provided military education and training to increase the effectiveness of the Uganda military, including the U.S., the United Kingdom, France, Israel, Pakistan, India, China and North Korea, to name a few. Many senior officers in the UPDF have attended war colleges in the U.S., China, India and the Soviet Union/Russia. Yet the performance of the Uganda military to conduct operations when

called on before 1986 was found wanting, and corporateness of the military can be more correctly described as a continuation of the martial ethnic program of colonial times. As the NRA developed after 1986, Museveni set out to more fully professionalize the NRA/UPDF. Whether such actions represent coup-protection or a true desire for a professional military by western standards can be debated. Yet the result of his actions has been a military with increasing competence, responsibility, and corporateness. Many of these benefits accrued from foreign deployments, but also emanated from changes made to the civil-military relationship. The single party rule embodied by the multi-decade leadership of Museveni is problematic to observers wishing for a democratic state based on multi-party politics. Regardless of the debate as to the level of democracy within Uganda, the UPDF continues a path toward the professional ideal rather than its antithesis. This section will look at efforts to reach the stated goal of a professional military.

Beyond operational deployments, the UPDF has been modernizing and professionalizing since the codification of the force in chapter twelve of the Uganda Constitution of 1995. They have also conducted the work to establish the conceptual framework for professionalization. The stability brought to Uganda since 1986 provides impetus for international support of its security sector. Historically, the influence of the United Kingdom (UK) on the UPDF results in the primacy of UK military assistance among the myriad of countries offering assistance. Throughout all phases of Uganda's political development, the international community has provided military assistance of various types to the Ugandan military. Such assistance seamlessly transfers between regimes. For example, North Korea has had a long presence in Uganda providing

training to Ugandan soldiers, and in the Bush war, fighting with the UPLA against the NRA. Yet, North Korean military trainers continued to provide training to the post-1986 military, finally being asked to leave in 2005 as Uganda adhered to UN sanctions.⁹ In 1997, the World Bank funded the Logistics and Accounting Reform Program (LARP), an effort to upgrade the fiscal efficiency of the UPDF (Rusoke 2003, 23). In 1998, the Uganda Defense Efficiency Study (UDES) was funded by the UK to increase “openness, transparency and accountability” within The Ministry of Defense and the UPDF (Rusoke 2003, 23). In February 2001, The UK Department of International Development (DfID) organized a workshop between UK military experts and the UPDF to “assess the progress made in implementing the recommendations of the [UDES and LARP]” (Hendrickson 2001, 1). The result was the Uganda Defense Reform Programme (sic), an ambitious modernization program focused on “reforming the Uganda Defense systems with a view of effecting efficiencies in the general management of MOD, introducing fiscal accountability, cost effectiveness, modernizing and professionalizing the [UPDF]” (Rusoke 2003, 23). The project focuses on fiscal and budgetary management issues as Uganda faced under international donor pressure over their use of foreign military aid, as well as a public outcry on the amount of defense expenditure by the UPDF. The thrust of the UDRP appears broader than resource management, and the UPDF created a director general for the program amongst some skepticism (Tegulle 2002). Interestingly, along with public concern with the size of the UPDF budget relative to other ministries, there was uncertainty as to the ultimate loyalty of the army as President Museveni extended his

⁹ The author observed North Korean hand-to-hand combat trainers in uniform in Jinja, Uganda, in 2008.

rule in office. Tegulle notes that since independence, each regime has had “its own” army, a reference that the military has demonstrated fealty to the regime, rather than the country. Actions to professionalize the UPDF argued that the military’s allegiance was to the country rather than the individual (Tegulle 2002).

Two results of the UDRP process to emerge in the time horizon of this study focused on decisions in 2006/7 were the *White Paper on Defense Transformation* (GOU 2004) and *The Uganda People’s Defense Forces Act, 2005* (GOU 2005). The White paper set out the road-map for how the UPDF was envisioned, its roles and missions and the threats it faced. It remains one of the few efforts of its kind amongst the militaries of sub-Saharan Africa. One of the first major instantiations from the White Paper was the UPDF Act (GOU 2005) which brought together key defining documents within the UPDF, such as the Code of Conduct, into a single document that directly ties to the constitution and ratified by the parliament.

The UDRP also resulted in a debate between the Government of Uganda and its donors as to the resources required to fulfill the findings of the review and the White Paper. As reported in a 2007 evaluation of the review, the GOU positioned the documentation as a justification for increased defense budgets, and donor nations attempted to focus on affordability and appropriateness of defense procurement strategies (Hendrickson 2007, 67). In the longer term, the implementation of the UDRP and the White Paper has been inconsistent, with some measures fully funded and others ignored.¹⁰

¹⁰ Dylan Hendrickson, e-mail exchange with author, March 2017.

The progress of UPDF professionalization has been uneven. The pace of personnel management reform was slow as promotion opportunities lagged expectations and caused frustration amongst the rank and file (The Monitor, 2008). Other reporting indicates that processes established to increase professionalism were easily circumvented, such as low course attendance due to “operational necessity” (Lautze 2009). Overall, there are indications that the process of the UDRP and the White Paper have been of benefit for professionalism generally within the UPDF, even if the implementation of specific findings has lagged (Pryce 2015). As important, the existence of the UDRP and the White Paper provide a framework for how the UPDF is organized, equipped and to what ends it will ultimately be used. The Ugandan Constitution specifies the missions of the UPDF, and the other documents set the conditions for how those missions will be accomplished. The doctrine of the UPDF is derived from their history, how they are trained and what equipment is procured to assist the UPDF in mission completion. These factors should be mutually supporting; sometimes they are widely divergent. A recent example has been the procurement of high technology Russian air superiority fighters by Uganda’s Air Force. These weapons meet no real operational need as there is no credible air threat to Uganda in East Africa, and are less useful in supporting the UPDF Land Force operations than other, less expensive aircraft. Such an example highlights the lack of synchronization between UPDF requirements and procurement decisions, and thus an inconsistency in the evolution of the UPDF.

The professionalization of the UPDF remains incomplete since the continuation of Museveni in power has not tested the loyalty of the military. Contemporary Ugandan commentators continue to raise the concern over the close personal ties between

Museveni and those in service. Yet the foundations for professionalism have been established and codified. The competency of the UPDF has increased with time and experience in combat. The military education of its soldiers, especially for Non-Commissioned Officers has become more formalized, and for officers, the wide range of international war colleges available for their attendance promises to continue access to a *mélange* of warfighting traditions. Has a Ugandan ‘way of war’ emerged that represents a synthesis of UPDF experience and military educational opportunities from a range of donor states? That remains to be seen, as does the answer to the question of what happens when Museveni relinquishes power.

The constitution also defines the extent to which military personnel can be involved in politics, reserving ten parliamentary seats for serving UPDF (out of 238 in 2006/2007), along with seats for women representatives, youths, persons with disabilities, workers, and *ex officio* members (Article 78(1)). Once having left military service, there is no restriction on standing for a parliamentary seat, though there has been no historic voting block of former military in the parliament. With a single party system until 2005, the military members provided no counterweight to parliamentary politics. There has been some concern that including a statutory number of uniformed military in the legislature might increase their independent political power (Athumani 2015), but such fears have not been realized.

Summary

Primacy of place is held by the military in Ugandan politics and thus in the strategic culture. Prior to 1986, the Ugandan military was a vehicle to gain and keep power, and accomplished that task with coercive violence aimed at its own people. The

arrival of the NRM/NRA ushered in a new concept of how the military relate to its population, and thus how the military is being used. Undoubtedly the longevity of President Museveni has benefitted Uganda by providing stability, even at the cost of disturbing some of its supporters who consider multi-party democracy the preferred governmental system. With the UPDF solidly tied to the legacy of the NRM and its leader, the army avoided interference in Ugandan politics at the level where it was an existential threat to the leadership. The UPDF has not been idle; it has become a primary ‘tool’ in the toolbox of Ugandan policy, both foreign and, at times, domestic. For example, when other aspects of East Africa integration fail to get traction, the interaction of the region’s military and its leaders continues apace due to the increasingly apolitical nature of their relationship.

The evolution of the UPDF moves toward professionalization. Considering previous predilections of Ugandan armies, developing as an apolitical military contributes to stability in the state and the region. The doctrinal, process, and procedural infrastructure created in support of a professional military establishes an environment that articulates and propagates the strategic culture. Military academies, specialty schools, and war colleges are all repositories of the intellectual background of the military and the strategic calculus that determines its use.

Case Two: Tanzania; A New Cut from Whole Cloth

Overview

In 2006, a statue of a Tanzanian soldier mysteriously vanished from its pedestal in Arusha. For years, the representation had been slowly deteriorating, and had recently been covered in canvass. News reports indicated that the statue, which commemorated

the Tanzanian army's victory over Idi Amin's forces in Uganda, would be rehabilitated and moved to a new home (Nkwame 2006). Nothing has been heard of it since. This is a loose allegory for the role of the military in Tanzania. Unlike other sub-Saharan African states, including many of its neighbors, Tanzania has suffered neither liberation war, successful military coup, nor an overbearing military presence. Since independence on December 9, 1961, the melding of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, which would become Tanzania, has maintained a level of stability matched by few countries in Africa, and none in the sub-Saharan region. Beyond that metric, however, Tanzania has remained a poor state, posting consistently in the bottom half of state GDP tracked by the World Bank. Macroeconomic indices provide a narrow view of development in Tanzania. More enlightening is the pace of human development. In the 2015 Human Development Report by the UN Development program Tanzania ranked 159 out of 186 countries, with an HDI declining from the previous year (UNDP 2015, ix). While the past decade had witnessed solid 7 percent in Tanzania, that growth was not translating into decreased poverty. "Economic growth by itself has failed to expand the ability of the majority of Tanzanians to lead the kind of lives they value" (UNDP 2015, xi). Such is due, in part, to low population density and a lack of natural resources, as well as a failed attempt at socialism in the years immediately following independence. While the country has slowly overcome the impediments of that era, it is still economically challenged, with public sector spending more dependent on international development aid than internally created revenue. Yet the military in Tanzania has not demonstrated a proclivity to step in and 'fix' the problem. The role of the TPDF has been more in line with western concepts of the military as the institution responsible for state protection from foreign enemies.

This has been accomplished by the level of integration of the TPDF into both Tanzanian political and civil society. Importantly, the TPDF did not react negatively when it lost its place in the single party state with the advent of multi-party democracy in 1995.

The sources of strategic culture in Tanzania reflect these factors and the unique role of the TPDF in society. The history and experience of the Tanzanian armed forces is shaped by two critical junctures in its military: the end of the First World War and then after the 1964 mutiny. Both events shaped a military that was institutionally marginalized and far from being a dominant power in the politics of the country. Second, British colonial policy and the Second World War resulted in a military whose focus was external to Tanzania, mitigating against a predominant role for the military. The actions of Nyerere in the wake of the 1964 mutiny integrated the TPDF into society and the ideology of the country as no other leader had in Africa. The result was a military and ruling party partnership that solidified civilian control of the military. Geography as a source of strategic culture in Tanzania is characterized by the three factors of ethnic geography, the mainland and Zanzibar island divide and population density. The geographical features supplement the foundation of strategic culture derived from the history of the use of force. While Tanzania has depended on foreign military aid and military enterprise to augment military funding, the decision was a conscious one by President Nyerere to maintain the non-aligned status of the state, and create a unique Tanzania military doctrine from a range of sources.

As another hybrid regime in East Africa, the move away from single-party politics to multi-party elections has not changed the decision-making process and organization of the Tanzanian state. The evolution has changed, *de jure*, the rule of the

TPFD in politics, but the *de facto* role has not adjusted. Under President Kikwete, the willingness of Tanzania to promote military participation in sub-regional security regimes has increased.

History

The military narrative in East Africa from the lakes of Tanganyika and Victoria to the eastern coast and the islands of the Zanzibar archipelago that existed prior to the arrival of the Germans was shaped by a myriad of factors: the use of force to support trading and trade routes from Zanzibar into the Tanzanian hinterlands; the invasion of the Nguni from southern Africa; the integration of advanced Nguni military methods into the tactics of the Hehe and Sangu in southern Tanzania (Kimambo 1989, 244-258); and the rise of the Nyamwezi under their warrior king Mirambe (Reid 2007). The Tanzania of the period was populated with a range of kingdoms and highly organized societies (Hehe, Banyambo, Nyamwezi, and Unyanyembe) to a tableau of weaker polities trying to influence trading and trade routes. The Germans that had negotiated control of Tanganyika from the British in the aftermath of the Berlin Congress and its attendant treaties (1880-1884) commenced their occupation of Tanganyika assisted by ethnic groups that considered it in their best interest at the time as the Germans overcame armed resistance to their expansion (Mwanzi 1985, 158). The Germans opted for direct governance where Germans were posted across the colony and executed the central government's bidding. In some instances, semi-direct governance was applied, in which Africans co-opted by the Germans acted as their agents. Security and control for an area as expansive of Tanganyika could not depend on German soldiers exclusively, and they recruited African troops to fight for the German Empire under German officers. The

initial army was built upon troops foreign to Tanzania, especially Niholic ethnic groups and “Zulus” from Portuguese East Africa, likely being locally recruited (Moyd 2014, 3). German colonial policy in Tanganyika used direct rule with Europeans present to direct governance, or at most semi-direct rule where co-opted Africans were established as German agents. During German rule in East Africa, the allure of assigning Africans to soldiering based on an ethnic proclivity toward warfare was less prominent than in British colonies, and overcome by the differing social makeup of ethnic groups in the region. Unlike other areas, the more widely dispersed ethnic groupings did not avail itself to such a recruitment strategy. While certain attributes of indigenous peoples made themselves more desirable as soldiers, the methodology of ethnic associations which the British learned in India and transferred to Africa were not in the experience of the Germans who had not been colonizers previously. Yet, as Michelle Moyd has argued, what the Germans provided was a way for African *askari* to break out of their ethnic traditions and become a group within themselves. Their social position was provided through the colonizers, but they also worked as intermediaries between the indigenous population and the Germans (Moyd 2014, 15).

The position of the *askari* within the German East Africa society reflects the place of the soldier within German society in the late nineteenth century. Hull argues that the military institution in Imperial Germany resulted in certain battlefield proclivities, most notably high levels of violence and “scorched earth” tactics (Hull 2005). The implications of the German military culture on *askari* tactics will be discussed later, but the result of the German approbation of the military within Imperial German society was reflected in the predominant place of the military in colonial society as well as the

relatively high position the *askari* held within the indigenous society. This was not necessarily the case in other colonial constructs, especially the British model where British civil servants attempted to maintain a more active civilian control over the military.

The place of the *askari* within German East Africa in relation to the rest of the indigenous population is captured in what Moyd characterizes as their ‘way of war’: The style of war that began during the conquest decade of the 1890s continued into the next two decades, with the grander scale of the Maji Maji war and World War I taking their way of war to new levels of destructiveness and bringing terrible consequences for significant portions of the African population...The *askari* occupy a prominent place in descriptions and analysis of both wars, where they emerge as the primary agents of colonial violence, as brutes, and as loyal soldiers to the German colonial cause (Moyd 2014, 116).

For example, the Maji Maji war, which describes the rebellion against Germans’ colonial practices and exploitation of the population, resulted in horrendous destruction in southern Tanzania with estimates of the loss of life as high as 300,000. The devastation had long term effects on the economics of Tanzania (Brown 2001, 55-56), and the *askari* actions were captured in the non-written tradition of many of the indigenous peoples. Hull has observed that the level of destructiveness of the *askari* in southwest Africa was representative of the Imperial German military culture (Hull 2005), and has extended such analysis to German East Africa, a position supported by Moyd (2014) and Brown (2001, 52-59). The same ruthlessness was exerted during the First World War as the Germans conducted operations against the British in Tanzania to keep the allies engaged

and unable to supply forces to the Western Front. However, with the German surrender in 1918, the situation changed markedly.

This juncture provides the first change for the indigenous military in Tanzania. The assumption of the protectorate of Tanganyika by the British resulted in several fundamental changes. The first was the integration of the Tanzanian *askari* into the British King's African Rifles (KAR), which changed the methodology and the use of that force. Secondly, the position of the *askari* within the Tanzanian society was changed from intermediary between colonial and indigenous peoples to one which more adhered to that of the general population and the colonial government. The policy of de-emphasizing the military was a stated goal of the colonial government, even during the rigors imposed on the colony by the empire's manpower needs during the Second World War. Finally, lack of resources to maintain an empire after the Second World War decreased the military in size and capability, as well as prestige. The combination of these factors under British rule culminated in a Tanzanian military whose societal position was marginal as the country headed toward independence.

The experience of the First World War on the Tanzanian population left a legacy of internal displacement, death, disease, and the vagaries of life among two combatants with scarce regard for the well-being of civilians. Between the devastation wrought by the German *askari* and the realities of living in a war zone, the population suffered. Each side in the conflict required manpower and "lived off the land," a constant element of colonial warfare, but just as sure to add to the civilian suffering. Engaged with fighting the war, both the indigenous and colonial populations let other activities such as

agriculture wane. “For African civilians, the memories of the horrors of the campaign remained vivid for decades, kept alive through stories and dance (Brown 2001, 102).

Yet as Brown notes, the First World War created a new narrative of military competence for the *askari* of both sides. The conflict provided opportunities for increased responsibilities for African soldiers and furnished a view of European colonists which questioned both their competence and infallibility (Brown 2001, 103), a theme that would be reinforced in the next war. At the end of the war, the former German *askari* were not brought in wholesale into the KAR. Some had been integrated into the KAR as they surrendered or deserted the Germans during the war. Upon demobilization, some signed on to the KAR as well as the police. Brown observes that the loss of the war had the greatest negative effect on the German *askari*, whose social and economic positions fell markedly (Brown 2001, 115). The British were willing to accept former German *askari* into the military and police, but there was no wholesale unit integration.

The British administration in East Africa was civilian led, not military, and did not mirror Imperial Germany’s primacy of the military. The end of the war and a lack of external threat of internal insurrection decreased the demand for a large army. Low priority translated into low budgets, and a constrained fiscal environment which continued through the interwar period. The KAR in Tanganyika had 1,199 Africans and 72 British officers and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) by 1922. After the start of the worldwide depression, the economics of maintaining a military in the colonies continued to experience cuts, so that by 1931, the KAR consisted of approximately the same number of Africans (1,084), but half the number of European officers (35) (Brown 2001, 118-119). There was even discussion of whether the KAR could be replaced by aircraft.

With the maintenance of the KAR the responsibility of each colony, and the lack of any real threat, the cost of the military seemed excessive. The British had begun to establish a more effective police presence, mirroring their efforts in other colonies, which brought into question the military role. The lack of a 'use case' for the military made funding difficult. The threshold for the use of the military as agents for internal security was much higher than it had been under German tutelage, which saw the *askari* used for traditional constabulary duties as well as internal defense roles. Austerity in British colonial defense raised the concern over the concurrent costs of army and police.

The invasion of Ethiopia by fascist Italy in October 1935 silenced the debate. The Italian operations on the northern edge of British Africa created the need to increase defensive capacity across the colonies. The colonial militaries in East Africa as represented by the KAR expanded before the outbreak of the European and Pacific wars to mitigate against the concern of danger from vestiges of the German colonial heritage and the British colonial holdings that bordered Ethiopia (Clayton 1989, 215). As Britain entered the years of major conflict, the KAR contributed to the imperial war effort in Africa and in South East Asia by sending units to fight in Ethiopia and Burma and shore up the defenses in India. The war required increased recruitment of Africans as well as increased capabilities of the African soldiers. No longer were infantry skills the only need, but communications, medical and other specialties vital to feed a worldwide war effort (Brown 2001, 251). Educational standards were raised as the new skill sets for African soldiers demanded concomitant educational levels. These new realities did not always match the concept for how British colonial governments should be run, but such protests were overcome by military necessity and the needs of the empire. As in other

British colonies during the Second World War, the conflict brought into stark contrast the condition and realities of the colonists and the indigenous populations. For example, it was noted by many Africans that Indians, who were positioned higher in the colonial administrations and army than Africans, lived in economic standards that were analogous to theirs, if not worse, putting into question the relative social positions of ethnic groups as administered by the British. For the second time in a generation, the Europeans had brought war to the world, and needed Africans to assist. How did that reality square with the rhetoric of colonialism? Imperial service created expanded expectations in many Tanganyikans who deployed overseas, as well as bringing into question the colonial hierarchies imposed by the British. Such expectations of change for their circumstances in Tanganyika upon war's end, also shared by many African civilians, collided with the realities of post-war life. Demobilization in Tanganyika was as complex as in Britain itself, further complicated by an unwillingness of the colonial administration to treat returning servicemen as anything other than civilians, even when it came to application for government positions (Brown 2001, 396). Yet Brown notes that counter to scholarship on French West Africa and post-independence writing, former servicemen did not become a force in politics or in the nationalist movement in Tanganyika (Brown 2001, 417). Brown offers that the lack of such interest in independence politics stems from the divide between urban and rural soldiers, with the former more likely to be more highly educated than rural based on availability of educational resources (Brown 2001, 417-418). As the role of the military adjusted to the post-war world, so did the perception of military service in post-war Tanganyika. No longer was military service a

desired employment option as the size and the pay of the military declined (Brown 2001, 422).

The rise of nationalism and especially trade unions in Tanganyika in the post-war period created an expanding definition and role for what internal defense meant for the KAR assigned to Tanganyika. The performance of the KAR during the Second World War convinced the British that the KAR could be used as an imperial reserve, available for deployment overseas as the British empire became increasingly unstable. While the terms of the League of Nations mandate, assumed by the new United Nations, did not allow Tanganyikan KAR units to deploy overseas (Clayton 1989, 256), they were used to backfill Kenyan KAR units deployed to Malaysia, and then in Kenya during the Mau Mau revolt. Thus, KAR units, though not the 26th KAR in Tanganyika, deployed in support of the Malaya emergency (1951-53). When circumstances overwhelmed local police, the KAR provided support. While the use of military force for riot control had occurred in the period between the wars as evidenced by the use of the KAR to handle worker discontent in Tanganyika in the late 1930s, the rise in the desire for independence after the war increased stress on the colonial system. The economics of empire for the British government coupled with the increasingly strident calls for independence from colonialism created friction, and the KAR was available to assist the police in their maintenance of public order. In Tanganyika, there were more KAR deployments in support of troubles in Zanzibar than on the mainland. The cost for local KAR was the burden of the local colony, and only when deployed outside the home colony could forces use imperial funds. Declining size and capabilities within the KAR forced East African colonial governments to attempt to re-organize the KAR units to handle local

unrest in support of police. But the reality set in as the governor of Tanganyika informed the other colonial government that lack of KAR capabilities forced him to yield to nationalist demands (Brown 2001, 428). The cost of maintaining colonial military forces was an increasing burden on the British, especially for colonies with weak economies. Tanganyika presented a prime example of the dilemma.

In a speech in South Africa on February 3, 1960, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan noted nationalism was an imminent force in Africa and one which could not be delayed. The speech was a signal that the British government planned to shorten the timeline of independence for its African territories. This cue for British action was the culmination of a debate over the colonies that had been underway since at least 1957, and included concern over the fate of European populations in Africa as well as the capacity of the African states to govern (Ovendale 1995). Rather than a decades-long governance transition plan, the Africanization of the colonies would be based on the agreed time of independence instead of a condition based schedule. Independence would be thrust upon the colonies, ready or not. Thus, on 9 December 1961, Tanganyika became an independent state, and appeared to be well positioned for success. The leader of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), Julius Nyerere, had managed the political transition of the country through victories in the two pre-independence elections. His adept interaction with British officials and the perception of TANU as a moderate alternative to other political entities positioned Tanganyika as ready for independence under Nyerere leadership to avoid violent alternatives (Aminzade 2015, 75). This was a welcome change from the scenario in the Congo in which a rampaging army had massacred Belgian civilians after their independence in July 1960.

One of the foremost issues in the independent Tanganyika was Africanization. Replacing Europeans in power was a visceral issue with many Tanganyikans in both industry and government, yet independence did not result in instant Africanization, and the country's bureaucracy remained heavily dependent on Europeans (Aminzade 2015, 81). This was especially true for the military, which had transitioned from the KAR to the Tanganyika Rifles, but kept its British officers (Brown 2001, 430; Thomas 2012, 95). Upward mobility into the officer ranks and even for senior enlisted was stymied, and became part of the wider debate in Tanganyika. The pace and outcome of bringing the indigenous population into leadership positions in industry and the civil service was a key issue for the new government, but Nyerere favored competence over atmospherics. The rush to Africanization led to the resignation of Nyerere as prime minister on January 22, 1962 (Aminzade 2015, 82-83). During the intervening period between the Nyerere resignation and his election to president in the December 1962 election, the new prime minister Rashidi Kawawa increased Africanization in industry and civil service, but not the military (Aminzde 2015, 85). After the election, the situation did not improve, as Nyerere slowed the pace of Africanization which resulted in increased unrest from the strong labor unions. Regardless, by January 1964 Nyerere declared that "Africanization is dead" (Aminzade 2015, 86). By the end of 1963, Thomas reflects on the atmospherics within the Tanganyikan military:

(T)he military had entered a period of stress and distrust. The conditions of the Tanganyika Rifles were living in had deteriorated, their pay was no longer competitive with that of civil society, they had seen almost no prospects for advancement post-independence, and now the central TANU government seemed to be ...ignoring their plight. No longer the privileged guardians of a colonial order, the African soldiers were now simply separated from a civil society that was composed of all the groups that they

had traditionally suppressed and that now held the reins of the nation (Thomas 2012, 98).

The result of this frustration was the mutiny of the Tanganyikan Rifles two weeks after Nyerere's proclamation on the status of Africanization.

The mutiny of the Tanganyika Rifles was, in many ways, closer to a strike than to a military intervention into Tanganyikan politics. This perception was reinforced by the soldiers' coordination of their actions with the Tanganyikan Federation of Labor, and the expectation of a general strike throughout the country on January 25, 1964 (Thomas 2012, 102) and reinforced by the Tanganyikan Government's own narrative ((Bjerk 2015, 150-152). As recent scholarship by Paul Bjerk has revealed, the labor movement planned to use the circumstance of the army mutiny to stage a coup (Bjerk 2015, 146). Having discovered and dismantled the plot, and kept the tenuous situation in Tanganyika as close to normal as possible from the mutiny's inception on 20 January to 24 January 1964, Nyerere requested military intervention from the British government, with British troops landing in Tanganyika from 25-27 Jan 1964. They met a military who surrendered their weapons immediately, or in some cases had already surrendered to the local police (Thomas 2012, 102; Bjerk 2015, 148). Of greater interest is the action that Nyerere took in response to the mutiny. He immediately disbanded the Tanganyika Rifles. There appears to have been little debate on this action. The troops were given back wages and money to travel to their homes, but the military ceased to exist in the wake of the mutiny (Thomas 2012, 102-103). The military that would emerge from the actions of January 1964 was tied to the TANU party and to the Nyerere concept of nation building.

The dissolution of the Tanganyika Rifles, as opposed to the placation of the military in the case of the Ugandan Rifles mutiny, mirrors the trend of discussion on the role of the military in Tanganyika generally, as well as the circumstances of the mutiny and the threat of coup. There had been a smattering of pre-independence debate over the efficacy of having an army, with Nyerere arguing that the police were sufficient for internal security and an army was a drain on the economy (Brown 2001, 432). The revolt of the army in Congo and the deterioration of that country is likely to have had some influence on how Nyerere and the TANU leadership perceived a military. The independent government of the Sultan of Zanzibar had been overthrown in a coup only a week prior to the mutiny. The role of the Tanganyika government in that outcome remains under debate. Yet it could not have but affected the thinking in the Tanganyikan capital that force of arms was a threat to their governance, whether supported by them or not. The occurrence of the mutiny in Tanganyika overturned assumptions by Nyerere of the loyalty of the army (Brown 2001, 432) and highlighted the vulnerability of the TANU government (Bienen 1965, 43; Bjerk 2015, 154). Post mutiny action by TANU disestablished the labor movement as well as the army, and moved Tanganyika closer to single-party rule as labor unions were consolidated under a single government controlled National Union of Tanganyika (NUTA) (Aminzade 2015, 88; Bjerk 2015, 152). As he did with the labor movement, Nyerere created an opportunity to build a new military for a new nation.

Two major upheavals in the history of the military in Tanganyika resulted in two fundamental changes in the nature of the military. The defeat of Imperial Germany by the British in the First World War transformed the *askari* in colonial employ from a

military focused on control of the population by severe violence and repression, to one that was far less violent and which considered presence as the foundation of control. The British model of civil-military relations also overcame the primacy of the military which had been such a factor in Imperial Germany, and thus in its colonies. The *askari* in the KAR held a much different place in society than they had in German East Africa.

The second event was the post-independence mutiny by the Tanganyika Rifles, and the subsequent dissolution of the military with its seventy-five years of history. The effect in this case is akin to the effect on the German and Japanese military after their defeat in the Second World War. The very precept and place of the military would have to be re-evaluated to create an army that was in line with the new reality in which the countries found themselves. In post-1964 Tanzania, as the country was named upon its merger with Zanzibar, the vestiges of a colonial military had been found wanting, if not dangerous, and a new military was needed to attend to the new priorities that Nyerere and TANU had for the country.

With the dissolution of the Tanganyika Rifles, the country broke whatever traditions had developed since the establishment of a Tanganyikan military since the British assumption of power in 1919. What Nyerere and TANU created for the new TPDF was a military that reflected a number of goals, such as nation building and non-alignment. The new TPDF would also be thoroughly integrated into the polity of the state, which meant into the TANU as Nyerere's Tanzania became a single party democracy.

As independence neared, the military was not a high priority of Nyerere or TANU. As previously noted, there was an assumption by Nyerere that the military would

be a loyal supporter of the state. While considering the fate of the Congo in the wake of that country's rebel army, Nyerere believed that such a fate could not possibly await

Tanganyika:

These things cannot happen here. We have a strong organization, TANU. The Congo did not have that kind of organization. And further there is not the slightest chance that forces of law and order in Tanganyika will mutiny (*Inside East Africa* 2003(1960), 93).

If Nyerere's attitude prior to independence toward the army was indifferent, the issue of the army after December 9, 1961, reflected the low priority given defense.

Lupoga observes that the relationship indicates a dichotomy between the civilian leadership and that of the military (Lupogo 2001, 2). No wonder; the military remained under the leadership of British officers and Britain continued to provide 66 percent of military funding through 1962 (Brown 2001, 434). There were no immediate threats, and Nyerere and TANU were more interested in solidifying their legitimacy and creating a viable state. There was some debate in the National Assembly over the status of the army, which broadly broke down into two factions; those for increasing the capabilities of the army and those desiring for the abolishment of the military (Lupogo 2001, 2; Brown 2001, 432). Interestingly, the anti-army faction raised the threats to democracy posed by a strong military. In the absence of any great impetus to act, the military was allowed to languish.

If there was no direct threat to Tanganyika from its neighbors to focus discussion on the military's future, there was a robust foreign policy, though one that did not depend on military strength for its attainment. Paul Bjerk credits Nyerere with a realist policy supported by the pillars of Pan-Africanism and liberation (Bjerk 2011). The liberation of

southern Africa provides an interesting example of Lupogo's observation of the lack of cohesion between military and civilian leadership goals. The liberation of the colonial states of southern Africa, and South Africa itself, was a long-term project of Nyerere's, tracing back to his Edinburgh University days, and finding voice in the establishment of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) in late 1958 (Bjerk 2011, 220). This organization coordinated and provided support, including lethal aid, to the liberation efforts in South Africa, Mozambique and the two Rhodesians (Bjerk 2011, 220-232). PAFMECA continued its work from Dar es Salaam through 1962, when an expanded organization was created in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (Bjerk 2011, 226). Tanganyika provided safe havens and training bases for liberation movements, with training provided by Tunisians and Algerians (Bjerk 2011, 225). Herein lay the source of the dichotomy; in an independent Tanganyika, a primary foreign policy goal of the government could not be executed by its own military, since leadership of the Tanganyika Rifles was the province of the British. Not only was it a problem of foreign military leaders, but Britain was the colonial power in two of the three primary areas of activity. The issue was again highlighted when the OAU based its Liberation Committee or Committee of Nine, in Dar es Salaam, under a former Tanganyikan minister. The Liberation committee replaced PAFMECA and its progeny, and became successful due to the skills of Nyerere and the support of Tanganyika (Bjerk 2011, 232). No role was available in this system for a British led Tanganyika Rifles.

The mutiny of 1964 and the subsequent wholesale disbanding of the Tanganyika Rifles provided Nyerere with what he would later term a "silver lining." He was now able to create a military organization from scratch. This new army would have to

simultaneously fulfil several needs, but most importantly, it must support the society Nyerere and TANU was constructing in the Republic of Tanzania, so named after the merger with Zanzibar in October 1964. As a military presence was kept in Tanganyika first by the British, and then in April 1964, by a battalion of Nigerians, Nyerere and TANU set about tying the army to the party. The initial cadre of new recruits would come from the TANU Youth League (TYL), with geographic diversification based on district (Brown 2001, 449; Bjerck 2015, 163). The decision to use members of the TYL for national security had been ongoing, and was tied to the concept of national service embodied in the *Jeshi la Kujenga Taifa* (JKT- The Army to Build the Nation). As described by Bjerck, the JKT represented both the desire to harness the country's youth into the creation of a new nation, such as the Ghanaian Builders Brigades, and even the U.S. Peace Corps (Bjerck 2015, 156), but also an acknowledgement of the appropriate place for youth in African society, a theme that was consistent with the precepts of Nyerere's concept of *ujamaa* (Bjerck 2015, 158-163). From the outset, the TYL and JKT were closely associated with the military, as well as the police and civil service, requiring membership in the former and passage through the latter as pre-requisites for joining. The response was overwhelming, and outstripped capacity. In May 1964, Nyerere articulated his vision for the new military in his presentation of the first five-year plan. As described by Brown:

He argued that the new army being built would be part of the nation, and: "...its soldiers will be able and willing to wield a hoe or a rifle according to the needs of the movement as determined by the people's government." To lessen the danger that the formation of a new army would pose to the government, Nyerere called on the TANU Youth League to furnish the core of a new Tanganyikan army and serve as a force to counterbalance the power of the military (Brown 2001, 449).

As the country was moving towards a single party state, so would the army be populated by denizens of that party. The first cadre of recruits graduated in September 1964 and the TPDF was officially activated. In November of that year, a political commissar was appointed to the TPDF, and commissars were assigned to each battalion. Political indoctrination was a substantial part of the recruit training process. “Political indoctrination” should be viewed as the precepts of TANU and the desire to ensure that the new troops understood the differences between the old army and the new (Brown 2001, 450; Lupogo 2001, 4-5). “All the troops knew exactly where they stood in relation to the party, the government and the people” (Lupogo 2001, 5). Soldiers were also given the right to be a member of a political party and vote, a concession not previously available to them, and which would be withdrawn after multi-party elections are held in 1995. Voting rights are not provided for military members in many countries and as such represent another method of integrating the TPDF into the body politic.

More broadly, Nyerere worked to ensure the TPDF was fully engaged in bringing his brand of socialism, *ujamaa*, to Tanzania. Unlike the “scientific” socialism practiced in Western Europe, *ujamaa* was based on Nyerere’s interpretation of traditional African cultural and social proclivities. These attributes should be brought to bear on development in Tanzania, from the economy to the society, as Nyerere began to create a nation. Much scholarship has focused on the economic developmental aspects of *ujamaa*, and its spectacular failure. As Nyerere strove to create an “ideal” society reflecting African sensibilities and traditions, he focuses on three primary attributes: equality, freedom, and unity.

There must be equality because only on that basis will men work cooperatively. There must be freedom, because the individual is not served by society unless it is his. And there must be unity, because only when the society is united can its members live and work in peace, security and well-being (Nyerere 1966, 8). The party was now fully integrated into the army. The result of these actions was a greater mobility of army officers into both politics within the single-party state as well as the civil service. Rather than a professional army outside the mainstream of Tanzanian politics, the TPDF was very much a part of the political life of the country.

Interpretations of the costs and benefits of such a scheme remain mixed. Some scholars consider these actions as a robust and effective counter-coup strategy (Lindemann 2010). Others have been more supportive of the concept of an army-party integration as part of the nation-building genius of Nyerere (Lupogo 2001). Perhaps the closeness of army and party emanated from the 1964 mutiny, and were influenced by the experience of the Chinese, with whom Nyerere found a kindred spirit as he attempted to unburden Tanzania of colonial, and even Western, influence (Lange 1999, 43; Baily 1975). Regardless of the motivation, the construct worked as there have been only two coup attempts in Tanzania since independence, and both were small, discovered, and unsuccessful.

Nyerere's leadership established Tanzania as a leader in the non-aligned movement. The focus of the TPDF in providing support for the liberation movement required adjustments to the appropriate allies for the TPDF. Canada provided military equipment, and, more importantly, advice and command and control training that, in the words of a Canadian military historian, had "in a little more than five years... turned a

mutinied rabble into something resembling a professional army” (Godefroy 2002, 45). As Baily notes, the failure to renew the Canadian contract for military assistance in 1969 stemmed from the dichotomy of having a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ally supply military assistance to a country (Tanzania) actively fighting another NATO ally (Portugal in Mozambique) (Baily 1975, 44). China also provided lethal aid to southern African independence movements, most importantly FRELIMO operating from Tanzania into Mozambique (Baily 1975, 45), though some observers consider Chinese support of national movements in south Africa as only peripheral (Segal 1992, 120). The TPDF set up training camps in Tanzania to support the liberation movements in southern Africa, as well as conducting combat operations in Mozambique. The training role would become a legacy mission for the TPDF that would find a recurring role in the army’s mission set.

In response to incursions and bombings into Tanzania by the Portuguese along the Mozambique border (Aminzade 2015, 197-198), a local militia was created, and a country-wide militia was developed to provide a level of security in areas where the TPDF was not present. The militia also created a reserve for the TPDF, and supported the national objective of self-reliance, a cornerstone of *ujamaa*. The success of the TPDF in its war with Uganda was due, in part, to the ability to enlist militia members who had rudimentary training and could quickly integrate into the TPDF for sustained combat operations (Lupogo 2001, 4). Other observers have positioned the development of the militia to a counter-coup strategy, but the explanations do not credit leadership with an understanding of the limits of the TPDF to cover the geographic expanse of Tanzania.

The 1979 war with Uganda provided the single largest action in TPDF history. The victory increased the position of the TPDF, and the army used the post-war period to attempt to increase their capabilities. The realities of economics soon took its toll, and many units established in the wake of the war were subsequently demobilized (Lupogo 2001, 6). The worsening economic position of the country relegated the TPDF to a low priority, and its members were used as much for domestic jobs as for strictly defense related operations. As Nyerere handed the reigns of the government over to Ali Hassan Mwinyi in November 1985, the military remained a low priority for the government. The increase in military related spending spiked after the war which imposed a huge cost on Tanzania. At the time, the cost of the war was expected to be \$1 million a day (Ottaway 1979). Total costs for the war were approximately \$67 million (Atuhaire 2007), the burden of which was carried by Tanzania since the OAU considered the Tanzanian invasion of Uganda as counter to its non-interventionist position (Francis 2006, 109). Military spending would decline in subsequent years as a proportion of overall GDP.

In the absence of military operations, TPDF officers became increasingly involved in TANU/CCM¹¹ activities and elected government roles. There was easy movement between TPDF leadership and leadership in the party and the civil service. While such action diffused the concerns over the TPDF becoming an alternative to democratic governance, the Tanzanian polity began to see a greater number of military or former military leaders in both elected and civil service leadership positions (Ringquist

¹¹ In 1977, the Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU) and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), the single party of the semi-autonomous islands of Zanzibar, merged to form the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). Henceforth, the single party in Tanzania will be referred to by the new acronym.

and Thomas 2011, 21). Even with this increase in TPDF-CCM integration, there is not a case to be made that the inclusion of military members (serving or former) increased the bellicosity of Tanzania's strategic culture, as such a case can be made for Israel and Pakistan. Concerns of the tightness of the link reflect more on the TPDF leadership joining the country's elite (Ringquist and Thomas 2011; Lindemann 2010). Such a dynamic did not change as multi-party democracy arrived in Tanzanian politics.

The arrival of multi-party politics to Tanzania in 1995 brought concerns of the possibility of a negative reaction within the military. The presidential commission that recommended multi-party elections was well aware of the legitimacy challenge to the ruling party. If the legitimacy of the CCM was challenged, so was the place of the military as the champion of the state. Combined with the continuation of poor economic performance, Tanzania faced a period of self-critique and transition. The "third wave" of democratization had washed over Africa as the single party communist states fell in Europe. Democracy was on the rise, and even Nyerere acquiesced to the new reality (Ewald 2011, 111; Southall 2006, 242-243). The legislation for multi-party elections took the vote away from serving military members, and required serving military members to quit in order to run as candidates and/or hold government office. Some observers note that these rules have been ignored, and the integration of the military has not changed (Omari 103). Uncertainty over the reaction of the TPDF to multi-party politics have borne out. The lack of a negative response is likely a combination of little actual change in the *status quo* and an increase in operational tempo as described in the next section. As importantly, twenty years of military culture within the TPDF are not easy to overcome. The CCM was not overthrown, but became the leading party within

the new polity, a position it continues to hold through five elections and three presidential elections. The TPDF has no constitutional role in the conduct of elections, and opposition parties and civic organizations are watchful and vocal when any perception of TPDF interference is observed. The admixture of these conditions argues for the TPDF to work within the political system. While the next section will discuss the use of the TPDF, the era after multi-party elections began in 1995 has been busy for the TPDF, even without the requirements of active combat operations.

The evolution of the TPDF has taken a unique track since the mutiny of 1964, and the creation of the country's current military establishment. The full integration into the ruling party created a symbiotic relationship that helped the TPDF be a part of bringing nationhood to Tanzania, while at the same time avoiding the circumstances that led other militaries in sub-Saharan Africa to intervene in their nation's politics, such as Uganda, Burundi, and Rwanda. The TPDF's integration has allowed the military to remain a low priority in relation to other national concerns. While many leaders have military experience, there has not been a martial tinge to the country's political decisions and policy. As the subsequent section will note, the TPDF has been focused beyond the country's borders. As a reflection of President Nyerere, and in the responses by subsequent leaders, the military option has not been the leading solution to national security problems.

Experience

The use of the military in Tanzania has been distinguished by two primary attributes; the change between the Imperial German and the British colonial systems and then the post-independence re-creation of the TPDF after the 1964 mutiny. Taken

together, the usage of the military by the sitting governments in the country have been benign, and outwardly focused. Unlike many of its neighbors, such as the DRC, Sierra Leone, Rwanda and Burundi, the lack of conflict within the country has allowed for military matters to have a much lower priority for decision makers. It could be argued that the devastation wrought by the military campaigns of the Imperial Germans and then the First World War in Tanganyika devolved the indigenous population to a position from which anti-colonial activity was trumped by survival in a post-conflict landscape. Yet the British colonial method of indirect rule and the nature of the KAR established a context for the use of the military that would be carried through to the TPDF.

As previously discussed, the establishment of the British in their role as protector for Tanganyika after the First World War did not involve a great deal of internal security activity. Most KAR time in Tanganyika was spent ensuring that the population was aware that British control extended to the far reaches of the country, but that meant presence and ‘flag parades’ to so highlight. Missions included non-military activity such as road building, distribution of food relief, anti-locust work and guarding tax defaulters (Clayton 1989, 250). The small size of the British colonial forces contributed to this dynamic (Clayton 1989, 215). The KAR was used in response to strikes in Tanganyika, but such use of coercive force was the exception rather than the rule (Clayton 1989, 215).

After the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1937, the size and capability of the KAR was increased, but as a response to an external threat. This remained the usage model through the Second World War and into the post-war years. The threats that the KAR battalions in Tanganyika were focused on were external. Even while they were being trained in internal security tactics (anti-guerilla and counterinsurgency warfare), the

Tanganyikan battalions of the KAR were using those skills in Kenya against the Mau Mau. This type of deployment pattern presented a decreased military presence within Tanganyika, which also was affected by the budgetary pressures that constantly drove military budgets and troop numbers down. Public security was also the province of the police, which unlike under German rule, were split from the military by the British in 1922. The Second World War increased the size of the police forces in Tanganyika, and if parallels can be drawn from other colonial police experience under the British, greater capabilities and more officers from the indigenous population were represented (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (b) 2006; Clayton 1989, 136-142). The police presence, especially as it was largely focused on the urban areas, presented an alternative to having to use the military to respond and control labor disputes. With the Tanganyikan battalions preparing to operate for greater British imperial objectives, their use as a coercive tool for the colonial government was present in theory but not demonstrated in practice.

That the independence movement in Tanganyika remained non-violent also contributed to the lack of interest in the military. Soldiers were not the reason that majority rule came to Tanganyika, and while that did not disparage the military in the view of the population, neither did it distinguish military service. The mechanics of any transition are complex, and the Tanganyikan exercise was no different. Upon independence, the Tanganyika Rifles, with their British leadership, found themselves in a precarious position, especially concerning the support of liberation movements as a primary foreign policy objective of the Nyerere government. The creation of the TPDF solved that conundrum. With integration into TANU and the single party state, the

military became part of the fabric of the new nation. It was not a force for coercion or subjugation of the population. The most egregious use of the TPDF was during the period of villagization under *ujamaa*, when the TPDF was used to forcibly relocate parts of the population in accordance with this policy (Martin 1978, 230n34; Pinkney 1997, 121). There is little record of any lingering resentment against the TPDF for these activities, and there is an acceptance that such actions were the prerogative of TANU as it followed the path *ujamaa* development. The role of the TPDF in forced villagization ended with the movement of people and the destruction of the former dwellings to discourage return. There was no coercive force meted out by the TPDF to keep people in the *ujamaa* villages. Such may appear a subtle distinction, but the lack of TPDF had important ramifications. In the event, the TPDF were only one part of the security services, and TANU organizations that conducted forced villagization. Without follow-on activity, the TPDF was spared being labeled as repressors of the population in any different way than the rest of TANU was condemned. No legacy of *askari* atrocities emerged, and the role of the TPDF soon waned as the hardships of living in *ujamaa* villages replaced the shock of forced movement.

The lack of internal conflict and the overwhelming acceptance of single party rule allowed the TPDF to be used to support the aspirations of Nyerere to be a leader in the liberation of southern Africa. Nyerere solidified his foreign policy position by signing on in 1974 to the Front-line States with Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique to continue the fight for independence in southern Africa, operationalizing the Lusaka Manifesto he had written with Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in 1969. The organization would remain in place until 1994 (Berman and Sams 2000, 153-155). With the country's leader out in

front, the Tanzanian military was destined to play a role in policy execution. The role of the TPDF of training and supporting FRELIMO in Mozambique has already been noted, and Tanzania provided such support for liberation forces in Malawi (Radu 1984, 36). The TPDF continued support for the Machel government by providing rear area support for Mozambique government forces during their civil war as well as assisting it defending against Rhodesian raiding (CIA 1986, 21). In 1975 in the Comoros and in 1975 in the Seychelles, the TPDF was deployed in support of liberation governments. While efforts in the Comoros failed to maintain a liberation state, the TPDF deployments to Seychelles, and their influence on the development of the Seychelles military and militia and national service continued into the 1980s (CIA 1983; Green 2000, 174). These were not large contingents; at their height, after an attempted coup in 1980, 400 TPDF were deployed to the Seychelles. There was a willingness by Nyerere to provide more than rhetoric for his liberation ideals, and the TPDF was one of the 'tools' in the kit bag.

The Tanzania-Uganda war in 1978 provided the largest mobilization and deployment for the TPDF. Its overwhelming victory was a credit to its capabilities, but must be tempered by the lack of capabilities demonstrated on the Ugandan side. Regardless, once again the TPDF was deployed as the defender of the nation and to 'liberate' the Ugandans from a 'heinous' regime. Again, the focus for these efforts was external to Tanzania, continuing the trend that the primary purpose for the military was peace and security, not repression at home.

The resignation of Nyerere in 1985, and the beginning of the movement toward market economics and reintegration into the world economy, once again placed military

issues at a lower priority level. In U.S. government reporting in 1986, low morale and declining capabilities were constraining TPDF activity as a regional leader, but the focus of the Tanzanian efforts were reported as changing to address concerns about border security (CIA 1986, 21). The liberation of southern Africa was also coming to an end. By 1980, Zimbabwe, Angola, and Mozambique had gained independence. As the tactics of the Front-line States changed in the latter half of the 1980s, the focus of the liberation movement constricted to South Africa itself. In the new fight against apartheid, the Tanzanian role was smaller than it had been when all its neighbors had been colonies (Maundi 2001, 200), with concomitant decrease in the use of the TPDF.

Beginning in the early 1990s, the security focus shifted as the insecurity in surrounding states affected Tanzania. The Mwinyi government understood that border security was not just an issue of sovereignty, but imposed serious costs on the Tanzanian economy, fragile as it was during the slow transition from *ujamaa* socialism. The continued unrest in the countries surrounding Tanzania refocused the efforts of the TPDF. For example, after the anti-Tutsi violence in Rwanda and Burundi in 1995, the TPDF had been dispatched and reinforced in western Tanzania in efforts to control over 750,000 Rwandan and Burundan refugees. Tanzania claimed that the influx of refugees in the area had increased crime and strangled the economy, and was concerned over the UN stance that they could not “manage the large refugee caseload” (CIA 1995, 5). TPDF duties included sealing the border, securing the camps, and segregating war criminals. Incursions by rogue Burundian Army groups into Tanzania had occurred, and the Mwinyi government had threatened to intervene in Burundi to stop such activity. But with declining military budgets and the border issues, the TPDF was unlikely to be up to the

task (CIA 1995, 8). Again, the TPDF was used to address external problems of the country, and while their actions occurred within the boundaries of Tanzania, they were not directed at the Tanzanian population.

After the end of the Cold War there was a resurgence in the expectation that international peacekeeping operations could be instituted more effectively than when weighed down by Cold War politics. The Gulf War that rejected the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait provided an example of a new international willingness for intervention. Yet the promise of more active international peacekeeping and peacemaking faced the reality of an Africa in which “conflicts [had] turned Africa, the most diverse of all continents in the world, into a continent unable to turn its trend of diversity into opportunities for development...Conflicts have torn the social fabric of the African society...and separated and split families. Brother has risen against brother; father against son and son against father” as noted in an OAU report (Aning 2001, 54-55). The realities of peacekeeping in the complex African environment were brought home to the international community with humanitarian operations in Somalia in the first half of the 1990s. Africa was considered a primary area in which regional peacekeeping efforts might offer a solution to the high levels of conflict across the continent. Regional peacekeeping schemes were developed and nations outside Africa considered the price of training Africans for peacekeeping operations to be more economical, effective, and efficient. And African peacekeepers relieved non-African states from deploying to the continent should a peacekeeping mission arise. The Rwanda genocide evidenced both the difficulty and the promise of regional peacekeeping capabilities. With membership in both SADC and the EAC, the Tanzanian military took advantage of the education and training opportunities

to become better peacekeepers. Especially in the latter half of the 1990s, when grappling with the refugee problem had demonstrated that the skills of international peacekeeping were the same needed in controlling recalcitrant refugees, the TPDF took advantage of peacekeeping capacity building. For example, in 1997 they participated in a commander's course in Zimbabwe for southern African states as part of a Southern Regional security scheme, as well as sending TPDF officers to Zambia's Makeni Staff College to participate in peacekeeping education. In 1998, the TPDF joined both the U.S. and East African states in a joint military exercise on peacekeeping, and participated in the U.S. African Crises Response Initiative, established in 1996, as well as the follow-on program (iAfrika News Network, 1987), the Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) capacity building program which is still active. These programs provided both training and non-lethal aid to participant countries, and were fully coordinated with the peacekeeping capability building programs of the UK, France and the Nordic countries.

Willingness to deploy the TPDF in support of peacekeeping can be noted in Figure 4 which shows the increase of participation in UN peacekeeping operations.

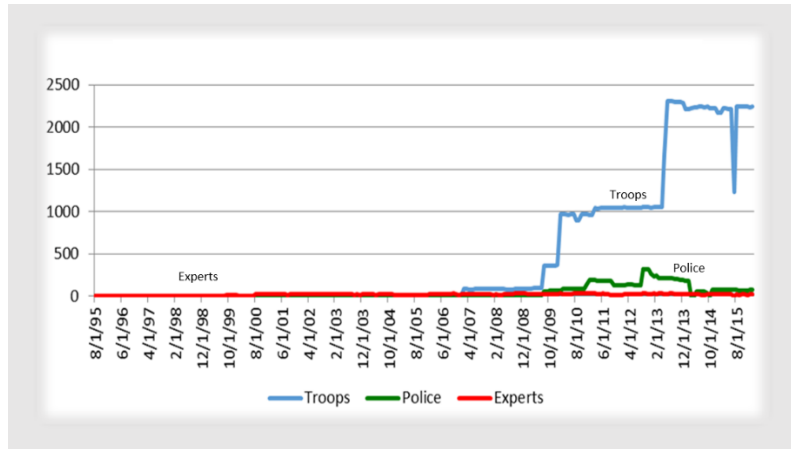


Figure 4. Tanzania Uniformed Personnel in UN Peacekeeping Operations 1999-2017

Source: Minde 2017.

Most notable in this graphic is that while experts were made available to the international peacekeeping operations, actual troop deployments of any significance were not made until 2007, and then only in larger numbers after 2009. A willingness to carry on the legacy of international engagement from the liberation years to the new African realities is in place, but the reticence may be from the concerns over cost. Deployments in small numbers can be absorbed. Especially in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the cost of larger operations, with the history of the cost of the Ugandan war, may have been a deterrent. The TPDF had participated in the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) deployment to Liberia in 1994, contributing 773 personnel along with a Ugandan battalion. There were reports that the TPDF did not acquit itself well in combat, and the Chief of the TPDF noted that financial and material support that had been promised was not delivered. The TPDF would withdraw in 1995 based on high costs and lack of progress in peace deliberations (Berman and Sams 2000, 101-102). Cost concerns, high activities on Tanzanian borders with unstable neighbors and declining military budgets combined to offer an explanation to the limited deployment patterns until 2007. As financial concerns

decreased and with higher stability on its borders by the mid-2000s, the opportunity to deploy may have been more attractive with a Tanzanian government looking to increase their participation and deployments to international peacekeeping operations. That the peacekeeping opportunities taken are with the UN, which provides greater and more dependable funding, is also germane. The experience of regional (Uganda) and sub-regional (ECOMOG) funding shortfalls remains part of the TPDF legacy.

The al-Qaida attack on the U.S. Embassy in Dar es Salaam in 1998 brought Tanzania into the war on terrorism, but at an early point and at a more languid pace than might have been expected. There were no follow-on attacks, and it quickly became obvious that while Tanzanians had suffered loss of life, the target of the attack was the United States. At the national level, there were other issues of greater importance to Tanzania than what appeared a ‘one-off’ strike at a U.S. outpost. Even before the events of September 2001, as counterterrorism ramped up, Africa and especially Tanzania with its non-aligned legacy presented an alternative perspective. Concerning counterterror tactics of Turkey conducting counterterror operations in Kenya, Tanzanian commentators noted the danger that “our region could become a playground for global terror both official and unofficial” (Okema 1999). Of more pressing concern was the status of peace talks with Burundi, and the effects and cost of the large refugee population in Tanzania. Appropriate horror was expressed after the attacks of 9/11, but the Government of Tanzania did not immediately bandwagon onto the GWOT. There was greater concern over the implications of the September 11 attack to the world economy (Daily Nation 2000). As observed in the local press, Tanzanians were concerned about the marginalization of Africa and the binary choice that the U.S. was establishing in the

GWOT (Sharp 2011). As the war in Afghanistan began, Muslims in Tanzania demonstrated against U.S. “human rights violations” (Moshi 2001). In remarks in December 2001, the Tanzanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jakaya Kikwete, noted that the war on terror must extend to the broader reasons for terrorism, “poverty, denial, deprivation, oppression, suppression, and injustice” (Tomric Correspondent, 2001).

Tanzania has been a participant in the international counterterrorism regime, passing a Prevention of Counterterrorism Act in 2002, and taking other domestic measures (Whitaker 2010, 655-657). The police have been the greatest recipient of funding and aid, and the TPDF have been noticeably absent from the broader discussion on the issue. In 2006, of the \$151 million U.S. foreign assistance package planned for Tanzania, 2 percent was earmarked for “Peace and Security” (DOS 2017). The TPDF has neither been a prominent participant in regional counterterror measures, nor benefited from international largess on the issue through 2007, the time of interest for this research.

Geography

There are three aspects of geography most germane to strategic culture in Tanzania. The first is the size of the country and the effects upon politics and ethnicity. The second concerns the ethnic geography of Tanzania, and concerns over politicization and the dangers of conflict exemplified in other ethnically diverse African states. Third, the relationship between the Tanzania mainland and the islands of Zanzibar, the two parts of the United Republic of Tanzania, is a product of spatial relationships. At 886,034 square kilometers, Tanzania is over twice as large as Germany. There are a number of implications to such a large area starting with the significance of population density. In the UN list of state population densities, Tanzania is ranked 151 with 55.33 people per

square kilometer in 2013 (UNDP 2017). For comparison, Uganda is ranked 73 with 166.54 people per square kilometer in the same year. A denotation of such a low density is that ethnic groups are widely dispersed. While the realities of the availability of water, arable land, pastures, and other geographic attributes narrow the amount of space for human habitation, there is still a lot of unclaimed space available between social groupings, or should the need arise to vacate a specific location through conflict or natural disaster.

While the geographical diffusion of these societies decreases the cooperative interaction that Reid postulates among pre-colonial societies, it also did not result in the same competition in a spatially constrained area. To be sure, the area south of Lake Victoria and east of Lake Tanganyika was a corridor of conflict as identified by Reid (2007), where warfare was endemic, especially between the emerging power of Mirambe of the Nyamwezi, the kingdom of Unyanyembe, and Arab traders from Zanzibar who penetrated from the coast in the nineteenth century. But low population density creates other dynamics. Herbst (2000) offers that low population density and large areas make governance beyond the capital problematic, and argues that span of control in dispersed societies is problematic. While Herbst's solutions have been found wanting (Thies 2009), the imposition of low population density affects the internal workings of a state regardless of era. Protection, control, and the ability to collect taxes are as important in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as they are today. As importantly, the large area and low population density has been credited with hindering any single ethnicity from gaining control over large areas of Tanzania. The modern manifestation of that situation

is that no single ethnicity is able to hold an electoral majority that could create the conditions for politicized ethnicities in modern Tanzania.

The highly diverse ethnic landscape of Tanzania has not spawned the confrontational politics and conflict that might be expected from over 120 ethnicities. As Amanda Lea Robinson observes in her study of national versus ethnic identification, Tanzania is an outlier.

The ability to account for Africa's most successful nation—Tanzania—based on modernization and colonial legacy speaks to the importance of policy...As the most nationalistic state in the sample, Tanzania runs counter to all predictions: it is very poor, highly ethnically diverse, a former British colony, and did not fight an anticolonial war. (Robinson 2014, 737-738).

Mrisha Malipula (2014) makes a cogent argument that the direct governance style of the German colonists disenfranchised chiefs and kings and that the British implemented indirect governance on the German system, thus institutionalizing the local leadership outside ethnicities. Nyerere and TANU/CCM then imposed a regime that established policies to continue to depoliticize ethnicity, supported by *ujamaa* that addressed the denigration of ethnic identities at the expense of nationalism. The result is evident in all the Afrobarometer surveys in which Tanzanians overwhelmingly chose national identity over ethnic association.

The outcome of the combination of factors that has led to a lack of ethnic politics in Tanzania cannot be overstated. The ability for the country to avoid a major trigger for conflict within the state removes a major friction point for the national security apparatus to consider. The policies to maintain a polity devoid of politicized ethnicity covered a range of issues from decisions on language to economic policies designed to avoid ethnic favoritism to a military designed to foster and instill nationalism. As evidenced by

Tanzanian's level of development, the lack of ethnic conflict and stability does not guarantee economic gain or a rise out of poverty. However, it does obviate the demand for an armed force internally focused to counter such divisive forces.

An alternative scenario evident within the United Republic of Tanzania is the example of Zanzibar. The inclusion of the Zanzibar islands of Unguja (colloquially referred to as Zanzibar) and Pemba in the Tanzanian union occurred in 1964. Zanzibar followed a significantly different historical path from Tanganyika, and the presence within Tanzanian politics has been problematic. The islands were occupied by Persians, Indians and Arabs since the seventh century, with trading routes throughout the Indian Ocean to as far afield as China. Portuguese presence began in 1598 with an independent sultanate, and, in 1698, the Zanzibar suzerainty fell to the Sultan of Oman. As a major slave trading port, Zanzibar under the Sultanate ran afoul of the British desire to abolish the slave trade, and by 1873 the British and the Sultanate signed a treaty abolishing the trade. A series of Anglo-German treaties between 1885 and 1890 established the spheres of influence the two European states would enjoy in Africa, and assigned Zanzibar as a British protectorate (Uzoigwe 1985,33). Protectorate status continued the suzerainty of the Omani Sultanate, but with British oversight.

The arrival of the British produced a new wave of actions designed to destroy the "institutions" of slavery in Zanzibar, with revolts easily put down by the British (Uzoigwe, 1985, 37). The economy of Zanzibar was based on slavery, ivory and the production of cloves with a strict division of labor. The Arabs were the owners, the Indians the managers, and the indigenous population, many of which had been transported as slaves from the mainland, the laborers. While the British would eventually

institute indirect rule in Zanzibar, their presence did nothing to change the socio-economic dynamics of the island. (Malipula 2014, 57-58). British policies and economics after the Second World War institutionalized the “Arab landlord class, and an African underclass, as well as further entrenching local Asian financiers” (Twoddle, Rabearmanana, and Kimambo 1993, 244). The divisiveness produced a contentious political atmosphere as the islands moved toward independence. Parties were created based on the socio-economic structure, and through the four elections prior to independence, the party representing the Africans considered themselves disenfranchised by the non-Africans with the connivance of the British (Mpangala 2006, 64). The last two elections in Zanzibar in 1961 and 1963 escalated into violence emanating from colonial legacies (Mpangala 2006, 64) and “(t)he smallness of Zanzibar and the face-to-face? character of its politics” (Twaddle, Rabearmanana and Kimambo 1993, 244). The culmination of these activities was a revolution in January 1964 that created a one-party state under the African party, the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP). Amalgamation with Tanganyika occurred five months later.

The quasi-federal association that is Tanzania has not decreased political tensions on the island. The commencement of multi-party elections in 1995 provided the opposition party, the Civic United Front (CUF), an opportunity to leverage the highly contested and violent nature of politics on Zanzibar to greater effect than on the mainland. With a separate government under the semi-autonomous status provided under the Union, Zanzibar presents a better political environment for CUF than on the mainland where CCM overwhelms opposition. In the Zanzibar elections of 1995, 2000 and 2005, pre- and post-election violence occurred. The TPDF and police have been implicated in

the violence, and allegations of partiality toward CCM have been brought. As noted previously, the only internal deployments of the TPDF have been to Zanzibar in relation to elections, and though relations have improved between the TPDF and the Zanzibar populations (Mpangala 2006, 74), deployment to Zanzibar for elections remain a point of contention among the people of the islands and the governments of Tanzania and Zanzibar.

In an otherwise stable ethnic environment, Zanzibar presents an interesting example of what could happen if political confrontations increased on the mainland. The depoliticization of ethnicity, and its transference into the TPDF, does not appear to be in danger on the mainland as concerns over increased tensions from multi-party elections have not been observed.

Resources

The role of resources in Tanzania's security sector reflect its poor economic status and low priority given military matters. As a percentage of GDP, Tanzania has spent at most 1.5 per cent since 2000, and averages around 1.0 per cent for the period 2000-2012.¹² According to World Bank data, the military budget in 2009 comprised 4.9 percent of the central government expenditure (World Bank 2017). Since 2006, the percentage has increased markedly, averaging around 6.48 percent until another spike upward to 8.18 percent in 2016. Though reporting is incomplete, there is evidence that prior to 2000 military spending, on average, was no higher than 2-3 percent of GDP, and 7-10 percent of government expenditure. And those numbers were higher in years of major military operations (Green 2000, 178).

¹² All data on military expenditures is derived from SIPRI database (SIPRIb) unless otherwise cited.

The data on military spending indicates a small percentage of government spending earmarked for the military commensurate with the historical priority given military matters in Tanzania. Such funding provides for the basic needs of the armed forces, but rarely for expansion or modernization. As with many other states in Africa, capability increases have depended on foreign military assistance. While foreign arms transfers tell only part of the story, and do not include training and advisory services, such numbers provide an indication of support.¹³ Since 1962, Tanzania has received \$1.5 billion in arms transfers. The overwhelming majority, by a factor of two, is from China (\$839 million) with the Soviet Union providing \$404 million with Tanzania, and Canada provided military transfers of \$114 million through 1979, with most occurring in that year. The Canadian training mission in Tanzania was replaced by the Chinese, with whom Nyerere felt a kindred spirit. Of the \$426 million in military equipment transferred to Tanzania since 2001, 75.1 percent was from China (SIPRIa 2017). The amount of military equipment supplied by China indicates that the military-to-military relationship between China and Tanzania remains strong, despite indications that the TPDF has increased procurement from Western suppliers (Cabestan and Chaponniere 2016, 13). Even as the Chinese began to back off military sales with African nations in the 1990s, Tanzania remained a close partner (Segal 1992, 124,n24). Cabestan and Chaponniere make the case that the relationship with China was strongest after Tanzanian independence as the leadership of each country identified fellow travelers. They note especially close relations as Tanzania became a logistical base from China support to the wars of liberation in southern Africa (Cabestan and Chaponniere 2016,12). Though

¹³ All data on arms transfers is derived from the SIPRI data bases (SIPRIa 2017).

political and economic relations waned over time, military relations remain strong, in part due to the continuing close relations between TANU/CCM and the Chinese Communist Party. While the United States has made in-roads into the support of military training, the Chinese continue to play an outsized role in the development of the TPDF. The reliance on one primary foreign military partner decreases the issues faced by states with a number of disparate suppliers. The Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the TPDF have similar relationships with their respective parties, though that has changed with multi-party elections in Tanzania.

Recent increases in the military budget indicate a change in either threat perception or the role expected of the TPDF. Even with increased funding, it can be expected that Tanzania will remain dependent on foreign military aid for modernization.

Defense Organization

The authority of the president of Tanzania as the Commander in Chief of the armed forces to conduct military operations is stated in the Constitution and it is unfettered by any requirement for approval by the National Assembly (Tanzania Const. §148). Unlike in the case of Uganda, there is no stated requirement for the Tanzanian National Assembly to vote on out-of-country deployments, an issue argued and rejected by the Tanzania parliament (NNN Daily News 2010). The president is advised by the National Security Council (formally the National Defense and Security Council) specified in The National Security Council Act, 2010. The NSC is composed of the president, vice president, the President of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, the prime minister, the Chief Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, and any other invited expert. The size of the NSC is appropriately small for actual decision-

making, as opposed to the much larger Ugandan example. The composition of the NSC reflects the unique nature of the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, but there is no evidence of disagreements between members of the NSC regarding troop deployments. The president's orders are carried out by the Chief of the Defense Forces. There is a Defense Forces Committee, but their remit is limited to issues of manning, training, and equipping.

The consolidation of national security decision-making in a narrowly defined elite provides a straightforward process that is not open to debate from outside that group. Even when disagreement is voiced from the National Assembly, notably about TPDF deployments to Zanzibar during elections, the concerns are not reflected in deployment changes. The low threat levels allow for some security threats, even cross border issues, to be addressed by the police and diplomacy, such as concern over banditry on the Kenya-Tanzania border resulting in a joint security pact (TOMRIC News Agency 2000). TPDF deployments are decided by the president, but with little open debate. Some observers have noted that the Tanzanian national security apparatus is highly insular and prone to extreme levels of secrecy, broadly described as the “national security guidelines” which hamper understanding of all but the most general categorization of national security issues (The Citizen, 2015).

Political Structure

The strong role of TANU/CCM in Tanzania and the extent to which the TPDF has been integrated into the party structure is an important source of strategic culture. The details of the party-army relationship have been described in detail above. The ensuing movement of military officers between civilian roles and armed forces billets provides an

indication of the effect of such close integration. An example can be found in former president Kikwete, who joined the TPDF in 1972 and retired as a lieutenant colonel in 1992. During that period, he also held party positions, including going to Zanzibar to establish the new party office of the combined CCM and ASP party in 1977. From 1980 through 1988, he held district and regional party positions, and managed to fit in the year-long Company Commander's Course at Monduli, Arusha in 1983. He retired in 1992 to join the government, but his career is an illustration of the close ties between the TPDF and the TANU/CCM. As described in the analysis of Lindemann (2010) and Rinquist and Thomas (2011), such integration has inherent benefits and dangers. Elite bargains, access to increased influence and corruption opportunities, and other deleterious effects are well documented. Perception of public service and closing the perception gap between civilians and the military are not as well captured. Maintaining the TPDF as a "people's army" has been served well by keeping the military close to the population it serves, rather than segregating it from the population. Such is especially true in countries with small, non-conscripted states. The TPDF ranks high in institutional trust with an average 66 percent of Tanzanians answering that they trust the army "a lot," the highest trust category in the Afrobarometer survey¹⁴ (Afrobarometer 2017).

Summary

The TPDF has not been a priority for the Tanzanian government, regardless of who was the president, with current increases in military expenditures beyond normal levels an anomaly. Military matters have only risen to existential levels during the mutiny of 1964 and the Tanzania-Uganda War. *Ujamaa* and the Nyerere brand of

¹⁴ Surveys conducted in six rounds from 1999-2016.

socialism was the more important mission. After Nyerere gave up power, the slow reversal of socialism and the reintegration into the international economic regime remained first on the list. There were foreign policy goals to meet, but the TPDF focus was on protecting the state from harm, whether that came from refugees or incursions across porous borders. The cost of maintaining the personnel, equipment and training infrastructure of a military is high, and the cost of military operations is higher. The dynamic of that reality argued for limited involvement in peacekeeping operations as those become more prevalent after the end of the Cold War and into the twenty-first century.

The TPDF has never been the primary focus of effort for Tanzania because it has not had to be. With no violence to gain independence and no violence needed to maintain independence of single party rule, the TPDF could maintain its focus on outside threats to the nation that its integration into the polity had helped build.

Summary

These cases present observations of two sub-Saharan African states based on history, societal roles, and employment patterns. By so doing, the study provides the basis for the analysis of the existence of strategic culture and its effect on the decision of Uganda and Tanzania to participate in AMISOM. Decades-long periods of stability in the post-independence history of Uganda and Tanzania have presented time to for the military to evolve, but the evolution of the UPDF and the TPDF are diametrically opposed.

The UPDF presents as the primary vehicle for security policy options. The armed forces that have populated Uganda since its independence have been at the forefront of

the elites. While Uganda did not gain independence through a liberation war, violent coercion quickly became the way in which power was gained and maintained. The result was a national security calculus that provided primacy to the military or used the military for its coercive ability. When the NRM and Museveni gained power, the military remained as one of the elite institutions. But its role within the society changed from coercive to protective of the Ugandan people and nation. Museveni came to power through military action, understands the inherent power of the military within society, and has worked to professionalize the military during his years in power to create an ideal institution beholden to the nation, not a regime. The reality of insurrections has resulted in slower progress toward that goal than desired, and the maintenance of the military and their capabilities remains a high priority.

The military in Tanzania has evolved along a different path. With a non-violent road to independence and declining funding, the pre-1964 army was not a major issue for the new government. After the mutiny, the complete integration of the TPDF into TANU ensured that what was good for the party was also good for the army. Yet the primary focus on *ujamaa* was not to convince the Tanzanians that TANU was the preferred choice, but to operationalize the unique perspective on African socialism that Nyerere sought to implement. While the economic aspects of *ujamaa* were an unmitigated disaster, the social aspects brought a country together in a way that overcame the ethnic cleavages that bedevil Tanzania's neighbors. The TPDF was part of that formula, and it was not needed to maintain the government. It was then used to protect the country whether from Ugandan invasion or Hutu refugees. The TPDF was an important element in the liberation policy that Nyerere espoused. In all these guises, the TPDF is outward

focused, and the government could afford to spend less time, money, and effort on the TPDF because it wasn't required for regime survival. Nyerere also left Tanzania a foreign policy legacy in which diplomacy was as important, if not more so, than the force of arms. Subsequent Tanzanian presidents maintained this outlook, and security concerns focused on the implications of living in a 'bad neighborhood.' Even the Global War of Terrorism did not change the national security dynamic, though one of the first events in al-Qaida's war was in Tanzania. The national security calculus of Tanzania does not favor the use of the TPDF as the primary tool in the box.

These cases provide the material for analysis to answer the two research questions on the existence of strategic culture and its effect on the decision by Uganda and Tanzania to support AMISOM. Even though these two states operate from opposite ends of the continuum on the use of force, they have both supported interventions. Uganda has been active in the DRC and southern Sudan; Tanzania in the Seychelles, Comoros, and the invasion of Uganda. Decisions to support peacekeeping missions are unique to time and place; the decision to support ECOMOG by both countries in the early 1990s would be different from such decisions a decade hence. Path dependency holds that the decisions of 2006 are influenced, not determined, by decisions made previously. Each country, based on how they determined they would use their military, manned, trained, and equipped the army differently. Uganda found a willing supporter in the U.S. as part of Africa Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI)/ACOTA. The TPDF took longer to realize such benefits due to a wariness of U.S. foreign policy objectives and a legacy of non-alignment. Capabilities define what the 'toolbox' has in it, as surely as the predilection of the decision maker.

CHAPTER V – ANALYSIS

Introduction

The cases of Uganda and Tanzania provide the background from which a determination can be made as to whether these emerging states possess a strategic culture. This chapter will address the primary research question to determine if these states have a strategic culture and, if so, what that strategic culture encompasses. The dissertation argues that the determination of strategic culture is not well served in the case at hand by being a binary determination, but that states such as Uganda and Tanzania fall on a continuum of strategic culture between none and full. By using the attributes of strategic culture's definition, the appropriate place on the continuum can be identified. As both states indicate an emerging strategic culture, the second research question regarding the operationalizing of the strategic culture can be addressed.

The vehicle for the determination of operationalization is the decision by Uganda and Tanzania to contribute troops to AMISOM. This example was chosen since both states were specifically approached by the international community to contribute, so there was an expectation that they would do so. As importantly, participation in AMISOM is not directly pertinent to state survival, a situation in which strategic culture is easily trumped by the exigency of continuance. A short history of the road to AMISOM provides the context in which each country made its decision. In the event, both Uganda and Tanzania made decisions consistent with their strategic culture, though, in the case of Tanzania, contrary to expectations.

Strategic culture does not determine outcomes, but creates an environment in which decisions are made. The environment exerts influence on decisions through a

combination of previous decisions which affect current affairs by constraining or restraining options through force development and capabilities as well as the effect on decision-makers of previous decisions, whether successful or failures. Participating in AMISOM is a unique example of such a dynamic.

The Presence of Strategic Culture

The first research question addresses a key issue of this research: do post-conflict, newly independent states have a strategic culture? The question thus challenges the basic assumption of the strategic culture concept articulated by Ken Booth (1990) for emerging states that don't have a long coherent history on which to draw. The findings of the previous chapter set the groundwork for making the argument that such states do indeed have a strategic culture, but require a more nuanced approach to the concept than a binary "have/have not."

The creation of states in Africa upon institution of the colonial system clustered ethnic groups based on arbitrary geographical association. Whether these ethnicities would have eventually banded together and integrated into a Westphalian-style state structure due to geographic proximity is a moot point. The ethnicities encompassed in these geographic areas were forcibly integrated in such a way that development of a nationalist narrative as described by Benedict Anderson (2006) in *Imagined Communities* for Europe followed a different path. For the development of strategic culture, this means that reference to an historical epoch as a military touchstone is not appropriate. For example, the development of a standing army in Buganda is not a historical reference point for Uganda in the same way the Prussian Army is one for the post-1871 unified Germany. The multiplicity of ethnicities in Uganda and Tanzania belie the agreement,

perhaps better described as homogenization, of history that creates a singular narrative. The African criterion for historical reference is closer to the point of independence as the state builds its unique national story, based on its history as a state, including the integration of the colonial period.

In the case of Tanzania, stability has been a significant factor in the creation of a successful sense of nationhood. Regardless of the economic decisions that continue to hamper the development of Tanzania, the longevity of stability has allowed for a marked resilience, even as the polity moved from single- to multi- party democracy. Some analysts credit the Tanzanian army with a large role in realizing a Tanzanian nation (Bjerk 2015). The fifty-three years since the 1964 mutiny provides the national security apparatus of Tanzania the necessary time and experience to develop the habits and institutional memory important to a strategic culture. In sub-Saharan Africa, having such a time period un-fettered by internal conflict is a luxury.

It is a luxury that Uganda has benefitted from, yet in the thirty-one years since the NRM came to power increased stability has set the conditions for an emerging strategic culture. Participation in internal and external conflicts affords the opportunity to exercise national security decision making, and in some ways to test the boundaries of what is possible with the forces provided. Alternatively, high operational tempo constrains the ability to fully develop the required institutions. Ondoga Amaza notes that the NRA/UPDF should have been able to re-prioritize funding for training to professionalize the army in the 1980s, but that the internecine wars in north Uganda delayed such endeavors (Amaza 1998, 158). The reality on the ground was that the NRA/UPDF integrated a large number of combatants from other armed groups, and diluted the NRA's

ability to operate as it had in the Bush War prior to 1986. While the desire to maintain the high NRA standards was present, as evidenced by the acceptance of mobile training teams from Tanzania, the UK, Ghana, Nigeria, and the U.S. during the 1990s, the lack of officer throughput decreased expectations. This was the army that the decision makers of the period used in the DRC and South Sudan, even after the reduction in force conducted during 1992-1995 (Amaza 1998, 158). Despite the flaws in the constitution of the force, the UPDF was still considered a primary tool in the national security box, whether the issue was rebel safe havens in the DRC or heavily armed Karamojong disputes in eastern Uganda. As the UPDF emerged from 1990s, there was a concerted effort to make professionalism more than just an aspiration. Increased activity in this regard enhanced the military option as a mechanism for national security decisions, especially through participation in regional (AU) and sub-regional (EAC) peace and security forums and activity. While Uganda suffered conflicts from 1986 on, it did not change leadership, and did not endure the type of critical junctures that were present between 1962 and 1986 with consecutive leadership changes. Building on historical touchstones no older than the NRA initiation of the Bush War allows for the creation of a narrative divorced from the excesses of Obote and Amin, but within common living memory. Decisions pertaining to the use of force are also referenced within this time period. Whatever the down-side for the establishment of western-style democracy, single-party rule and consistent leadership facilitates the coherency of effort toward building a 'new' armed forces, even though it may not have gained traction before the new century. While both states have benefitted from over a generation of coherent history, such represents only part of the elements that contribute to strategic culture. Referring back to

Booth's definition of strategic culture, there are nine elements that can be discerned: tradition, values, attitude, patterns of behavior, habits, symbols, achievements, particular ways of adapting to the environment and particular ways of solving problems. To understand if a state has a strategic culture, these elements must be explored. Without stability, many, if not all, of the definitional attributes will not develop. If a state lurches between situations in which institutions are torn down and constantly re-built, especially when conflict driven, none of the strategic culture attributes will have the opportunity to be institutionalized. Uganda before 1986 provides a good example. The coups that engulfed the state did not just change leadership, but especially with the Amin regime, changed the fundamental nature of governance in the country. The massive change in the army's ethnicity, as well as the mass killing of other ethnic groups, changed the nature of the force. The NRM/NRA victory in 1986 afforded a chance to nullify the wide swings in composition, doctrine, and mission inherent in leadership changes. The armed forces are then able to aspire to a level of institutionalization unavailable under the whipsaw of change. Given enough time unfettered by instability, the aspirational goals of the security sector could be achieved, if perhaps not at the speed desired. To determine if a state has a strategic culture, the attributes will be individually considered, and assigned a subjective value.

The assessment frames the attributes to determine both the presence and maturity of strategic culture and a comparative matrix. To expect that strategic culture is a binary occurrence undermines the strength of the concept. States may have a strategic culture, but not a fully formed instantiation of the concept. Size is not a determining factor; the strategic culture of Israel is as mature as that of the United States, at a fraction of the size

and with only a short history as a state in comparison. In post-Communist states of Eastern Europe, the evolution of the civil-military relationship continues to evolve, and with it the strategic culture that is part of the strategic calculus to deploy the military instrument (von Riekhoff 2004b, 213-221). Based on a subjective scoring level, strategic culture maturity levels can be evaluated and compared.

The usefulness of this typology concerns the level of influence that strategic culture presents on decision-making. In a state with a Fully Mature strategic culture the attributes are fully inculcated and consistently transferred over time by the keepers of the strategic culture. Force composition and doctrine decisions will reflect common philosophical underpinnings. For example, the Russian annexation of the Crimea and conflict with Ukraine can be interpreted as a continuation of the defensive strategy throughout history to control the “Near Abroad,” that area of land around Russia that creates a buffer against invasion. The expectation would be that a Fully Mature strategic culture will cast a greater influence over national security decisions due to its integration across a wide range of the national security structure.

Maturing and emerging strategic cultures thus bestow less influence because the inculcation across the security sector is not fully realized. Certain aspects may have internalized the strategic culture such as an armed force doctrinally prepared for offense when the strategic culture has yet to influence the resource allocation to build offensive capabilities into the military. Decisions from an immature strategic culture will appear disconnected from the ability to implement. The multiple and varied reactions of both sides of the Eritrean-Djibouti border dispute in 2008 provide an example of decision-

making informed by an immature strategic culture in which each decision was a new event not connected to any continuum of objectives.

Strategic culture is not a conscious capability that a country creates from whole cloth. Rather, it is a way to describe the environment that develops over time through a combination of decisions, experience, historical influences, and force capabilities. The amount of influence the concept exerts on the national security decision apparatus is arguable as the literature review indicates. In the present examples, the strategic culture maturity determines the tools in the box for national security decisions, and which is more likely to be utilized.

Three levels of maturity levels are indicated. Fully mature (FM) demonstrates a strategic culture that meets or exceeds all the codicils of the Booth definition as previously discussed. Maturing (M) presents a strategic culture that may lack some attributes, but otherwise reveals positive movement toward full maturity. Emerging status (ES) exhibits a number of the attributes, but lacks the positive movement toward FM level noted in the Maturing level. With a scale of 0 (no discernable attribute) to 3 (fully matured attribute) the highest score that can be achieved is 24. A Fully Mature strategic culture will have a score of 24; all attributes of the definition are met. With a score of between 15 and 23, a Maturing strategic culture is present, as long as there is a score higher than 0 for each attribute. A score between 8 and 14 indicates an Emerging Status (ES) strategic culture, if all definitional attributes have a score. Any state with a score of 7 or less is not considered to possess the minimum attributes for a strategic culture.

Based on the case studies in the previous chapter, Table 2 presents a comparison of the strategic culture attributes for both countries.

Table 2 *Assessment of Strategic Culture Maturity Levels: Uganda and Tanzania*

Uganda	Attribute	Tanzania
3	Traditions	3
1	Values	2
3	Attitudes	3
2	Patterns of Behavior	2
2	Habits	1
3	Symbols	3
3	Achievements	1
2	“Particular ways”	2
19	Total	17

Based on the assessment criteria, Uganda and Tanzania display the attributes of maturing strategic cultures. The case studies present a view of each country’s national security apparatus as benefitting from internal stability. While the level of stability in Tanzania can be regarded as stronger due to the few, and rather shallow attempts at a coup and no active insurgencies, even with the constant combat evident in Uganda through at least 2000, there have been no changes in government that have put leadership at risk. The time has allowed for the creation of elements in the attributes noted in the Booth’s definition of strategic culture.

Considering traditions, both the UPDF and the TPDF have established specific traditions in their conduct that are expected from a military in comportment, uniforms, ceremonies and other aspects of military life. The UPDF built on the traditions of the

British military and the KAR. The TPDF, born as a vehicle for the concept of *ujamaa*, consciously borrowed from a wider group of military traditions to create a military culture as unique as the social approach but still fashioned their military uniform, ranks and ceremonies from the British model. While these factors describe the continuation of military functions at the micro level, the more important traditions are at the macro level, and pertain to the tradition of the military role within society. The UPDF continued the tradition of the NRA regarding their position as a people's army. While at times aspirational, as the constant operational tempo waned, and the insurgents who entered the NRA/UPDF began to decline, the UPDF has had the ability to instill the traditions associated with being a people's army into more of their activity. As reflected in the Afrobarometer results mentioned previously, the UPDF is increasingly perceived by the population as fitting the moniker. This newly traditional role of the army has been codified in the Ugandan constitution, and is beginning to establish itself in the way the national security apparatus deploys the military.

The UPDF is noted as a component of the narrative focused on donors of Uganda's support for western counter-terror objectives. Jonathan Fisher has identified a trend to directly support counter-terror operations or frame Ugandan military operations in language designed to appeal to donors. By so doing, Fisher believes that a number of Museveni's political objectives are achieved, including the continuation of a positive international reputation, less scrutiny by international donors on domestic politics, and continued aid. As Fisher describes it, it is a strategy of "image management" (Fisher 2012, 405). While argument can be made with Fisher's description of the motivation for

such activity, his cogent observation of the phenomenon and the consistency of Ugandan activity represent a tradition in the use of the UPDF.

The tradition of the military within Tanzania since January 1964 is potent given its association with National Service and its role in creating the Tanzanian state. The TPDF under Nyerere became an important vehicle for bringing the ethnicities of Tanzania together to develop a nation. National Service is not only associated with the TPDF, but subordinated to it, and both organizations march forward as part of the revolution that is *ujamaa*. With the exception of the war with Uganda and the small interventions the TPDF is used for, the majority of its time is spent supporting the work of the nation in tasks that may not be strictly militarily related (i.e. agriculture, disaster relief, public works construction etc.) but represent the nation as a whole. Even the use of the TPDF to train and support the liberation wars in southern Africa establish a tradition in how the Tanzanian national security apparatus uses its monopoly of violence. As in Uganda, the traditional role of the TPDF is codified in the constitution which firmly establishes civilian control of the military (Tanzania Const. §9).

As with traditions, values of an organization benefit during a period of stability. As vanguards of their respective revolutions, the UPDF and TPDF provide organizations within their countries that display the values of the nation. The Tanzanian armed forces were so thoroughly tied to the ruling party, and to the concepts of national service and *ujamaa*, that the TPDF epitomized the values of the state. With the introduction of multi-party politics, the concerns about increase in governmental corruption have been levied on the TPDF, but to a lesser extent than the government as a whole. Importantly, multi-party politics has not created a militaristic backlash within the TPDF (Williams 1998,

35). Since 1992 reports of ill-discipline have been noted (The East African 1998; Mpiganjira 2005), as well as the deployment of the TPDF to Zanzibar during various election cycles (Mpinga and Said 2000). Inconsistencies in military hardware procurement have also sullied TPDF's reputation (Said 2008). There has also been friction caused by the hard-living conditions of enlisted TPDF and the relative "opulence" of conditions of TPDF officers (The East African 1998). Such incidents degrade the values embodied in the TPDF, but don't fundamentally bring them into question and no "interventionist ethos" has been noted within the TPDF (Williams 1998, 35).

The UPDF, in part because of its involvement in multiple insurgencies and in incursions in Sudan and the DRC, has been accused of myriad violations of criminal, ethical and moral standards. The volume of reporting belies any attempt to list, or debate the allegations. Regardless, these reports have decreased the ability of the UPDF to act as a beacon of national values in the same way the TPDF does for Tanzania. As the various interventions and insurgencies have decreased, the reputation of the UPDF has increased, as the Afrobarometer reporting indicates. Yet a low score for values will take years to overcome as the UPDF works to overcome the besmirchment of past recriminations.

Elite attitudes toward foreign policy are structured in order to provide decision makers with a method to frame the complexities of the issues (Hurwitz and Peffley 1987, 1113-1114). Rather than the constant changes an un-structured outlook would imply, foreign policy attitudes have shown a notable stability (Ganguly et al 2017, 416). As Sumit Ganguly et al note, the majority of research has been conducted within the

industrialized countries. In their research to determine the ability to generalize the structural concept of foreign policy attitudes for India, they show that, with some caveats, “the foreign policy views of Indian elites are not random but are organized...[and] are not distinct from but are informed by domestic policy preferences” (Ganguly et al 2017, 431). This research provides evidence that such a concept can have applicability in the case of Ugandan and Tanzania national security elites. Without greater access to the national security elites of Tanzania and Uganda, determining what their attitudes are toward “significant objects, groups, events or symbols” (Hogg and Vaughn 2005, 150) is beyond the capacity of this study to determine. Attempting to ascertain attitudes that influenced a decision by proxies or the choice alone is open to a wide range of reliability challenges. While vehicles such as Afrobarometer and the World Values Survey provide some degree of insight into population attitudes, the generalization of those broad population attitudes into the national security elite is unwarranted, as studies on foreign policy attitudes among the general population and elites in the industrialized world have demonstrated. Hence, the score provided for the attitude element of the strategic culture attribute is determined based on the assumption that national security elites maintain a stable set of attitudes influenced by domestic politics. The latter statement is important for an understanding of the Tanzanian situation as compared to Uganda, in which Museveni has been the constant leader of the elites since 1986. Tanzania, on the other hand, has peacefully changed power four times since independence. Each of those leaders will have brought unique experiences into the decision-making process, but all would be influenced by the consistency of the TANU/CCM monopoly on power since 1962. The expectant result would be attitudes toward national security as consistent over

time in Tanzania as in Uganda. as well as installed new members into the national security elite. The attitudes of the Tanzanian elites are more likely to change than those of Uganda with a single, long-term leader.

If attitudes of national security elites remain stable and consistent over time, it would follow that the patterns of behavior would also be consistent in how each state uses force, the primary outcome of strategic culture. Both countries have displayed a consistency in patterns of military deployments, reflective of their history of the role of the military in their society. Uganda has shown a proclivity to use their military as the primary tool for national security both within and external to Uganda. Tanzania is less active in the use of the military, and has a record of diplomatic engagements. These patterns mirror the place of the military in the society in both countries.

The use of a military option for national security issues by the Tanzania national security apparatus has been limited since 1964. The specifically defined use-case is deliberate since the TPDF has been used for non-military activity such as agricultural support and disaster relief. As previously noted, the TPDF has been deployed sparingly in two interventions, one regional peacekeeping operation from which they re-deployed early, the war with Uganda and a limited number of internal security events, predominantly in Zanzibar. During the period when Tanzanian foreign policy was focused on the diplomacy of liberation, Tanzania offered a base to a wide range of liberation movements,¹⁵ and provided lethal aid as well as training. In some cases, TPDF

¹⁵African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC) from South Africa, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the Zimbabwean African National (ZANU), the Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU), and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) from Namibia (Legum and Mmari 1995, 164).

members fought alongside liberation movement fighters (Shule 2009, 8). As liberation spread throughout southern Africa, and the focus narrowed to South Africa, Tanzania was no longer a “front-line state” and the role of the TPDF precipitously declined. The role of the TPDF as a trainer/mentor for other militaries was established during this period, supporting both the constraints of force composition (e.g. troop strength) as well as representing a non-aligned nation during the divisive Cold War era.

As importantly, the use of force, especially in the case of Tanzania, was not a viable option to affect liberation of southern Africa. Nyerere admits as much in a 1977 Foreign Affairs article in which he notes that free African states are focused on “...trying to make independence economically meaningful and beneficial to their people,” and that the liberation movements will accept support from wherever they can get it (Nyerere 1977, 675-676). The majority of work Nyerere and Tanzania did in support of the liberation movements was diplomatic by providing good offices in support of talks between Kenya and Somalia for example, or recognition for other world-wide liberation movements in Vietnam and Palestine (Shule 2009, 3). In the realm of public diplomacy, Tanzania was very active in engaging regional organizations as well as the United Nations and the Commonwealth (Shule 2009, 4). The focus on diplomacy over the use of force is consistent with Nyerere’s experience in the independence struggle in Tanganyika, which was highlighted by the level of peacefulness and Nyerere’s ability to negotiate a positive outcome.

The fading of Tanzania’s FLS role in the 1980s and the departure of Nyerere in 1985 also changed the focus of Tanzania policy away from liberation diplomacy to economic diplomacy (Kamata 2012, 292). The desire to change paths from *ujamaa*

economic policies to greater integration into the international economic order required a greater emphasis on the establishment of neo-liberal economic structures, and a new way to engage the international community, now including business concerns as well as other governments (Kamata 2012, 293-295). While de-emphasizing national security issues, Tanzania continued to engage in mediation efforts, continuing its reputation as one of the most active mediators in Africa (Regan et al 2009, 141). Important mediation efforts of direct national security consequence were conducted in Rwanda with the unsuccessful Arusha Accords in 1993 and for the conflicts in Burundi, with then former president Nyerere appointed as mediator for two sessions of negotiations, the first in 1996 and the second between 1998 and 2000 (Mpangala 2004, 13). Since independence, Tanzania is third behind the U.S. and the UK in the number of mediation efforts it has undertaken as a country, and it has supported other efforts through the United Nations and OAU/AU (Regan et al 2009, 141-142). Continuing the desire to encourage regional integration as a path to Pan-Africanism, a permanent tripartite commission for East African Cooperation was established in Arusha, Tanzania in 1996, which would subsequently become the headquarters for the East African Community treaty organization implemented in 2000, including its Sectoral Council on Interstate Security. These patterns of behavior indicate a propensity for non-military solutions in the national security arena.

In Uganda, the patterns of behavior since 1986 specifically, but also before the NRM/NRA came to power, reveal a centrality to the role of the military in national security decisions, if not the politics of the state. The single party state and the effectiveness of the spread of NRM local governance bodies to the town and village level broke the importance of the military to the polity of Uganda but not its prominence as an

efficient and effective instrument for the state. Within the context of the constant counterinsurgency battle within Uganda from 1986-2005, it may be surprising that the UPDF did not gain an overwhelming amount of power. Yet the Ugandan military has maintained civilian control of the state, albeit through the single party and with the continuous administration of President Museveni. Unlike in Tanzania, Uganda has seen fit to deploy the UPDF in a range of international situations rather than depend on diplomacy. Operations in southern Sudan and Eastern Congo, the two major non-counterinsurgent operations, speak to the willingness to use the Ugandan military to achieve national security aims. While diplomacy is a part of the Ugandan national security toolbox, the efforts have been predominantly focused on participation in regional organization initiatives, specifically IGAD. Since the organizations founding 1986, and then its reestablishment in 1996, IGAD has been involved in 14 conflict mediation events, just under the number of mediation attempts by Tanzania (Regan et al 2009, 145). The military is also part of the internal security solution, beyond their participation in counterinsurgency operations. As noted previously, the use of the UPDF in support of police efforts is higher than Tanzania's, and there is a greater willingness to use the UPDF in their domestic role. For example, when violence in the Karamojong region of eastern Uganda broke out due to increased availability of small arms, the UPDF was mobilized to assist the police, and in the event, became the leading agency for controlling activity in that sub-region. The dependence on the role of the UPDF as a government mechanism is demonstrated through their use to implement poverty reduction in Uganda where there is an expectation that military veterans are more effective than civilians: "Unlike civilians, former combatants, by virtue of their training and nurturing, are more

disciplined...they are more likely to use the resources given to them productively and on purpose, unlike civilians that received money under the past programs and diverted them to consumption...” (Ggoobi 2014). Whether through effectiveness derived from the capacity of the UPDF over other security forces in Uganda the military gets the call when security is needed.

The pattern displayed by the Uganda national security apparatus is to use the UPDF as the lead for most national security issues, both internally and externally. This is consistent with both the role of the military before 1986 where the army was considered an oppressive force, and after the establishment of the NRM/NRA in power, where the military is considered the vehicle for the presence of the NRM as well as the keeper of the people. Due to the high level of ethnic politics in Uganda, despite single party rule, who “the people” are is sometimes questioned. Over time the UPDF has risen to meet its role, as evidenced in the Afrobarometer results. As another example, while the UPDF was accused of human rights violations in Karamojong in 2007, when a major re-deployment of UPDF from Karamojong occurred in 2013 there was public outcry (London Evening Post 2013). The UPDF is the primary tool for the Ugandan national security apparatus.

Free of critical junctures that result in disruptive changes of government, habits have been ingrained in the military and are passed down through the military education and training system. Military education, especially for mid-grade officers, is being regularized throughout Uganda and Tanzania, and much of sub-Saharan Africa with stable government. Regarding habits of the national security decision apparatus, the same assumption holds; for Uganda, over thirty years of national security decision

making leadership under Museveni can be expected to have evolved habits in the use of force. In Tanzania, the leadership of TANU/CCM can be expected to create habits over time, with some exceptions due to the peaceful change of presidents. For example, prior to 2005, the participation of the TPDF in UN peacekeeping operations was very small (see Figure 4). After President Kikwete came to power in 2005, there was a marked increase in participation. This could indicate a change in such habits brought on by Kikwete's leadership style. Yet the basic supposition is that regime longevity results in habits that support patterns of behavior discussed previously.

The argument used above is appropriate when discussing symbols in the strategic culture of Uganda and Tanzania. Over time, the military in each country has developed behavior that conveys meaning. At the micro level, the uniforms of the TPDF and the UPDF represent their organizations, and are different from other organizations, even within the national security apparatus, such as the police. In Uganda, for example, when a recruit enters training, he/she is issued a pair of green gum boots which are worn through the sixteen-week training cycle. Only when a recruit graduates from basic training are military boots issued. While this method began as a cost saving measure, its symbolism in the UPDF established it within the force.

The names of the two military forces are symbolic. Both represent a conscious break with the past. In the case of Tanzania, the disestablishment of the Tanganyika Rifles and the concurrent integration of the Zanzibari military (People's Liberation Army-PLA) into the new force provided an opportunity to move away from the vestige of colonial convention. With the increased emphasis on the integration of the Tanzanian military into the ideological and political establishment, the Tanzania People's Defense

Force is a reminder to the military and the population of what the military reflects. The choice of name also benefited from the active support of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) as well as the other communist states who freely used "people" in the name of their military organizations.

Uganda also used the new name to signal the end of two eras: the pre-1986 armies as well as the evolution of the NRA into an organization representing all the people of Uganda. A contributing factor was the esteem in which Museveni holds Nyerere, and the desire to use the military as a nation-building mechanism in Uganda (Mwakikagile 2012, 237). More importantly, from the inception of the Bush War in 1980, Museveni fought a self-identified "protracted people's war" (Museveni 2000, 111). The successful outcome of such a strategy can only be a military which reflects the nature of the war that fundamentally changed Uganda. Hence, a Uganda People's Defense Force, a name established in the Uganda Constitution of 1992, but which reflects the source of the military's strength.

In order to build a new national army like ours, it is essential, first of all, to clarify the ideology of the armed forces and establish a firm code of conduct that will be respected and adhered to..." Where does that strength come from?" If you call yourself an army and you want to defend the country and its borders, or to defend a system, what will give you strength to do so? An army uprooted from the people is a weak army...(Museveni 1997, 175)

The UPDF thus becomes the symbol of the new relationship between the military and the people of Uganda. Museveni is especially aware of the power of symbols in an ethnically and linguistically diverse population, and one with radically different experiences with previous regime armed forces (Museveni 1997, 205).

Achievements provide a foundation of experience for national security decision-makers to build on as they face new challenges. Accomplishments are tempered by miscues in which the national security objective was not met. Uganda and Tanzania have both such events which factor into their respective strategic cultures. Uganda benefits from more examples since their utilization of the military has been higher, as well as a consistent decision-making elite led by Museveni for over thirty years. Tanzania, on the other hand, lauds its successes beyond the use of force.

Using the fiftieth anniversary of the TPDF in 2014 as an indication of the TPDF's self-identified achievements, there are six events highlighted which laud the TPDF's contribution to its country's development (Tanzania Daily News 2014). The feat of arms is displayed predominantly through the success of the TPDF in the 1978 war with Uganda. The support of the TPDF to the liberation struggles is also highlighted, not only through the protection of liberation group camps throughout Tanzania and the training provided with foreign allies, but also with more aggressive operations such as Operation Safisha (cleanup) in which TPDF units deployed into Mozambique in 1976 to counter forces opposed to the Mozambique revolution. TPDF would suffer over a hundred casualties in Operation Safisha (Schroeder 2012, 14; The Citizen, 2014). In 2014, then President Kikwete complimented the TPDF on its peacekeeping role, including operations in the Seychelles and Comoros islands that had been categorized as incursions by the OAS at the time. The last three achievements are representative of the TPDF's role in nation building. Credit was given to the TPDF in its support of the civilian government during a number of disasters, as well as providing education and health support to the people of Tanzania (Tanzania Daily News, 2014). The ownership of

National Service (JKT) is also acknowledged as a contribution to the development of the state through the inculcation of “the spirit” of education and self-reliance, two principles of *ujamaa*. Finally, the TPDF is credited with its training of the local militia which was created in the 1970s to combat incursions by the Portuguese, but later became a staple in the defensive mix of Tanzania. The militia provides a reserve for the TPDF which was utilized during the war with Uganda, as well as providing security coverage throughout Tanzania beyond that which could be provided by the TPDF alone, given historical constraints on size and funding (Lal 2015, 95).

The negative example is the aborted ECOWAS deployment to Liberia with Uganda in which a battalion of the UPDF was redeployed to Tanzania early. As previously discussed, the reasons for the re-deployment were varied, but from the Tanzanian perspective were caused by the expense and non-payment of funds expended. Of interest is the narrative of TPDF success in peacekeeping provided by President Kikwete who served as the Minister of Finance during the ECOWAS deployment, and was intimately associated with the details of financing the adventure. Yet, after 2007, President Kikwete was responsible for an increase of UN sponsored peacekeeping operations by the TPDF. These deployments have been relatively small, but indicate a growing willingness to participate, despite the ECOWAS experience.

Using the same methodology of self-identification of achievements, Uganda celebrates *Tarehe Sita* each year on the date when the NRA conducted its first attack of the guerrilla war in 1981. As such, it is a remembrance for not just the NRA, but “for all the armies that merged to form one national army, the [UPDF]” (NTV, 2017). The day is marked by the UPDF conducting civil affairs projects in Uganda, and wherever they are

deployed. In speeches by government leaders, the predominant theme is that the UPDF has brought peace to Uganda, and maintains the peace in the country. In addition to winning the Bush War, the defeat of the various insurgencies is consistently lauded, and forms the basis for a larger narrative concerning the UPDF. Statements by UPDF leaders, as well as Museveni himself, present the UPDF as having ‘won’ four counterinsurgency fights, and that they are expert in that field.¹⁶ Highlighted also is the experience of maintaining law and order within Uganda, such as UPDF operations in the Karamojong region in 2004 that saw the disarmament of local tribes with over 32,000 small arms recovered.

External operations that are mentioned during *Tarehe Sita* commemorations are support for the secession of South Sudan and the salvaging of the Salva Kir government in 2013. The success of UPDF operations in South Sudan is not surprising given the long history of counter-LRA operations stretching back to the late 1980s. Not part of the narrative are the UPDF deployments to Zaire/DRC or the abortive deployment with Tanzania to the ECOWAS mission in Liberia. The negative effects of the operations in Zaire/DRC remain current in light of a 2005 International Criminal Court (ICC) decision which found for the DRC and ordered reparations to be paid by Uganda of \$10 billion for actions by Uganda (McGuinness 2006). The discussion on reparations continues through September 2016 when both countries agreed to keep negotiations open beyond a deadline set by the ICC (Musisi, 2016). Such negative examples did not stop the deployment of UPDF forces chasing the LRA leader Joseph Kony into northeast DRC and the Central

¹⁶ Interview with U.S. government official (February 2017).

African Republic, but may have contributed to the smaller size of the forces involved and their better comportment.

Do Uganda and Tanzania display “particular ways” of adapting to their environments to solve national security issues? Uganda and Tanzania present a contrast in their geopolitical and domestic environments that would argue in the affirmative. For Uganda, the external environment presents many neighbors with on-going or smoldering conflicts, such as a resolution to the situation in South Sudan that flares up periodically. Like Tanzania, the porous borders, cross border ethnic ties and presence of pastoralist ethnic groups presents a constant challenge to the maintenance of sovereignty and law and order. For example, the peace to the Karamojong sub-region established by the UPDF is threatened by the Turkana and Pokot communities in Kenya and the modalities of customary pastoralist movement (Ariong 2015). Uganda has demonstrated a propensity to address such issues as security challenges worthy of military deployments. Relations with the DRC and the Sudan have been framed by such measures. Even in the sub-regional venue of the EAC, Uganda has been most successful in fostering military ties among the member nations, even as other issues lie fallow, such as monetary policy.

The politics of Tanzania and its neighbors create a very different security environment than does Uganda, and the domestic reality of the repudiation of ethnic divisions for a Tanzanian nationalism does not create ready-made fissure points as does the charged ethnic milieu of Uganda. Yet the lack of threats and conflict that Tanzania must address are few, and government is willing to put national security debates up for legislative scrutiny. For example, a 2009 National Security Bill was reported as having been passed by members of parliament who “carried the day as the Executive gave in to

[the National Assembly's] demands for changes" (Jube 2010). Interestingly, the National Assembly was concerned that the original bill "curtailed" the power of the president in national security issues (Jube 2010). While the parliament was given credit for a win, the result was maintenance of presidential prerogative in the national security apparatus.

The threats posed to Tanzania by its immediate neighbors are substantially less than in the case of Uganda. Conflict in the DRC and Burundi have effected Tanzania most notably in increased refugee flows and the maintenance of refugee camps, most supported by the United Nations. With these refugees comes an increased level of lawlessness in the immediate area of the camps, but it rarely spreads beyond the involved district. Border incursions by Burundi military have occurred, requiring a TPDF response, but fell off in the early 2000s. Other border issues, such as the dispute with Malawi over the border demarcation of Lake Malawi/ Nyasa are being resolved diplomatically (Nyasa Times 2016). Other issues deal with pastoralist movements across borders, and a wide range of issues concerned with trade and tourism, predominantly with Kenya. The range of disputes rarely reaches a level of violence. The Tanzanian responses to these challenges are marked by a preference for diplomacy over the use of force. With a small military which has been more focused on representing itself as a nation building vehicle rather than the primary tool of national security policy, such observations are not surprising. The legacy of Nyerere who brought independence without recourse to violence, and then became a regional leader through his diplomacy, must factor into the assessment. The way Tanzania deals with its geopolitical environment is almost diametrically opposed to the Ugandan propensity to use force.

Both states continue to institutionalize their strategic culture through development of more professional forces and professional military education, not only for officers, but for non-commissioned officers (senior enlisted) as well. As early as 2003, Uganda was building military and command staff colleges to provide indigenous education for its officers, vice sending them to courses in the U.S., Libya, China, Ghana, Tanzania, and the UK (Matsiko 2003). The TPDF has been melding various military styles since its inception to create what Thomas characterizes as a unique Tanzanian “doctrine and training base” (Thomas 2012, 193). Education, which includes socialization and training (Last et al 2015, 18), is a primary vehicle to transfer strategic culture across generations. Tanzanian professional military education at the mid-career level is robust, as recognized in a 2015 study (Lat et al 2015), even compared with Uganda. These results may reflect the constraints on education in defense budgets by the decade and a half of counterinsurgency operations conducted by the UPDF. Interestingly, the number of “citable documents” created by both countries, and considered by Last et al as an important indicator of educational robustness (Last et al 2015, 27), are identical, and identify Uganda and Tanzania as important professional military education centers. Tanzania in particular benefits from membership in both the EAC and SADC which extend its interaction with other militaries and specifically with major military professional education hubs in South Africa and Kenya. As well, since 2007, Tanzania and Uganda are active participants in the African Conference of Commandants which provides a venue for bringing together the leadership of command and staff colleges from the continent to exchange ideas and encourage “respect [of] societal values and contribute to the development of a culture of high moral and ethical

standards” (African Conference of Commandants 2017). A vigorous professional military education program provides an indication of a conveyance for the transfer of strategic culture throughout a country’s armed forces, especially at the more senior levels which will have greater effect on national security decision-making. In both Tanzania and Uganda, there is movement from senior military leaders into government, thus bringing elements of strategic culture into what would otherwise be a civilian organization.

Uganda and Tanzania display the attributes required for the existence of strategic culture. Neither can be said to have a fully mature strategic culture since various elements exist at differing levels from what would be considered a fully mature strategic culture. As the level of professionalism increases in the armed forces and as the structure of the national security apparatus matures, the strategic culture will become more institutionalized. For example, the post-Museveni Uganda may reach a new critical juncture with a leader with different experiences than Museveni, and who did not rise from the NRA of the Bush War. A strong strategic culture in Uganda will not substantially change with new leadership and continued stability.

Tanzania has experienced an increase in peacekeeping participation since Kikweti was elected in 2005, but has it changed its strategic culture? Statements by Kikwete indicate a desire to return Tanzania to the African prominence of the Nyerere era. Whether such objectives demonstrate a change in the strategic culture is unlikely. As will be discussed below, the proclivities of the TPDF were not to international deployments, and Kikwete’s new direction would take a few years to come to fruition. It was not manifest by 2006-2007 when the decision to participate in AMISOM was made.

The use of the TPDF has been determined by a strategic culture that is effected by the size, capabilities and cost associated with military operations, and a demonstrated past performance of support and influence through indirect methods, such as training.

Operationalizing Strategic Culture: Participation in AMISOM

Strategic culture exists in Uganda and Tanzania, but how does it manifest itself in a national security decision? This section will consider the decision by Uganda to participate in AMISOM, compared to that of Tanzania, which declined participation with peacekeepers on the ground in Somalia. Given the circumstances under which both countries were solicited to participate, and their national interests at the time (2006-2007), it would be expected that both states would participate, yet Tanzania did not. As previously noted, the strategic cultures of the two states sit at opposite ends of the spectrum on the role of the armed forces to address such issues. If the military is but one tool in the national security kit, the strategic culture of Uganda places it at the top. Tanzania does not hold the military option in such high regard, which allows it more flexibility in responding to dynamic situations. Thus, the strategic culture restrains Uganda in its range of national security decisions.

A Complex Environment for Decisions

All national security decisions are made within a complex web of circumstances. Political science continues to study the different influences of the international system, domestic politics, and culture, on national security decisions and debate the relative importance of each. From the focus on state capabilities (Morgenthau 1978), to the distribution of power (Waltz 1979), to a focus on economic behavior (Rosencrance 1986), to ideational determinants (Wendt 1992) and culture and national identity

(Herman 1993, Erkiksen and Neuman 1993, Katzenstein 1996), scholars have been identifying the elements of a state's strategic calculus and how the formula is constructed. Yet, foreign policy issues are but one sector that state leaders must deal with, and one which does not always have priority. Considering decisions without a view of the milieu of other matters competing for leadership time presents a distorted perspective. Such an understanding provides context for the decisions at the center of this research. As importantly, the decision to participate in peacekeeping has a history of its own. It is not a unitary event, but the result of an accumulation of other factors. A coherent view of the 'road' to the deployment of peacekeeping troops provides analysis with another layer of detail as the current research determines the variables affecting peacekeeping participation.

To better position the findings of the current study, a discussion of major issues within Uganda and Tanzania during 2006 and early 2007 provides the opportunity to understand the environment in which decisions for peacekeeping decisions were made. Recall that peacekeeping decisions are not existential, so can be expected to be influenced by a greater number of issues than a national security decision in which the survival of the state is involved.

By 2006, Uganda has become one of the stable countries in the region but the instability in the surrounding countries remains a source of concern. The insurgency in northern Uganda, ongoing since 1987, is contracting, but the insurgents remain and the negative effects on the northern Ugandan populations are still very much in evidence. Three issues that capture the nature and complexity of affairs in Uganda circa 2006 are the 2006 elections, the situation in northern Uganda, and the DRC.

The presidential and legislative elections of 2006 were the first multiparty elections in Uganda. Previously, elections were held by adult suffrage, and political parties were not represented. According to President Museveni, while Ugandans have been voting successfully since 1993, parties within Uganda have been tainted with a sectarian brand which has been difficult to overcome (Council of Foreign Relations, 2005). In the period prior to the assumption of power by Museveni and the NRM, political parties had reflected ethnic divisions within Uganda, and to Museveni, were thus vehicles for abuse by both Obote, his long-time rival and predecessor, and in the rise of Idi Amin. Museveni considered sectarianism as the primary reason for the failure of Ugandan politics (Museveni 1997). In the aftermath of the National Resistance Army (NRA) coming to power in 1986, a “movement no-party system” was instituted. Political parties could exist, but they were constitutionally barred from being active participants in politics. At the same time, the NRM was provided access to state resources (Tangri 2006,182). The de facto result was one party rule. This was consistent with Museveni’s observations of Tanzania, and his time at Dar es Salaam University, where he witnessed first-hand an alternative post-independence political system that did not result in the problems experienced in his own country (Museveni 1997). The 2006 election was the first under new constitutional rules that removed the 2-term presidential term limit. The political maneuvering and rancor both within Uganda and from donor countries had been quite evident in 2005, and included the suspension of British aid over the issue.

Despite the negative repercussions internationally, and the political machinations which dominated the first few months of 2006 in the lead-in to the election, elections were held on 23 February. The results returned President Museveni to power and

provided the NRM with a majority in Parliament, yet the aftermath of the elections would linger on throughout the balance of 2006. What is important to the current research is that the aftermath of the elections fully engaged the government throughout the remainder of the year. Petitions questioning the validity of both the presidential and parliamentary elections were filed, and lingered on into April and May (Gloppen et al 2006). In late May, President Museveni shuffled his cabinet, dropping 29 ministers (Mutumba 2006) and subsequently dealing with the politics of such decisions. The electoral process continued to be challenged from the international community, with President Museveni assuring the Commonwealth Secretary General that Uganda would address its election deficiencies (Kasyate 2006). Considering the state power consolidated in Museveni's presidency (Tangri 2006, 184), the elections and their aftermath represent a major source of constant friction in Uganda's body politic.

Of more direct consequence to national security was the change in the long battle against the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and its effects on northern Uganda. The insurgency in northern Uganda that the LRA began in 1986 is remarkable for the brutality of the LRA towards the population it was ostensibly representing. The government responses were not particularly effective, and when the LRA activity increased in the 1990s, the government tactic was to "drain the swamp:" consolidate the population into protected villages that would be easier to defend. The result was 200 overcrowded camps housing upwards of 1.7 million internally displaced peoples, the majority Acholi. Limited state funding for non-military activities, and the deleterious effects of such actions on the social and economic development of northern Uganda, created a continuing humanitarian crisis. By 2006, LRA attacks waned, residents of the IDP camps

feel “more secure” (Brown 2006, 2), and the government has initiated a decongestion plan to decrease the population in the camps. The treatment of the IDPs in the north had been a point of some contention, and a number of European Union countries had suspended aid to Uganda due to reports of human rights violations in 2005 (Checchi 2006,10). The security and humanitarian situation was an open sore for the Museveni government.

In July 2006, peace talks begin between the LRA and the Government of Uganda in Juba, south Sudan. Sudan has been providing the LRA and its leader, Joseph Kony, with at least a safe haven and other active support. As the geopolitical situation changes, especially the loss of support from the Sudanese government in Khartoum and the effects of an amnesty law passed by Uganda in 2000, Kony is convinced to enter negotiations with the Museveni government. Thus, the Ugandan national security apparatus is consumed with dealing with the LRA at the bargaining table, and with the mercurial Kony. The balance of the year would be spent in numerous cycles of hope and despair, as Kony and the LRA walks out on talks only to eventually return to the venue. A cease-fire is finally established which codifies the de facto situation on the ground. The talks become a focus of considerable international scrutiny from the UN as well as donor nations wishing to see an end to the conflict. In mid-December, parties return to talks in Juba as the cycle begins again.

The fight against the LRA had exacerbated other security related issues. As the LRA continued to move to avoid the UPDF, they established camps in northeast DRC, specifically within the Garamba National Forest. UPDF incursions into the DRC in pursuit of the LRA incurred protests from the DRC government, even after the

establishment of an agreement to conduct joint operations against the LRA. Museveni was vocal in his desire to have the DRC and UN forces support efforts to capture Kony, and in May called for the DRC to be expelled from the UN for failure to act against Kony (ARB 43/5, 16639c).

This was but one point of contention between Uganda and its neighbors, stemming from the Ugandan invasion of the DRC with Rwanda in 1996. Over the decade since the incursion, the original justification of self-defense had been questioned, and the Rwandan-Ugandan battles in Kisangani in Eastern Congo in 1999-2000 had laid open the tension between the two states. The post-independence history of Uganda and Rwanda are intertwined, as both leaders emerged from their respective revolutions, and Museveni and Kagame supported each other in their bids for power (Stearns 2011, 237-239). Operations in the DRC created increased tensions, which were not eased even after the international community forced Uganda and Rwanda to withdraw from the DRC in 2002 (Stearns 2011, 317). By 2006 tensions still exist, but there appears to be a concerted effort by both Uganda and Rwanda to create a new environment for security cooperation. In April, Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda, and Uganda agree to jointly seek sanctions against leaders of armed groups in the Great Lakes region that threaten stability (ARB 2006 43/4, 16601c). From the Ugandan perspective, this action is aimed at the LRA, but the significance of the agreement is broader as state support of armed groups in Eastern DRC is a point of contention between Rwanda, Uganda, and the DRC. The agreement is an outcome of the Tripartite Plus Joint Commission between the four Great Lakes countries established in 2004 as a venue for security cooperation. This level of security dialogue is representative of other initiatives begun in 2006 such as the increased

border security discussions with Kenya (ARB 43/5, 16639) and bi-lateral efforts to negotiate continued Ugandan support against Hutu rebels with Rwanda (ARB 43/5, 16639). The document of concurrence is followed in October by the UPDF and the Rwandan Defense Force (RDF) leadership to conduct high level meetings to address security issues of mutual concern. Uganda also agrees to participate in the AU's Eastern African Standby Brigade (EASBRIG). Endorsed by IGAD and mandated under the AU's regional security structure, EASBRIG establishes the framework for a regional military force that could quickly deploy in a crisis.

The above issues present a small part of the activity the Ugandan government and leadership engaged with in 2006. The challenges of governing in the developing world encompass all sectors of life and commerce, as well as extensive interaction with the international community in ways that the developed world does not. The high level of national security activity in Uganda speaks to the complexity of living in a rough neighborhood, and the engagement of the Ugandan national security apparatus across a wide range of activities, both actual military operations against the LRA and to maintain security in northern Uganda, speaks to the importance of national security issues facing Uganda.

The beginning of 2006 in Tanzania was also dominated by an election, and, as in Uganda, the new administration was faced by challenges stemming from both existing circumstances as well as new events. Newly elected President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete sought to put his stamp on Tanzania, as well as carve out his place in the broader regional and international sphere. Unlike Uganda, it is remarkable how few national security challenges face Kikwete.

In December 2005, 72.4% of registered voters (Africans Election Database 2016) vote for Kikwete for president, and for the continued supremacy of the CCM party in the National Assembly. Multi-party elections have been conducted in Tanzania since 1995, and the 2005 election is characterized by observers as “relatively free but not fully fair” (Ewald 2011, 113). The caveated “fairness” assessment is due to the domination of the ruling CCM party, despite the presence of 18 other parties. Yet despite this, *Freedom House* in a 2006 report notes that the election did reflect the “will of the people.” (Freedom House 2006). The mandate creates high expectations that Kikwete will bring competent government to the country, based on his platform of “New Zeal, New Speed and New Energy.” His January announcement of an expanded cabinet is met with a lukewarm response, and he re-shuffles his cabinet in October due to the government’s inability to properly handle electricity shortages. The drought continues a regional calamity initiated by the loss of the “short rains” in November-December 2005 (Hastenrath 2007).

The drought continues through 2006 in Tanzania creating a number of problems. The lack of rains requires the government to take extraordinary steps to provide food, and especially maize, to the most affected areas within Tanzania. While a “famine” is not officially declared, parts of Tanzania face a food emergency that the government addresses with major infusions of food and the assistance of the international community. The food emergency affects neighboring countries, most notably Burundi, in which political and security instability generate the unavailability of food aid. The consequence is an influx of over 4000 Burundian refugees to add to the over 200,000 already in Tanzania (ARB 43/2, 16531c). The plight of the Burundian refugees, as well as

Rwandan illegal immigrants are an issue throughout the year as Tanzania attempts to control both the cost and the environmental impact of refugee populations (IRIN, 2006a; Mukombosi and Mutesi 2006). Various methods of repatriation are attempted with mixed results, but require substantial time in negotiation with neighbors and the international community.

The drought's effects on Tanzania go beyond those vulnerable to the food emergency. The dependence of Tanzania on hydroelectric power results in power cuts and rolling blackouts starting in February (AFP 2006). The original plan called for power cuts between 8am and 5pm. However, such power cutbacks have negative effects on businesses which must pay fuel costs to run generators or shut down without organic power generation capability. The concerns of the business community result in a rolling blackout program later in the year. As the situation continues to worsen through the summer, the Tanzanian government is unable to properly manage the crisis, and even greater load-shedding measures are established. The poor performance of the government is offered as the cause of the cabinet reshuffle in October, and the removal of the minister for Energy and Minerals (Mwamunyange 2006). Conservation efforts also result in the banning of pastoralists from the river sheds, another issue to add to the complex question of the place of traditional pastoralist society in modern Tanzania. As in other African countries, land usage and land rights provide for tension between pastoralists conducting their traditional nomadic and wide-ranging livestock management practices and farming communities. The government is involved in managing across the numerous stakeholders, including domestic and international conservation organizations. By 2006, large and increasing livestock populations need greater grazing area and water

resources. But with a drought, and the effect of cattle movement on the soil and concerns of overgrazing, the situation is fraught for both misunderstanding and poor government policy, highlighted in a conference on the subject in September 2006 (Tanzania Natural Resource Forum 2006). In addition to poor policy regarding pastoralist populations, execution of policy is lackadaisical, resulting in poor effectiveness of policy that is already in place (East African Business Week 2006; IRIN 2006b). The drought in 2006 does not create new problems as much as exacerbate issues already facing Tanzania, from land usage to poor governance.

Another issue that energized President Kikwete's new government is the re-energization of regional association. One of the core issues proposed by Kikwete at the opening of the Tanzanian parliament in December 2005 is increased engagement with regional organizations (Kikwete 2006). In his new cabinet, Kikwete appoints a record number of female ministers, moving closer to the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development's representation requirements (Edwin 2006). Kikwete's first visit to Uganda occurs in March, and is the prelude to bilateral visits between the two countries, mainly concerning East African Community business, such as Burundi and Rwanda joining the EAC. In April the presidents of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda establish a timetable for a common market protocol (Musoke 2006), and Kikwete is amenable to creating military ties with Uganda as "building blocks" to regional security cooperation under the EAC (Gyezho 2006). Regional integration is an issue that Kikwete willingly invests his time and labor to achieve in 2006.

The union between the islands of Zanzibar and the Tanzanian mainland continue to provide grounds for anxiety, but are relatively calm after the tensions and violence of

the October 2005 elections. The “rigged” election of Abied Amani Karume to the Zanzibar presidency still does not sit well with the Zanzibar Civic United Front (CUF) and results in civic actions such as a boycotting of Zanzibar’s Revolution Day in January (Mpinganjira 2006). But no violence flares. Civic actions such as filing suite in the Zanzibar High Court to declare the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar illegal, epitomize the opposition’s tactics. The suit would be found without merit later in the year by the country’s highest court. Yet the same issues facing mainland Tanzania, the drought and diseases such as cholera, are assessed through the lens of Zanzibarian politics. Even discussions of EAC matters are considered suitable avenues of protest as Zanzibari politicians voice concern over the lack of Zanzibari voice in the EAC debate (Mande 2006). Still, the political situation does not get out of hand, nor is there a recurrence to the violence of the previous year.

The year of 2006 in Tanzania brought many challenges to the newly elected president. But it did not bring violence, and the annals of the country’s activity during that year are remarkably free of references to national security challenges. Kikwete faced many of the same issues as Museveni in leading his country. What Kikwete didn’t have to deal with was the type of national security threat facing Uganda. The more benign environment also presented a different opportunity for interaction with the international community. Building on the success of his predecessor, Kikwete was able to preside over the forgiveness of international debt announced by the World Bank as Tanzania met all the aspects of the World Bank’s economic plan. The questions facing Tanzania and its leadership remain the same, however. How do national security decisions fit into Tanzania’s governance agenda?

Somalia Searches for a Regional Solution

The situation in Somalia represents a sub-regional problem with international implications. Part of the East African “bad neighborhood,” Somalia gained increased scrutiny within the international sector as part of the U.S.’s post-911 global war on terror. This magnified an area of almost constant humanitarian crises into a threat. As an ungoverned space, apprehension over Islamic inspired terrorism infused international discussions. Somalia also spawned a sophisticated maritime piracy industry that in 2006 was beginning to affect the outside world. The World Food Program was forced to truck food aid to Somalia from Kenya for the first time in 2005 after piracy had forced suspension of deliveries by sea (WFP 2005). Somalia’s circumstance had negative consequences well beyond its borders.

Chasing peace in Somalia has been remarkably difficult and complex. Since the fall of the Siad Barre regime in 1991, Somalia has been unable to establish a country-wide government, and the area has been continually beset by humanitarian crises and drought. The initial attempts to bring a cessation of hostilities to Somalia began under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), a sub-regional organization of Horn of Africa states whose original charter (1986) called for coordination on regional development and to fight drought, but whose revitalization in 1994 broadened the remit and included “promotion and maintenance of peace and security and humanitarian affairs” (IGAD 2010). IGAD, with Uganda as an original member, attempted the first African solution to the problems of Somalia.

Somalia had been a member of IGAD prior to its collapse, and in 1993 the Organization of African Unity (OAU- the precursor organization to the African Union –

AU) designated Ethiopia as the lead country for peace and reconciliation in Somalia (Healy 2009, 8). United Nations missions to Somalia from 1992-1995 ended in failure, and Ethiopia under IGAD auspices was aggressive in their actions in Somalia, concerned as they were with “extremists and terrorist” operating from Somalia into the Ethiopian hinterlands (S.C. Res. 1744, para 26). Reconciliation conferences hosted by Ethiopia in 1997 and by Egypt and the Arab League in 1998 were held, with separate solutions involving different Somali factions, resulting in IGAD requesting an end to “competing initiatives” (IGAD 1998, 8). The Ethiopian-Eritrean War in May 1998 ended the Ethiopian lead in the Somali peace process and inserted a new concern as both Eritrea and Ethiopia armed their respective supporters in Somalia.

As the Ethiopian-Eritrean war abated in 2000, Djibouti, a country with an ethnic Somali majority, picked up the mantle for Somali reconciliation with the Somali National Peace Conference in Arta, Djibouti. Focused on traditional and civil Somali leadership vice warlords, the Arta process resulted in the establishment of the Transitional National Government (TNG) in August 2000. The TNG was recognized as the legitimate government of Somalia by IGAD, the OAU and the United Nations (Healy 2008, 9). International and regional support for the TNG was not matched by internal Somali cohesion or by support from Ethiopia, which now returned its focus to its eastern neighbor after the end of the war with Eritrea. Neither the Somali leaders in Somaliland in the northwest corner of the country, nor Puntland in the northeast corner were supportive of the TNG. Ethiopia was concerned with the Islamist support of the TNG, which reinforced the concern expressed two years earlier. The result was the

establishment in 2001 of a competing organization, the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) (Healy 2008 9-10).

The establishment of the TNG, supported by Djibouti, and the SRRC, supported by Ethiopia, results in increased dissention and violence in Somalia, especially around Mogadishu and the south. By the second half of 2002, the TNG was unable to coalesce support from the Somali population or extend its control beyond sections of Mogadishu. Accordingly, Mogadishu was experiencing levels of violence reminiscent of the 1990s. The SRRC did not provide a viable alternative, considered a conglomeration of warlords vice a cohesive group capable of governance (ICG 2002). With the lack of improvement on the ground, and with members of IGAD working at cross-purposes, the IGAD Summit of January 2002 requested that the Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi convene a reconciliation conference supported by Ethiopia and Djibouti (IGAD 2002, 14). The negotiations in Eldoret, Kenya starting in October 2002 were long, confrontational and contentious, but in October 2004, a president and prime minister were selected by a Somali parliament for the Transitional Federal Government (TFG).

During the period of the reconciliation talks, elections in Somaliland had solidified leadership in this northeast autonomous region as had peace accords in Puntland. Mohamed Hersi Morgan, a militia leader supported by Ethiopia, threatened Kismayo, the country's second largest city. With the continued lack of governance in Mogadishu, civic and business leaders were turning to local sharia courts to ensure a framework for continued activity in the capital. Kenya closed the airspace between Kenya and Somalia, an indication of the continued regional security concerns from the situation in Somalia (Menkhaus et al 2009, 56). The dynamic in Somalia was shifting,

and the change was not always reflected in the activity in the reconciliation talks. In late 2004 through January 2005, the new prime minister built a government, but there was no cease-fire agreement made.

The AU and IGAD sent in a “fact finding” mission in June 2004 (BBC 2004). According to United Nations reports, the AU/IGAD mission was considering monitors for Somalia and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration efforts (S.C. 2004, para 7). The President of Kenya, Mwai Kibaki sent a letter to President Museveni as the IGAD chairman requesting deployment of a peacekeeping force per the request of the newly elected President of Somalia, Abdallah Yusuf (New Vision 2004), an appeal reiterated in Yusuf’s inauguration speech and in the 19 November 2004 UN Security Council meeting. The UNSC supported the deployment of AU observers and debated whether to endorse the AU mission or deploy United Nations peacekeepers. Both Kenya and Ethiopia made statements at this meeting that IGAD peacekeepers needed the resources of the United Nations to properly execute the peacekeeping mission (S.C. 2004). During the last two months of 2004, the AU led planning and seminars concerning the deployment of a monitoring force in support of the TFG; the report of the United Nations Secretary General notes that Sharia courts and “extremists” did not support the deployment of foreign troops into Somalia (S.C. 2005, 4). The twenty-second meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) held 5 January 2005 “accepted in principle the deployment of an AU Peace Support Mission to Somalia” based on the recommendation of the teams that had been sent to Somalia (AU 2005). The AU PSC decision also noted that Uganda had already volunteered to provide troops to the mission, and subsequent comments by the Government of Uganda indicated a

small contingent of 200 (IRIN 2005). On 31 January 2005, the IGAD Heads of State agreed “[t]hat there is an urgent need to provide security support to the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia to ensure its relocation to Somalia and guarantee sustenance of the outcome of IGAD Peace Process” and authorized a peacekeeping mission with the expectation of “AU Member States to give them the mandate for the deployment of a Peace Support Mission to Somalia and expressed their hope that ultimately the mandate will be endorsed by the United Nations” (IGAD 2005). The AU fully supported the IGAD Peace Support Mission in the decisions of the AU Assembly on 31 January 2005 (AU 2005, Decision 65). On 7 February, the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) authorized the deployment of the IGAD peace support mission with language indicating that the IGAD deployment was an interim force until the deployment of the AU mission (S.C. 2005, 4-5). Within the month, Somali legislators were expressing their dissatisfaction with the IGAD deployment of “frontline states,” specifically Kenya, Ethiopia, and Djibouti. AU troops were welcomed, but not forces from the frontline states that included the IGAD participating nations (S.C. 2005, 3). Planning continued for the IGAD deployment, and IGAD published a communique on 18 March describing a two-phase deployment led by troops from Uganda and Sudan, followed by other IGAD nations providing other support, all in anticipation of forthcoming AU deployment (IGAD 2005). The AU PSC authorized the deployment of IGAD’s Phase I of the Peace Support Mission in Somalia (IGASOM) in May with the mandate to “to facilitate the relocation of the Transitional Federal Government and provide protection as appropriate; to assist the Transitional Federal Government and the Somali parties in security sector reform and disarmament, demobilization and

reintegration efforts; and to facilitate humanitarian operations within its capabilities” (AU PSC 2005).

The inability of IGASOM to deploy rested on three issues. The first was the lack of consensus on what countries from IGAD would be allowed to deploy. While Phase I of the deployment plan identified Sudan and Uganda as the primary forces, the Phase II plan included troops from the frontline nations counter to the desires of many in the TFG and Somalis. The deployment was also derailed by the inability of IGAD, or the AU, to get the United Nations Security Council to lift the arms embargo on Somalia in order to properly arm the IGAD mission and the TFG security sector. The waiver of the restrictions of the arms embargo as it pertained to IGASOM was agreed to by the Security Council in December 2006, by which time the issue was overcome by the actions of the Union of Islamic Courts and Ethiopia, as will be discussed below. Finally, IGAD was notably lacking in the capacity to organize and deploy a peacekeeping force. Most IGAD success had come in the ability to mediate conflicts; this type of deployment was simply beyond their capacity, especially with no assistance forthcoming from the United Nations. As these issues were being debated, the situation in Somalia changed.

In the absence of international peacekeepers, the new president of Somalia created a security sector from his own clan, exacerbating inter-clan relations. The Ethiopians agreed to supply and train the emerging TFG military and police, and Ethiopian military forces entered Somalia at the request of President Yusuf to protect the TFG (Hassan 2006). The United States supported a separate group of factions organized as the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT) (Menkhaus et al 2009, 61). These actions increased the concern by Somalis of foreign intervention

and solidified the position of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) who had developed from a local movement in Mogadishu to a position of authority over all of south Somalia. Many governance services were being provided by elements of the ICU, which also accepted support from Eritrea. While the ICU held Mogadishu and controlled southern Somalia, the TFG, with Ethiopian support, was held in the “interim capital” of Baidoa (Menkhaus et al 2009, 61).

In the summer of 2006, the complex situation in Somalia stabilized as the forces associated with the ICU overwhelmed the factions of the ARPCT militarily and became a credible governance option. The ICU positioned Islam as a unifying force over clan loyalties in stark contrast to the TFG and APRCT which reflected divisive clan affiliations. Diplomatically, international entities were active in trying to bring the disputants together in hopes of reconciling differences between the ICU and TFG. The Arab League worked in June with both sides to find common ground, and while they did broker a face-to-face meeting between the ICU and TFG, subsequent actions by the ICU would obviate Arab League efforts.

In early June, the United States had encouraged the Norwegians to establish the International Somalia Contact Group (ISCG)¹⁷, a conglomeration of international stakeholders in Somalia brought together to assist in dialogue and in support of UN efforts. The stated goal of the ISCG is to “engage the parties in Somalia and encourage stability and movement in a constructive and positive direction” (Frazer 2006). Members

¹⁷ The “ISCG” is the most common name given to this group as reflected in open source documents such as those published by the International Crises Group. In U.S. Government and UN documents the group is alternatively referred to as the “International Contact Group on Somalia.”

of the original group were the United States, Norway, the UK, Sweden, Italy, the EU, and Tanzania. By July, the AU and the UN would be included with the Arab League and IGAD invited to subsequent meetings.¹⁸ Somali representatives would be invited to future meetings, but in 2006, the focus on the meetings was to coordinate and synchronize the efforts of the international community, which meant establishing the TFG as the holder of the UN governance mandate in Somalia. These early meetings of the ISCG were not particularly fruitful regarding concrete actions. Still, with various and disparate efforts underway by its members, having a group to encourage interaction between these parties was helpful. More coherent international policy and activity, in theory, would provide greater support to the UN's mission of getting the TFG up and running. The actions of the ICU, and the reaction of the Ethiopians, would change the reality on the ground yet again.

As the ICU increased in power and the TFG continued to be confined to Baidoa through 2006, the Courts were concerned with the possibility of international military intervention. The ICU response included appeasing IGAD by signing a communique in Djibouti that addressed regional concerns (Bryden 2006) as well as staging militant demonstrations against foreign intervention in Mogadishu. The ICU also conducted attacks on the Ethiopian forces protecting the TFG in Baidoa (Roggio 2006), and by 20 December, the combination of these attacks on their forces, U.S. acquiescence, if not encouragement, and reports of increased Eritrean support of the ICU resulted in a full scale invasion by the Ethiopians (Gettleman 2006). The ICU suffered heavy losses, and

¹⁸ *Somalia: U.S. Government Policy and Challenges: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, 106th Cong. (2006).*

the Ethiopian Army marched into Mogadishu; the ICU dissolved by the end of December 2006 (Menkhaus et al 2009, 61). The violence continued in southern Somalia as the radical splinter group from the ICU, *al Shabaab*, took up the fight against the Ethiopians.

The actions of the Ethiopians resulted in the end of the conversation regarding an IGASOM deployment, but not a regional deployment led by the AU. The AMISOM was quickly approved by the AU PSC on 19 January 2007 with the mandate “(i) to provide support to the Transitional Federal Institutions in their efforts towards the stabilization of the situation in the country and the furtherance of dialogue and reconciliation, (ii) to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance, and (iii) to create conducive conditions for long-term stabilization, reconstruction and development in Somalia (AU PSC.2007, para 8). United Nations Security Council authorized the deployment of AMISOM in February 2007 and provided partial exemption from the arms embargo for AMISOM (S.C. Res. 1744). With the stage set, the international community, led by the U.S., began to solicit troop contributions to the AU’s effort. The task became even more critical when the Ethiopians informed the U.S. of their intent to re-deploy from Somalia by 28 January 2007 (Oloyo 2016, 62).

In January 2007, the AU called for contributors for the AMISOM mission, and Uganda immediately pledged 1500 troops to the effort (ARB 2007, Feb 16947B). The search for more troop contributions was aggressively pressed by the U.S. and the AU. Engagements with South Africa, Rwanda, Libya, Algeria, Angola, DRC, the Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria and Tanzania were unsuccessful. Only Burundi would join Uganda in the initial deployment of AMISOM. The first tranche of UPDF troops deployed on 6 March

2007, and was met by a mortar attack on Mogadishu airport as the troops formed up for a welcoming ceremony (IRIN 2007: Yusuf 2007).

Decomposing Participation in AMISOM by Uganda and Tanzania

The two states that are the focus of this dissertation reacted in almost diametrically opposed ways to the request by the AU to contribute troops to AMISOM. The expectation of participation by Tanzania was apparent in the international community's approach, yet Tanzania's decision is consistent with previous participation levels in regional and international peacekeeping. Uganda's decision is also consistent with its long involvement with Somalia, and the long-held position on providing African troops to solve African problems. There was no doubt that Uganda would contribute troops to the AU mission. The attempts by IGAD to provide peacekeeping in Somalia were led by Uganda, and while that effort had not reached fruition, statements by Museveni about an IGAD deployment to Somalia indicated a public position of willingness. The caveats that became the stumbling points of UN support and withdrawal of the UN sanctions for the IGAD mission were overcome for the AU deployment, and it was time in early 2007 for Uganda to fulfill their offer.

With the threat to the Somali TFG posed by the ICU in 2006, it became evident that IGASOM was even more important to the survival of the TFG, even if there was no agreement to maintain, and Ethiopia as a frontline state was less appropriate as a guarantor of TFG survival than a country supported by a sub-regional coalition. Uganda had pledged troops for IGASOM in January 2004 and reiterated the willingness to deploy again in March 2006 (ARB 2006 April, 16588). The UPDF were engaged elsewhere, in both the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and in the insurgency fight in

northern Uganda against the LRA. In the same month that Museveni pledged troops for IGASOM, he pledged to send the UPDF into northern DRC to chase the LRA into sanctuaries (ARB 2006 April; 16566). Regardless, continuing Uganda's readiness to deploy to Somalia under international auspices, Museveni's position was confirmed by U.S. diplomats in late November 2006 (Oloya 2016, 58). Opiyo Oloyo's interpretation is that Museveni's position on Somalia has remained consistent since 1992, and the desire to deploy was only being held up by the pre-requisites, and a guarantee that the international community would provide funding (Oloyo 2016,59). International funding was acknowledged by the Uganda Defense Minister in an interview which noted the conjoined aspect of security issues in Africa, another traditional position of Museveni (Etukiri 2006). Yet the discussion on UPDF deployment continued as the decision by "Museveni and a small number of the government officials" for IGAD was being questioned by opposition members in the Ugandan parliament (Yusef 2006). At this juncture, it appears that Museveni and the national security elites in Uganda had made their choice, but propriety and the Ugandan constitution required parliamentary permission. That permission came on 13 February 2007 when the bill authorizing deployment was approved, and even the opposition, which were boycotting parliament on other matters, supported the deployment (Gyezaho et al 2007; Gyezaho 2007; Oloyo 2016, 67). Funding and other support was agreed to by the EU and the U.S. (Oloyo 2016, 65), but only Uganda provided a firm commitment to participate, even in the face of vocal questions in Kampala and from other states (Kalinge-Nnyago 2007). The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs noted as much in an interview on 13 January when asked about troop contributions to peacekeeping in Somalia (Cobb 2007).

Though the visits of various interlocutors to Tanzania indicate certain expectations for participation, the Government of Tanzania had not been decisively engaged in the Somali conflict management process, certainly not to the level demonstrated by Uganda. The membership of Tanzania in the ISCG represented the lone African member to the group dominated by the U.S. and the EU, among other, mostly European members. The role of Tanzania within the group, especially in 2006-2007 is not well documented, but nothing is noted that Tanzania represented a leading voice. The situation would change in 2010, when the Tanzanian Ambassador to the UN, Augustine Mahiga, was appointed as the UN Secretary General's Special Representative on Somalia, and thus the chairman of the ISCG. The appointment aligns with the Kikwete's desire to increase the role of his country in East African affairs, but was not the reality in 2007. At that time, President Kikwete displayed greater interest in troop deployment for the UN-AU mission in Darfur. The TPDF sent a large contingent of officers to peacekeeping training provided by the U.S. in mid-December 2006 (Oloyo 2016, 88) indicating a strong willingness to deploy. The attendance to the training was considered a positive step, in light of the Tanzanian non-response to an AU request for troops in August 2004 that was fielded by then Tanzanian Foreign Minister Kikwete (Xinhua 2004a). At that time, the Tanzanian position required the pre-requisite of a "cessation of all hostilities," a situation that did not emerge, and was unlikely to be attained (Xinhua 2004b). President Kikwete had been active in 2006 increasing the Tanzanian international profile, and had indicated a willingness to become more involved in African conflict management (Oloyo 2016, 88). Yet when Tanzania was pressed to participate in AMISOM by the Kenyans in the last week of January, the decision was deferred (Oloyo 2016, 88). On 1 February 2007, the

Tanzanians informed the U.S. that no troops would be involved in AMISOM, but that Tanzania would train Somali government forces. Tanzania was interested in supporting Darfur rather than Somalia (Oloyo 2016, 88). Oloyo indicates the stumbling point of Tanzanian peacekeeping participation was the lack of cooperation of the Tanzanian Chief of the Defense Force Gen Waitara, and the differing perspectives between Waitara and Kikwete (Oloyo 2016, 89). Even peacekeeping training for Darfur was postponed until after Waitara retired in September 2007. This discord between Gen Waitara and President Kikwete could represent a desire by the president to change the role of Tanzania in the conflict management dynamic of East Africa away from a focus on negotiation.

The decisions of both countries align with their strategic cultures. For Uganda, the deployment of troops fully conforms with Museveni's prior use of the UPDF to support his objectives of Pan-Africanism and regional security. Particularly in the case of Somalia, Museveni has had an interest in providing an 'African solution' since 1992, when Museveni was the only African leader to visit the Somali rebels in Mogadishu (Oloyo 2016, 57), and the UPDF trained 1,000 soldiers in preparation to support the UN mission to Somalia in the mid-1990s (Kato 2007). While that mission did not deploy, it provides the initial suggestion of desire for Museveni to provide 'boots on the ground' in support of regional peacekeeping efforts. Through the IGAD planning and into AMISOM, Uganda displays a consistent inclination to provide troops into Somalia.

The readiness to use the UPDF in this manner is also an indication of how successful Museveni believes the UPDF has been in fulfilling Uganda's national security objectives. Uganda has fought successfully against four insurgencies and forwarded its

objectives in both Sudan and the DRC using the UPDF. Outside observers, and even some within Uganda, consider the adventures in the DRC as abject failures and a blot on the reputation of Uganda. Notwithstanding, through the narrow lens of national security, Museveni positions the UPDF deployments to the DRC and Sudan as successful threat reduction operations, and positions them as such to international donors (Fisher 2012). Museveni is proud of the accomplishments of the UPDF, and fully believes that the UPDF as Africans bring a dimension to peacekeeping operations that Western states, and specifically the U.S., cannot. As President Museveni noted in an interview: “[o]ur peacekeeping is different from these western countries. The Western countries do not listen carefully. They are full of themselves, they think they know everything. That’s why they make mistakes” (Oloyo 2016, 67). The effect of positive feedback on the continued willingness of Uganda to supply troops to Somalia through the years and differing circumstances is evident.

For Tanzania, the positive feedback that supports their decision not to participate emanates from their successful history of providing training to liberation movements, and their own militia during the period of the fight for liberation in south Africa. The Tanzanian armed forces have not been the primary tool of national security, and the early success of diplomacy of Nyerere in Tanzania’s independence, as well as in regional security, belies the immediate recourse to military deployment. But what has been very successful for Tanzania is in the use of the TPDF to train others. As much was admitted by Kikwete when he focused on the training of Somali troops rather than deploying the TPDF: “We will do the training in Tanzania, where it is calm, utilizing several of the camps that were used to train freedom fighters like the ANC and FRELIMO” (Oloyo

2016, 89). That statement frames the task of the TPDF in the same frame of reference that applied as a Front Line State. Such action was supported by the perceptions of other TPDF successes in training foreign militaries to be self-sufficient.

One of Tanzania's long held strategic mantras has been the need to ensure that whatever they get involved in in regard to military operations, they build the capacity of the local army to defend themselves, and we have already seen how this strategy has played out in Comoros and Uganda. For Tanzania, the strategic calculus is pretty straightforward to sustainable solutions (Tayari 2015)

It is interesting that the Tanzanians take credit for training the UNLA after the 1979 war, since by their own admission "lack of discipline of the Ugandan army [was] one of the biggest problems" (New York Times 1981). This is not an admission of success.

Regardless, the legacy, and success, of the training mission has established itself as a key product of the strategic culture of Tanzania. As a negative lesson, the unsuccessful deployment of the TPDF to Liberia also continues to inform Tanzanian national security decisions, as the example of non-payment for the Liberia deployment continues to be raised (Interview with U.S. citizen, 9 January 2017). As one of the poorest countries in Africa, Tanzania notes both the cost of the Liberia deployment for ECOWAS and the cost of the war with Uganda for which Tanzania only recently received reparation payments. There is a noted reticence in the Tanzanians to join any peacekeeping effort that is not funded by the UN. Yet in the present case, the U.S. had made it abundantly clear that funding and equipment would be forthcoming from both the U.S. and the EU. Strategic culture thus bears on the decision by influencing the Tanzanian decision to train the Somalis, a mission that reflects a key legacy for the TPDF.

The decisions to deploy troops are consistent with the strategic culture of each state. That there was an expectation that Tanzania would contribute troops to AMISOM was a misreading of their history as well as an optimistic inference of signs that Kikwete wanted to increase the international standing of Tanzania by participation in regional peacekeeping. The example of Tanzania accentuates some of the issues surrounding the study of strategic culture and the validation of the concept within a state.

Alternate Interpretations

Strategic culture influences decisions through the setting of conditions in the environment in which decisions are made. The amount of influence exerted on national security decisions by strategic culture on any given issue is determined by the circumstances of the situation, the worldview of the decision-makers, precedent, the maturity level of the strategic culture, and the capabilities of the armed forces. There are always alternative interpretations of how the decision calculus is determined, and peacekeeping participation includes both economic and non-economic factors.

The economic benefits of peacekeeping participation for contributing states are well documented (Bove and Elia 2011; Gailbulloev et al 2015), even if there is debate over the true pecuniary value of participation (Bellamy and Williams 2013). The effect of economics on Uganda and Tanzania in their AMISOM decisions is not readily obvious. Undoubtedly the desire by Uganda and other states that the UN fund Somalia peacekeeping represents a desire to take advantage of robust peacekeeping funding, and has been, and continues at present, to be a continuing refrain from contributing nations. To what extent that was a critical determinant remains unclear, as does whether the concern was covering actual operating costs or reaping the benefit of UN largess on troop

salaries that is recovered by the nation. Tanzania's stated concern over funding given their experience in ECOWAS and the war with Uganda represents a stated disincentive for AMISOM participation. Yet both the U.S. and the EU guaranteed the cost of deployment and future operations, certainly to Uganda's satisfaction, if not Tanzania's. In light of the EU and U.S. funding promise, economic concerns should have been mitigated in the decision calculus.

Fisher presents an interesting branch of the economic argument in positioning Uganda's participation squarely as an element in the donor perception management regime Museveni initiated to solidify his position with international donors (Fisher 2012). Concern over donor relations is a major concern given the importance of international funds for African states, and the use of those funds to forward specific policy agendas by many western states. According to Fisher, Museveni's information campaign was successful in ameliorating international funding concerns. The question is whether this was the objective of the AMISOM deployment or a by-product? The argument that the AMISOM deployment is merely another chapter in the information management campaign has merit, but is tempered by the long period over which Museveni has been offering to deploy troops to Somalia. An initial offer in 1992 pre-dates the Global War on Terror to which Fisher ties much of the logic of the donor management process. Analysis of foreign leadership often devalues the ideational aspect of actions. The long-held Pan-Africanism of Museveni and the desire to lead regional stability appear to provide a more obliging explanation for the continued Ugandan offer of troops. The ideational can co-exist with the desire to manage the narrative for donors. But Pan-Africanism has been an important element of Museveni's world outlook, and is more

likely to have been inculcated into Uganda's strategic culture over the relatively short-term information campaign.

The donor management argument has no purchase in the case of Tanzania. In 2005-2007, Kikwete and Tanzania were riding a wave of good will from the international economic community, and had no need to manipulate donor perceptions beyond the Tanzanian foreign policy focused on economic diplomacy. Tanzania also continued to display a particular non-aligned outlook in their dealing with the international community. There were traditional friends, such as China, who were fellow travelers in the Tanzanian concept of non-alignment. Especially after the beginning of the Global War on Terrorism, there was no rush by Tanzania to bandwagon for the issue, and the U.S. in particular was not fully embraced. While President Kikwete was beginning to open the relationship slowly, in 2006-2007, there was still institutional reticence. Even in 2008, U.S. military civil-affair teams conducting humanitarian medical and veterinary assist visits in Tanzania were assigned a TPDF liaison officer, who did more observing than assisting.¹⁹

That Uganda, a more authoritarian government than Tanzania based on Museveni's continuous rule, contributed troops to peacekeeping is contrary to the findings of Victor (2000) that authoritarian governments are less likely to contribute. Positioned as a counter-coup strategy, the argument that Museveni's support to peacekeeping deployments is designed to keep the army busy and supported by international funding (CEPA 2016) is not persuasive given his relationship to the UPDF.

¹⁹ Author observation, Tanga, Tanzania, 2008.

There are more compelling arguments concerning Museveni's ability to coup-proof through the enforced terms on senior officers in important positions, and then into important positions in government and/or the NRM. Additionally, if the intent of foreign deployments by the UPDF is to exploit the resources of the target state, as is alleged in the DRC, Somalia does not present a lucrative venue.

The benefits, both economic and reputational were available to Tanzania, but did not prevail in the decision, indicating that other considerations motivated the outcome. In other participation motivation categories, Tanzania reflected theory while Uganda was the contrarian. As to the motivator of geographic proximity and the threat of conflict spillover, Tanzania is not contiguous to Somalia, nor was spillover a particular concern. Experience with these situations in relation to Burundi are likely to have made Tanzania a discriminating customer for such logic. On the other hand, Uganda readily accepted Somalia as a much more viable threat, years before the AMISOM inspired terrorism attack on Kampala by al Shabaab (CEPA 2016). Higher overall threat, vice spillover, are also considered determinants of peacekeeping participation (Bove and Elia 2011) and while Tanzania did not readily acquiesce to Somalia being a global terrorist threat, Uganda positioned its foreign policy squarely within the GWOT framework. Such was apparent in the justification provided by the Ugandan government to parliament during the debate for legislative approval of the AMISOM deployment. Among the justifications for sending troops to Somalia was "...the apparent link between unstable Somalia...[and]...small arms proliferation into Karamoja (Parliament of Uganda 2007). Such language presents the issue of Somalia as directly effecting an area of low level conflict within Uganda itself, personalizing the Somali threat.

Bove and Elia have also found that increased humanitarian threats elicit more peacekeeping participation. For example, the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), 1992-1995 originated as an international mission to “provide, facilitate, and secure humanitarian relief to Somalia” (UN 2017). In 2006-2007, the humanitarian situation was hampered by the on-going drought affecting East Africa, but did not rise to the levels of 1992, or suffered from donor fatigue. The instability exacerbated the humanitarian problems of Somalia, but it was the threat of terrorism that held the public imagination, if they considered Somalia at all.

Uganda had been willing to participate with troop contributions into Somalia as early as 1992, so the continuation of that policy, as articulated by the national security apparatus embodied in President Museveni, was likely to continue. Yet circumstances in 2007 were not those of 2004, let alone 1992. Whether the international and domestic environment favored 1992 or 2007 are unknown, though the consistency of the policy begs a fundamental belief in its justification. During that period conflicts were won and lost by Uganda, and geopolitical, economic and domestic political circumstances changed. Yet Museveni and Uganda did not waver in their commitment to support peace in Somalia with their most valuable resource: their armed forces. The dependence on the military tool for Museveni argues for its continued prominent use in order to reach Uganda’s national security objectives above other methods.

The alternative explanations of the Tanzanian decision not to participate range from the acknowledgement that the tension between Kikwete and Gen Waitara hamstrung decisions, to a misreading of Kikwete’s intentions to increase Tanzania international stature, to concerns over the cost. As to the issues concerning cost, there is

specific evidence to support this concern, but the U.S. in particular went to great pains to ensure that possible participants understood that the U.S. and the EU would be covering expenses, even in the absence of UN financial support. Kikwete and the Tanzanians may have understood that the AMISOM deployment was a longer-term commitment for which they did not feel the U.S. and EU funding streams would continue indefinitely, while the UN support of established peacekeeping operations has proven to be long-lived. Such an explanation supports the willingness of Tanzania to participate in UN-AU operations in Darfur, but only as part of UN forces. The Sudan deployment also supports the expectation that Kikwete desired a greater role in regional peacekeeping than Tanzania had previously displayed. A focus on Sudan may have been considered more fruitful than a new adventure in Somalia, which had not been kind to previous international interventions. The threat posed by instability in Somalia is less directly supported in Tanzania. Instability directly effecting Tanzania is much closer at hand in the DRC and Burundi, so concerns over sub-regional instability in Somalia, while part of the Pan-African legacy of Nyerere as a duty to assuage, does not have the immediacy that would result in a relatively precipitous deployment. Yet the decision not to provide troops, but to provide training for TFG forces, is consistent with the strategic culture of Tanzania, just as the use of troops by Uganda is consistent with that country's strategic culture.

Summary

With the background provided on the sources of strategic culture in the previous chapter, the two research questions are considered in this installment. Specifically, do post-independence/conflict states have a strategic culture, and how is such a strategic culture

operationalized, using the example of the decision to contribute to AMISOM. To the first question, each state provides attributes that indicate a strategic culture that continues to develop. As to the operationalization of strategic culture in AMISOM participation, the decisions of both states are consistent with their strategic culture, though the Tanzanian decision was against expectation.

Long periods of stability in both Uganda (post-1986) and Tanzania since its independence contribute substantially to the evolution of strategic culture. The ability to develop institutions in which the attributes of strategic culture are codified provides the opportunity to establish the concept. Pre-1986 Uganda presents an example of the effects wrought by changes created by each new leadership change that did not allow the formation of many of the habits and traditions required for strategic culture. In the case of Tanzania, the wholesale re-creation of the TPDF post-mutiny in 1964 provide an opportunity to build a military purpose-built to the needs of the new nation and its leadership, specifically focused on nation-building, but also to instituting its place as a leader in the Frontline States and the fight for liberation in southern Africa.

The circumstances in which the two countries created their militaries provide a clean break with the patterns previously generated through colonialism. In doing such, the cases support the theory that critical junctures in history can substantively alter strategic culture, as the defeats of Japan and Germany in 1945 transformed the strategic culture of those states. As with Japan and Germany, reference to previous military history is strictly curtailed in the current culture. Rather, reference is made to history since the establishment of the new force. Both the UPDF and the TPDF represent a self-identified “revolutionary” break from the colonial military. There has been no reference

to the more distant pre-colonial military history because of the revolutionary roots of the UPDF and TPDF. Pre-colonial military histories do not represent the current state and are more likely to perpetuate ethnic divisions than to support nationalistic narratives. Thus, living memory is more applicable to the state's development of their strategic culture.

Given the positive response to the first research question, the second focus of inquiry concerned the operationalization of strategic culture. The decision to participate in AMISOM was chosen since both countries were approached for troop contributions and the decision to participate represented a national security decision which was not existential, thus avoiding concerns that a decision was made for state survival which would trump the influence of strategic culture. As discussed in detail above, the decision of both states reflects their strategic cultures, if not the expectations of those soliciting troop contributions. In the case of Uganda, the participation with the largest troop contribution in AMISOM was fully consistent with how President Museveni and Uganda has addressed the use of force in support of national security issues, and reflects a consistency of policy on Somalia since 1992. The use of the UPDF as a leading device for national security constrains Uganda in such decisions. The perceived success of using the UPDF results in a diminution of the likelihood that other methods will be used in national security decisions. With a ready answer in the UPDF, negotiation and diplomacy are less likely to be used, or depended on to carry toward a successful solution.

Tanzania presents a diametrically opposed situation. The TPDF is relatively small, without counting reserve/militia strength, and not used in the preponderance of

national security solutions. The traditions established by Nyerere of negotiation and diplomacy have continued, and the TPDF is used in few situations, though they have participated in a number of events that the international community have described as “interventionist.” The result is that national security options are wider for Tanzania since they do not predominantly depend of the TPDF to solve national security issues. This increases the scope of possible solutions open to Tanzania, as demonstrated in their response to Somalia, which is to train Somalis, representing a key legacy from the FLS era, and fully within their strategic culture.

National security decisions are attributed to a complex array of motivations, and supporting AMISOM can be interpreted within a range of international, domestic and systemic inclinations. Whether the high cost of international deployments or the desire to increase the international profile of the country’s leadership is the immediate cause of a policy choice, the strategic culture generates influence over the decisions by establishing the “tools” in the national security toolbox. As importantly, historical success or failure, an integral part of strategic culture, wields influence over decisions. Thus the concepts of strategic culture and path dependence become integrated, not in determining outcomes, but in providing an environment that influences states in their use of the monopoly of violence.

CHAPTER VI – CONCLUSION

Introduction

The aim of this research addresses the applicability of strategic culture to states in sub-Saharan Africa. The instantiation of strategic culture originally identified fundamental differences in the perceptions of strategic nuclear planners in the United States and the Soviet Union. The operationalization of those differing perceptions was that American assumptions of Soviet reactions were not valid. Since 1977, the strategic culture has found purchase in allowing observers to discern the unique ways in which states address national security issues and decisions. The concept is applied to states both large and small, nuclear capable and not. Yet the states of sub-Saharan Africa, and the continent in general, pose a dilemma for scholars of strategic culture. Colonialism presented a different development path to sub-Saharan African states. As these states emerged from colonialism, they faced challenges that other states did not. In some cases, independence devolved into conflict; in others, independence was the result of conflict. Some of the problems were a legacy of the manner in which the colonizers administered their charges; concomitantly, issues arose in how the newly independent states were led. Regardless, the environment in which strategic culture emerges is unique in sub-Saharan Africa. As such, it begs the question of whether strategic culture is an appropriate concept for sub-Saharan African states.

The argument made in this dissertation is that strategic culture is both a valid concept for sub-Saharan Africa, and discernable as a factor in the decisions made by Uganda and Tanzania to participate in peacekeeping operations in Somalia. These two states were chosen for comparison because of the number of commonalities after

independence, for their roles in East Africa circa 2006-2007, and for the difference in outcome of their decisions to deploy troops to Somalia. Both countries were expected to participate, but Tanzania refrained while Uganda embraced participation. The argument is framed by the exposition of a theory that positions strategic culture as an environment that influences decisions and policy within the national security apparatus. Strategic culture evolves through the aggregation of experiences and decisions that accumulate over time through the process of path dependence, and create a set of “tools” from which national security policy decisions are made. Provided the theoretical underpinnings of strategic culture, case studies of Uganda and Tanzania provide descriptions of the sources of strategic culture after Booth and Trood (1999). Rather than approach strategic culture from a binary perspective of either presence or absence, the concept of a graduated scale of strategic culture maturity is offered to identify states that are at differing levels. The importance of such a construct is in the degree to which strategic culture permeates the elements of national security apparatus. In the most mature strategic cultures, such as the U.S., France, or China, the concept influences decision-making, weapons procurement, warfighting doctrine and force design. In less mature strategic cultures, the inculcation into the national security apparatus is less complete. The result can be decisions that are disjointed throughout the apparatus, such as procuring a weapons system inappropriate to warfighting needs.

Both Uganda and Tanzania display emerging strategic cultures based on long periods of stability and the revolutionary nature of current regimes that provide a critical juncture to colonial history (in Tanzania) and to post-independence conflict (in Uganda). The strategic cultures that emerge place these countries at opposite ends of the continuum

of state violence. In Uganda, there is a demonstrated proclivity to use the armed forces for national security issues both internally and in foreign affairs. Tanzania, on the other hand, is not as ready to deploy its military for both internal and external circumstances, and has a much smaller operational history, though, interestingly, a seemingly wider range of options available to decision-makers. Both states have strategic cultures reliant on a history of living memory bounded by their revolution, rather than reaching back to the colonial or pre-colonial epochs. Thus, the break with the colonial past is more pronounced, and the task of nation building more grounded in the present than dependent on the past.

Predicated on the above, three conclusions emerge from the research, and their elucidation will comprise the majority of this section. First, stability is a common denominator of developing a strategic culture. Strategic culture requires institutionalization, and instability is anathema to institutional and organizational development. Second, strategic culture is a product of a state's history, and history forms the basis on which strategic culture develops. For the states under study, the historical period is narrow. Thus, the relevant historical period starts at the beginning of stability. Lastly, the maturity level of strategic culture determines its influence. The articulation of these conclusions will be followed by recommendations for further study and a suggestion for practical use of strategic culture in relation to peacekeeping participation. How this dissertation contributes to the literature of peacekeeping and strategic culture will be followed by a short summary.

Stability Required

Stability, or more specifically, the lack of it, is a constant refrain in the literature of development, and is tied to institutions. The *World Development Report*, produced yearly by the World Bank, has been championing stability as a primary factor in the development of institutions, and institutions as the key to stability since 1997 (World Bank 1997, 15) with the 2011 report specifically addressing institutions, violence, and stability (WDR 2011). The same dynamic is evident in the evolution of strategic culture. Stability allows a state to build organizations and establish institutions that are part of the national security apparatus, and those organizations, in turn, inculcate the strategic culture and provide the vehicles for strategic culture to be continued across generations, an important aspect in the definition of culture. Tanzania provides positive evidence based on the creation and development of the TPDF after the 1964 mutiny. With an idea for the form and role of the military in Tanzanian society, Nyerere established a new institution and organization for the armed forces constituted with close ties to the party as well as a foundation and role in spreading *ujamaa* in Tanzania. It is from such a wellspring that the strategic culture derived; influenced by the external nature of its mission and the needs required by the continuing fight for independence in southern Africa. Stability in Tanzania allowed for these aspects to develop apace.

Contrast Tanzania with Uganda, in which stability did not arrive until 1986, and some would argue until 2000 when the majority of counterinsurgencies and deployments to the DRC ended. Since 1986 when Museveni came to power, Uganda has been stable in that it has not had a governmental change through violence. Thus, institutions and organizations have been able to develop, however dysfunctional as compared to the

developed world they may be. The Ministry of Defense and the UPDF have evolved to become increasingly more effective organizations, and increased their capabilities as the internal insurgencies have ceased. Instability caused by counterinsurgencies stunted the speed with which the UPDF's evolution occurred. For example, as discussed earlier, the high operational tempo of counterinsurgency did not allow mid-grade officers to attend training and military education specified in the UPDF's own regulations because they were required to fight. While battlefield experience is worthwhile, the ability to operate a modern military does not depend on warfighting ability alone. Other specialties are required to run the business of the military, from logistics to personnel to planning and fiscal expertise. Such specialties require more training and education than "launching a round down range." A challenge to rebel armies coming to power is that they know how to conduct combat operations, but not the myriad of functions that a state requires to man, train, equip, and manage a defense enterprise. Uganda was not immune to that conundrum. But, as the operational tempo decreased, more opportunities became available for professional military education and the training of military managerial specialties, and another attribute of strategic culture fell in place. Compare this to the pre-1986 history of Uganda, where the multiple changes of government resulted in fundamental adjustments in the composition, role and focus of the military at each juncture. The only constant during the period prior to 1986 was the use of the armed forces in the ethnically based repression of the population. Such a legacy is the challenge the NRM/NRA took on with victory.

As with other national institutions, instability in a state does not allow for organizational capacity and capability to develop in the national security apparatus writ

large. Disruptive changes brought about by violent regime changes upset the lifecycle of organizations and the people who work and manage them. Sub-Saharan Africa in particular is marred by conflicts that have an ethnic dynamic, and the result of victory by one ethnicity is the purge of other ethnicities from lucrative government jobs. In some cases, the cycle of violence is so small that institutions are in a constant state of flux such that they only barely function, if at all. As stability returns, organizations establish a level of normal operations. There is no attempt here to argue that stability ensures effective or efficient institutions. Poor habits and patterns of behavior are as easy to establish as good ones. But over time marked by stability, processes get established and organizations can become participants in continuing such stability rather than being a victim of its absence.

For the national security apparatus, the result of stability is manifest in the avoidance of lurching from one crisis to another. Force composition can be better planned, training and education can take place, and doctrine can be established. Decision-making processes can be established and advisors can advise. Diplomacy and information operations are integrated into the tapestry that informs national security, which also integrates into the strategic culture. Planning and coordination can be conducted. Ideology can be enhanced as a policy motivator. This study gives credit to Museveni's Pan-African motivation in dealing with Somalia. If national security is all about regime survival, there will be no consideration of such ideational activity. This dovetails with Victor's (2010) observation that authoritarian regimes contribute less often to peacekeeping missions. They are more concerned with their survival, and have less time for other issues. National security is allowed to be a part of the dynamic of

governance, not just a vehicle for survival. Stability thus sets the conditions in which strategic culture can be established and mature.

Narrow Historical Perspective

Newly created states - whether through conflict or peaceful transition from colonialism - face many decisions regarding the story of their new country, from determining an official language to what will be taught in schools concerning the immediate past. Decisions, both conscious and unconscious, relating to historical touchstones, affect a wide range of governmental organizations, and the strategic culture of a state is no exception.

History is used for benefit or harm. “History and the related cultural and symbolic forms which come with it are, of course, central to the construction of national identities” (Gecau 1999, 19). In discussing the role of history in society, the historian John Lewis Gaddis notes,

[History is] the means by which a culture sees beyond the limits of its own senses. It’s the basis, across time, space, and scale for a wider view (Gaddis 2002, 149)

And yet history is often chosen to serve a preferred outcome or point of view. Selected historical legacies contribute to Benedict Anderson’s nationalism in *Imagined Communities* (1983:2006). Neustadt and May observe the use of favored historical analogies in American government “in their decisions, at least for advocacy or for comfort” (Neustadt and May 1986, xii). Geertz notes the tension between “essentialists” and “epochalists” in newly-independent states, a distinction based on the temporal frame of reference (Geertz 1974, 252). History provides the specific touchpoints which contribute to national identities as described by Anthony D. Smith (1991).

History is key to strategic culture through two mechanisms. As path dependence posits, the aggregation of previous decisions and actions informs today's activity by making change difficult and/or expensive. The second is the importance of the historical military activity on current military perceptions and how the state uses its monopoly of violence.

Two observations are made in the case of Uganda and Tanzania. The first is that upon victory in Uganda and at independence for Tanzania, the event marked a complete repudiation of the immediate past. For Uganda, the NRA was created to be a dissimilar entity than the Ugandan armed forces that had existed from independence. Just as the NRM represents a revolution for the Ugandan people, so did the new armed forces, and the NRM/NRA, the 'Movement,' was so described. As a revolution, there was little desire to use the immediate history of Uganda after independence or as a colony as points of reference.

Tanzania brings the same revolutionary zeal to the use of history, as evidenced by Nyerere's use of history. For example, Nyerere positioned *ujamaa* as a return to societal norms and practices of pre-colonial Africa, leveraging historical ties to justify an "African socialism." This use of history accomplished two goals. First, it denigrated the colonial past by referring to a period before the imposition of European rule for inspiration of valuable practices. Second, the attributes of *ujamaa* brought forward emanate from the village or family level, disenfranchising colonialism again and focusing on attributes that were associated with African culture in general rather than any specific ethnic group. It is a brilliant method to appeal to traditional African society unencumbered with the pitfalls of ethnic specific reference. As TANU became the single

party, it represented the self-identified revolution, and instituted policies designed to create a nation and overcome the vestiges of colonialism across most sectors of Tanzanian life. The break with colonialism was framed in revolutionary language, especially in relation to economics, but with cascading effects into other areas of government, education and society in general. The debate over Africanization can be considered in this light. Revolutionary change demanded the ascension of Africans (defined as the indigenous peoples) to positions of authority, regardless of their competence to run the government. The debate led to the resignation of Nyerere as prime minister, but became an issue he chose not to champion once he became president. The 1964 army mutiny provided the opportunity for Nyerere to re-cast the armed forces into the revolutionary mold in a bold reimagining of the place and role of the military in Tanzania and its relationship with the ruling party. Such a level of change did not present the need, or desire, to reach back into colonial history, especially in regard to the military. As Nyerere pointed out, the history of the Tanganyika Rifles had resulted in the mutiny. Revolution demands change, a “Year 1” to erase traces of the past.

The current research refers to the idea of coherent history, by which is meant an historical narrative that represents a generally agreed view over a geographically bounded area. It is mostly applicable to states in which political entities formed ever larger entities over time until the association was codified through defined borders and common institutions. It is an admittedly Eurocentric term, but its utility is that it contrasts with what occurred in sub-Saharan Africa. The “Scramble for Africa” codified by the Berlin Conference in 1884 resulted in the creation of geographically bounded colonies that rarely if ever represented the ethnic or associational reality on the ground. Upon

independence, the 'state' was more of a conglomeration of ethnicities artificially given geographic boundaries, with no coherent history except colonialism. What transpires is an inability for the newly independent state to hearken back to a common history prior to colonialism. Uganda cannot refer to the glories of the Buganda Kingdom as doing so disenfranchises the kingdom of Bunyoro and the other ethnicities in the country.

Tanzania faces the same issue, albeit within a larger geographical box. Reference to any one ancient kingdom, empire or ethnicity does not represent all the groups covered in the modern geographical area of the state. Thus, the lack of a coherent and inclusive history contributes to the focus on a narrow historical period in which all within the national boundaries of the state can agree.

The effect of this narrow acceptable history on strategic culture is the inability to refer to an ancient military past from which to derive practices for the use of force within the unique African context. Much of the scholarship on strategic culture draws the narrative of coherent military history to affect the modern era. Even states such as India and China that had epochs of smaller entities have a period of unification under empires in which military history can be referenced and from which strategic culture postulates antecedents can be drawn. For example, Alastair Ian Johnston (1995) offers that the advice and example gathered in the Chinese *Seven Military Classics* of the Ming period (1368-1648) influence current Chinese deliberations related to the use of force. "There are consistent and persistent historical patterns in the way particular states (and state elites) think about the use of force for political ends" (Johnston 1995,1).

The strategic culture literature continues to address that dynamic with a range of answers as to the appropriate historical period that provides influence on current activity

from the extended view from past centuries to the most recent war. Uganda and Tanzania made the decision to focus on a narrow historical horizon to maximize the revolutionary aspect of new leadership. That is not to say that there wasn't an African military tradition prior to colonization. As Richard Reid (2007) cogently argues, Eastern Africa has a rich military history that spans conflict types from wars of expansion to raids, and organizations with corps of 10,000 to small unit actions. The issue is that the history is a patchwork of small kingdoms that do not represent the geographic boundaries of the current states. The coherent military history of Uganda and Tanzania only starts in 1986 and 1964 respectively, since there is no history that represents the state as it is currently configured.

Maturity of Strategic Culture Indicates Influence

The concept of strategic culture describes an environment that imbues the national security apparatus of a state. As such, it influences decisions of the national security apparatus, not determines them. The use of path dependence as a mechanism for the operationalization of strategic culture offers that previous decisions influence subsequent decisions by making choices that are thereafter difficult or expensive to change, thus constraining future decisions. The usefulness of identifying maturity levels for strategic culture is that not all states have a fully realized national security apparatus or a strategic culture that has imbued all the elements of the national security apparatus.

In the United States, the national security apparatus is complex and the strategic culture mature. Force structures are tied to force employment models. Weapons acquisition are tied to force capabilities which are based on force structures, which in turn tie to military doctrine. Training and education reflect the needs of the doctrine and force

capabilities. The national security decision model has been generally used for decades, and includes elements to avoid known pitfalls such as group-think and unitary bias. The strategic culture of the U.S. invests each of those elements. How the U.S. uses force as a national security tool is reflected in the choice of weapons procurement and the size of the force. It is imbued in the professional military education of mid-grade officers that begin their course with Clausewitz and Thucydides to reinforce the use of force towards political ends. U.S. decision-makers reach into a tool-kit with a range of options with which they are familiar and are fully supportable. The constraints occur by defining the number and type of “tools” in the bag. A decision made five years previously not to build a class of amphibious ship means that a crisis planner may not have enough lift/deck space to conduct a non-combatant evacuation by sea from a collapsing country, and thus use an airlift option. Economic sanctions may be preferred over the use of force. Information operations may be designed to turn neighboring states into allies of the U.S. position. The strategic culture of the U.S. is evident throughout the national security apparatus, and comprises previous decisions that subsequently constrain current decisions.

In a less mature strategic culture, such as Uganda and Tanzania, the strategic culture may not suffuse all aspects of the national security apparatus. Force size and structure may not match how the force is intended to be used. Even though Museveni had offered up troops for Somalia since 1992, the UPDF has required extensive amounts of military aid to reach combat effectiveness for AMISOM, mostly from the U.S., European Union (EU) and UK (Williams 2017). Even knowing that they wanted a peacekeeping deployment capability, Uganda did not structure or equip forces

adequately. In 2012, Uganda purchased six SU-30MK2 multi-role fighters from Russia (Ladu 2012). The SU-30 is capable of air to ground operations, but includes more capabilities than the UPDF requires in the operations it is currently conducting or would be expected to conduct within the lifecycle of the aircraft. The SU-30 is an expensive aircraft to fly and maintain, and does not appear to fit easily into Ugandan demonstrated military usage or its military budget. Tanzania has also procured more modern fighters from the Chinese, though not as expensive or sophisticated as Ugandan's SU-30s (Nkala 2013). The stated purpose of the new aircraft acquisition was to "strengthen [Tanzanian] intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capabilities in the face of security threats such as maritime piracy and trans-national and home-grown terrorism" (Nkala 2013). The Chinese fighters are a poor choice for the stated mission, indicating that the strategic culture has not fully infused all aspects of the national security apparatus.

Counterintuitively, a lower maturity level of strategic culture may increase the decision flexibility of states in the use of their armed forces. Unencumbered by the restraints placed on the use of force by previous procurement or force structure decisions, decision-makers may deploy the force in a manner inconsistent with their emerging strategic culture but more apt to their needs. Was the tension between Tanzanian President Kikwete and his Chief of Defense a clash of strategic cultures? The decision to provide TPDF training for Somalia is consistent with the Tanzanian strategic culture, and the decision was not reversed subsequently, indicating that the logic of the original decision continued to prevail, or the situation in Somalia argued against re-evaluating the original choice. The level of strategic culture maturity assists in the understanding of the operationalization of strategic culture in the national security apparatus.

Generalizable Conclusions

Of these three conclusions, the requirement for stability and the determination of influence of strategic culture based on maturity level are generalizable beyond sub-Saharan Africa. As previously noted, the interrelationship between stability and institutions creates a dynamic in which strategic culture can develop and become codified. If stability is lacking, the conditions needed for strategic culture will not be available. States in conflict and emerging from conflict, regardless of their location, will not develop a strategic culture. Afghanistan presents an example, where the country has been in constant conflict since the Soviet invasion of 1979. Even during the Taliban regime, their governance was constantly contested, and with the fall of the Taliban in 2001, the conflict has continued. Despite the efforts of the international community, government institutions are not robust. The military and the national security apparatus are in a continuous state of flux and must deal with fighting a number of enemies. Afghanistan is dependent on massive amounts of foreign military aid as well as foreign expertise for the needs of its security sector. Thus, as the strategy of the donors change, so must that of the Afghan National Army. Such a dynamic does not result in a stable strategic focus or military development outlook. The result is an inability for a strategic culture to emerge. The need for stability is a key condition for the establishment of strategic culture.

The maturity level of strategic culture is a device applicable beyond Africa. The level of maturity as a gauge to the investiture of strategic culture into a state's national security apparatus is devoid of locational circumstances and as valid for the states emerging from communism in East Europe as it is for states in sub-Saharan Africa. A

pertinent question is the ability of researchers to ascertain the level to which strategic culture has permeated into the various elements of the national security apparatus. Definitional challenges abound; as noted in the literature review, the definition of strategic culture itself remains contested. What comprises a state's "national security apparatus" is unique to each country, adding complexity. And strategic culture is an unconscious process. A state doesn't procure a strategic culture as it would an aircraft. A country's leadership does not set out to create a strategic culture. The concept is the result of the aggregation of a thousand decisions and actions, from the mundane to the extraordinary. That it is a gradual process and not a binary "have/have not" increases the usefulness of the concept.

The narrow historical focus used by Uganda and Tanzania is less generalizable. While the concept of history beginning with the revolution is a familiar intellection from the French Revolution and the desire to dispense with the *ancien regime's* legacy by creating a new calendar with the Revolutions date as the beginning of Year 1, it is not unusual for revolutions to denigrate the immediate past they overthrew. As circumstances allow, revolutionary governments might reach deeper into the past to inspire or tap into heroic histories. Mao Zedong referred to the mercantile history of China with Asia and Africa and the rekindling of relationships destroyed by capitalism and imperialism, and Stalin referenced historical Russian heroics as part of the propaganda of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945), even co-opting the term "Patriotic War" from the Russian defeat of Napoleon's invasion in 1812. The issue with Uganda and Tanzania specifically, and in sub-Saharan generally, is the lack of large political entities that invested large geographic areas and populations. The consolidation of

political entities into geographic areas, and the nature of colonial governance that favored ethnic division over nation-building presented the newly independent countries in sub-Saharan Africa with challenges that resonate still. Such circumstances are not present to the same degree in other locations, so the constraint to living memory on strategic culture notable in Uganda and Tanzania is less apt.

Recommendations

Due to research limitations, this dissertation represents a plausibility study (George and Bennett 2005, 75) for the theory of strategic culture in sub-Saharan Africa and the integration of Pearson's concept of path dependence and positive feedback. Arguing that the strategic culture is applicable to states in sub-Saharan Africa through explication of the cases of Uganda and Tanzania, additional research vectors are available to continue the understanding of strategic culture in these emerging countries.

To directly supplement the current research, interviews of participants in the decision to contribute to AMISOM would provide greater fidelity of observations. The limited interviews in the current study suffer from providing a U.S. perspective of Ugandan and Tanzanian actions. While useful to a limited extent, especially in providing a source to determine private vice public pronouncements, the interviews do not capture the thought process behind activity that would best reveal the presence of strategic culture. This is especially important if the centrality of history in living memory is accepted. The most compelling information will be gleaned from a greater understanding of the details of decision-making only available from participants. Access to participants can also verify who the actual decision-makers are and establish a better understanding of the national security apparatus.

Are the “keepers” of strategic culture as envisioned by Lantis (2014, 174) and the “national security apparatus” as explicated in the current study the same? Certainly, there are elements within the national security apparatus that “keep” strategic culture across generations, but the primary importance of the national security apparatus is that it operationalizes strategic culture. Keepers of strategic culture may be decision-makers, but may also exist as a state’s elites who influence national security through their positions outside of the national security apparatus as Renalto Cruz De Castro has argued in the case of the Philippines (De Castro 2014, 253). Additional research would provide a better understanding of the relationship between keepers and the apparatus, and help guide research efforts along paths fruitful for an understanding of the nexus between the two constructs. Keepers of strategic culture are important because they provide the continuity across generations that are a key element in the ‘culture’ aspect of strategic culture. On the other hand, the national security apparatus is the entity for which strategic culture exists. As such, strategic culture does not describe a state’s or ethnic groups “way of war”, a mistake still displayed by some scholars (Spanu 2017). Strategic culture describes attributes for a specific subset of a state’s governance structure, not its entire population. More research into this aspect would assist in solidifying the strategic culture concept and to what it applies.

Greater detail concerning military doctrine and training can provide additional material for the assessment and would provide insight as to strategic culture’s integration into operational matters, and if there is codification of practice into canon. Both Uganda and Tanzania have undergone reviews and assessments of the armed forces by both internal and external organizations. Such reviews tend to identify areas of challenges for

states that wish to increase the professionalism of the armed forces. The integration of doctrine into training ensures that the military is prepared to execute what doctrine has stated. Military doctrine, in turn, provides insight into how the military expects to be used. The extent to which doctrine and training link together indicates the maturity of the military and thus strategic culture.

As a keeper of strategic culture, professional military education (PME) is experiencing a surge in sub-Saharan Africa. While it has been present for decades, the resurgence is tied to the desire to professionalize the region's armed forces, as well as increased stability in many of the region's states. Over the years there has been a constant exchange of officers between the PME centers, so that mid-grade officers in Uganda attend Tanzanian schools and Tanzanians attend Botswana PME centers etc. The presence of the African Commandants Association to bring together leaders of the various schools is also an interesting development. There are many outside donors that actively support African PME efforts. For example, a new building for the TPDF Commander's Staff College was completed in 2015 by the Chinese (Quire 2015), and a Chinese instructor assigned to the TPDF. In Uganda, both the U.S. and the French have a part in PME, and unique strategic cultures as well. How does a TPDF officer attending a UPDF PME facility internalize the difference between western strategic cultures and that of the Chinese? How does that translate into the Tanzanian strategic culture? Does the external contribution to PME and organizations such as the ACA foster norm confluence among African states regarding civil/military relations? Such questions have interest for increased knowledge of sub-Saharan militaries and their continued development.

Extending the research into the concept of strategic culture provides a direction to consider the argument for strategic culture as an institution. The multiplicity of definitions of strategic culture give rise to confusion and misunderstanding of the concept as demonstrated by a recent reference highlighted previously. The concept's moniker, though apt, causes association with discussions of broader 'culture' issues arising in international relations specifically and political science in general. What is often lost is the narrow scope of the governmental function for which strategic culture applies; the national security apparatus. Examination of strategic culture as an institution may better focus scholars on the entity of governance for which the institution applies. Institution in this instance refers to the concept articulated by Douglass North in the service of economics:

Institutions are the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct), and formal rules (constitutions, laws, property rights). Throughout history, institutions have been devised by human beings to create order and reduce uncertainty in exchange (North 1991, 97)

As conceptualized in this dissertation, strategic culture fits North's definition. While institutions include organizations, the concept's most important aspects are the informal constraints that create the "rules of the road" which provide a framework for activity in the private sector. If strategic culture defines the tools that go into the decision-maker's toolbox, it effectively constrains the options of the decision-maker. This dissertation has also posited that the strategic culture of Uganda constrains Museveni in his deliberation as to the efficacy of other options, or speeds him through the undesirable alternatives to get to the preferred use of the UPDF. In the initial description of strategic culture, Snyder

(1977) used the concept to describe the influences that shaped perceptions of Soviet nuclear planners vice U.S. nuclear planner assumptions of the Soviet outlook.

“Influences which shape” and “institutions which constrain” sound analogous and are worthy of continued scholarly investigation. As North notes, his definition is applicable to politics as well as economics, there is room to use the concept to understand how strategic culture is operationalized. Institutions are the way society organizes interaction; strategic culture as an institution describes how a society uses the monopoly of violence.

From the perspective of a practitioner, understanding the strategic culture of a state contributes to better managing troop contributions to peacekeeping operations. The process to acquire troop contributions mirrors that articulated in the study; ask everyone. The result is overblown expectations that various countries are actually considering contributing. Rather, a more nuanced approach based on better understanding may alter the approach to request support more likely to be forthcoming. A more complete understanding of Tanzania’s strategic culture may have revealed a proclivity for training of foreign forces, and hence a desire to provide the same to AMISOM. If the AU had approached Tanzania with a task more aligned with its strategic culture, future solicitation for troops might have been more favorably brokered. Perhaps the lack of a real strategy for the AU in Somalia (and the international community) beyond getting troops to fill the void the Ethiopians were creating by their precipitous withdrawal, contributed to the single focus on immediate troop deployment. Regardless, a more nuanced understanding and approach to contributing states would be beneficial.

Contributing to the Literature

The current research contributes to the literatures of peacekeeping and strategic culture. Regarding peacekeeping, the addition of strategic culture as a contributor to the decision calculus that states undertake when considering peacekeeping participation provides a context for participation explanations. For each participation decision, there are likely a number of justifications used, but those reasons do not exist disassociated from the state's disposition at the time of the decision. For example, the decision by Tanzania to not deploy to Somalia in 2007, but then deploy to Darfur in 2008 indicates a change in the decision calculus outside the explanations provided in current scholarship, since the basic outlines of the mission are similar (i.e., neither Somalia or Darfur are contiguous to Tanzania, present a spillover concern, etc.). Strategic culture establishes the context in which other explanations can operate, more accurately representing the complex decision environment in which economic and non-economic reasons for participation are brought to bear.

That strategic culture provides a context for security decisions may identify this research amongst the first generation of strategic culture scholars as defined by Johnston (1995, 5-22). It should not. This dissertation reflects the attributes of Johnston's third generation, in which research is "more narrowly focused on particular strategic decisions as dependent variables" (Johnston 1995, 18). Even more applicable may be association with a "fourth generation" coined by Darryl Howlett (2006) and referring to policy-relevant issues of the twenty-first century (Howlett 2006, 17). Certainly, the effects of a narrowly defined historical scope, described by Johnston as "recent practice and experience" (Johnston 1995), are considered a greater importance for sub-Saharan

African states than more extended temporal timeframes. Without entering a debate over whether ‘history’ is different than ‘experience’, or if the distinction is one of perspective (i.e., experience occurs to an individual; history occurs around an individual) the focus on outcomes supports the strategic culture research focused on specific outcomes to current policy concerns.

The use of the Booth definition of strategic culture as the basis for assessment represents an expansion of the importance of cultural observables. Johnston attempted to increase the research rigor of the concept by a focus on symbols as observable manifestations of strategic culture that created preferences across time (Johnston 1995, 36; 50-51). The question the current research is attempting to discern is the presence of strategic culture in a society without the *longue duree* of China or the west. Accepting that the concept of ‘culture’ and its attributes remains contested, the Booth definition provides a range of accepted cultural attributes that cover a wider aspect of culture than symbols. In so doing, a minimum standard has been set for the determination of strategic culture in which the assumption of presence cannot be safely made; specifically developing states.

More broadly, it should begin a conversation on a definition of strategic culture that can reach a consensus and precision heretofore unattainable. Such a definition would provide the basis to develop the attributes required for comparison amongst states, or other entities to which the definition applies (e.g.; the European Union). The problem is articulated by Antulio J. Echevarria in a recent *Naval War College Review* article:

[T]he concept’s proponents merely have paid lip service to the difficulty of defining [strategic culture], then moved swiftly on to advancing their own theories. Most of these

definitions are arbitrary, not based on rigorous inductive analysis. The problem is a critical one for any social science, because if a concept cannot be defined inductively, it cannot be studied scientifically (Echevarria 2017, 122).

The Booth definition amended to a narrow focus on the national security apparatus forms the basis of the analysis tool strategic culture attributes. As such it provides an inductive analysis tool referenced by Echevarria. If this, or other, such tools find purchase among researchers and practitioners, a common lexicon of strategic culture categories can be developed which will aid in comparison and increase the policy relevance of the concept.

The current study also specifically identifies the entity to which strategic culture applies. The broader the entity to which strategic culture may apply, the less explanatory power it possesses. Specifying a link between the ‘culture’ of a country and its use of force is ultimately futile. Assuming that a state assumes ‘government’ is also fraught considering the vast scholarship on the constituent parts of a government that interact to create policy. The Booth definition suffers as such, since strategic culture is identified as “a nation’s’ (Booth 1990, 121), even as the sources of strategic culture emanate from “influential voices” (Booth 1990, 121) determining use of force. By focusing on the national security apparatus, the current research specifically identifies the entity to which strategic culture applies. The national security apparatus will have a culture distinct from the military, the government, and the people. The explanatory prowess of the concept is enhanced as it focuses on the narrow group.

Considering the narrower entity will alter the discussion of change within strategic culture. As Pietro Pirani 2016 discusses in his description of the different trends

in strategic culture change scholarship, change can result through shock (or critical junctures as described in the current research), the dynamic nature of culture, and the effects of norms (Pirani 2016, 513-514). In the smaller entity of a national security apparatus, the mechanisms for change may be more observable. Conversely, change may occur more quickly as smaller adjustments to the members of the national security apparatus present different inputs.

As the national security apparatus of a state is understood, so will the diversity of members. The current research argues that all the members of the national security apparatus will share a strategic culture outlook, and thus are ‘keepers’ of the strategic culture. But if there are changes to the members, will that result in change? For example, in the case of Tanzania, the election of President Kikwete installed the primary participant in the national security apparatus with a new personality that should have maintained a level of consistency through the system. But if Kikwete desired to increase the international position of Tanzania, a position different than his predecessors, would that new perspective have outsized effects since he is the president? Would that change the strategic culture, or simply be a new operationalization of the concept? These are but a few of the implications of considering the national security apparatus as the subject of strategic culture.

Discussions on strategic culture change are effected by the current research’s conclusion on the role stability in the successful development of strategic culture for emerging states. Disruptive change of government, most likely through coup or civil war, will likely result in a major change in the institutions and organizations of the government structure and fail to provide the conditions required for strategic culture

development. But this level of change represents a critical juncture (also known as ‘shock’ per the above conversation) and should be few. There is the concern that once a critical juncture occurs, more can be expected, or state institutions do not develop adequately. Afghanistan presents such a situation, as does Somalia. Such circumstances should represent exceptions to the norm.

This study on strategic culture in sub-Saharan African states begins to fill the under-representation of Africa in the strategic culture research. With immature governance structures, highly diverse populations, challenged economies, and expanding populations and urbanization, Africa remains a difficult continent on which to achieve a stable country. With the importance of the security sector in emerging states, a greater appreciation of the mechanisms that influence the use of the monopoly of violence by these states can only benefit engagement. Knowledge of current realities can overcome bias and question legacy assumptions. The result will be more salient policy.

Reflections

This dissertation considers two research areas: strategic culture and the sub-Saharan African security sector. In combination, they address an underserved segment of research, specifically how sub-Saharan states make decisions to deploy troops in peacekeeping operations. Strategic culture continues to be a useful concept for scholars and practitioners since its inception. It is especially compelling for national security practitioners, principally military professionals who are attuned to the unique military culture and understand how that forms a part of the strategic culture that informs national security decision-making. Strategic culture has appeared in journalistic endeavors such as Michael Hastings *The Operators* (2012) which describes the dysfunction between

senior military leaders and civilians regarding policy in Afghanistan. Without using the term, the Hastings' book displays elements within the U.S. strategic culture circa 2009, as well as showcasing the effects of current policy decisions constrained by previous decisions in an example of path dependence. Scholarship on strategic culture is considering the effects of the concept on decisions to deploy forces for overseas military operations, especially in juxtaposition to the debate over an EU strategic culture.²⁰ These articles dovetail into the current research in proposing the way strategic culture is manifest in the decision to deploy troops in situations not existential. Such research provides relevancy for the concept of strategic culture as decision-makers look to build coalitions and solicit participation in peacekeeping as well as military operations where the objective is not in response to a sanctioned peace initiative.

The influence of strategic culture extends beyond policy decision-making and these elements should be included in the study of strategic culture operationalization. The concept has implications for doctrine, procurement, force design, and prioritization of the aspect of national power. All are influenced by strategic culture; none are determined by it. Returning to the original concept, the Soviet nuclear planners did not make decisions based on strategic culture. Rather, strategic culture helped inform their assumptions and the cognitive landscape that were then translated into plans. As in influencing planning, strategic culture can influence doctrine development as demonstrated by Elizabeth Keir (1997) with the attendant ramification to warfighting capability and execution. There is much room to increase the relevancy of strategic

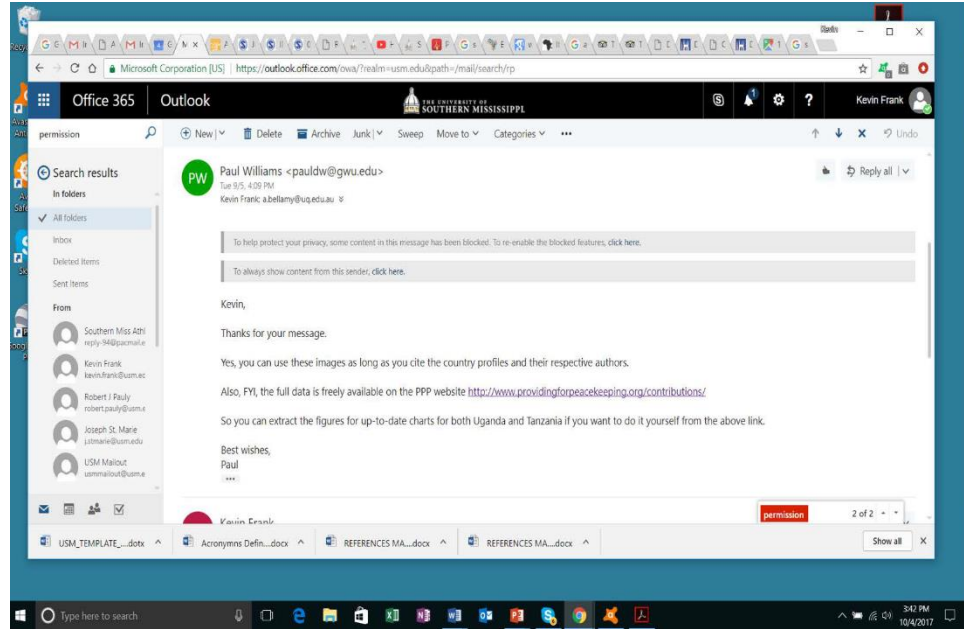
²⁰ For example, Haesebrouk 2016, Britz, 2016 and Doeser 2017.

culture as scholars increasingly focus on the mechanisms by which strategic culture influence the national security apparatus.

The other constituents of the current dissertation are the security sectors of sub-Saharan Africa. That stability is the key element in their development of strategic culture is consistent by the same requirement for other governance institutions and organizations. As the countries of sub-Saharan Africa continue to develop along their chosen path, their national security sectors will continue to develop and become more complex. If Uganda is an example of competitive authoritarianism, and Museveni the epicenter of Uganda's national security apparatus, is he really immune to outside influence? While he represents the majority position within Uganda's national security apparatus, do other factors not constrain and restrain his actions? Analysis of African leaders and decision-making processes appear to be less nuanced than for those outside the continent. The lack of academic interest is troublesome since conflict in Africa continues and non-African nations continue to be drawn into the fray with various justifications, from counterterrorism to altruism. While "Africans solving African problems" may have its genesis in Pan-Africanism, the catchphrase has more recently been used by non-African states as a call to increase African state capacity to handle their own issues. One of the primary areas for which this is applicable is peacekeeping operations. The AU has developed a continent-wide regime to make armed forces available to support AU conflict management decisions. The African Peace and Security Architecture and the creation of the African Standby Force (ASF) present a regime of the AU to address the organizational ability to respond to emerging conflict management opportunities. It has not really been tested as a fully operational process. Yet its creation is encouraging, and

as the capacity of African security sectors evolves, perhaps the regime will move closer to a real operational capability. What it does point to is that the level of the security sectors in African states are maturing, and must be addressed in increasingly sophisticated ways. As stability leads to evolving politics, the civil-military relationship can be expected to change also. Will that transform the strategic culture? It would be hard to understand if it didn't, yet cultures transition slowly if not faced with a critical juncture. Yet even as we consider the evolving nature of strategic culture in these states, the security sector, and notably the armed forces, remains one of the most functional of the governance institutions and organizations. There is both promise and hazard in that reality.

APPENDIX A - Permissions



Permission to use the graphics in Figures 3 and 4.

APPENDIX B – IRB Approval Letter



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The project has been reviewed by The University of Southern Mississippi Institutional Review Board in accordance with Federal Drug Administration regulations (21 CFR 26, 111), Department of Health and Human Services (45 CFR Part 46), and university guidelines to ensure adherence to the following criteria:

- The risks to subjects are minimized.
- The risks to subjects are reasonable in relation to the anticipated benefits.
- The selection of subjects is equitable.
- Informed consent is adequate and appropriately documented.
- Where appropriate, the research plan makes adequate provisions for monitoring the data collected to ensure the safety of the subjects.
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PROJECT TITLE: Dissertation Research

PROJECT TYPE: New Project

RESEARCHER(S): Kevin K. Frank

COLLEGE/DIVISION: College of Arts and Letters

DEPARTMENT: Political Science, International Development, International Affairs

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IRB COMMITTEE ACTION: Exempt Review Approval

PERIOD OF APPROVAL: 05/17/2016 to 05/16/2017

Lawrence A. Hosman, Ph.D.

Institutional Review Board

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