2023 Community Chapter Leaders Forum

Simulation Exercise: Community Chapter Impact on Civil-Military Relations

Scenario Brief

26 January 2023
Washington, DC
Disclaimer

This document contains educational material designed to promote discussion by participants in the Community Chapter Leaders Forum. The scenario is not an official prediction of the future; nor is it meant to depict an actual country. Any similarities to actual countries are not intentional. The scenario, briefing points, and other exercise materials do not reflect the views of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, the National Defense University, the Department of Defense, or any other component of the United States Government.
Exercise Overview

This simulation exercise is designed to help participants consider the role that an Africa Center alumni chapter can play, as both an independent actor and an advisor, in strengthening civil-military relations in a country, using the tools at its disposal, in response to a call from national leadership.

Core and Optional Exercise Materials
To successfully complete this exercise, participants must read pages 3-7. The annexes which follow provide additional information and context. While potentially useful, the annexes are voluntary and participants may choose whether to utilize them.

Background
The Webonia Africa Center alumni chapter faces a promising but challenging opportunity to make a major contribution to the security and civil-military relations of Webonia. Webonia experienced a harrowing period of military rule intermittently from the 1970s until political liberalization in 2001. As a result, there is broad, lasting distrust of the military throughout Webonian society [see Annex B]. A new administration is seeking a revitalized civil-military dynamic and has called on the community chapter to develop a plan to help bring this about. The new administration wants to know what the alumni chapter itself can do to improve relations, as well as the chapter’s recommendations for the government. Key obstacles to improved civil-military relations include fears among the populace that a strong military may re-enter politics, widespread perceptions of corruption in the military, and limited resources for competing government priorities, namely programs to combat youth unemployment and poverty.

A Call to Action for the Community Chapter
Webonia’s current and 3rd consecutive, democratically elected president, Victor Toze, included a national renewal of the relationship between Webonia and its military as one of his three key campaign promises. (The other two campaign promises were economic development and the reduction of corruption). The president’s rationale for improved civil-military relations hinges in part on the new security threats the country is facing [see Annex C].

The President’s National Security Advisor (NSA), BG Sadiki, a close political ally and young officer who rose through the general staff entirely in the democratic era, was educated by a senior member of the Webonia community chapter at the National Defence College. He has maintained close ties with his teacher and mentor, who is currently the Vice President (VP) of the Webonia community chapter.

As a result of the close relationship between the NSA, BG Sadiki, and the VP of the Webonia chapter, the NSA offered the community chapter the opportunity to be a major part of the President’s promised renewal of Webonia’s civil-military relations. BG Sadiki has solicited a plan of action from the chapter on how civil-military relations can be improved in the short and medium term, to include the practical steps the military and government ought to undertake to achieve this, as well as how the chapter can contribute.

Game objectives

During the exercise players should:
• Consider the most important roles that chapters can play in strengthening civil-military relations, both directly as independent actors and indirectly, as strategic advisors to a government
• Identify the strategic benefits and practical challenges associated with establishing improved civil-military relations and greater trust between the security sector and the citizens it is meant to serve
• Reflect on the attributes that empower chapters to make a substantial difference on a functional area such as civil-military relations.
Participant Instructions

Your assigned group will play Webonia’s Africa Center community chapter as it seeks to address the administration’s call to action. The region (Annex A) and scenario for this exercise are both fictional. The information provided is not intended to be exhaustive. Participants should focus on broad themes and use their experience as community chapter members to fill in any gaps. Keep in mind that a successful exercise requires teamwork, innovative solutions, and effective management of time.

Participant Roles

Each participant will represent a Webonian alumni chapter member, using his/her actual real-life professional background. Additionally, your group will be assigned specific chapter attributes to be used throughout the simulation.

A chairperson, rapporteur, and briefer should be nominated by the group prior to the start of the simulation.

Sequence of Events and Deadlines Before the Simulation Begins

Tuesday, January 24th at 1630 — There will be a brief overview presentation of the exercise and an opportunity for participants to ask questions.

Tuesday, January 24th at 1700 – Exercise groups will be announced. Each group should decide how it will nominate a chairperson, rapporteur, and briefer. The chairperson and briefer may be one and the same person. The rapporteur must be a separate individual.

Wednesday, January 25th at 1200 – Each exercise group will inform the Africa Center of it chair, rapporteur, and briefer.

Time Management During the Simulation

The simulation will take place on Thursday, January 26th in two sessions, one before lunch (1045-1230) and one after (1330-1530). Each chairperson will assist his/her group with time prioritization to ensure that all important aspects of the problem are considered in the limited time allotted.

The first session should begin with a 45-to-60 minute SWOT analysis. This entails identifying the:

- strengths and weaknesses of the Webonian alumni chapter (an “internal” analysis of the chapter itself)
- opportunities and threats facing the Webonian alumni chapter as it seeks to respond to the Webonian president’s call to action (an “external analysis” of the national-level, regional, and other factors and actors facing the chapter)

After the SWOT analysis is concluded, groups should begin drafting their deliverable for the president. It is expected that they will make good progress, but not finish, the deliverable before the lunch break (1230-1330).

During the lunch, exercise groups will receive an inject that will transform an aspect of the simulation
scenario. During the second session (1330-1530), each exercise group must consider if and how they will adapt their deliverable and then finalize it. It will then be briefed by a designated group member to all participants of the Community Chapter Leaders Forum in a briefback session (1530-1700).

**Required Deliverables**

In responding to the call to action, the community chapter should, based on the group’s analysis, develop recommendations for the government of Webonia, **identifying specific actions that both the Africa Center community chapter and the government can take to improve civil-military relations in the short term (1-year) and medium term (5 years).** The ends, ways (how), means (with what/resources), and risks of each action should be identified in the plan.

Here is a template of the deliverable for the President:

![Short-term Recommendations for Webonia's President](image)

While the above is the main deliverable, the following questions should also be answered by each group in its briefback session presentation:

- Did your recommendations change after the inject? If so, how?
- List the top strategic benefits and practical challenges associated with establishing improved civil-military relations and greater trust between the security sector and the citizens it is meant to serve.
- How were your decisions impacted by the strengths and weaknesses of the chapter you were playing?

All of the above should be covered in a briefback that is 7-10 minutes in length, no longer. Slides are not required for the briefback session. If a group chooses to use slides, they must be delivered to the Africa Center no later than 1600.
Individual Group Variables

Each exercise group will represent an alternate, realistic version of a Webonian alumni chapter with varying resources and position in society. The four groups are:

Group 1:
- Well-known chapter with high activity and senior-level engagement
- Large number of members who meet regularly
- Chapter members are representative of Webonian government officials in age and gender
- Chapter is respected and seen as an impartial mediator by the public
- The chapter has a sustainable funding mechanism (membership dues and grants from international civil society and non-governmental organizations)
- The chapter has both an office and a meeting venue

Group 2:
- Semi-active chapter
- The chapter is not well-known to the public or political parties in country
- To the extent that it is known, political parties perceive the chapter as having a hidden agenda
- The chapter has neither civil society nor NGO connections
- The chapter has no place to meet and no office
- The chapter cannot successfully raise money for its activities

Group 3:
- The chapter has a close relationship with the Webonian government and high-level decisionmakers
- 90% of the chapter’s members are uniformed officials including high-ranking officers
- Chapter members are representative of Webonian government officials in age and gender
- The chapter is struggling to get any funding

Group 4:
- The chapter is well-known to the public and political parties in Webonia
- The chapter is influential
- The chapter has access to communication channels through its own active media presence and key leaders’ connections to the media
- Political parties perceive the chapter as having a hidden agenda
- The government is a bit leery of the chapter’s motives, so there is a strained relationship with the chapter
- Funding remains a huge problem
Annex A: Map of Webonia and the Region
Annex B: Webonia in Transition — Background

Pre-Colonial Period

- **Multiple militaries, with diverse origins.** Before the colonial era, Webonia was not united and had three distinct political systems and attendant military models. The centralized Tsowe kingdom was defended by levies of pastoralists bound to the king through kinship ties. The Bulutha kingdom was also centralized and had a small professional royal guard drawn from the aristocracy. The Bamato and Arika were politically decentralized and had militias drawn from age cohort groupings at the village level. The Tsowe forces and Bamato and Arika militias rarely involved themselves in politics because of their kinship ties and origin among the people. The Bulutha royal guard, being drawn from the court, had a greater involvement in picking rulers in times of crisis or intrigue, but never ruled itself.

Colonial Era

- **Protecting power and extraction.** During the colonial era, the British established a unit of King’s African Rifles (KAR) in Webonia, drawn principally from the Bamato and Arika. This unit was used principally to deter threats of rebellion and defend the ports, urban centers, and extractive industries that were the focus of British rule. This KAR unit transitioned directly into the new Webonian Army at independence, keeping most of its officers and enlisted personnel as well as its force structure and traditions.

From independence in 1962 to military rule in 1974

- **A brief democratic opening.** After Webonia’s independence from Great Britain in 1962, the legitimately elected president in 1962 gradually implemented a one-party state. By the 1972 election, political opposition had been banned.

- **A robust and dangerous insurgency.** During the 1970s, southwestern Webonia experienced increasing conflict, driven by the Kumalu Nation Resistance Movement (KNRM) in the Biong river delta. A combination of political and economic marginalization, the government’s failure to share revenue from the gas extraction primarily situated in and around Kumalu communities, and cross-border support from Bulutha linked to Cold War rivalries contributed to the insurgency.

- **Webonian Army dissatisfaction.** The Webonian Army did not fare well against the KNRM, and they blamed government corruption and failure to give the Army the support needed to win in the Biong Delta for their losses. After several years of embarrassing setbacks and serious casualties, a group of dissatisfied officers toppled the government in a 1974 coup. They set up a council of senior officers chaired by an Army General.
Military Rule: The 1974 coup to the 1992 Liberty Garden Massacre

- **The junta restores control of the Biong Delta.** Once in power, the military junta activated conscription and massively expanded the defense budget. A large scale and bloody campaign in the Biong Delta largely restored government control of the region by the 1980s, including the gas fields.

- **Political instability and violent repression.** The military government performed poorly at many basic tasks of governing during the 1980s and increasingly failed to deliver basic services. Critics, journalists, and civil society activists were imprisoned or in some cases assassinated. While most military units were implicated, Military Intelligence took the lead in the identification and detention of political dissidents. There were two additional coups during this period.

- **The military agrees to elections.** In 1992, facing deep and widespread discontent and international pressure to liberalize, the junta agreed to elections. It threw its support behind a retired moderate officer, expecting that fear and mild concessions would result in his election by the population.

- **Patrick Ngugi returns from exile to run for the presidency.** Patrick Ngugi, a popular author and activist who had been living in exile after spending a decade in prison for criticizing the 1974 coup, returned to the country in 1992 to stand for office. He promised sweeping reforms, justice for detainees and torture victims, enormous cuts to the security services, and arrest and a trial for the junta. His return generated enormous support, and as the election approached, a near permanent crowd of supporters camped in Liberty Garden Park across from the Houses of Congress in the capitol, Olatunji, protesting and campaigning on his behalf.

- **The election is canceled, and a protest movement starts.** With polls one month before the election indicating a landslide victory by Ngugi, the junta panicked and canceled the election, citing security concerns. Ngugi supporters in Liberty Garden called for the immediate reinstatement of the election, and there was a mix of protest and rioting. Supporters of Ngugi barricaded the square with overturned vehicles.

- **The Liberty Garden Massacre.** After Ngugi’s supporters successfully beat back the police from Liberty Garden for two days, the military was sent in. It used live rounds and armored vehicles to disperse the crowd. The number of deaths and injuries is still not known, but estimates range as high as 40 dead and 200 wounded. Patrick Ngugi was among those killed. The Webonian government became increasingly isolated internationally.

**1999-2011 Transition to Civilian Rule**

- **A second protest movement starts.** In a climate of deep economic trouble and increased international pressure on the military junta, a new generation of youth launched a second protest movement in 1999. Sam Okwiri, one of the survivors of the 1992 movement, became the movement’s head. He was known for being more moderate than Patrick Ngugi.
• **A gradual shift to civilian rule.** Confronted with a new generation of soldiers and security officials that refused to put down the second protest movement, hardliners in the military made a deal with Sam Okwiri in 1999. National and local elections would be permitted in 2001, in exchange for a promise that no judicial action would be taken against the military. Okwiri was elected president. He served two terms and succeeded in gradually withdrawing the military from politics.

• **The Liberty Garden Trials.** Okwiri’s successor, elected to the presidency in 2011, felt emboldened after a decade of civilian rule. He restructured and significantly downsized the armed services and dismissed all senior officers that remained from the period of military rule. His administration tried several senior officers in court in 2011 for their role in the 1992 Liberty Garden Massacre, in a series of trials known as the ‘Liberty Garden Trials.’ The trials and diminishment of the military were cathartic and a long-awaited moment for many Webonians. However, the trials’ narrow focus on prosecuting senior officers meant that many implicated junior officers and those that operated behind the scenes avoided prosecution or dismissal.

### 2011-present  Violence in the North and the Call for Civil-Military Renewal

• **Spreading violence, and military underperformance.** In the mid-2010s, violence began to spread in the tri-border region, originating in Deron but spreading quickly to Webonia. The internationally-trained Special Service Brigade, regarded as the only truly effective unit remaining in the Webonian Army, was sent to the region in 2018. It initially performed well but proved to be insufficient to stem the growing challenge posed by the New Army of the Prophet (see Annex C).

• **Station Foxtrot Siege.** In 2020, a regular army base in northern Webonia, Station Foxtrot, was almost completely overrun by insurgents, resulting in 50 casualties. This defeat and the attendant loss of life was an enormous embarrassment for the government and is one reason that Victor Toze ascended to the presidency in 2021.

• **President Toze’s priorities, and a call to action.** When gathering his National Security Council for its first meeting, President Victor Toze reminded them of his goals: economic development, fighting corruption, and an effective military that could meet the security challenges in the north. Mindful, however, that his call for a strengthened military might not sit well in a country that had suffered under decades of military rule and had witnessed the Liberty Garden Massacre, he emphasized the need for a national effort to heal the relationship between Webonians and their military. It is in this context that the National Security Advisor issued a call to action to the Africa Center community chapter.
Annex C: Key Security Challenges in Webonia

Webonia’s security challenges are geographically concentrated around the Tri-Border Region shared by Webonia, Deron, and Tshukano.

Tri-Border Region – Background

- **Transnational organized crime.** There is weak state control in the border region, and several types of transnational organized crime thrive, most notably human trafficking, smuggling, and arms trafficking.

- **Terrorism threat from Deron.** The border region feels the effects of long-standing political instability in Deron, which includes transnational terrorism groups within its borders. The major actor is the New Army of the Prophet (NAP), a violent insurgent group composed principally of the pastoralist and historically marginalized Tsowe people as well as some foreigners. Espousing a strict religious ideology, the NAP offers a violent vision of justice and independence to marginalized Tsowe. However, brutal punishments for dissenters, harsh taxation, and heavy involvement in human trafficking have alienated many others.

- **Other violent actors.** There are also smaller, locally oriented armed groups with opportunistic objectives. Some communities rely on local vigilante groups for protection. Some of these vigilante groups have also come to engage in cattle rustling and banditry.

Tri-Border Region – Recent Developments

- **Webonian Border Crackdown.** Following an escalation of violence in the Webonian portion of the Tri-Border region, the Webonian government began a military takeover of security on the border, led by the elite Special Service Brigade and supported by the National Police. The Special Service Brigade performed well against the armed groups in combat, and the intervention initially appeared to be successful in re-establishing Webonian territorial and border control.

- **Recent setbacks.** Despite the Special Service Brigade’s initial successes, the unit was too small to mount a sustained security campaign in the region and many of the initial gains were lost. Elements of the regular military have been deployed to support them. However due to limited resourcing in the democratic era and longstanding corruption challenges, the regular units have substantially underperformed, in some cases being unable to accomplish basic missions. There have been scandals regarding equipment and ammunition shortages and failures to properly treat or provide medicine to casualties. The most notorious failure was the Station Foxtrot Siege (see Annex B).

- **Accusations against the Special Service Brigade.** Some components of the Special Service Brigade are accused of committing abuses against the local population, and some of these accusations carry an ethnic dimension. (The Special Service Brigade is a largely Bamato unit). There are also reports that Special Service Brigade soldiers accept bribes or even engage in criminal enterprises at the border.
• **An alliance of NGOs.** Violence and extortion by armed groups in the tri-border region has alienated many in the area. The Tsowe Women’s Peacebuilding Society has assembled a loose alliance of NGOs and traditional leaders opposed to the traffickers and armed groups. While these groups are prepared to work with the Webonian government, they are also seeking respite from harsh treatment they report experiencing at the hands of the Special Service Brigade.
Annex D: Politics and Economy of Webonia

VITAL STATISTICS

Independence: 1962 (from Great Britain)
Population: 30 million
Ethnic groups: Bamato 40%; Arika 22%; Kumalu 18%; Tsowe 15%; smaller ethnic groups comprise remaining 5%
Languages: English (80%) French (20%); African languages are spoken widely.
Religions: Christian (70%), Muslim (30%)
Cities: Olatunji (capital); Port Boukhars (major port city)
Economy: GDP is $1225 per capita

Export revenue: agricultural products (40%); mineral resources (35%); energy resources (15%); light manufactured goods (10%)

CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

• **A new administration.** Webonia’s current government was elected in 2021. The election, deemed free and fair by international observers, was viewed in part as a reaction to the disastrous Camp Foxtrot Siege and the previous government’s failures to address the deteriorating security situation in the north. Victor Toze is the first President not drawn from the leadership of the political opposition in the 1990s. He was a student and involved in protest in this era but was too young to be a leader. As a result, he is more open to a new relationship with the military than some of his predecessors.

• **The legacy of military rule.** While the majority of Webonians are too young to remember military rule themselves, the shadow of nearly 30 years of intermittent military rule looms large over Webonian politics. Webonian civil society organizations, especially the journalistic and legal communities, human rights activists and several faith-based groups participated in the country’s democratization and carry this legacy with pride. President Toze is the first president since the 2001 democratization to embrace the armed services.

• **Corruption.** Corruption in government is an ongoing challenge in Webonia and political patronage networks are critical to political survival, policymaking, and electioneering. These practices have made Webonia vulnerable to transnational organized crime, and in turn, transnational organized crime proceeds have been known to fuel certain political parties and candidates.
FOREIGN RELATIONS OF WEBONIA

- **ARECO.** Since transitioning to democracy, the Webonian government has worked through the liberal African Regional Economic Community (ARECO) to pursue its interests. ARECO’s membership includes Webonia and its neighbors. ARECO has limited ability to intervene in the domestic affairs of its member states, but Tshukano and Los Pachecos were able to leverage ARECO’s limited powers to help support Webonia’s burgeoning democracy during its transition phase.

ECONOMY

Webonia is a rapidly growing economy and passed the middle-income threshold in 2014. After a period of stagnation in the 1980s and 1990s, when Webonia was under military rule, the country has grown consistently. Exports are 27% of GDP. Growth has been led by increasing agricultural exports and post processed agricultural goods, most notably locally canned coffee and increasingly high-quality leather goods, forming the foundation of a light manufacturing sector. This has allowed for a greater range of opportunities when compared with Webonia’s historical near total dependence on mining and gas extraction, which still make up a combined 45% of exports.

Like many African countries, Webonia is experiencing the combination of rabid urbanization and a large youth bulge. The majority of Webonians are under the age of 30 and these young people increasingly live in the urban center of the capital, Olatunji. Webonian youth face serious challenges in employment with nearly 40% of Webonians under the age of 25 unemployed.

**Energy Production:**
- Significant natural gas fields (9th largest in Africa) at 52 tcm, but limited extraction and refinement capability.
- Webonia’s natural gas fields are largely in and around the Biong Delta, in the Kumalu homelands. This area was subject to conflict for much of the 1970s and 1980s and resource extraction and usage are still contentious.
- Energy accounts for 15% of export revenue.

**Mining:**
- Large copper deposits account for approximately 20% of Webonia’s export revenue. They are situated principally in the northern areas where insecurity can be a challenge. Working conditions at Webonian copper mines are a notorious grievance among workers, going back to the colonial era.
- Other mining operations extract iron, bauxite, and some battery precursor materials, making up an additional 15% of exports combined.

**Agriculture:**
- Subsistence agriculture exists throughout Webonia.
- Northern Webonia is largely pastoralist, focused on cattle and goats.
- Export agriculture is primarily concentrated in central and southern Webonia. Primary export crops are cotton, cocoa, coffee, and bananas.
PEOPLE AND POLITICS

President Victor Toze’s Webonian Democratic Congress party won election with a robust majority in 2021 following promises to address corruption, youth unemployment, and worsening violence and insecurity in the country.

Several NGOs are also important factors in Webonian politics. Dating back to the 1980s, the Mothers of the Missing (MOM)—a group of mothers of victims of the dictatorship—was one of the only protest groups the dictatorship did not successfully break or disperse. MOM is held in wide regard as leaders of the country’s political liberalization. The Youth Alliance for Work and Dignity (YAWD) was aligned with the president in the last election and has grown rapidly in the democratic period seeking greater resources for youth employment and poverty alleviation. While both groups have good relations with the new government, they have expressed reservations about approaches to security that involve devoting major new resources to the military; MOM fear that a rejuvenated military might seek to re-enter politics, while YAWD would rather see resources dedicated to social programs.

Despite fears and reservations about the military rooted in the history of the dictatorship and perceptions of corruption, there is increasing concern at the spread of violence from the north. Travel to northern Webonia has become increasingly dangerous, and perceptions of violence and insecurity are undermining tourism and foreign investment, creating a worrying climate for the Webonian business community at a time when growth is much needed to address youth employment. This is particularly acute for the large Webonian Truckers and Haulers Association, a group comprised of thousands of independent drivers and small companies who make a living transporting goods to and from Webonia’s landlocked neighbor Deron and whose lives and livelihoods are increasingly threatened when they traverse northern Webonia.

In Webonia, ethnicity, politics, and patronage have remained closely linked. The salience of ethnic identity in national politics – as opposed to other identities or affinities for certain programs or ideologies – is a problematic legacy of the British colonial period that Webonia has yet to overcome. The key ethnic groups in Webonia are:

- **Bamato:**
  - Dominant ethnic group in Webonia; majority ethnic group in the capital.
  - They have historically been disproportionately represented in the Webonian military and government.
  - Shared heritage and in some cases political alliance with the Arika.

- **Arika:**
  - Second largest ethnic group
  - They live in southwestern Webonia, including the region of Port Boukhars.
  - Shared heritage and in some cases political alliance with the Arika.

- **Kumalu:**
  - Minority ethnic group (English-speaking)
  - They live along Webonia’s southern coastal border with Bulutha, on the land around natural gas deposits in the Biong Delta.
• The Kumalu Nation Resistance Movement (KNRM) fought a long and unsuccessful insurgency in the 1970s with the backing of Bulutha. After the normalization of Bulutha-Webonia relations in 1991, the KNRM entered politics in exchange for local national gas resource sharing agreements. However, many Kumalu still feel marginalized.

- **Tsowe:**
  - Minority ethnic group (mix of English- and French-speaking)
  - They live in arid northwestern Webonia and across the border in Deron; pastoral migrations and trade patterns mean regular border crossings.
  - The New Army of the Prophet is composed principally of Tsowe members.

**MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES**

Webonia’s security apparatus consists of the military (Army, Navy, Air Force, and Special Service Brigade) and the National Police Force.

Webonia’s president is the Commander-in-Chief of the military and is supported by a Minister of Defence who oversees the armed services and a Minister of Interior who oversees the local and national police. Since the 2011 “Liberty Garden” trials and security reform, the President is also supported by a National Security Advisor who chairs a National Security Council which includes representatives from each of the armed services, the national police, the intelligence services, and the ministries of health, justice, and the treasury.

Webonia’s current National Security Advisor, BG Sadiki, is a younger officer who has risen through the ranks entirely during the democratic era and is close to President Toze. The current Minister of Defence, General Oiru, is also a presidential appointee and loyal to the democratic system. He is a more senior officer who served his early and middle career in the later years of the dictatorship. Although he was never involved in political or senior roles or any of the major crimes of the regime during this time, these experiences color some of his views. He takes a conservative approach to the involvement of civilians in national security matters.

All components of Webonia’s uniformed military share similar problems – (i) an officer corps dominated by the Bamato leading a more diverse enlisted body, and (ii) contracting and payroll fraud, which cause mismatches between actual strength and paper-based calculations of it.

- **Army:** Webonia has a medium-sized volunteer army, greatly diminished in size and funding from the dictatorship era. Funding de-prioritization since the 2011 Liberty Gardens Trials and subsequent coup-proofing efforts have left most units under-trained and under-equipped. Corruption has also taken a toll. As a result, the government relies on a much smaller subsection of the military to address urgent security threats, most notably the 3,500-strong elite Special Service Brigade. It has performed well in combat encounters with armed groups. However, the largely Bamato unit has been accused of serving as a political tool of the incumbent government and of committing abuses against Webonian minority groups, particularly the Tsowe and Kumalu.

- **Navy:** Without a separate Coast Guard, Webonia’s small Navy is responsible for maritime law enforcement and rescue and operates mainly small, brown watercraft.
• **Air Force:** Webonia has a very limited Air Force with a small fleet of transport helicopters and a single squadron of fighter jets. These have suffered major mechanical neglect associated with post-2011 funding decreases, and there have been corruption scandals around maintenance and parts contracts.

• **National Police Force:** Webonia’s National Police consists of around 35,000 members, the majority of whom are Bamato, with a substantial Arika minority. This has led to significant problems throughout the country, as the police are met with distrust by local populations of other ethnic groups. Among the security forces, the National Police have been most accused of nepotism and ethnic favoritism, with a history of the government staffing the National Police largely based on ethnicity.