



THE KREMLIN'S CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA: ASSESSMENT UPDATE

By Nataliya Bugayova and Darina Regio

August 2019

The Kremlin's Campaign in Africa: Assessment Update

By Nataliya Bugayova and Darina Regio

[This paper expands on the initial [assessment](#) of Russia's campaign in Africa published in October 2018. ISW is monitoring developments ahead of the inaugural Russia-Africa Summit in Sochi on October 24.¹]

Key Takeaways: The Kremlin's campaign in Africa is a case study of the methods it uses to pursue its global objectives. Russian President Vladimir Putin is no mere opportunistic predator. His investments in Africa are strategic despite their limited scope and results, and will likely have important long-term consequences. Russia's expansion of influence in Africa could reduce the impact of coercive sanctions, provide an additional revenue stream for the regime, and expand its military footprint and global disinformation network. It additionally has implications for the counter-terrorism efforts by the U.S. in Africa. The campaign also provides insight into the Kremlin's potential points of vulnerability, including its overreliance on human networks and the risk of blowback from failed influence operations.

The Kremlin is deepening its outreach to Africa as a key component of its wider global campaigns.² Russian President Vladimir Putin holds a set of core strategic objectives: preserving his regime, suppressing political dissent, expanding his economy, reestablishing his state as a global power, and diminishing the global influence of the U.S. and NATO. He seeks to break the unity of the West and reestablish suzerainty over the former Soviet Union. He is reestablishing a global military footprint that aims to shape the activity of his adversaries at low cost using small numbers of troops and advanced area denial systems. He is attempting to create a constellation of pliable states and political alliances and legitimize his violations of international law. He is waging several campaigns in support of these goals, some more coordinated than others. These campaigns transcend geographic boundaries and feature multiple intertwined lines of effort.

In Africa, Russia sees an opportunity to expand its military footprint and mitigate the negative economic consequences of its deteriorating relationship with the West. It also likely aims to balance against the global influence of China. The Kremlin aspires to pull African states into the network of geopolitical alliances and shared global information space that it has built to cast itself as a revitalized great power, international mediator, humanitarian actor, and effective counter-terrorism partner.³ It has dedicated some of its most senior officials to this coordinated effort to expand its influence in Africa. Russia has focused on boosting its bilateral military and economic ties throughout Africa. It will host its first major Russia-Africa Summit in Sochi in October 2019 in partnership with Egypt.

The Kremlin views Africa as an avenue to boost its economy without reform by developing new revenue streams and undermining the sanctions regime imposed by the West. Putin's ability to sustain an assertive foreign policy, maintain domestic control, and subsidize his inner circle of power requires a stable economy. The Kremlin likely views Africa as a growing market for its goods, a potential venue to evade sanctions, and a source of lucrative deals for close associates of Putin.

“The Kremlin's investments in Africa are strategic despite their limited scope and results, and will likely have important long-term consequences.”

Russia is expanding its access to natural resources in Africa. Russia's Alrosa expanded its diamond mining investments in Zimbabwe and Angola in 2019.⁴ Russia's Nordgold similarly expanded its gold mining investments in Burkina Faso in March 2019 while Rostec — the state-owned defense conglomerate — signed a \$4 billion deal to develop a new platinum mine in Zimbabwe in April 2019.⁵ Meanwhile, Gazprom expressed interest in new natural gas projects in Algeria in February 2019 while Zarubeshneft discussed joint oil projects with Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo in April — May 2019.⁶ Rosgeologia signed similar cooperation agreements with Algeria, Madagascar, and Sudan in 2018.⁷

Russia also seeks to expand its exports and investments in Africa. Russia seeks to export a wide array of goods ranging from medicine and food to energy products to create new revenue streams, diversify its economy away from hydrocarbons, and mitigate the effects of international sanctions.⁸ Russia is attempting to capture a larger share of the continent's wheat market, particularly in Algeria, Morocco, and Libya.⁹ It is already a major source of wheat for Egypt.¹⁰ The Kremlin also emphasizes infrastructure development in Africa. Russia and Hungary discussed joint railway projects with Angola in November 2018.¹¹ Russian Railways has also eyed partnerships in Botswana and Libya.¹² Russia may intend to use this infrastructure in support of its other activities in Africa.

Russia might also use Africa as a platform to evade sanctions through money laundering. Many African states suffer from weak governance that creates a permissive environment for money laundering by foreign actors.¹³ Angola, Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Libya — all of which are states where Russian entities are currently seeking to do business — rank among the most corrupt governments in the world.¹⁴ Russia tends to invest in industries well suited to money laundering, such as commodities and natural resources.¹⁵

Africa is likely a potential additional revenue source for close associates of Putin. Sergey Ivanov — the son of former Russian Defense Minister Sergey Ivanov — is Alrosa's CEO.¹⁶ Yevgeny Prigozhin — a close associate of Putin indicted for his role in the interference in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election — has also reportedly received concessions for diamonds and gold in the Central African Republic.¹⁷ Putin's associates are also linked to Russia's grain exporters as well as Russian Railways.¹⁸

Africa is a major target of the Kremlin's strategic effort to cultivate the global nuclear energy market. Russia is capitalizing on its competitive advantage in the nuclear energy market relative to the West. It also likely seeks to preempt expansion into the sector by China. Russia has signed agreements to build nuclear power plants in Hungary, Turkey, Finland, Iran, Belarus, Bangladesh, and India since 2017.¹⁹ In Africa, Rosatom — the state atomic corporation — is building the first nuclear power plant in Egypt. It also holds an agreement to develop the Geregu Nuclear Plant in Nigeria.²⁰ It signed a new roadmap with Ethiopia and expanded existing agreements with the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Rwanda in 2019.²¹

Russia likely seeks to create a market for the full range of nuclear-related services including engineer training, fuel provision, and physical security.²² It likely aims to make local governments dependent on its largesse to maintain their nuclear plants. Rosatom will supply nuclear fuel for the first ten years of operation of Egypt's El Dabaa Nuclear Plant.²³ Russia has also attempted — unsuccessfully thus far — to obtain licenses for uranium exploration in Namibia.²⁴ The Kremlin may ultimately intend to develop an integrated nuclear energy production and extraction system in Africa.

Rosatom is leveraging similar information and outreach tactics similar to those of the Kremlin. Rosatom is pursuing nuclear science centers to promote nuclear energy in Rwanda and Ethiopia, replicating a model previously developed in Zambia.²⁵ It has promoted nuclear energy through formal partnerships and youth programs, including an annual video contest called 'Atoms for Africa'.²⁶ The winners included videos entitled "How Would You Explain the Benefits of the Peaceful Atom to Your Fellow Africans?" and "Going Nuclear: Africa's Energy Future" in 2018.²⁷ Rosatom signed a memorandum

of understanding to build positive public opinion about nuclear energy in Rwanda in May 2019.²⁸ It is also conducting a soft power campaign using a variety of tools ranging from fishing tournaments near nuclear power plants to the annual ATOMEXPO Forum.²⁹

Russia is creating a cadre of Russian-educated nuclear energy scientists in Africa. Rosatom launched a scholarship program for Africans to study nuclear-related fields in Russia in January 2019.³⁰ It claimed that the program received thousands of applicants from Nigeria.³¹ Rosatom invited international nuclear energy students to tour the Leningrad Oblast (Region) Nuclear Plant in June 2016.³² Representatives from Tanta University in Egypt similarly visited the Beloyarsk Nuclear Plant in Sverdlovsk Oblast in December 2018.³³

Russia views Africa as a key part of its effort to regain a global military footprint. Putin intends to expand his military's freedom of movement and impose additional operational costs on the U.S. and NATO. He has secured long-term air and naval basing in Syria since 2015. The Russian Armed Forces and its proxies are now openly operating in Syria, Ukraine, and Venezuela. The Kremlin intends to expand its maritime presence in the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and the Arctic.³⁴

*Russia holds basing aspirations in Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Eritrea, and (possibly) Burundi and Somaliland.*³⁵ The Kremlin has had limited success in its effort to secure new military basing in Africa.³⁶ It has not yet finalized a two-year-old draft agreement for access to airspace and airbases in Egypt.³⁷ Russia is nonetheless deepening its relationship with Egypt through other means including the Russia-Africa Summit and the expansion of the Russian Industrial Zone in Egypt.³⁸

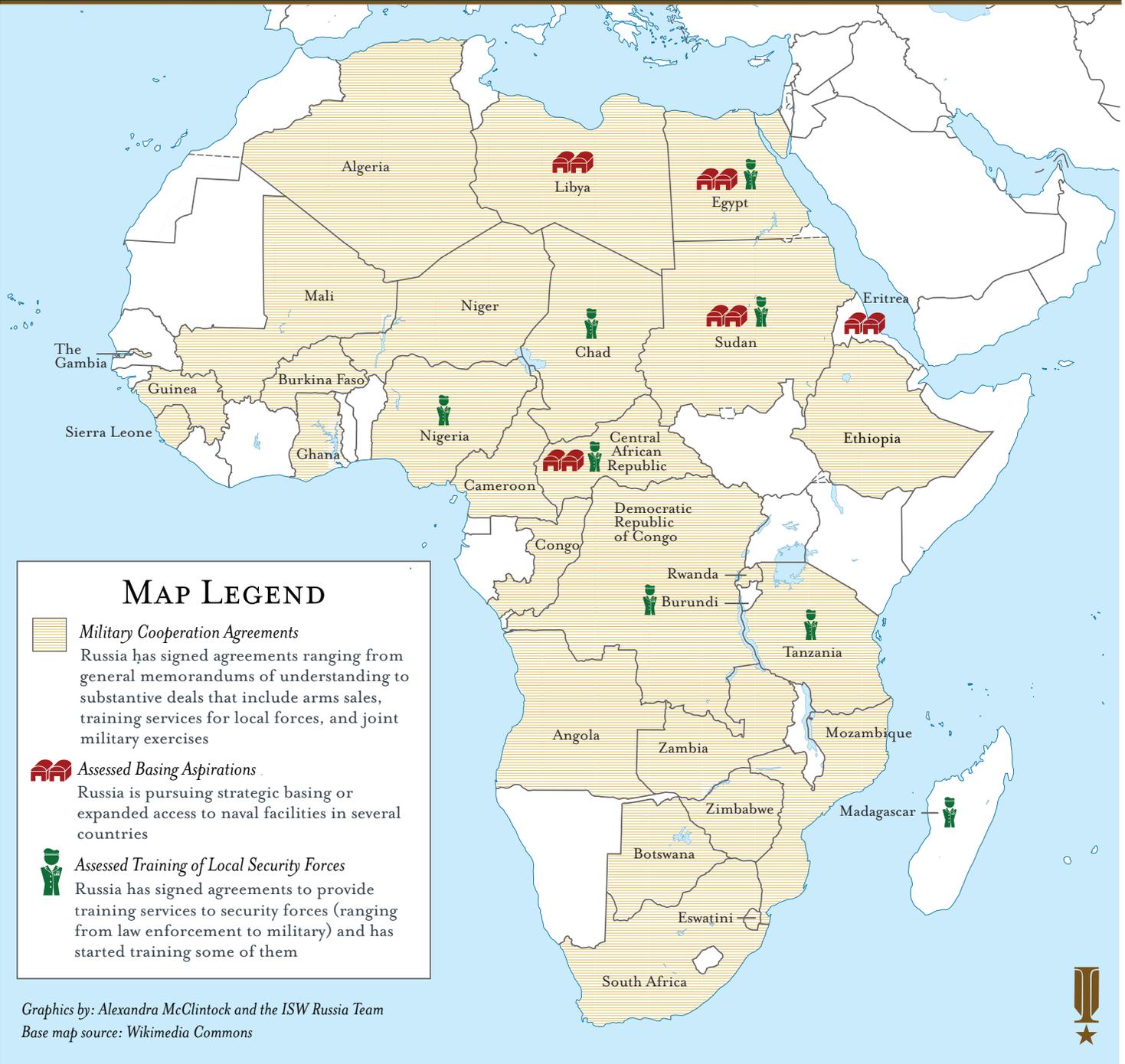
Russia likely almost brokered a deal for naval basing in Sudan before the ouster of Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir in April 2019. The Kremlin discussed establishing a naval supply center on the Red Sea in Sudan in 2018.³⁹ Sudan signaled that it would be open to the proposal in January 2019.⁴⁰ Russian media claimed that Russia and the new Government of Sudan later signed a seven-year military agreement after the removal of Bashir in May 2019.⁴¹ Neither government confirmed the deal. The deal reportedly included rules of entry for military vessels and aircraft. The Kremlin likely has a chance at resuming the basing talks given its investment in a diverse set of stakeholders across Sudan.⁴²

Russia's efforts to secure naval basing in Libya likely experienced a similar slowdown due to the start of an offensive by Libyan National Army (LNA) Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar on Tripoli in April 2019.⁴³ The Kremlin has historically supported Haftar but Libya's descent into renewed active civil war will likely hinder any short-term prospect of basing from Russia in Libya. Like Sudan, Russia has maintained ties with various political actors across both sides of the Libyan Civil War.⁴⁴ The Kremlin may attempt to leverage this outreach or its involvement in a future peace process to gain its desired military access in Libya.

Russia has also held talks to build a naval logistics center on the Red Sea in Eritrea since 2018.⁴⁵ Russia had advocated for sanctions relief for Eritrea before the UN removed sanctions from Eritrea in November 2018.⁴⁶ Putin signed a decree lifting Russian sanctions on Eritrea in July 2019.⁴⁷ Russia will likely attempt to use this economic and diplomatic support to revitalize basing discussions with Eritrea.

Russia may also expand further inland into the Central African Republic (CAR). CAR Defense Minister Mari-Noelle Koyara stated in January 2019 that he did not rule out a military base for Russia in the CAR.⁴⁸ Russia operates a training center in the CAR under a military cooperation agreement signed in 2018.

“The Kremlin is attempting to pull Africa into its global information space.”



The Kremlin has undertaken a piecemeal expansion of its security service provision in Africa. Russia has signed agreements to train local security forces or is actively training local security forces — from law enforcement to military personnel — in Chad, the Central African Republic, Sudan, Ethiopia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Tanzania, Botswana, Burundi, and Madagascar.⁴⁹ It secured most of these deals since 2017. In 2019, Russia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo signed an agreement to dispatch military specialists to the Congo to “service hardware” from Russia.⁵⁰ The Russian Interior Ministry has also held annual training for small numbers of peacekeeping troops operating in Africa.⁵¹

The Kremlin has layered these services onto general military cooperation agreements, which it has signed with at least twenty-eight states in Africa. The Kremlin has capitalized on historical security ties between Africa and the Soviet Union, but it made a coordinated push to expand beyond these partnerships starting in 2014.⁵² The Kremlin frequently uses counter-terrorism and anti-piracy efforts as the basis for these deals. Russia signed its latest military cooperation agreement in Africa with Mali in June 2019.⁵³ It has also reportedly sought to establish offices of the Russian Defense Ministry in Sudan and the Central African Republic.⁵⁴

The Kremlin is also expanding its arms sales to Africa. Russia is the largest supplier of arms to Africa, accounting for over a third of all arms exports to the continent.⁵⁵ It currently holds more than \$50 billion in military contracts with Africa.⁵⁶ Russia signed a \$2 billion deal to sell over twenty Su-35 ‘Flanker-E’ fighter jets to Egypt in March 2019.⁵⁷ The Kremlin will likely attempt to close these deals and scale this model to other states across Africa.

The Kremlin is attempting to pull Africa into its global information space. Russia wages a wide array of information campaigns in support of various strategic objectives, ranging from normalizing its violations of international norms to undermining the sanctions regime. Its war on the idea of truth has been perhaps its most damaging recent undertaking across the globe. RT, Sputnik, and other state-controlled media outlets have increasingly prioritized the formation of local partnerships to expand their reach and (likely) ensure a more sustainable presence. Russian media outlets have signed cooperation agreements in the past two years with partners in China, India, Pakistan, the West Bank, and Mongolia.⁵⁸ These deals may enable Russia to launder its narratives and obscure the true source of its information campaigns.

In Africa, Russia is investing in the information space through partnerships and soft power outreach. RT and Sputnik already broadcast their content in Africa.⁵⁹ Both organizations have nonetheless started to expand into new local partnerships.⁶⁰ ANO TV-Novosti RTTV — the parent organization of RT — signed a cooperation agreement to share content with Eritrean Eri-TV on May 13.⁶¹ RT also explored cooperation with the Democratic Republic of the Congo’s National RadioTV Corporation (RTNC) in November 2018.⁶² Sputnik signed a cooperation agreement with RTNC in May 2019.⁶³ It also holds deals with several other outlets in Africa including the South African Government News Agency.⁶⁴ Prigozhin also reportedly sponsors a radio station in the Central African Republic.⁶⁵ The Kremlin is also using soft power to legitimize its illegal activities. The Russian Foreign Ministry hosted celebrations of the fifth anniversary of its occupation of Crimea in several states including the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Botswana.⁶⁶

The Kremlin uses its information campaign to legitimize itself and aid its other strategic objectives in Africa. The Kremlin uses an evolving set of narratives to portray itself as a great power, peacemaker, humanitarian actor, counter-terrorism partner, and counter-narcotics fighter.⁶⁷ Russia is attempting to boost these narratives in Africa. The Kremlin has attempted to insert itself into the

“The Kremlin will ultimately likely run into its inherent limits in Africa — its investments are too sparse, its narratives often do not stick, and its value proposition is likely to be outcompeted by other actors such as China.”

peace process in Libya.⁶⁸ The Russian National Anti-Drug Union signed a memorandum of understanding with Rwanda in May 2019.⁶⁹ Russia is positioning itself as a partner against Ebola.⁷⁰ Rusal completed trial vaccinations against Ebola in Guinea in 2018.⁷¹ Russia later announced plans to ship the vaccine to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.⁷² The Kremlin amplifies these limited investments through its propaganda machine.

The Kremlin is also attempting to pull Africa into a network of states that gravitate towards Russia. Putin has been working hard to create multiple international blocs and groupings centered on Russia as a counter to the international order led by the U.S.⁷³ Few of these efforts have thus far been effective, but the tenacity with which they are pursued demonstrates their importance to the Kremlin.

In Africa, Russia has experienced some minor successes, such as a military-technical cooperation agreement between Russia and the Southern African Development Community.⁷⁴ Yet other efforts have slowed, including a free trade agreement between Egypt and the European Economic Union led by Russia.⁷⁵

The Kremlin has expanded its low-cost human networks across Africa over the past year. It uses targeted and limited measures and investments in human capital, amplified through its information networks, to achieve strategic gains at relatively low cost – a necessary optimization given its struggling economy.

The Kremlin is creating numerous forums to foster high-level personal relations with African leaders. Several hundred officials from Africa visited Russia in 2019 to attend two major conferences centered on economic and parliamentary cooperation with Africa as well as the Ufa Security Forum.⁷⁶ Russia has also worked to cultivate ties with African powerbrokers at other venues including the Yalta International Economic Forum, ATOMEXPO, and the annual International Army Games.⁷⁷

The Kremlin is diversifying its outreach to include subnational and legislative ties with Africa. Russia has worked to develop region-to-region ties across Africa. Russia's Sverdlovsk Oblast sent a delegation to discuss economic investment with Eritrea in February 2019.⁷⁸ Russia has also floated cooperation on the provincial level between Russia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.⁷⁹ Russia has adopted a similar approach in Syria.⁸⁰ The Kremlin is also working to build parliamentary ties with Africa. Russian State Duma Chairman Vyacheslav Volodin held a forum to engage African parliamentarians in July 2019.⁸¹ Russia has built ties with the Russia-DRC Friendship Group in the Parliament of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.⁸² Russia is cultivating these links to ensure future support for its interests in Africa.⁸³

The Kremlin is also making a long-term investment in the educated cadre of future leaders in Africa. Russia is funding new scholarships for Africans to study in Russia.⁸⁴ The Russian Foreign Ministry has held numerous ambassador-level engagements with local universities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola in 2019.⁸⁵ Russia established university partnerships with Botswana in March 2019.⁸⁶ It also opened a cultural center in Namibia in 2018.⁸⁷ The Kremlin is leveraging the historic ties of many of these states to the Soviet Union.⁸⁸ Russia holds regular meetings with African graduates of universities from the Soviet Union and leverages these networks to promote its image.⁸⁹ For example, Soyuznik – the Russian alumni organization in Angola – organized several humanitarian events highlighting Russia in 2019.⁹⁰

The Kremlin is likely growing its own cadre of experts on Africa. Russian students are reportedly increasingly interested in African Studies.⁹¹ Sevastopol State University in the illegally occupied Crimean Peninsula opened a program of African Studies in March 2019.⁹² Saint Petersburg State University launched a competition for emerging social scientists to conduct fieldwork in Africa in 2017.⁹³ Russia's Sberbank funds a Young Global Pioneers Program that allows Russians with technical skills to spend three weeks in Tanzania.⁹⁴

Implications

The Kremlin's engagements in Africa suffer from a number of potential vulnerabilities. The Kremlin will ultimately likely run into its inherent limits in Africa — its investments are too sparse, its narratives often do not stick, and its value proposition is likely to be outcompeted by other actors such as China. Its emphasis on human networks and information campaigns enable it to accomplish a lot with a little in the absence of competition. These means will likely become a limiting factor in the future. Russia has also stretched itself thin with only a few officials and business executives to cover the whole of Africa. The quantity and quality of human capital among its agents remain one of the key constraints of the Kremlin.

The Kremlin is likely to experience blowback in Africa.⁹⁵ Russia suffers harm when its covert campaigns are exposed, as seen in its attempts to influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election. Its secrecy makes revelations about its efforts major news, attracts sanctions and other forms of punishment, and generally stokes suspicion about its motivations. Such exposure raises costs, as it generally requires the replacement of human agents, which in turn implies additional time, resources, and further risk of exposure.

The Kremlin has already suffered several blown operations with the potential to cause blowback in Africa. Libya detained two men accused of working for an online 'troll farm' linked to Prigozhin in July 2019. Libya stated that they were attempting to influence the 2019 Libyan Presidential Election.⁹⁶ One of the men had previously participated in a separate alleged plot to influence the 2018 Madagascar Presidential Election.⁹⁷ The decision to reuse an exposed asset could indicate human capital constraints or a low perception of risk in Africa. The individual in question also held ties to the newly created Russian Foundation for the Protection of National Values, which features a dedicated 'African Discussion Club'.⁹⁸ The likely goals of this organization include framing domestic and international perceptions about the role of Russia in Africa. The Foundation has confirmed that it has experts on the ground in Sudan.⁹⁹ Former Central African Republic President Karim Meckassoua has also accused Russia of influencing a vote of no confidence that removed him from power in order to gain easier access to natural resources.¹⁰⁰ Finally, *The Guardian* claimed to obtain documents detailing a wide-ranging influence campaign (including staged protests and disinformation) funded by Prigozhin in Africa.¹⁰¹ While it is difficult to judge the direct effect of these disclosures, they will likely raise the costs to the Kremlin and could increase local suspicions regarding the motives of Russia in Africa.

The Kremlin's framing of its efforts in Africa might also backfire in the long term. Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov has stressed the need for "African solutions to African problems" and asserted that "Africa is underrepresented" in international organizations like the UN.¹⁰² Rosatom has framed its own push for nuclear energy as helping the continent to become self-sufficient.¹⁰³ Russia often stresses that it has never been a colonial power in Africa and that the Soviet Union helped many of the fights for independence across Africa.¹⁰⁴ It directs this anti-colonial rhetoric against the West, particularly France.¹⁰⁵ These narratives may resonate in the short term with select powerbrokers in Africa. However, they will likely come into conflict with the reality that the Kremlin can only afford limited investments in Africa.

“Africa is likely a potential additional revenue source for close associates of Putin.”

The Kremlin's outreach to Africa will nevertheless likely yield limited but important gains.

The Kremlin has accelerated its engagement with Africa ahead of its Russia–Africa Summit in October 2019. Russia is attempting to saturate the diplomatic landscape, build or reestablish ties, and sign new framework agreements with states across Africa. It plans to use the summit to present its ‘Russia-Africa: Shared Vision 2030’ and strike numerous bilateral deals in the energy, agriculture, transport, healthcare, military-industrial, and mining sectors. The Kremlin also intends to sign a memorandum of cooperation between the African Union and the Eurasian Economic Union.¹⁰⁶

The Kremlin will likely attempt to secure the maximum possible number of deals in Africa, although only a few are likely to produce tangible gains for Russia. The Kremlin will further attempt to layer on new services such as military training, weapon sales, and access to naval facilities onto its existing military cooperation agreements in Africa. It will also prioritize securing access to new natural resource, boosting its exports, and cornering the emerging nuclear energy market — areas where it will likely experience moderate and gradual success. It will also expand its influence in the continent’s information space, build out its human network, and create new opportunities to evade sanctions, secure additional cash for core associates, and boost its global disinformation campaigns.

The Kremlin’s campaign in Africa affects the strategic interests of the U.S. and Europe. Putin could exploit Africa’s wealth of natural resources and weak governance to strengthen his regime and weaken the effects of sanctions imposed for its illegal global activities. The U.S. also holds a legal obligation to counter the illicit exploitation of natural resources in Central Africa under the Dodd-Frank Act Section 1502. Putin might also succeed in his attempts to secure naval basing or an anti-access / area denial zone in Africa. This foothold could enable Russia to contest the strategic maritime chokepoints of the Suez Canal and the Bab al-Mandeb Strait. The Kremlin’s support for hostile or incompetent regimes also stands to worsen popular grievances and set favorable conditions for further growth by Salafi-Jihadist Groups in Africa.¹⁰⁷

The authors would like to thank Emily Estelle and James Barnett of the Critical Threats Project at the American Enterprise Institute for their feedback on a draft of this assessment.

Key Assessed Characteristics of the Kremlin’s Campaign in Africa:

- The Kremlin is employing existing and evolved tactics to achieve its strategic goal — namely, preserving the current regime and expanding its military footprint, geopolitical clout, and global information space.
- The Kremlin likely views Africa as a source of potential revenue and a venue to evade sanctions.
- The Kremlin’s campaign is comprehensive and coordinated with its other global campaigns. It has engaged some of the most senior officials in the Kremlin.
- The Kremlin uses limited and targeted financial and human investments amplified by its propaganda machine to achieve strategic benefits at minimum cost.
- The Kremlin’s campaign currently prioritizes scale over depth. It pursues general framework agreements followed by new layers of additional services and conditions.
- The Kremlin has diversified its political investments within select countries across Africa.
- The Kremlin’s campaign has inherent limits and demonstrates a number of vulnerabilities, including an overreliance on human networks and the risk of blowback from failed influence operations.

Appendix A:

The Kremlin's Action Officers in Africa



Author: Michaela Walker with the ISW Russia Team

The Kremlin uses a wide network of individuals and organizations (operating in both an official and unofficial capacity) to pursue its strategic objectives in Africa. This chart provides a non-exhaustive overview of some of the key entities operating on behalf of Russia in Africa. It excludes high-level individuals routinely involved in major foreign policy campaigns such as Russian President Vladimir Putin, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, and Russian Prime Minister Dmitri Medvedev.

 <p>108</p>	<p>Mikhail Bogdanov is Russian Presidential Special Representative to the Middle East and Africa and Deputy Foreign Minister.¹⁰⁹ In this capacity, he serves as Putin's primary diplomat for Africa. He has personally met with senior representatives from most states in Africa and his visits are indicators of intended expansion for the Kremlin.¹¹⁰</p>
 <p>111</p>	<p>Nikolai Patrushev is Russian Security Council Secretary and the former Russian Federal Security Service (FSB) Director.¹¹² He has participated in military deals and diplomatic meetings in numerous countries in Africa including Angola, South Africa, and Egypt.¹¹³ He has hosted leaders from Egypt, Burundi, Namibia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Tunisia, and Uganda during the annual Ufa Security Forum in Russia.¹¹⁴</p>
 <p>115</p>	<p>Dmitri Patrushev is Russian Agriculture Minister and the son of Nikolai Patrushev.¹¹⁶ He has worked to secure bilateral agricultural and economic cooperation deals with South Africa and Morocco.¹¹⁷</p>
 <p>118</p>	<p>Vyacheslav Volodin is Russian State Duma Chairman.¹¹⁹ Volodin is developing ties with legislatures in Africa. He chaired the International Development of Parliamentarism Forum in July 2019 including a dedicated section on Russia and Africa, where he met with officials from Libya and Ethiopia.¹²⁰ He has advocated for bilateral educational deals and expanded programs to teach Russian in Africa, emphasizing that thousands of Africans study in Russia.¹²¹</p>
 <p>122</p>	<p>Yuri Ushakov is an International Affairs Aide to Putin.¹²³ He is the lead coordinator of the upcoming Russia-Africa Summit in Sochi in October 2019.¹²⁴</p>

	<p><u>Yevgeny Prigozhin</u> is a major businessperson and a close associate of Putin. He reportedly funds the Russian Private Military Company (PMC) Wagner Group.¹²⁵ The U.S. indicted Prigozhin and two of his companies — the Internet Research Agency and Concord Management — for interfering in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.¹²⁶</p>
<p>Private Military Companies</p>	<p>At least two Russian Private Military Companies (PMCs) currently operate in Africa — the Wagner Group and the RSB Group. RSB Group Chair Oleg Krynytsyn confirmed that the group has contractors in Libya and a regional office in Nigeria.¹²⁷ Wagner reportedly operates in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Libya, Mozambique, Central African Republic, Zimbabwe, Madagascar, and Sudan.¹²⁸ Russian PMCs train local forces and likely support the push for mineral resources in Africa.</p>
	<p><u>Valeriy Zakharov</u> is Russian Special Security Advisor to the President of the Central African Republic (CAR).¹²⁹ In this capacity, he has overseen a number of new arms deals and deployments of Russian PMCs to the CAR.¹³⁰</p>
	<p><u>Foundation for the Defense of National Values</u> is a new Russian NGO implicated in a reported effort to influence elections in Libya in 2010.¹³¹ The Foundation runs the African Discussion Club, with the expressed purpose of deepening ties between Russia and Africa. Its experts operate from locations in Africa including Sudan and Libya.¹³² Russia likely uses the Foundation to collect information and shaping the public narrative about Russia in Africa.</p>
 <p>133</p>	<p><u>Alexander Malkevich</u> is the Foundation for the Defense of National Values Chair.¹³⁴ He is likely an associate of Prigozhin, having previously worked at the Internet Research Agency as well as USA Really — a news organization sanctioned by the U.S. Treasury Department.¹³⁵</p>
 <p>136</p>	<p><u>Maxim Shugaley</u> is a political consultant employed by the Foundation for the Defense of National Values.¹³⁷ The BBC implicated Shugaley in a plot to shape the 2018 Madagascar Presidential Election.¹³⁸ Security forces later detained him for attempting to influence the 2019 Libyan Presidential Elections.¹³⁹</p>
 <p>140</p>	<p><u>Rosatom Africa</u> is the regional branch of Russia’s Rosatom — the state-owned atomic energy corporation.¹⁴¹ Rosatom Africa builds nuclear power plants and cultivates the emerging nuclear energy market in Africa.¹⁴² It has signed numerous cooperation agreements with African states including Ethiopia, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Africa, Nigeria, Zambia, and Tanzania.¹⁴³</p>
	<p><u>Dmitry Shornikov</u> is the Chief Executive Officer of Rosatom Central and Southern Africa.¹⁴⁴ He has focused on deals to promote nuclear energy from Russia in Africa.¹⁴⁵</p>

 <p>146</p>	<p>Alrosa is a Russian diamond-mining corporation.¹⁴⁷ It is currently expanding projects in Zimbabwe and Angola.¹⁴⁸ Alrosa CEO Sergey Ivanov – the son of an associate of Putin – announced that Alrosa would invest \$12 million in diamond exploration in Zimbabwe in July 2019.¹⁴⁹</p>
 <p>150</p>	<p>Rosgeologia is a Russian state-owned geological exploration company that works with multiple states in Africa.¹⁵¹ It signed an agreement to develop natural gas in the Red Sea with Sudan in July 2018.¹⁵² It also entered into an agreement with South African Petro SA to explore and develop any oil and gas on the Southern South African Shelf in 2018.¹⁵³ It has signed geological cooperation and educational programs with Algeria and Angola.¹⁵⁴</p>
 <p>155</p>	<p>Rostec is a Russian state-owned conglomerate focused on defense and technology.¹⁵⁶ It holds weapon sales contracts with African countries including Uganda and Zimbabwe as well as a platinum contract with Zimbabwe.¹⁵⁷</p>
 <p>158</p>	<p>Rosneft is a Russian state-owned oil and natural gas corporation that has contracts throughout Africa.¹⁵⁹ It signed an oil exploration agreement with Mozambique in October 2018.¹⁶⁰ It also signed a memorandum of understanding with Nigerian Oranto Petroleum and a deal to deliver liquefied natural gas (LNG) to Ghana in May 2018.¹⁶¹</p>
 <p>162</p>	<p>Rusal is a Russian aluminum corporation. It operates a refinery in Guinea and a joint enterprise with the Aluminum Smelting Company of Nigeria.¹⁶³ Rusal built a Scientific Clinical and Diagnostic Center for Epidemiology and Microbiology at the height of the 2015 Ebola Epidemic in Guinea.¹⁶⁴ It worked with the Russian Health Ministry to administer two thousand trial vaccinations in Guinea in December 2018.¹⁶⁵</p>
 <p>166</p>	<p>Russia Today, Radio Sputnik, and other Russian state-owned media companies are creating partnerships with local news organizations across Africa.¹⁶⁷ Ano-TV – the owner of Russia Today – agreed to gift equipment and information to the Eritrean Eri-TV in May 2019.¹⁶⁸ Radio Sputnik similarly signed a cooperation agreement to exchange news content and journalists with Cote d’Ivoire’s AIP in August 2019.¹⁶⁹</p>

Endnotes

1. "Sochi Will Host Russia-Africa Summit on October 24," *Kremlin*, October 24, 2019, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/60592>.
2. Frederick W. Kagan, Nataliya Bugayova, and Jennifer Cafarella, "Confronting the Russian Challenge: A New Approach for the U.S.," *Institute for the Study of War*, June 2019, <http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISW%20CTP%20Report%20-%20Confronting%20the%20Russian%20Challenge%20-%20June%202019.pdf>.
3. *Ibid.*, pg. 31
4. Alrosa announced investments worth \$12 million in Zimbabwe in July 2019. Alrosa signed a memorandum of understanding to develop joint projects and cooperate on diamond sales with Angolan Endiama in April 2019. Alrosa has collaborated with Endiama since 2014. See: ["Alrosa Launches Operations in Zimbabwe,"] *Alrosa*, January 14, 2019, <http://www.alrosa.ru/%D0%B0%D0%BB%D1%80%D0%BE%D1%81%D0%B0-%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%BF%D1%82%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B5%D1%82-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D1%8F%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%BB%D1%8C%D0%BD%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D1%8C-%D0%B2-%D0%B7%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%B1/>; Kevin Samaita, "Alrosa Invests \$12 Million in Diamond Exploration in Zimbabwe," *Business Live*, July 16, 2019, <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/world/africa/2019-07-16-alrosa-invests-12m-in-diamond-exploration-in-zimbabwe/>; ["President of Angola Attends Russian-Angolan Business Forum and Alrosa,"] *Alrosa*, April 3, 2019, <http://www.alrosa.ru/%D0%B0%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%B7%D0%B8%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82-%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B5%D0%BE%D0%BB%D1%8B-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D1%81%D0%B5%D1%82%D0%B8%D0%BB-%D1%80%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%81%D0%B8%D0%B9%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%BE-%D0%B0/>; "Alrosa and Endiama Signed a Memorandum of Understanding," *Alrosa*, April 4, 2019, <http://eng.alrosa.ru/alrosa-and-endiama-signed-a-memorandum-of-understanding/>.
5. Felix Njimi, "Zimbabwe, Russia Sign \$4 Billion Platinum Mine Deal," *Bloomberg*, April 10, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-04-10/zimbabwe-russia-finalize-deal-for-4-billion-platinum-mine>.
6. "Zarubezhneft JSC Develops Cooperation with Angola," *Zarubezhneft*, April 5, 2019, <https://www.zarubezhneft.ru/en/press-centre/news/513/>; "Putin Sends Out Zarubezhneft to Conquer Angola's Oil Sector," *Africa Intelligence*, April 9, 2019, <https://www.africaintelligence.com/aem/oil/2019/04/09/putin-sends-out-zarubezhneft-to-conquer-angola-s-oil-sector.108352771-bre>; ["Zarubezhneft Became Interested in Offshore Work in Angola,"] *TASS*, April 5, 2019, <https://tass.ru/ekonomika/6299240>; ["Zarubezhneft Returns to Angola,"] *Oil Capital*, April 8, 2019, <https://oilcapital.ru/news/companies/08-04-2019/zarubezhneft-vozvrashaetsya-v-angolu>; "The Management of Zarubezhneft JSC Took Part in a Number of Meetings with the President of Congo," *Zarubezhneft*, May 23, 2019, <https://www.zarubezhneft.ru/en/press-centre/news/527/>; "Head of Zarubezhneft JSC Sergey Kudryashov Held Meeting with the President of Congo Denis Sassou Ngu," *Zarubezhneft*, May 17, 2019, <https://www.zarubezhneft.ru/en/press-centre/news/522/>; ["Gazprom Is Interested in Two Projects in Algeria,"] *TASS*, January 30, 2019, <https://tass.ru/ekonomika/6059454>.
7. ["Rosgeologia Is Expanding Its Cooperation with Algeria,"] *Rosgeologia*, July 11, 2018, <https://www.rosgeo.com/ru/content/rosgeologiya-ukreplyaet-sotrudnichestvo-s-alzhirom>; ["Rosgeologia and the Ministry of Mining and Oil Industry of Madagascar Agreed on Cooperation,"] *Rosgeologia*, May 24, 2018, <https://www.rosgeo.com/ru/content/predpriyatie-rosgeologii-i-ministerstvo-gornodobyvayushchey-i-neftyanoy-promyshlennosti>; ["Russia and Sudan Agreed on the Development of 'Block 15' on the Red Sea Shelf,"] *RIA Novosti*, July 23, 2018, <https://ria.ru/20180723/1525168506.html>.
8. ["Demonstrational Fragment of the Report,"] *RA Vision*, Accessed on August 20, 2019, <http://ravisio2030.com/doclad>.
9. Valerie Parent and Gus Trompiz, "French Grain Alliance Set for Battle with Black Sea Wheat," *Reuters*, July 22, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-grains-exports/french-grain-alliance-set-for-battle-with-black-sea-wheat-idUSKCN1UHOHA>; "Libya to Import \$700 Million Worth Wheat from Russia," *Libyan Express*, October 1, 2018, <https://www.libyanexpress.com/libya-to-import-700-million-worth-wheat-from-russia/>; ["In 2017, Russia Can Supply Eritrea with 100,000 Tons of What,"] *RIA Novosti*, January 30, 2017, <https://ria.ru/20170130/1486812891.html>; ["Morocco Abolishes Duty on Import of Russian Wheat,"] *Agroxxi*, October 5, 2018, <http://www.agroxxi.ru/mirovye-agronovosti/marokko-otmenit-poshlinu-na-voz-rossiiskoi-pshenicy.html>; ["Russia and Morocco Discuss Economic and Technical Cooperation,"] *Rambler*, October 5, 2018, <https://news.rambler.ru/other/40966053-rossiya-i-marokko-obsudili-ekonomicheskoe-i-tehnicheskoe-sotrudnichestvo/>; ["Russia Is Able to Press the U.S. in the Market for the Supply of Grain in Morocco,"] *Dairy News*, October 5, 2018, <http://www.dairynews.ru/news/-rossiya-sposobna-potesnit-ssha-na-rynke-postavok-.html>; "Russia Asks Morocco to Cut Wheat Import Tax to 30% by Year End," *UkrAgroConsult*, September 18, 2018, www.blackseagrains.com/net-novosti/russia-asks-morocco-to-cut-wheat-import-tax-to-30-by-year-end.
10. Anatoly Medetsky, "From Russia, With Love: Wheat for Half the World," *Bloomberg*, February 25, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-02-26/with-bread-loaves-and-fish-russia-is-a-food-export-powerhouse>.
11. Russia and Hungary jointly secured a \$1.3 billion deal to build locomotives for Egypt in 2018. See: ["Meeting with the Minister of Transport of the Republic of Angola R. Viegas Abreu,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, November 21, 2018, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/ao/-/asset_publisher/NDuadoS8xEB9/content/id/3419129; "Egypt Inks \$1.2 Billion Rail Infrastructure Development Projects," *Trade Arabia*, September 27, 2018, http://www.tradearabia.com/news/CONS_345670.html.
12. "High-Level Delegation from Libya to Visit Russia to Discuss Railway Projects," *Sputnik*, October 1, 2018, <https://sputniknews.com/business/201810011068476218-libya-russia-delegation-railway/>; "Libya and Russia Viewing Resumption of Railway Projects," *Libyan Express*, October 1, 2018, <https://www.libyanexpress.com/libya-and-russia-viewing-resumption-of-railway-projects/>; ["About the Meeting of the Russian Ambassador to Botswana with the Director of the Botswanan Railroad,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, June, 25, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/bw/-/asset_publisher/IDJdJVKHOew/content/id/3700205.
13. Foreign actors already play a significant role in perpetuating corruption in Africa. See: "Where Are Africa's Billions?" *Transparency International*, July 11, 2019, <https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/where-are-africas-billions>.
14. "Angola," *Transparency International*, Accessed on August 20, 2019, <https://www.transparency.org/country/AGO>.
15. "Conflict Minerals: Information on Artisanal Mined Gold and Efforts to Encourage Responsible Sourcing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," *U.S. Government Accountability Office*, December 2017, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/690/686745.pdf>.
16. "Sergey Ivanov Elected as President of Alrosa," *Rough Polished*, March 14, 2017, <https://www.rough-polished.com/en/news/106169.html>.
17. Tim Lister, Sebastian Shukla, and Clarissa Ward, "Putin's Private Army," *CNN*, Accessed on August 20, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/interactive/2019/08/africa/putins-private-army-car-intl/>; Greg Myre, "Putin's Chef' Has His Fingers in Many Pies, Critics Say," *NPR*, January 30, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/2019/01/30/685622639/putins-chef-has-his-fingers-in-many-pies-critics-say>.
18. Anatoly Medetsky and Dina Khrennikova, "Putin Ally's Bank Becoming a Powerful Force in Russia's Grains Market," *Bloomberg*, July 10, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-07-10/state-bank-vtb-is-fast-grabbing-a-chunk-of-russia-s-grain-riches>; Rinat Sagdiev, "Who Gets the Largest Contracts of Russian Railways," *Vedomosti*, October 2, 2017, <https://www.vedomosti.ru/business/articles/2017/10/02/736069-podryadi-rzhd>.
19. Ben Aris, "Russia's Nuclear Power Exports Are Booming," *IntelliNews*, May 9, 2019, <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/05/09/russias-nuclear-power-exports-are-booming-a65533>; "More Than 40 Cooperation Agreements Were Signed at ATOMEXPO 2019," *Rosatombank*, April 18, 2019, <https://www.rosatom.ru/en/press-centre/news/more-than-40-cooperation-agreements-were-signed-at-atomexpo-2019/>.

20. Darrell Proctor, "Russia Will Help Nigeria Develop Nuclear Plant," *Power Magazine*, July 1, 2018, <https://www.powermag.com/russia-will-help-nigeria-develop-nuclear-plant/>; Wendell Roelf, "Nigeria Signs Rosatom Agreements to Build Nuclear Power Plant," *Reuters*, October 30, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/nigeria-nuclear/nigeria-signs-rosatom-agreements-to-build-nuclear-power-plant-idUSL8N1N55K8>.
21. Rosatom Africa, Facebook, April 15, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/rosatominafrica/photos/a.1477210305895345/2324052287877805/>; ["Signed Roadmap for Establishing Russian-Congolese Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy,"] *Rosatom*, April 16, 2019, https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/respublika-kongo-izuchit-vozmozhnosti-mirnogo-primeneniya-atoma-v-blizhayshe-dva-goda/?sphrase_id=718839; ["Russia and Congo Sign Intergovernmental Agreement on Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy,"] *Rosatom*, May 24, 2019, https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/rossiya-i-kongo-podpisali-mezhpravosoglasenie-o-sotrudnichestve-v-oblasti-ispolzovaniya-atomnoy-ener/?sphrase_id=718839; Rosatom Africa, Facebook, May 29, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/rosatominafrica/photos/a.1477210305895345/2354352411514459/>; ["Russia and Rwanda Signed a Roadmap for Establishing Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy,"] *Rosatom*, May 17, 2019, https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/rossiya-i-ruanda-podpisali-dorozhnyu-kartu-po-nalazhivaniyu-sotrudnichestva-v-oblasti-ispolzovaniya/?sphrase_id=718836; ["On the Signing of the Intergovernmental Agreement on Cooperation in the Use of Atomic Energy for Peaceful Purposes,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, December 6, 2018, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/rw/-/asset_publisher/2hUgQThE3pGk/content/id/3436487; ["Russia and Rwanda Develop Their Cooperation in the Field of the Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy,"] *Rosatom*, December 5, 2018, https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/rossiya-i-ruanda-razvivayut-sotrudnichestvo-v-oblasti-ispolzovaniya-atomnoy-energii-v-mirnykh-tselya/?sphrase_id=718836; ["Infrastructure Minister of the Republic of Rwanda Familiarized Himself with the Advanced Nuclear Technologies of the Novovoronezh NPP,"] *Rosatom*, December 13, 2018, https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/ministr-infrastruktury-respubliki-ruanda-oznakomilsya-s-peredovymi-atomnymi-tehnologiyami-novovoron/?sphrase_id=718836; ["Rosatom and Rwanda Will Develop Cadre Potential and Public Approval for Atomic Energy,"] *Rosatom*, March 1, 2019, https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/rosatom-i-ruanda-budut-razvivat-kadrovyy-potentsial-i-obshchestvennyu-priemlost-atomnoy-energetik/?sphrase_id=718836.
22. "Russia to Supply Radar for Protecting Nuclear Power Plant in Pakistan," *TASS*, August 30, 2018, www.tass.com/defense/1019325.
23. ["MPPs Under Construction,"] *Rosatom*, Accessed on August 20, 2019, https://www.rosatom.ru/production/design/stroyashchiesya-aes/index.php?sphrase_id=720326; "Egypt's Dabaa Nuclear Plant Granted Site Permit," *Rosatom*, April 9, 2019, <https://www.rosatom.ru/en/press-centre/industry-in-media/egypt-s-dabaa-nuclear-plant-granted-site-permit/>; ["TVEL Fuel Company of Rosatom Delivered Nuclear Fuel Components for Research Reactor to Egypt,"] *Rosatom*, January 16, 2019, https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/toplivnaya-kompaniya-rosatoma-tvel-postavila-v-egipet-komponenty-yadernogo-topliva-dlya-issledovatel/?sphrase_id=720331.
24. Namibia contains significant uranium deposits capable of providing one-tenth of the world's total output of uranium. See: Chamwe Kaira, "Russians Rekindle Interest in Nuclear Plant," *Windhoek Observer*, May 26, 2017, <https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/item/8142-russians-rekindle-interest-in-nuclear-plant>; "Uranium in Namibia," *World Nuclear Association*, July 2019, <https://www.world-nuclear.org/information-library/country-profiles/countries-g-n/namibia.aspx>; "Rio Tinto Sells Stake in Rossing Uranium Mine in Namibia," *Mining Technology*, July 16, 2019, <https://www.mining-technology.com/news/rio-tinto-sells-rossing-mine-namibia/>.
25. Rosatom began construction of a nuclear research center to conduct research and promote the use of nuclear energy in Zambia in 2019. See: "Rwanda Set to Establish a Nuclear Power Plant Centre," *Africa Energy Portal*, May 2, 2019, <https://africa-energy-portal.org/news/rwanda-set-establish-nuclear-power-plant-centre>; "Zambia Begins Preparations for Construction of a Nuclear Research Centre in Chongwe," *Lusaka Times*, May 12, 2019, <https://www.lusakatimes.com/2019/05/12/zambia-begins-preparations-for-construction-of-a-nuclear-research-centre-in-chongwe/>; ["Rosatom Will Build Nuclear Science and Technology Center in Zambia,"] *RIA Novosti*, May 15, 2018, <https://ria.ru/20180515/1520620906.html>; ["Rosatom Finished Project on the Estimates of Nuclear Infrastructure in Zambia,"] *Rosatom*, January 22, 2019, <https://rosatom.ru/journalist/news/rosatom-zavershil-proekt-po-otsenke-yadernoy-infrastruktury-v-zambii/>.
26. "'Atoms for Africa': 5th Online Video Contest Announced," *Rosatom*, August 1, 2019, <https://rosatomafrika.com/en/press-centre/news/atoms-for-africa-5th-online-video-contest-announced/>.
27. Gowus Kgabisang, Facebook, September 6, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/vero.kgabey/videos/989316157919943/>; Sophia Jane, Facebook, September 4, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/julia.yusuf.9/videos/1763894663722891/>.
28. "ROSATOM and Rwanda Will Cooperate to Develop Human Capital and Public Acceptance for Nuclear Energy Program in Rwanda," *Rosatom*, March 1, 2019, <https://www.rosatom.ru/en/press-centre/news/rosatom-and-rwanda-will-cooperate-to-develop-human-capital-and-public-acceptance-for-nuclear-energy/>.
29. Rosatom Africa, "Online Webinar: Nuclear & UNSDGs," Facebook, August 1, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/events/707315129711833/>.
30. Tomsk Polytechnic University and the National Research Nuclear University are the primary host institutions. See: "Nuclear Scholarships for African Students, Announced by Rosatom," *ESI Africa*, January 15, 2019, <https://www.esi-africa.com/resources/press-releases/nuclear-scholarships-for-african-students-announced-by-rosatom/>; "Russia's Nuclear Firm Rosatom Offers Scholarships for African Students," *The Citizen*, January 15, 2019, <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/education/2063430/russias-nuclear-firm-rosatom-offers-scholarships-for-african-students/>.
31. "Thousands of Nigerians Apply to Study Nuclear Technology," *ESI Africa*, January 31, 2019, <https://www.esi-africa.com/industry-sectors/research-and-development/thousands-of-nigerians-apply-to-study-nuclear-technology/>.
32. ["The Engineering Division of the State Corporation 'Rosatom' Held the International Conference 'Komanda-2019',"] *Rosatom*, June 5, 2019, https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/inzhiniringovyy-divizion-goskorporatsii-rosatom-provel-mezhdunarodnyu-konferentsiyu-komanda-2019/?sphrase_id=720331.
33. ["Representatives of the University of Tanta (Egypt) Familiarized Themselves with the Training of Nuclear Scientists on the Example of the Beloyarsk NPP,"] *Rosatom*, December 13, 2018, https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/predstaviteli-universiteta-tanty-egipet-oznakomilis-s-podgotovkoy-atomshchikov-na-primere-beloyarsko/?sphrase_id=720331.
34. Nataliya Bugayova, Alexander Begej, and Darina Regio, "Russia's Arctic Expansion," *Institute for the Study of War*, March 27, 2019, <http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russias-arctic-expansion>; Grzegorz Kuczynski, "Mare Nostrum Strategy: Russian Military Activity in the Black Sea," *Warsaw Institute*, March 21, 2019, <https://warsawinstitute.org/mare-nostrum-strategy-russian-military-activity-black-sea/>; Vladimir Isachenkov and Irina Titova, "Putin Outlines Ambitious Arctic Expansion Program," *AP*, April 9, 2019, <https://www.apnews.com/doc2eb39a3b44b40ac8ddb1749e143>; "Russia Says It Will Hold War Games in Mediterranean This Week," *CBS*, August 30, 2018, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/russia-military-naval-presence-mediterranean-us-vladimir-putin-syria-offensive/>.
35. Nataliya Bugayova with Jack Ulises and Chase Johnson, "The Kremlin's Campaign in Africa," *Institute for the Study of War*, October 18, 2018, <http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2018/10/the-kremlins-campaign-in-africa-18.html>.
36. *Ibid.*
37. ["On the Signing of the Agreement Between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt on the Procedure for the Use of Airspace and Aerodrome Infrastructure of the Russian Federation and the Arab Republic of Egypt,"] *Russian State System of Legal Information*, November 30, 2017, <http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001201711300008>; David D. Kirkpatrick, "In Snub to U.S., Russia and Egypt Move Toward Deal on Air Bases," *New York Times*, November 30, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/30/world/middleeast/russia-egypt-air-bases.html>.
38. Darina Regio, "Russia in Review: Africa Campaign Update," *Institute for the Study of War*, July 18, 2019, <http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2019/07/russia-in-review-africa-campaign-update.html>.
39. ["Sudan Estimates the Possibility of Creating a Russian Base on the Red Sea,"] *RIA Novosti*, January 12, 2019, <https://ria.ru/20190112/1549268157.html>.
40. "Sudan Says Russia Could Set Up Military Base on Red Sea," *Sudan Tribune*, January 13, 2019, <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article66908>; "Russia, Sudan Are Discussing Naval Supply Centre, Not Military Base: Diplomat," *Sudan Tribune*, June 10, 2018, <https://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article65611>.

41. "Russia Signs Military Deal with Sudan," *UA Wire*, May 26, 2019, <https://www.uawire.org/russia-signs-military-deal-with-sudan>; Yuri Gavrilo, ["Mission to Africa: Russia Will Send Its Military Experts to Congo,"] *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, May 24, 2019, <https://rg.ru/2019/05/24/rossia-napravit-voennyh-specialistov-v-kongo-i-sudan.html>; ["The Agreement on Military Cooperation Between Russia and Sudan Entered into Force,"] *Red Star*, May 27, 2019, <http://redstar.ru/soglashenie-o-voennom-sotrudnichestve-mezhdu-rossiej-i-sudanom-vstupilo-v-silu>; ["Russia and Sudan Have Signed an Agreement on Military Cooperation,"] *Yandex*, May 24, 2019, https://news.yandex.ru/story/Minoborony_RF_sozdast_predstavitelstvo_pri_voennom_vedomstve_Sudana--285cafb812fa635a08b2f76fb8cd5519.
42. ["On the Meeting of the Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation for the Middle East and African Countries Russian Deputy Foreign Minister M.L. Bogdanov with the Director General of the National Security and Intelligence Service of the Republic of Sudan A. Dambab,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, June 17, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/3686160; ["On the Meeting of the Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation for the Middle East and African Countries Russian Deputy Foreign Minister M.L. Bogdanov with the Head of the Joint Mission of the United Nations and the African Union in Darfur J. Mamabolo,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, July 5, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/3638240; Simon Shuster, "It's Business as Usual for Russians in Sudan, Despite Bashir's Fall," *TIME*, April 12, 2019, <https://time.com/5569355/sudan-bashir-russia-mining/>; James M. Dorsey, "Russia Joins Gulf States in Coaching Sudan's Military," *Lobe Log*, June 13, 2019, <https://lobelog.com/russia-joins-gulf-states-in-coaching-sudans-military/>.
43. Anas El Gomati, "Libya's Civil War: Navigating Its Dangerous New Phase," *War on the Rocks*, July 11, 2019, <https://warontherocks.com/2019/07/libyas-civil-war-navigating-its-dangerous-new-phase/>; Rachael Kennedy, "Why is the World Reluctant to Condemn Khalifa Haftar, Libya's Military Commander?" *Euronews*, July 4, 2019, <https://www.euronews.com/2019/07/04/why-is-the-world-reluctant-to-condemn-khalifa-haftar-libya-s-military-commander>.
44. ["On the Meeting of the Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation for the Middle East and African Countries Russian Deputy Foreign Minister M.L. Bogdanov with the Head of the Tebu National Assembly of Libya Adam El Tibawi,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, July 25, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/ly/-/asset_publisher/wcPZCnhgb1aW/content/id/3739108; ["On the Meeting of the Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation for the Middle East and African Countries Russian Deputy Foreign Minister M.L. Bogdanov with the Delegation of the Chamber of Deputies of the State of Libya,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, July 24, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/ly/-/asset_publisher/wcPZCnhgb1aW/content/id/3737522.
45. "Russia in Talks with Eritrea to Set Up 'Logistics Center' on Red Sea Coast," *RFE/RL*, September 1, 2018, <https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-talks-eritrea-set-up-logistics-center-red-sea-coast-lavrov/29464939.html>.
46. "Russian Senior Diplomat, Eritrea President Discuss Lifting of UNSC Anti-Eritrea Sanctions," *TASS*, October 19, 2018, <https://tass.com/politics/1026946>; "Russia Calls for Lifting Eritrea Sanctions - Lavrov," *TASS*, August 31, 2019, <https://tass.com/politics/1019451>; "Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2444 (2018), Security Council Lifts Sanctions on Eritrea, Renews Arms Embargo Against Somalia," *UN*, November 14, 2018, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2018/sc13576.doc.html>.
47. ["Putin Lifted Sanctions Against Eritrea,"] *Lenta*, July 22, 2019, <https://lenta.ru/news/2019/07/22/eritreya/>.
48. ["Central African Republic Did Not Rule Out the Deployment of a Russian Base,"] *RIA Novosti*, January 10, 2019, <https://ria.ru/20190110/1549168209.html>; "Central African Republic Open to Russian Military Base," *The Moscow Times*, January 10, 2019, <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/01/10/central-african-republic-open-to-russian-military-base-a64091>.
49. Jakob Hedenskog, "Russia Is Stepping Up Its Military Cooperation in Africa," *Swedish Defense Research Agency*, December 2018, <https://www.foi.se/rest-api/report/FOI%20MEMO%206604>; "Factbox: Russian Military Cooperation Deals with African Countries," *Reuters*, October 17, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-africa-russia-factbox/factbox-russian-military-cooperation-deals-with-african-countries-idUSKCN1MR0KH>; "Burundi-Russia Relations 'at the Best Ever', Says the Burundi Foreign Ministry," *Region Week*, December 21, 2018, <https://regionweek.com/burundi-russia-relations-at-the-best-ever-says-the-burundi-foreign-ministry/>; "Strategic Analysis: Russian Business Activity in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Abstract)," *RWR Advisory*, May 17, 2016, <https://www.rwradvisory.com/russian-activity-in-the-democratic-republic-of-congo-abstract/>; Marcel Plichta, "Russia Is Back In Africa - and Making Some Very Odd Deals," *Defense One*, May 22, 2018, <https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/05/russia-back-africa-and-making-some-very-odd-deals/148371/>; Maria Tsvetkova, "Russian Contractors Are Training the Army in Sudan, Says Moscow," *Reuters*, January 23, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-sudan-contractors/russian-contractors-are-training-the-army-in-sudan-says-moscow-idUSKCN1PH23T>; "Russia in Africa: Inside a Military Training Centre in CAR," *Al-Jazeera*, April 14, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/inthefield/2019/04/russia-africa-military-training-centre-car-190411152658162.html>; Frida Ghitis, "What Is Russia Up to Across Africa?" *World Politics Review*, May 2, 2019, <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/27809/what-is-russia-up-to-across-africa>.
50. Maria Tsvetkova and Tom Balmforth, "Russia to Send Military Specialists to Congo Republic - Kremlin," *Reuters*, May 24, 2019, <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-russia-congo-security/russia-to-send-military-specialists-to-congo-republic-kremlin-idUKKCN1SUIOS>.
51. ["Ministry of Internal Affairs Can Train Up to 80 Peacekeeping Policemen from Africa per Year,"] *RIA Novosti*, June 12, 2019, <https://ria.ru/20190612/1555504545.html>.
52. Roman Popkov, ["Closer to Africa: How the Kremlin Is Trying to Gain a Foothold on the 'Black Continent',"] *MBK News*, March 4, 2019, <https://mbk-news.appspot.com/suzhet/blizhe-k-afrike-kak/>.
53. Aza Boukris, ["Russian Military Offensive in Mali,"] *Mondafrique*, July 15, 2019, <https://inosmi.ru/politic/20190715/245462877.html>.
54. "Russia, Sudan Agree to Boost Military Cooperation," *Xinhua*, May 25, 2019, <http://smc.sd/en/russia-sudan-agree-to-boost-military-cooperation/>; "Russia Signs Military Deal with Sudan," *UA Wire*, May 26, 2019, <https://www.uawire.org/russia-signs-military-deal-with-sudan>; "Russia to Help Sudan Upgrade Its Armed Forces," *TASS*, November 23, 2017, <https://tass.com/defense/977087>.
55. "Russia Looks to the Central African Republic to Beef Up Its Arms Sales to Africa," *World Politics Review*, January 10, 2018, <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/trend-lines/23958/russia-looks-to-the-central-african-republic-to-beef-up-its-arms-sales-to-africa>.
56. Jakob Hedenskog, "Russia is Stepping Up Its Military Cooperation in Africa," *Swedish Defense Research Agency*, December 2018, <https://www.foi.se/rest-api/report/FOI%20MEMO%206604>.
57. "Russia Secures \$2Bln Fighter Jet Contract with Egypt - Reports," *The Moscow Times*, March 18, 2019, <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/03/18/russia-secures-2bln-fighter-jet-contract-with-egypt-reports-a64842>.
58. "Sputnik Signs Partnership Agreement with Major Indian News Agency," *Sputnik International*, July 5, 2019, <https://sputniknews.com/agency-news/201905071074782283-sputnik-partnership-india-uni/>; "Montsame and Sputnik Expand Their Cooperation," *Montsame*, September 21, 2017, <https://montsame.com/en/read/131547>; "Global Times Begins Cooperation with Sputnik," *Global Times*, April 19, 2017, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1042165.shtml>; "Sputnik Signs Ist Cooperation Agreement with Pakistani Media," *Sputnik International*, February 25, 2019, <https://sputniknews.com/agency-news/201902251072719508-sputnik-pakistan-nation-cooperation/>; "Sputnik Signs Cooperation Agreement with Palestinian Wafa News Agency," *Sputnik International*, February 14, 2018, <https://sputniknews.com/russia/201802141061634960-sputnik-rt-wafa-pbc-agreement/>.
59. "Where to Watch," *RT*, Accessed August 20, 2019, <https://www.rt.com/where-to-watch/>; "About Us," *Sputnik International*, Accessed August 20, 2019, <https://sputniknews.com/docs/about/index.html>.
60. ["Sputnik Expands in Africa,"] *RIA Novosti*, May 23, 2019, <https://ria.ru/20190523/1554844447.html>.

61. Eri-TV can now stream RT and use its materials to prepare news in local languages. See: "Eritrean Television and Russia Today (RT) Sign Cooperation Agreement," *Eritrean Information Ministry*, May 16, 2019, <http://www.shabait.com/news/local-news/28519-eritrean-television-and-russia-today-rt-sign-cooperation-agreement>; ["Government of Eritrea,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/er/-/asset_publisher/oERgFhVW8L5T/content/id/3644145; "Eritrean Television and Russia Today (RT) Sign Cooperation Agreement," *Chinese Commerce Ministry*, May 16, 2019, <http://english.mofcom.gov.cn/article/newsrelease/counseloroffice/westernasiandafricareport/201905/20190502863438.shtml>; "Eritrean TV (Eri-TV) and Russia Today (RT) Sign Cooperation Agreement," *EastAFRO*, May 14, 2019, <https://www.eastafro.com/2019/05/14/eritrean-tv-eri-tv-and-russia-today-rt-sign-cooperation-agreement>.
62. ["On the Meeting of the Russian Ambassador with the Director General of the Congolese National Broadcasting Corporation," *Russian Foreign Ministry*, December 4, 2018, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cd/-/asset_publisher/gUOLDgYKohRL/content/id/3426743.
63. "Sputnik Widens Its Reach in Africa," *Broadcast Media Africa*, May 24, 2019, <https://broadcastingandmedia.com/news/1951>; "Sputnik Expands Its Presence in Africa," *Sputnik International*, May 23, 2019, <https://sputniknews.com/world/201905231075267658-sputnik-africa-congo/>.
64. "SA News, Sputnik Ink Cooperation Pact," *SA News*, March 7, 2017, <https://www.sanews.gov.za/south-africa/sanews-sputnik-ink-cooperation-pact>.
65. Ilya Barabanov, Svetlana Reuters, Andrew Soshnikov, Andrey Zakharov, and Sergey Goryashko, ["Gold of Prigozhin: What Did Russians Do in the Central African Republic When Journalists Died,"] *BBC*, January 31, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/russian/features-47005604>.
66. ["On a Lecture at the National School of Administration of the DRC as Part of the Celebration of the Fifth Anniversary of the Reunification of Crimea with Russia,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, February 27, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cd/-/asset_publisher/gUOLDgYKohRL/content/id/3547564; ["On the Briefing at the Russian Embassy in Botswana on the Occasion of the Fifth Anniversary of the Reunification of Crimea with Russia,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, March 22, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/bw/-/asset_publisher/IDjdJVKHoewc/content/id/3583063.
67. ["Russian Intelligence Worries Over Canadian Drug Liberals,"] *Lenta*, June 18, 2019, <https://lenta.ru/news/2019/06/18/narkoliberal/>.
68. Emily Estelle, "Seven Years After the Revolution, America Is Still Wrong About Libya," *The Hill*, February 21, 2018, <https://thehill.com/opinion/international/374679-seven-years-after-the-revolution-america-is-still-wrong-about-libya>.
69. ["A Delegation of the National Anti-Drug Union Paid a Working Visit to the Republic of Rwanda,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, May 20, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/rw/-/asset_publisher/2hUgQrhE3pGk/content/id/3653838.
70. ["On the Meeting of the Russian Ambassador with a Representative of the DRC Presidential Administration,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, March 12, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cd/-/asset_publisher/gUOLDgYKohRL/content/id/3566703; ["On the Meeting of the Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation for the Middle East and African Countries Russian Deputy Foreign Minister M.L. Bogdanov with the Special Presidential Envoy from DRC P. Myanda Congo,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, April 4, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cd/-/asset_publisher/gUOLDgYKohRL/content/id/3601908; ["On the Meeting of Russian Ambassador to DRC A.L. Sentebov with the Head of the UNHCR Regional Representative Office,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, January 30, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cd/-/asset_publisher/gUOLDgYKohRL/content/id/3488710.
71. Putin claimed that Russia has developed a vaccine for Ebola in 2016. See: "Russia and Rusal Complete Ebola Vaccinations in Guinea," *Pharmaceutical Technology*, December 14, 2018, <https://www.pharmaceutical-technology.com/news/rusal-ebola-vaccinations-in-guinea/>; "Vladimir Putin Claims Ebola Virus Vaccine Has Been Developed by Russia," *The Guardian*, January 13, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/14/vladimir-putin-claims-ebola-virus-vaccine-has-been-developed-by-russia>; "Russia Creates Powdered Ebola Vaccine for Convenient Transportation," *TASS*, September 20, 2018, <https://tass.com/society/1022452>.
72. "Russia Ready to Start Shipping Revolutionary Ebola Vaccine to DR Congo," *TASS*, July 16, 2019, <https://tass.com/world/1068865>.
73. Frederick W. Kagan, Nataliya Bugayova, and Jennifer Cafarella, "Confronting the Russian Challenge: A New Approach for the U.S.," *Institute for the Study of War*, June 2019, <http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISW%20CTP%20Report%20-%20Confronting%20the%20Russian%20Challenge%20-%20June%202019.pdf>, p. 31
74. "About SADC," *SADC*, Accessed on August 20, 2019, <https://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/>.
75. "Egypt, EAEU Seek Establishing Free Trade Zone," *Reuters*, April 24, 2019, <https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/3/68780/Egypt-EAEU-seek-establishing-free-trade-zone>.
76. Darina Regio, "Russia in Review: Africa Campaign Update," *Institute for the Study of War*, July 18, 2019, <http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2019/07/russia-in-review-africa-campaign-update.html>.
77. *Ibid.*; "African Countries to Take Part in Russian Military Games," *Defence Web*, July 8, 2016, <https://www.defencweb.co.za/joint/diplomacy-a-peace/african-countries-to-take-part-in-russian-military-games/>.
78. ["On the Meeting of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Delegation with the Eritrean Foreign Minister,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, March 4, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/er/-/asset_publisher/oERgFhVW8L5T/content/id/3555658.
79. ["On the Meeting of the Russian Ambassador to DRC with a National Assembly Deputy,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, February 28, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cd/-/asset_publisher/gUOLDgYKohRL/content/id/3549351.
80. ["Syria and Crimea Prepared New Cooperation Agreements,"] *RIA Novosti*, April 19, 2019, <https://ria.ru/20190419/1552848046.html>.
81. "Vyacheslav Volodin: Our Country Is Interested in a Mutually Beneficial Partnership with African Countries," *Russian State Duma*, July 3, 2019, <http://duma.gov.ru/en/news/45563/>.
82. ["On the Meeting of the Russian Ambassador to DRC with a National Assembly Deputy,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, February 28, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cd/-/asset_publisher/gUOLDgYKohRL/content/id/3549351; ["On the Meeting of the Russian Ambassador with the DRC Participants of the Yalta International Economic Forum 2019,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, April 15, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cd/-/asset_publisher/gUOLDgYKohRL/content/id/3614380.
83. ["Libyan Parliamentarians Asking to Remove Restrictions on the Delivery of Weapons for Haftar's Army," *Interfax*, July 2, 2019, <https://www.militarynews.ru/story.asp?rid=1&nid=511852&lang=RU>; "Program of the II International Forum 'Development of Parliamentarism',"] *Russian State Duma*, July 1, 2019, <http://duma.gov.ru/news/45504/>; ["On the Meeting of the Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation for the Middle East and African Countries Russian Deputy Foreign Minister M.L. Bogdanov with the Head of the Tebu National Assembly of Libya Adam El Tibawi,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, July 25, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/ly/-/asset_publisher/wcPZCnhgb1aW/content/id/3739108; ["On the Meeting of the Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation for the Middle East and African Countries Russian Deputy Foreign Minister M.L. Bogdanov with the Delegation of the Chamber of Deputies of the State of Libya,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, July 24, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/ly/-/asset_publisher/wcPZCnhgb1aW/content/id/3737522.
84. Volodin has among other items proposed supporting educating Russian-language teachers from Africa. See: ["State Duma Proposed Legislatively to Support the Training of Russian Teachers from Africa,"] *RT*, July 3, 2019, <https://russian.rt.com/russia/news/646696-afrika-rossiya-obrazovanie>.
85. ["On the Celebration of Diplomatic Worker's Day by the Embassy of Russia in DRC,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, February 14, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cd/-/asset_publisher/gUOLDgYKohRL/content/id/3515861; ["On the Meeting of the Russian Ambassador with the Director General of the Congolese National Administration School,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, February 4, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cd/-/asset_publisher/gUOLDgYKohRL/content/id/3499506; ["On the Meeting of the Russian Ambassador with the Rector of Free University Kinshasa,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, November 11, 2018, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cd/-/asset_publisher/gUOLDgYKohRL/content/id/3394395; ["About the Transfer of Textbooks for Teaching Russian as a Foreign Language to the Higher Institute of International Relations of the Angolan Foreign Ministry,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, December 11, 2018, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/ao/-/asset_publisher/NDuadoS8xEB9/content/id/3499177; ["On the Meeting of the Russian Ambassador to Angola with Leadership of the Association of Angolan Graduates of Soviet and Russian Universities,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, June 21, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/ao/-/asset_publisher/NDuadoS8xEB9/content/id/3696165; ["On the Meeting of the Angolan Ambassador with Students of the National Petroleum Institute,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, February 2, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/ao/-/asset_publisher/NDuadoS8xEB9/content/id/3536137; ["On the Meeting of the Russian Ambassador to Angola with Representatives of Youth Diplomat of the Angolan Foreign Ministry,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, May 23, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/ao/-/asset_publisher/NDuadoS8xEB9/content/id/3657662.

86. ["On the Meeting of the Russian Ambassador to Botswana with Vice-Chancellor of Botswana University D. Norris,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, March 27, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/bw/-/asset_publisher/IDjdVJKH0ewc/content/id/3591823.
87. ["About the Opening of the Russian-Namibian Cultural and Education Center in Windhoek,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, November 15, 2018, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/na/-/asset_publisher/OjINxhDX7Qm6/content/id/3409319.
88. Brayton A. Abbott, "Soviet Involvement in Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol. 17, No. 2 (June 1979), pg. 253 - 269.
89. ["On the Meeting of the Russian Ambassador with the Delegation of the Association of Graduates of Soviet and Russian Universities in DRG,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, April 24, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cd/-/asset_publisher/gUOLDgYKohRL/content/id/3625276; ["On the Reception for Comorian Graduates of Soviet and Russian Universities,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, March 14, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/mg/-/asset_publisher/bkShmBgIz2YG/content/id/3570309.
90. ["Charity Action in a School Located in Ngangula,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, February 20, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/ao/-/asset_publisher/NDuadoS8xEB9/content/id/3533197; ["Humanitarian Action 'Health Fair',"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, June 3, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/ao/-/asset_publisher/NDuadoS8xEB9/content/id/3667000.
91. ["536 People per Seat: Which Universities of St. Petersburg Are Eager to Graduate,"] *Fontanka*, July 31, 2019, <https://www.fontanka.ru/2019/07/31/026/>; ["Economist and Orientalists at the Top: More Than 15,000 Applications for Admission Have Been Submitted to FEFU,"] *Primgazeta*, July 23, 2019, <https://primgazeta.ru/news/ekonomisty-i-vostokovedy-v-tope-bolee-tysyach-zayavlenij-na-postuplenie-podali-v-dfu-23-07-2019-12-03-40>; Maria Agranovich, ["The Call to the Reception Room,"] *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, June 17, 2019, <https://rg.ru/2019/06/17/priem-v-vuzy-2019-na-kakie-specialnosti-pojdut-vypuskniki.html>.
92. ["Sevastopol State University Began the Preparation of Orientalists and Africanists,"] *Noviy Sevastopol*, March 2, 2019, <http://new-sevastopol.com/news/id/29393>.
93. ["In St. Petersburg, Announced the All-Russian Competition for the Project of an Expedition to Africa,"] *TASS*, January 26, 2017, <https://tass.ru/nauka/3975469>.
94. "Young Global Pioneers," *Sberbank*, Accessed on August 20, 2019, <http://youth.sberbank-talents.ru/ygp>.
95. Frederick W. Kagan, Nataliya Bugayova, and Jennifer Cafarella, "Confronting the Russian Challenge: A New Approach for the U.S.," *Institute for the Study of War*, June 2019, <http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISW%20CTP%20Report%20-%20Confronting%20the%20Russian%20Challenge%20-%20June%202019.pdf>.
96. Samer Al-Atrush, Ilya Arkipov, and Henry Meyer, "Libya Uncovers Alleged Russian Plot to Meddle in African Votes," *Bloomberg*, July 5, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-07-05/libya-arrests-two-russians-accused-of-trying-to-influence-vote>.
97. BBC reported that Russians linked to Prigozhin offered money to six presidential candidates in Madagascar - including the individual who eventually won the 2018 Madagascar Presidential Election. See: *BBC*, *Twitter*, April 10, 2019, <https://twitter.com/bbcafrica/status/1115940481324785664>; "Correction: Russian-Libya Story," *AP*, July 6, 2019, <https://www.apnews.com/fe98e80024934ec689dd5d27dba2182a>; "Did Russia Meddle in Madagascar's Election?" *BBC*, April 8, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-africa-47830161/did-russia-meddle-in-madagascar-s-election>; Luke Harding and Jason Burke, "Leaked Documents Reveal Russian Effort To Exert Influence in Africa," *The Guardian*, June 11, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/11/leaked-documents-reveal-russian-effort-to-exert-influence-in-africa>.
98. "Foundation for the Defense of National Values," *Facebook*, Accessed on August 19, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/nationalvalue/>; ["African Discussion Club,"] *Foundation for the Defense of National Values*, Accessed on August 19, 2019, <https://fznc.world/afrikanskij-diskussionnyj-klub/>.
99. ["On the Activities of the Foundation for the Defense of National Values in Sudan,"] *Foundation for the Defense of National Values*, April 25, 2019, <https://fznc.world/nashi-novosti/o-deyatelnosti-fonda-zashchity-natsionalnyh-tsennostej-v-sudane/>.
100. "Russia in Africa: Inside a Military Training Centre in CAR," *Al-Jazeera*, April 14, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/inthefield/2019/04/russia-africa-military-training-centre-car-190411152658162.html>.
101. Luke Harding and Jason Burke, "Leaked Documents Reveal Russian Effort To Exert Influence in Africa," *The Guardian*, June 11, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/11/leaked-documents-reveal-russian-effort-to-exert-influence-in-africa>.
102. Ruptly, "Angola: Lavrov Defends Principle 'African Solutions to African Problems'," *YouTube*, March 5, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fT02OuT89hM>.
103. "Nuclear Scholarships for African Students, Announced by Rosatom," *ESI Africa*, January 15, 2019, <https://www.esi-africa.com/resources/press-releases/nuclear-scholarships-for-african-students-announced-by-rosatom/>.
104. ["On Admission for Comorian Graduates of Soviet and Russian Universities,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, March 14, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/mg/-/asset_publisher/bkShmBgIz2YG/content/id/3570309; ["Why Russia Needs Africa,"] *Vesti*, May 25, 2019, <https://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=3150996>.
105. Elise Thomas, "Russian Trolls Are Staging a Takeover in Africa - With Help from Mercenaries," *Daily Beast*, March 23, 2019, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/veygheny-prigozhins-russian-trolls-are-staging-a-takeover-in-the-central-african-republic-with-help-from-his-wagner-mercenaries>; Romina McGuinness, "France Warning: Russian Mercenaries Plotting in Africa - 'We Know You!'," *The Express*, January 25, 2019, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1077916/france-news-russia-CAF-russian-trolls-africa>.
106. "African Continental Free Trade Area: A New Horizon for Trade in Africa," *Council on Foreign Relations*, June 10, 2019, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/african-continental-free-trade-area-new-horizon-trade-africa>; ["EEU Is Planning to Sign Memorandum of Cooperation with the African Union at the Russia-Africa Summit,"] *TASS*, June 7, 2019, <https://tass.ru/ekonomika/6523630>; Frederick W. Kagan, Nataliya Bugayova, and Jennifer Cafarella, "Confronting the Russian Challenge: A New Approach for the U.S.," *Institute for the Study of War*, June 2019, <http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISW%20CTP%20Report%20-%20Confronting%20the%20Russian%20Challenge%20-%20June%202019.pdf>, p. 30.
107. Katherine Zimmerman, "Road to the Caliphate: The Salafi-Jihadi Movement's Strengths," *Critical Threats Project at AEI*, June 2019, <http://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Road-to-the-Caliphate.pdf>.
108. Photo Credit: ["Mikhail Leonidovich Bogdanov,"] *Digital Image*, August 20, 2019, Accessed on *Russian Foreign Ministry*, http://www.mid.ru/ru/about/structure/deputy_ministers/-/asset_publisher/7AT17IymWZWQ/content/id/647875.
109. ["Mikhail Leonidovich Bogdanov,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, Accessed on August 20, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/about/structure/deputy_ministers/-/asset_publisher/7AT17IymWZWQ/content/id/647875.
110. ["About the Meeting Between Deputy Foreign Minister Bogdanov and Speaker of the National Assembly of Zambia Matibini,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, April 17, 2018, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/zm/-/asset_publisher/8RBVbnrTDULG/content/id/3174872.
111. Photo Credit: ["Patrushev, Nikolai Platonovich,"] *Digital Image*, December 1, 2016, Accessed on *Wikimedia Commons*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Patrushev_NP.jpg.
112. ["Nikolai Platonovich Patrushev - Secretary of the Security Council of the Russian Federation,"] *Russian Security Council*, Accessed on August 20, 2019, <http://www.scrf.gov.ru/about/leadership/person8/>.
113. Ivan Yegorov, ["They Exchanged Their Views,"] *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, June 27, 2018, <https://rg.ru/2018/06/27/patrushev-privez-v-afriku-poslanie-ot-vladimira-putina.html>; "Sisi Meets Russian Security Council Secretary," *Egypt Today*, January 29, 2019, <https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/1/64031/Sisi-meets-Russian-Security-Council-secretary>.
114. ["Secure Conversations,"] *Kommersant*, June 20, 2019, <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/4005772>; ["Representatives from More Than 100 Countries Gather for the Security Forum in Ufa,"] *TASS*, June 17, 2019, <https://tass.ru/politika/6560061>.
115. Photo Credit: ["Dmitri Nikolayevich Patrushev,"] *Digital Image*, August 20, 2019, Accessed on *Government of the Russian Federation*, <http://government.ru/gov/persons/544/events/>.
116. ["Dmitri Nikolayevich Patrushev,"] *Government of the Russian Federation*, <http://government.ru/gov/persons/544/events/>; Vyacheslav Polovinko and Tatiana Vasilchuk, ["Patrushev Was Sent Out for Potatoes,"] *Novaya Gazeta*, May 18, 2018, <https://www.novayagazeta.ru/articles/2018/05/18/76515-patrusheva-otpravili-na-kartoshku>.

117. ["Putin and Ramaposa Signed a Joint Declaration on the Strategic Partnership of Russia and South Africa,"] TASS, July 26, 2018, <https://tass.ru/politika/5406336>; ["Russia and Morocco's Agricultural Trade Grows,"] *Ekonomika Sevodnya*, October 4, 2018, <https://rueconomics.ru/353288-rossiya-i-marokko-dobilis-rosta-torgovli-selkhozprodukcii>.
118. Photo Credit: ["Volodin Vyacheslav Volodin,"] Digital Image, August 20, 2019, Accessed on *Russian State Duma*, <http://duma.gov.ru/duma/persons/99100829/news/>.
119. ["Volodin Vyacheslav Volodin,"] *Russian State Duma*, Accessed on August 20, 2019, <http://duma.gov.ru/duma/persons/99100829/news/>.
120. ["Ethiopian and Zimbabwean Parliaments Thanked Russia for Its Support,"] TASS, July 2, 2019, <https://tass.ru/politika/6623122>; ["Duma and Parliament of Libya Discussed Creating a Commission of Cooperation,"] *RIA Novosti*, <https://ria.ru/20181219/1547949385.html>.
121. ["Volodin Proposed to Provide Legislation to Support Russian Language Programs in Africa,"] *Parliamentskaya Gazeta*, July 3, 2019, <https://www.pnp.ru/politics/spiker-gosdumy-predlozhit-zakonodatelno-obespechit-podderzhku-programm-russkogo-yazyka-v-afrike.html>.
122. Photo Credit: ["Ushakov Yuri Viktorovich,"] Digital Image, August 20, 2019, Accessed on *Russian Presidency*, <http://kremlin.ru/catalog/persons/305/biography>.
123. ["Ushakov Yuri Viktorovich,"] *Russian Presidency*, Accessed on August 20, 2019, <http://kremlin.ru/catalog/persons/305/biography>.
124. ["Ushakov Will Head the Organizing Committee for the Preparation and Holding of the Russia-Africa Summit in 2019,"] TASS, February 25, 2019, <https://tass.ru/politika/6156926>.
125. Greg Myre, "'Putin's Chef' Has His Fingers in Many Pies, Critics Say," *NPR*, January 30, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/2019/01/30/685622639/putins-chef-has-his-fingers-in-many-pies-critics-say>.
126. Ilya Rozhdvestvenskiy and Roman Badanin, "Master and Chef: How Evgeny Prigozhin Led the Russian Offensive in Africa," *Proekt Media*, March 14, 2019, <https://www.proekt.media/investigation/evgeny-prigozhin-afrika/>; Greg Myre, "'Putin's Chef' Has His Fingers in Many Pies, Critics Say," *NPR*, January 30, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/2019/01/30/685622639/putins-chef-has-his-fingers-in-many-pies-critics-say>; "Grand Jury Indicts Thirteen Russian Individuals and Three Russian Companies for Scheme to Interfere in the United States Political System," *U.S. Department of Justice*, February 16, 2018, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/grand-jury-indicts-thirteen-russian-individuals-and-three-russian-companies-scheme-interfere>.
127. Aleksandr Boyko, ["How 'Komsomolka' Correspondent Got a Job in the Private Military Company,"] *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, November 13, 2018, <https://www.kp.ru/daily/26907/3952698/>; Maria Tsvetkova, "Exclusive: Russian Private Security Firm Says It Had Armed Men in East Libya," *Reuters*, March 10, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-libya-contractors/exclusive-russian-private-security-firm-says-it-had-armed-men-in-east-libya-idUSKBN16H2DM>.
128. Jamie Dettmer, ["Documents Found on Wagner Group Activities in Africa,"] *Voice of America*, June 12, 2019, <https://www.golos-ameriki.ru/a/cn-russia-afrika-influence/4956472.html>; ["Wagner PMC 'Owner' Suspected of Helping Ousted President,"] *Lenta*, April 25, 2019, <https://lenta.ru/news/2019/04/25/sudan/>; ["Libyan Field Marshal Haftar Ordered the Army to Advance on Tripoli,"] *BBC*, April 4, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/russian/news-47820787>.
129. Tim Lister, Mary Ilyushina, and Sebastian Shukla, "Murdered Chasing Mercenaries," *CNN*, August 4, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/08/04/afrika/russia-journalists-car-intl/index.html>; ["The Instructor Sotov Exists, the Gendarme Kotofio Too'. Valery Zakharov Commented on a Private Investigation into the Murder of Journalists in Central Africa,"] *Fontanka*, January 22, 2019, <https://www.fontanka.ru/2019/01/22/048/>.
130. Florian Elabdi, "Putin's Man in the Central African Republic: Is Valery Zakharov at the Heart of Russian Skulduggery?" *Daily Beast*, December 17, 2018, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/putins-man-in-the-central-african-republic-is-valery-zakharov-at-the-heart-of-russian-skulduggery>.
131. ["About Us,"] *Foundation for the Defense of National Values*, Accessed on August 20, 2019, <https://fznc.world/o-nas/>; "Treasury Targets Russian Operatives Over Election Interference, World Anti-Doping Agency Hacking, and Other Malign Activities," *U.S. Treasury Department*, December 19, 2018, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm577>.
132. ["On the Activities of the Foundation for the Defense of National Values in Sudan,"] *Foundation for the Defense of National Values*, April 25, 2019, <https://fznc.world/nashi-novosti/o-deyatelnosti-fonda-zashhity-natsionalnyh-tsennostej-v-sudane/>; "Treasury Targets Russian Operatives Over Election Interference, World Anti-Doping Agency Hacking, and Other Malign Activities," *U.S. Treasury Department*, December 19, 2018, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm577>; ["Foundation for the Defense of National Values,"] *Facebook*, Accessed on August 19, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/nationalvalue/>; Samer Al-Atrush, Ilya Arkhipov, and Henry Meyer, "Libya Uncovers Alleged Russian Plot to Meddle in African Votes," *Bloomberg*, July 5, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-07-05/libya-arrests-two-russians-accused-of-trying-to-influence-vote>.
133. Photo Credit: ["Alexander Alexandrovich Malkevich,"] Digital Image, March 4, 2019, Accessed on *Wikimedia Commons*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alexander_Malkevich_2019.jpg.
134. Samer Al-Atrush, Ilya Arkhipov, and Henry Meyer, "Libya Uncovers Alleged Russian Plot to Meddle in African Votes," *Bloomberg*, July 5, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-07-05/libya-arrests-two-russians-accused-of-trying-to-influence-vote>.
135. Amy Mackinnon, "The Evolution of a Russian Troll," *Foreign Policy*, July 10, 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/10/the-evolution-of-a-russian-troll-russia-libya-detained-tripoli/>.
136. Photo Credit: "Maxim Shugaley," Digital Image, March 14, 2019, Accessed on *Proekt Media*, <https://www.proekt.media/investigation/evgeny-prigozhin-afrika/>.
137. Ilya Rozhdvestvenskiy and Roman Badanin, "Master and Chef: How Evgeny Prigozhin Led the Russian Offensive in Africa," *Proekt Media*, March 14, 2019, <https://www.proekt.media/investigation/evgeny-prigozhin-afrika/>; ["In Libya, Two Employees of the Russian NGO 'Foundation for the Defense of National Values' Were Detained,"] TASS, July 5, 2019, <https://tass.ru/proisshestiya/6635893>.
138. "Did Russia Meddle in Madagascar's Election?" *BBC*, April 8, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-africa-47830161/did-russia-meddle-in-madagascar-s-election>.
139. Samer Al-Atrush, Ilya Arkhipov, and Henry Meyer, "Libya Uncovers Alleged Russian Plot to Meddle in African Votes," *Bloomberg*, July 5, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-07-05/libya-arrests-two-russians-accused-of-trying-to-influence-vote>.
140. Photo Credit: ["Rosatom Logo,"] Digital Image, August 19, 2019, Accessed on *Rosatom*, <https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/style/>.
141. ["Rosatom - International Network,"] *Rosatom*, Accessed on August 19, 2019 <https://www.rosatom.ru/about-nuclear-industry/global-presence/rusatom-international-network/>.
142. Rosatom Africa, *Facebook*, Accessed on August 19, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/rosatominafrica/>; "Nuclear Scholarships for African Students Announced by Rosatom," *ESI Africa*, January 15, 2019, <https://www.esi-africa.com/resources/press-releases/nuclear-scholarships-for-african-students-announced-by-rosatom/>; Brian Sokutu, "Russia's Nuclear Firm Rosatom Offers Scholarships for African Students," *The Citizen*, January 1, 2019, <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/education/2063430/russias-nuclear-firm-rosatom-offers-scholarships-for-african-students/>.

143. ["Signed Roadmap for Establishing Russian-Congolese Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy,"] *Rosatom*, April 16, 2019, https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/respublika-kongo-izuchit-vozmozhnosti-mirnogo-primeneniya-atoma-v-blizhayshe-dva-goda/?sphrase_id=718839; ["Russia and Congo Sign Intergovernmental Agreement on Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy,"] *Rosatom*, May 24, 2019, https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/rossiya-i-kongo-podpisali-mezhpravosoglasenie-o-sotrudnichestve-v-oblasti-ispolzovaniya-atomnoy-ener/?sphrase_id=718839; ["Rosatom Completed Nuclear Infrastructure Assessment Project in Zambia,"] *Rosatom*, January 22, 2019, https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/rosatom-zavershil-proekt-po-otsenke-yadernoy-infrastruktury-v-zambii/?sphrase_id=720387; ["Russia and Rwanda Will Develop Personnel Potential and Social Acceptability of Nuclear Energy,"] *Rosatom*, March 1, 2019, <https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/rosatom-i-ruanda-budet-razvivat-kadrovyy-potentsial-i-obshchestvennyu-priemlemost-atomnoy-energetiki/>; ["Russia and Ethiopia Signed Roadmap for Joint Nuclear Projects,"] *RIA Novosti*, April 15, 2019, <https://ria.ru/20190415/1552703926.html>; ["Rosatom Signed a Contract for the Supply of Equipment for Hydropower in South Africa,"] *Rosatom*, January 29, 2018, <https://www.rosatom.ru/journalist/news/rosatom-podpisal-kontrakt-na-postavku-oborudovaniya-dlya-gidroenergetiki-yuar/>; "Nigeria Engages Rosatom on Nuclear Development," *ESI Africa*, June 11, 2019, <https://www.power-eng.com/articles/2019/06/nigeria-engages-rosatom-on-nuclear-development.html>; ["Rosatom Will Freeze the Uranium Project in Tanzania for at Least Three Years,"] *RBC*, July 5, 2017, <https://www.rbc.ru/business/05/07/2017/595cd44b9a79474ed772a51>.
144. "The Team," *Rosatom Africa*, Accessed on August 19, 2019, <https://rosatomafrica.com/en/regional-office/the-team/>.
145. "Could Russia Solve Africa's Electricity Shortage?" *BBC*, May 20, 2019, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p079pwqc>; "Nigeria Engages Rosatom on Nuclear Development," *ESI Africa*, June 11, 2019, <https://www.power-eng.com/articles/2019/06/nigeria-engages-rosatom-on-nuclear-development.html>.
146. Photo Credit: ["Alrosa Logo,"] Digital Image, August 19, 2019, Accessed on *Alrosa*, <http://www.alrosa.ru/>.
147. ["About Us,"] *Alrosa*, Accessed on August 19, 2019, <http://www.alrosa.ru/%D0%BE-%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%81/>.
148. ["Alrosa' Plans to Expand Its Presence in Africa,"] *Vesti*, March 18, 2019, <https://www.vestifinance.ru/articles/116397>. "Alrosa and Endiama Signed a Memorandum of Understanding," *Alrosa*, April 4, 2019, <http://eng.alrosa.ru/alrosa-and-endiama-signed-a-memorandum-of-understanding/>.
149. Kevin Samaita, "Alrosa Invests \$12m in Diamond Exploration in Zimbabwe," *Business Live*, July 16, 2019, <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/world/africa/2019-07-16-alrosa-invests-12m-in-diamond-exploration-in-zimbabwe/>; Andrei Vadenko, ["Sergey Ivanov - Son: About Himself, Family, Father, and Alrosa,"] *YK Times*, June 14, 2018, <http://www.yktimes.ru/glavnoe/sergey-ivanov-syn-o-sebe-seme-ottse-i-alrosa/>.
150. Photo Credit: ["Rosgeologia: Russian Geological Holding,"] Digital Image, August 19, 2019, Accessed on *Sudostroenie*, <https://sudostroenie.cinforpredpriyatija/1198.html>.
151. ["About the Company,"] *Rosgeologia*, Accessed on August 19, 2019, <https://www.rosgeo.com/ru/content/o-kompanii>.
152. ["Russia and Sudan Agree on the Development of 'Block 15' on Red Sea Shelf,"] *RIA Novosti*, July 23, 2018, <https://ria.ru/20180723/1525168506.html>.
153. ["Rosgeologia Builds Up Contract Base in South Africa,"] *Rosgeologia*, July 27, 2018, <https://www.rosgeo.com/ru/content/rosgeologiya-narashchivaet-kontraktynuyu-bazu-v-yuzhnoy-afrike>.
154. ["Rosgeologia Deepens its Cooperation with Algeria,"] *Rosgeologia*, July 11, 2018, <https://www.rosgeo.com/ru/content/rosgeologiya-ukreplyaet-sotrudnichestvo-s-alzhirom/>; ["Rosgeologia Continues to Develop Cooperation with Countries in Southern Africa,"] *Rosgeologia*, April 20, 2016, <http://www.rosgeo.com/ru/content/rosgeologiya-prodolzhaet-razvivat-sotrudnichestvo-so-stranami-yuzhnoy-afrike>.
155. Photo Credit: "Rostec Logo,"] Digital Image, December 27, 2012, Accessed on *Wikimedia Commons*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rostec_logo.jpg.
156. ["About the Company,"] *Rostec*, Accessed on August 19, 2019, <https://rostec.ru/about/>.
157. ["Russia Will Mine Platinum in Africa and Build a Refinery,"] *Polit Navigator*, April 7, 2015, <https://www.politnavigator.net/rossiya-budet-dobyvat-v-afrike-platinu-i-stroit-npz.html>.
158. Photo Credit: "Rosneft,"] Digital Image, May 20, 2017, Accessed on *Wikimedia Commons*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rosneft_201x_logo.svg.
159. "Rosneft at a Glance," *Rosneft*, Accessed on August 19, 2019, https://www.rosneft.com/about/Rosneft_today/.
160. Manuel Mucari, Alexander Winning, and Mark Potter, "Mozambique Signs Oil Exploration Agreements with Exxon, Rosneft," *Reuters*, October 8, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mozambique-oil/mozambique-signs-oil-exploration-agreements-with-exxon-rosneft-idUSKCN1M1YJ>; Nataliya Bugayova, Jack Ulises, and Chase Johnson, "The Kremlin's Campaign in Africa," *Institute for the Study of War*, October 18, 2018, http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2018/10/the-kremlins-campaign-in-africa_18.html.
161. "Rosneft and Oranto Petroleum Look into Potential Cooperation in Africa," *Rosneft*, May 25, 2018, <https://www.rosneft.com/press/releases/item/191097/>; Huseyin Erdogan, "Rosneft, Oranto to Cooperate on Energy Projects in Africa," *Anadolu Agency*, May 26, 2018, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/natural-gas/rosneft-oranto-to-cooperate-on-energy-projects-in-africa/2019>; Andrew Osborn, "Rosneft Signs Deals on Energy Supplies with Ghana, Mongolia," *Reuters*, May 25, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-economy-forum-deals/rosneft-signs-deals-on-energy-supplies-with-ghana-mongolia-idUSKCN1I1Q19E>.
162. Photo Credit: "Rusal Logo,"] Digital Image, November 22, 2009, Accessed on *Wikimedia Commons*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:RUSAL_en.svg.
163. ["Geography of Rusal,"] *Rusal*, Accessed on August 19, 2019, <https://rusal.ru/about/geography/>; Edward McAllister and Polina Devitt, "Sanctions-Hit Rusal Restarts Alumina Refinery in Guinea," *Reuters*, June 21, 2018, <https://af.reuters.com/article/investingNews/idAFKBN1JH0W9-OZABS>; ["Nigeria and Rusal Settle Dispute over Alcon Plant,"] *Vesti*, February 1, 2018, <https://www.vestifinance.ru/articles/97142>.
164. ["Russian Health Ministry and Rusal Complete Ebola Vaccination for Guinea,"] *Russian Health Ministry*, December 13, 2018, <https://www.rosminzdrav.ru/news/2018/12/13/10167-minzdrav-rossii-i-rusal-zavershili-vaktsinatsiyu-rossiyskim-preparatom-ot-lihoradki-ebola-v-gvinee>.
165. "Vladimir Putin Claims Ebola Virus Vaccine Has Been Developed by Russia," *The Guardian*, January 13, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/14/vladimir-putin-claims-ebola-virus-vaccine-has-been-developed-by-russia>; "Russia Creates Powdered Ebola Vaccine for Convenient Transportation," *TASS*, September 20, 2018, <https://tass.com/society/1022452>; ["Russian Health Ministry and Rusal Complete Ebola Vaccination for Guinea,"] *Russian Health Ministry*, December 13, 2018, <https://www.rosminzdrav.ru/news/2018/12/13/10167-minzdrav-rossii-i-rusal-zavershili-vaktsinatsiyu-rossiyskim-preparatom-ot-lihoradki-ebola-v-gvinee>.
166. Photo Credit: "Russia Today Logo,"] Digital Image, 2010, Accessed on *Wikimedia Commons*, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Russia-today-logo.svg>; Photo Credit: "Sputnik Logo,"] Digital Image, 2014, Accessed on *Wikimedia Commons*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sputnik_logo.svg.
167. "About RT," *RT*, Accessed on August 19, 2019, <https://www.rt.com/about-us/>; ["How Russia Today Works: What We Found Out from the Documents About the Registration of the Channel as a 'Foreign Agent' in the USA,"] *Komanda 29*, November 14, 2017, <https://team29.org/story/russiayesterday/>; "About Us," *Sputnik International*, Accessed on August 19, 2019, <https://sputniknews.com/docs/about/index.html>.
168. "Concerning the Program Equipment of Eritrean Channel Eri-TV,"] *Russian Foreign Ministry*, May 14, 2019, http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/er/-/asset_publisher/oERgFhVW8L5T/content/id/3644145.
169. ["Sputnik Grew Its Presence in Africa,"] *RIA Novosti*, August 17, 2019, <https://ria.ru/20190812/1557422851.html>.



1400 16TH STREET NW, SUITE 515
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

understandingwar.org | 202.293.5550