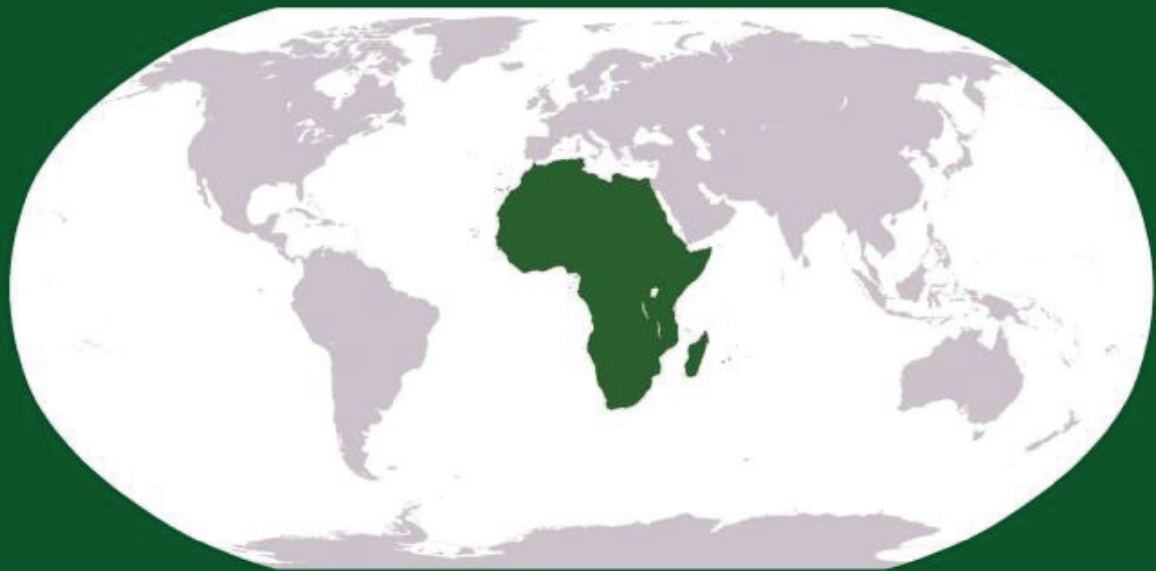
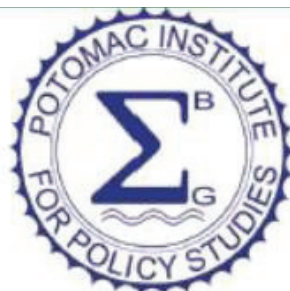


The Current Security Challenges in Africa



October 2014

INTER-UNIVERSITY CENTER
FOR
TERRORISM
STUDIES



AT THE
INTERNATIONAL
LAW INSTITUTE

THE INTER-UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR TERRORISM STUDIES

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Introduction

Ebola & Extremism: Rising Security Threats from Natural & Man-made Challenges in Africa

Professor Yonah Alexander

Director, Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies

Two major security challenges are facing contemporary societies in Africa and elsewhere. The first stems from natural disasters, and the second is from calamities caused by man-made actions. More specifically, “mother nature’s” profound impact on Africa’s security ranges from earthquakes to famine to infectious disease epidemics.

Ebola Virus

The current Ebola crisis in West Africa presents a stark public health emergency challenge that has grave implications for national, regional, and global stability and social and economic development.

According to a report released in mid-October 2014 by the Geneva-based World Health Organization (WHO), a specialized agency of the United Nations (U.N.), the Ebola outbreak has already resulted in more than 4,500 deaths out of 9,000 registered cases in seven countries in Africa and beyond. To date, the worst-affected countries have been Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone. In Liberia, some 4,076 cases have been recorded, resulting in 2,316 deaths, and the rampant deadly virus has caused unprecedented fear and extreme anxiety over public safety and well-being of the country.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the President of Liberia, in an effort to combat Ebola’s spread, proposed imposing restrictions on public gatherings and movements, even though taking such a legal action raised objections from lawmakers who argued it would turn Liberia into a “police state.”

In addition to the widespread transmission of Ebola in the three West African countries, mention should be made of the epidemic’s more limited impact on Nigeria, where eight deaths have been reported. Localized transmission of Ebola has also touched the United States. Thomas Eric Duncan, a traveler from Liberia, died at a Dallas hospital as the result of an infection that originated in the West African nation. This “wake-up” call led the U.S. Federal Government to begin screening passengers for Ebola at several major American airports.

Although some Members of Congress have called for sealing off U.S. borders to visitors from those West African countries affected by Ebola, President Barack Obama has warned that taking such a step “would actually make the situation even worse.” Instead, the President asserted that “we can’t give in to hysteria and fear.” As one domestic response, the U.S. Department of Defense created a team of experts that will provide support to state authorities if new Ebola cases emerge in the U.S. To combat the virus at its source, Washington has also dispatched some 3,000 military and medical personnel to infected West African countries to build treatment centers and train local staff to handle the rising caseload of victims.

Despite the initial American and international efforts, the contagion of alarm is spreading elsewhere. The infection of a nurse's aide in Spain and the death of a U.N. worker while receiving treatment in Germany has shaken Europe. The menacing virus may have even reached Latin America where an African refugee in Brazil was suspected of having Ebola.

To address this growing global public health emergency, some partial intergovernmental responses have been undertaken by the U.N. and WHO. What is urgently needed, however, is a comprehensive international "Marshall plan-type" effort in West Africa that could stop the Ebola virus at its epicenter, prevent its spread more broadly, and contribute to a safer, healthier world.

This ongoing natural disaster, gravely manifested by Ebola's growing regional and global health threat, arises in a part of the world that has suffered from chronic instability and underdevelopment, conditions that have also given rise to serious man-made threats, including crime, piracy, terrorism, insurgency, and war. Like the Ebola virus, the potential implications of these man-made threats are both regional and global.

Militant Extremism

Indeed, since 9/11, a disturbing trend of security challenges with global reach has emerged in the Maghreb, Sahel, and other territories in Africa. It has been brutally demonstrated by the escalation in violent attacks mounted by a broad range of lawless transnational militant groups, ranging from Mali to Somalia and beyond. These perpetrators, motivated by ethnic, racial, religious, tribal, and national ideologies, include an expanding array of extremist groups and their associates, such as al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Boko Haram, Ansaru, Ansar Dine, Ansar Al-Sharia, the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MJUAO), al-Mourabitoun, the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MLNA) and al-Shabaab.

It is of particularly ominous concern, to the region as well as global community, that these extremist political and social entities are becoming increasingly linked, formally or informally, as a "holy alliance" of "like-minded" movements as well as "strange bedfellows," which is operating across a widening "arc of instability" that extends from the Atlantic to the Red Sea and beyond, into the Middle East and Asia.

During the summer and fall 2014, the security environment in this "arc of instability" continued a pattern of regional deterioration and increasing global threat. In Mali, 19 months since jihadists extremist were ousted by French forces in the north, they declared their return with escalating attacks on U.N. peacekeepers from Chad and Niger. Clashes in Libya between different radical and political factions, the worst fighting since the fall of Muammar Gadhafi in 2011, has spread anarchy and raised fears that the country may become a failed state evolving into an all-out civil war.

Boko Haram ("western education is sacrilege") in Nigeria abducted more than 200 schoolgirls and has driven tens of thousands of people from their homes in the northeast as its capture and hold on territories intensifies. In the Central African Republic, clashes are escalating between civilian militias and Muslim rebels. And fresh violence in South Sudan is dragging the

youngest country on the continent closer to a humanitarian catastrophe, already displacing more than a million people.

Moreover, of growing concern for African security interests are the increasing links and flow of recruits between regional extremists and the so-called “Islamic State” (also known as ISIS and ISIL) in Syria and Iraq, as well as various al-Qaida affiliates and allies across the region. For instance, in Algeria, Gouri Abdelmalek (or Khaled Abu Suleimane), the leader of a splinter group of AQIM, has sworn loyalty to the “Islamic State.” In Morocco, a French recruiter, associated with Jabhat al-Nusra in Syria and Ansar al-Sharia in Libya, has been arrested by government security services. And a spokesman for the “Islamic State” called on fighters in the Sinai to mount operations against Egypt’s security forces: “Rig the roads with explosives for them. Attack their bases. Raid their homes. Cut off their heads. Do not let them feel secure”(1).

In the face of the expansion of militant extremism in the region, the African Union Peace and Security Council Summit on Terrorism met in September 2014 in Nairobi and proposed creating a special fund to combat this trend. The Summit concluded that the lack of a collective approach in confronting the challenge had increased regional vulnerability.

Research on Africa Security

To be sure, these and related security concerns in Africa are not new. Academic interest in understanding the root causes of man-made challenges reaches back to the 1960’s and subsequent decades. More specifically, the Institute for Studies in International Terrorism (ISIT), initially administered by the State University of New York system, in collaboration with educational bodies in the US and abroad, conducted academic work dealing with Africa’s security concerns and their global implications. For instance, in the late 1970’s early 1980’s ISIT, in cooperation with the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., the Institute for Social and Behavioral Pathology at the University of Chicago, and the University of Abadan in Nigeria, was awarded a Rockefeller Foundation grant to scholars from around the world to conduct a cooperative study on exploring solutions to conflicts in Africa and elsewhere. This project resulted in the publication of a book, “International Violence,” co-edited by Tunde Adeniran and Yonah Alexander (Praeger 1983).

Since that early academic effort, numerous seminars, conferences, and publications have been undertaken by the Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies (IUCTS), a consortium of universities and think tanks in more than 40 countries. This entity was subsequently administered by the Terrorism Studies program at George Washington University, and for the past 15 years by the International Center for Terrorism Studies (ICTS) at the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies in Arlington, VA and the Inter-University Center for Legal Studies (IUCLS) at the International Law Institute (ILI) in Washington, D.C.

Two academic reports are noteworthy. The first, “Why the Maghreb Matters: Threats Opportunities & Options for Effective U.S. Engagement in North Africa,” was published by the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies and Conflict Management Program at The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies on March 31, 2009. This initial study was guided by a bipartisan panel of experts, including former Secretary of State Madeline Albright,

General (Ret.) Wesley Clark, Ambassador (Ret.) Stuart Eizenstat, Professor William Zartman, and other distinguished former officials and academics. The panel recommended more effective engagement in the region to prevent the brewing security crisis from erupting in the region and beyond.

More recently a study entitled, “Terrorism in North Africa and the Sahel in 2013,” published in January 2014 by IUCTS, represents the Fifth Annual Report focusing on terrorist threats in the Maghreb—Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia—as well as adjacent areas of the Sahel—Chad, Mali, Niger—and their strategic security implications regionally and globally. This report concluded that watching the trends in Africa leads one to be quite pessimistic about the short-term future. We are definitely engaged in a generational and socio-cultural conflict that is afflicting the global community and has consequences beyond any country’s borders. Focusing more attention on the region will enable the seeds of conflict resolution, political accommodation, economic and social development, and national reconciliation to emerge and reduce the forces of instability and chaos. These solutions, to be sustainable and effective, require an integration of international and local resolve and resources. Without an effective menu of responses to the challenges of terrorism and instability, the impact will only continue to grow as a threat to the global community.

New Report

The new report, “The Current Security Challenges in Africa,” represents the views of several ambassadors from the region who participated at two seminars organized by the IUCTS in cooperation with the ICTS, and IUCLS. Ambassador Mohamed M. Tawfik Embassy of Egypt, Ambassador Rachad Bouhlal (Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco), and Ambassador (Ret.) Al Maamoun Baba Lamine Keita (Former Ambassador of the Republic of Mali) made presentations at the 16th Annual Event on “International Cooperation in Combating Terrorism: Review of 2013 and Outlook for 2014” that was held at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. on January 24, 2014. Ambassador Keita also participated with Ambassador Maowia Khalid (Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of the Sudan) and Ambassador Jean Kamau (Interim Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of Kenya) at the Ambassador’s forum held at Potomac Institute for Policy Studies on March 27, 2014.

The sponsoring institutions are grateful to the Ambassadors for their extraordinary contributions to our academic work. Acknowledgements are also due to our research team Christopher Hartnett (George Washington University), Susanna Seltzer (Carnegie Mellon University), Addison Winger (University of Wisconsin-Madison), and Vijay Randhawa (George Mason University). Their work was coordinated by Sharon Layani (University of Michigan), Uri Lerner (American University), and David Daoud (Suffolk University Law School). Mary Ann Culver (Potomac Institute for Policy Studies) and Reed Culver (technical advisor) also provided useful support in producing this report.

U.S.-Africa Leaders Summit and New Academic Program

Finally, it should be mentioned that in view of the U.S.-Africa Leaders Summit held on August 4-6, 2014, in Washington, D.C., the Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies has

decided to initiate a new academic program titled “Investing in the Future of Africa.” The goals of this effort are the following:

- Refocus on Africa and strengthen the strategic relationship between the continent and the United States.
- Promote the awareness of political, military, ethnic, religious and other important security dimension trends that could have an impact on the prospects, course and the consequences of conflicts in Africa in order to influence the implementation of sound and peace and security policies.
- Address the root causes of conflict and terrorism, including food insecurity and famine and, obviously, poverty, to bring peace to African nations committed to democracy, free enterprise, transparency and the rule of law.
- Provide strategic insight concerning the U.S.’s strategy for sub-Saharan Africa: peace and security; democracy and governance; economic growth, trade and investment, education and culture (2).
- Contribute to establishing high-level policies, documentation of good practices and the provision of technical support in the priority areas of the program: Peace and security, democratic governance, U.S.-Africa partnerships and sustainable development through information exchange, research, analysis, documentation and compilation of databases.

It is hoped that this initiative will encourage further scholarship in African security area studies.

October 22, 2014

¹ <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/09/22/ISIS-calls-for-more-attacks-on-Egyptian-security-forces.html>

² <http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2014/05/225469.htm>

Ambassador Mohamed M. Tawfik
Embassy of Egypt*

It is a great honor for me to be here with you today. I know that I am sitting next to a panel of very distinguished experts in this field. And I know that many people in the audience know more about it than I do. I will focus on the Egyptian experience and the kinds of challenges we are facing, but before doing that there are a number of points that I know that all you know that I still need to repeat because we need to remind ourselves of them.

Number one, terrorism is something that happens in all cultures. It is not limited to any particular religion or particular culture. The fact that I'm going to talk about the kind of terrorism I'll be talking about today is one related to some beliefs regarding Islam which I believe are completely wrong does not preclude the fact that this is not an Islamic phenomenon. This has nothing to do with the religion. As a matter of fact, I think that the vast majority of Muslims are completely opposed to this kind of ideology.

The other thing that we also need to remind ourselves of is that when we are dealing with a terrorist incident, it is the culmination of very large networks that leads to these actual incidents. It is not just someone who blows something up, but you have a whole network of people recruiting, people propagating, propaganda, people financing, people training and providing different types of logistics. And you need to deal with all these aspects at the same time.

The other thing that is important that we remind ourselves is that this very wide network is not necessarily limited to a specific country. So it is physically impossible for one country, on its own, to deal with them. You really do have to work together in order to be able to effectively deal with this very serious threat.

Today, as many of you have heard, Egypt has been a victim of multiple bombings and a number of people have been killed. We're still trying to grapple with the exact number of casualties and the exact amount of damages. We know that a number of people have been killed; many people have been injured. We know that at least two very important historical sites have been damaged, and all this comes within the framework of a political process that is ongoing in Egypt.

Less than a week ago the results of a referendum on the new constitution were announced, and it is very clear that there are elements in Egypt who are doing their very best to stop this political process from going on. The referendum we had was, despite all the threats to people not to participate, and despite the fact that the day the referendum started with one bomb exploding and another bomb being diffused in different parts of the country, and in yet a third part of the country you had people on a rooftop shooting randomly at people who were going to vote, despite all that, we had the largest number of Egyptians to ever participate in history in a referendum. And the fact that they went, despite these kinds of threats, really demonstrates that at the end of the day the public will choose to have a peaceful future and will challenge such attempts at intimidation.

* This presentation was delivered at the 16th annual event on "International Cooperation in Combating Terrorism: Review of 2013 and Outlook for 2014" on January 24, 2014.

Unfortunately, in the past few months, there has been a rise in the number of terrorist attacks in Egypt. This has happened starting from June 2013, and that month basically was characterized by millions of people taking to the streets in opposition to the Muslim Brotherhood government who was in charge at the time. And the first response was to try to scare these people so that they would go back home, so that's when the first explosions happened. And then, when it became impossible to scare the people away, and when you had millions and millions demanding the removal of that government and when that government was removed, then you had an intensification of attacks.

We had some very serious attacks in the Sinai, and talking about the Sinai, during the year in which the Muslim Brotherhood ruled Egypt. There were presidential pardons issued for over four hundred people who had been convicted of terrorist offenses. Some of the people who received pardons were actually at large. They were not even incarcerated, but it showed a political direction. And, many of the people who had been released, they moved to the Sinai where they joined forces with other extremists, again there was an attempt to make it easier for foreigners, foreign extremists, to come into Egypt. After one year of Muslim Brotherhood rule, we ended up in a situation in which we had at least six Al Qaeda related groups functioning in the Sinai region. This is something that has been unprecedented for Egypt, but it is something we have to contend with right now.

During the one year which the Muslim Brotherhood ruled Egypt, the army had requested more than once to be able to act against those groups in the Sinai, and those requests had been denied by the President at the time. In one incident, in which a number of Egyptian soldiers had been captured by extremists, the Egyptian presidency issued one of the strangest statements ever to come from any president in the world, which said "we are keen to preserve the lives of both the kidnapped soldiers and the kidnapers." Again, another clear political indication of what that regime was all about.

Anyway, from that point on, there has been a very serious effort in Egypt to do two things. On the one hand, to start a political process, to rebuild the country, to try and gather the people again around a political objective. And in parallel with that, to deal in a very robust way with the actual infrastructure that supports these militants, particularly in the Sinai. This has been a costly operation. We know that many Egyptians have lost their lives. At least 350 Egyptian soldiers and policemen have lost their lives. In the process, 1200 extremists were either captured, killed, or wounded, which shows you the magnitude of the effort that has been ongoing. Over 80 percent of smuggling tunnels crossing the borders between Sinai and Gaza have been destroyed. We have evidence that those were used not only to smuggle weapons and people from Egypt into the Gaza, but also to allow militants in Egypt to go to Gaza and train and then come back into the Sinai. The issue of dealing with the tunnels has been extremely important.

In December also the Egyptian Army killed Abu Suhaib, who is one of the very dangerous leaders of the Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis, which is an extremist organization that by the way claimed responsibility for some of the bombings today. In addition to that, over 190 people have been arrested in connection with attacks on churches.

So, you do have this very serious effort to deal with the threat; however, dealing with a terrorist threat is not limited to just combating the terrorists. You need to deal with a whole range of

issues, starting from developmental issues, starting from marginalization of groups. For example, you find that a very large-scale program has been started in Egypt for job creation. Among the areas identified for very quick development in Egypt has been the area around the Suez Canal and also the area called the Golden Triangle in the south of Egypt, which is one of the most poverty stricken parts of the country. So, I'll give you an example about some of the things we consider to be very important. We think it's very important to encourage the role of women in society. We feel that this is a role in the overall fight against terrorism. We feel that when women are more involved in society they do have an influence in reducing levels of violence, and one of the main components of the constitution that has been just passed by Egyptians was stressing the role of women, stressing the rights of women that in the previous constitution by the Muslim Brotherhood had been very seriously threatened and curtailed.

It's important within this context for women to be more involved in law enforcement and for women to be more involved in the judiciary, and again, these kinds of issues dealing with the social issues we feel are very important. We do have a robust plan for the development of the Sinai. Again, it's important to deal with the social and economic factors that are effective in this sort of thing.

Another important element is the ideological element. Basically these extremists are motivated by ideological concerns, by their ideological beliefs, and it's important to clarify to the overall population how far away from the teachings of Islam these people are. And we have Al-Azhar, which is the leading university and Sunni institution that's playing a very active role. That role is not only limited to Egypt. If we look at the Sahel area, south of the Sahara, you find that we have been very interested in sending hundreds of Al-Azhar scholars to, again, help these countries to counter the mistaken beliefs from the ideological and religious perspective, which we feel is very important.

Regarding Egypt's efforts in international cooperation to combat terrorism, we have been very active in intelligence, intelligence cooperation with the different countries in the world. We have been very active in the global counterterrorism forum, which is also one of the important points where countries meet together and deal not only with the direct threat in a military way but also with all the surrounding areas that need to be dealt with, and in this regard Egypt and the United States co-chair the working group on criminal justice and the rule of law.

It's important in this context also to establish the rule of law. You will notice that the resurgence of terrorism in many parts of the world has been linked in a way to security vacuums, and getting not only the effective presence of law enforcement, but also the effective acceptance by the population that justice is really being meted out and that people are treated fairly, this is a very important element of the whole thing.

Finally, I won't take up more of your time, I'll just reiterate the importance of dealing with the issue of terrorism in a comprehensive way, and the importance of dealing with it together. As far as Egypt is concerned, I have no doubt that the Egyptian people will prevail. The Egyptian people will not allow themselves to be intimidated by extremists for whatever reason, and the Egyptian people will proceed to build the future that they have always wanted, a future that is more democratic and that is more fair and more just for everyone in the country.

Ambassador Rachad Bouhlal
Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco*

Thank you, Professor Alexander, first for inviting me and giving me the opportunity to share with you some remarks. But before, I would like to express my sympathy to the ambassador of Egypt and the people of Egypt after the attacks that they had this morning and the four bombings. We really share your compassion and hope you will overcome these difficulties.

Second, let me say that I am far away from being an expert on terrorist issues. We are diplomats, we try to deal with everything and speak of everything, but I am not sure that among all these experts we will be able to enlighten your ideas about what is happening.

Let me start by saying that having suffered from terrorism ourselves, Morocco is well aware of the scope of the phenomenon and its complex nature and its cross border dimension. Terrorism is not the product of isolated action, but it is the unfortunate manifestation of a violent vision of extremist groups, which for misleading ideological purposes, exploit religion for political purposes. That is why Morocco is privileged to have a structured and methodological vision, opting for an inclusive approach, combining human resources development, economic development, and security. This proactive approach integrates as well regional and international cooperation based on an effective solidarity and active commitment with all partners.

This approach includes measures to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism; to prevent terrorist recruitment, through comprehensive counter radicalization policy, especially through the creation of socioeconomic conditions to prevent young people from falling into extremism; reform of the religious field in order to combat the extremism narratives and to promote an open and tolerant Islam; build state capacity to prevent and combat terrorists; and finally, ensure respect for human rights and rule of law as a fundamental basis of the fight against terrorists.

Although the implemented strategies at the national level are essential to reduce the risk of terrorist actions, these strategies cannot produce their full effect in the lack of a sustained regional and international cooperation. This is why Morocco remains committed to strengthening the role of the United Nation system, promote international cooperation and adherence to all international conventions and all United Nation Security Council resolutions related directly or indirectly to terrorism, and promoting awareness of the newly emerged threats, such as cybercrime, child abuse and exploitation, money laundering, identity theft, fraud and kidnapping. Moreover, Morocco's mandate as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in 2012-2013 enabled it to elevate the cooperation in terms of security as one of the main issues, especially with its close neighborhood, the Sahel and Sahara region in particular.

Aware of the link between terrorism and all kinds of human trafficking, Morocco has been actively involved in drafting a common vision aiming at fighting illegal immigration. In this regard, Morocco has adopted a new national migration policy. This new policy takes into account the major mutations occurring in the migration phenomenon at regional and international levels and the new national realities related to the issue of migrants and refugees. This policy is

* This presentation was delivered at the 16th annual event on "International Cooperation in Combating Terrorism: Review of 2013 and Outlook for 2014" on January 24, 2014.

as well in line with Morocco's long standing relations with Africa and its steadfast commitment for human development, consolidation of peace and security, and promotion of humanitarian actions in Africa.

This will bring me to the situation in our neighborhood. The Sahel region faces many challenges related to the socioeconomic and security situation prevailing in the continent. The precarious situation in the region constitutes a real threat to peace, security and stability. It is in this spirit that the Kingdom of Morocco has always been committed to the success of the initiatives aiming at stabilizing the region in the respect of state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the specificities of the region. Apart from Morocco's efforts as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, especially during Morocco's presidency of the Council in December 2012, Morocco called for an interregional cooperation and coordination, especially among regional organization such as ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), CEN-SAD (Community of Sahel-Saharan States), and the Maghreb.

Aware of the security challenges that could emerge from the situation in Mali, Morocco has been committed since the beginning of the crisis to contribute actively to the international community effort devoted to this matter. Along with these efforts, Morocco played a very significant and constructive role in supporting the political process in Mali in order to generate a national consensus for the management of the transition, preparation of elections, and regain control of the north of the country.

His majesty's visit to Mali and Morocco's offer to train 500 Malian imams, will contribute not only to the stability of a close country in the region, but shows as well Morocco's approach, that as his majesty stressed during his visit, any coordinated international action which does not attach the necessary importance to culture and religious aspects would be doomed to failure; adding that the partnership that the kingdom is offering in the physical and spiritual reconstruction of Mali is firmly rooted in that philosophy. This partnership aims at promoting the values of peace and tolerance against the horrors of terrorism and extremism. We have now received 100 Malian imams who are now being trained in Morocco. I think this is an important move that we have been doing in trying to help fighting all kinds of dogmatism and terrorism.

This is what I wanted to share with you as remark and will be open to all kinds of questions and contributes to enlighten your vision.

Ambassador (Ret.) Al Maamoun Baba Lamine Keita
Former Ambassador of the Republic of Mali

Part 1*

Excellencies,
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thank you, Michael Swetnam, CEO and Chairman, Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, for your kind introduction, and to you, Prof. Yonah Alexander, for the work you and your team at the ICTS put into organizing this annual Event.

A big thank you for all that you and your Center have done over the past year to promote International Cooperation in Combating Terrorism.

Each year, you gather diplomats, top counterterrorism policymakers, experts, and advisers to share their analysis and research on trends, challenges, and opportunities, as well as their assessments on the best courses of action.

Pulling together this annual Event requires an ongoing commitment to Combating Terrorism, and the impact of such discussions goes beyond the academic – shaping domestic and foreign counterterrorism policies as well as security measures implemented domestically and internationally to keep people in the U.S. and around the world, safe.

An unknown sage once said “one should follow effective action with quiet reflection. From the quiet reflection will come even more effective action.”

Today's Event is an excellent opportunity to have an insightful analysis of 2013 in terms of combating terrorism, and to create a projection for 2014.

And, I'd like to acknowledge and applaud H.E. Ambassador Mohamed M. Tawfik for his excellent keynote address, and H.E. Ambassador Rachad Bouhlal for his wonderful presentation.

General (ret.) Alfred Gray, Thank you for your superior presentation full of facts and data.

The remainder of my Remarks has three parts. First, I briefly discuss the Regional and International Context. Second, I discuss Africa's State of Security. Third, I present the International and African New approaches in combating terrorism-2014.

* This presentation was delivered at the 16th annual event on “International Cooperation in Combating Terrorism: Review of 2013 and Outlook for 2014” on January 24, 2014.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I. Regional and International Context

- African terrorism situation

Over the past year, the threat of international and regional terrorism has become more dangerous and more lethal, and disseminates geographically.

Al-Qa'ida affiliates groups have grown in strength, size and influence at an alarming rate across the Middle East and Africa, and it is projected to grow in 2014.

In Algeria, Egypt and Mali, a clear shift could be observed from the 'traditional' political or ethnic armed crisis, like insurgency of Islamist groups or rebels, towards activities aimed at terrorizing the civilian population, such as bombings and kidnappings.

The establishment of safe havens for those terrorist groups linked to transnational terror networks in Northern Mali and earlier Somalia demonstrates the nature and potential scale of the phenomenon as well as the often very fragile nature of national governments, regional and international arrangements to deal with these crises.

African terrorism situation in 2013 presented following features:

- First, the mode of terrorist attack changes from sporadic ones to serial ones will have larger targets and impacts.
- Second, scattered terrorism forces tend to alliance, leading to attacks with organization and unified leadership.
- Third, the terrorism situation features in durability.
- Fourth, terrorist activities show features of complexity and multiple dimensions.
- Fifth, religious extremist forces rise to be the main power of African terrorist attacks in 2013.

With fragile governments in North Africa and unrest elsewhere on the continent, al-Qa'ida-linked groups have increasingly exploited porous borders, political vacuums, local grievances, socio-economic stresses, and diminished focus on counterterrorism to pursue their deadly objectives.

They're becoming more diffuse and entrepreneurial, and have demonstrated an ability to undergo various reincarnations when necessary. They also exhibited a capability to re-emerge despite apparently efficient counter-terrorist campaigns by national, regional and international actors.

Beyond the threats posed by Al-Shabaab, AQIM, Ansar Dine, Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa, Boko Haram, Ansaru, and other sleeper cells in West Africa, the gradual infiltration and expansion of al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and Hezbollah into Eastern and West Africa are emerging concerns.

- Self-Radicalization phenomenon

On the wider scene, another Global al-Qa'ida strategy is in work that could have a devastating impact on the populations of the West and could pose a more imminent threat.

There is good reason to be extremely concerned in Europe and U.S. about self-radicalization which is not going away and is likely to increase. Tens of thousands Europeans who have left to train and fight in Syria, Sudan, Somalia, and Egypt, and Mali, an exodus spurred by local imam's and influenced by extremist propaganda and recruiters. And, the number is growing.

Recruits from Britain, Europe and the U.S. are being brainwashed, indoctrinated in extremist anti-western ideology, trained as "jihadists", and sent home by al-Qa'ida to start new terror cells, and launch attacks there instead.

The European Union is proposing new measures to fight radical Islam. They come amid concerns about the exodus of young people joining terror groups overseas.

Britain's intelligence services estimate that around 500 British fighters are currently in Syria, and fear they will return radicalized. The MI5 has had to allocate more and more resources to tackling the danger in the past six months.

Top U.S. law enforcement officials are also increasingly concerned about efforts to recruit and radicalize American citizens by drawing them to the restive region and sending them back to this country to carry out terrorist attacks.

II . Africa's State of Security

The last year has underscored once again the real threat that al-Qa'ida, and its affiliated groups pose throughout this vulnerable region.

Further complicating the security landscape is the increase in the outbreak of transnational organized crime (TOC) that feed into the so-called terrorist loop in West Africa.

From Mauritania to Egypt, and from the Horn of Africa in the East and across the Sahel to the West, the terrorism threat is more diffuse, decentralized, and geographically dispersed than ever before.

Military gains against Islamist fighters in places like Mali and Somalia were followed by major terrorist attacks in neighboring countries. Such events demonstrated how complex and strong the threat remains.

Kenya, Somalia, Algeria, Mali and Nigeria were the scenes of major terrorist attacks in 2013.

The Sahel and West African region has become a hideout for terrorists and drug traffickers whose destabilizing influences are a real threat to regional security, even as the international stabilization force and presidential elections in Mali have helped restore some order.

Terrorist acts and transnational organized crime in the region, particularly following the resurgence of Boko Haram, Ansaru, as well as the occupation of northern Mali by al-Qa'ida affiliated terrorist groups in 2012, Ansar-Eddine and MUJAO, have alarmed not only West African countries but also the broader international community.

In Nigeria, Boko Haram has proven to be an increasing threat to the Nigeria's national security and the Sahel stability. Ansaru maintains operational and logistical bases outside Nigeria, possibly in neighboring countries such as Niger and Cameroon, and its threat could extend to Nigeria's eastern states of Adamawa and Taraba from where the group may launch attacks from its purported strongholds in Cameroon.

In Mali, eleven months after they were scattered across the Sahara by waves of French air strikes, Islamists in Mali are making a comeback - naming new leaders, attacking U.N. peacekeepers and killing two French journalists.

Seemingly defeated, fighters from both AQIM, Ansar al-Dine, and MUJAO made their way into southwest Libya. They are building up links with like-minded jihadists in northern Libya, especially in eastern coastal cities such as Derna and Benghazi, and preparing for new attacks.

In the Eastern Africa region, conditions appeared to be improving in Somalia at the beginning of last year. Kenyan and African Union troops had forced the militant group al-Shabaab from several cities. But in September, a small number of al-Shabaab fighters attacked a shopping center in the Kenyan capital Nairobi. They killed more than 60 people. The attack uncovered weaknesses in Kenyan security and intelligence agencies.

This phenomenon developed a transnational component often under the cloak of Global al-Qa'ida and the Global Muslim Brotherhood, and their ideology of Jihadism including ridding Africa and the Middle-East of Western influence seems to be shift away from directly attacking western targets towards support for local insurgencies where Islamist groups fight the government.

In such a climate, the emerging wave of ideologically-motivated terrorism and violence in Africa pushed the necessity to address innovative combating terrorism comprehensive approaches to new heights in 2014.

III. The Road Ahead: International and African New approaches in combating terrorism in 2014

To date, more attention has been paid to the 'traditional' counter-terrorism approach, which relies on the use of intelligence agencies, the police, and the judiciary. This is traditional approach is consistent with efforts to enhance security by protecting citizens while also preserving national values, norms, rules and institutions, and relatively less attention has been paid to understanding, preventing, and mitigating the key drivers that lead to violent extremist acts on the continent.

A). African Approach-2014

What Africa can do in combating terrorism?

On the African Union summit in 2013, participating countries admitted that the African terrorism situation shows signs of deterioration.

The imperative of addressing security challenges has inspired the adoption of several regional mechanisms and instruments for enhancing security and combating terrorism.

The challenge therefore has not been the regional lack of frameworks and instruments to respond to these threats, but rather the failure to address the underlying factors contributing to the outbreak of these crimes as well as the complex linkages between them.

In fact, combating the multifaceted threat of terrorism in Africa, resolution or even management is a work in progress and requires a multidimensional response. While a new approach do not necessarily mean ignoring the lessons we had learned, it requires developing an integrated anti-terrorism approach by African governments, regional organizations and the international community, and most importantly the African communities engagement.

This is not just in the context of terrorism but its possible links to transnational organized crime such as money laundering, trafficking in human beings and arms as well as the production of and trafficking in illicit drugs which forms part of a complex set of new security challenges.

In order to deal effectively with the threats of terrorism and TOC, there must be a broad approach that integrates the following factors:

First, African governments must strengthen trust between communities and ethnic groups. Trust is the foundation for any societies, especially multi-religious, multi-racial ones like in Africa. It underpins social interactions, and helps build resilience.

Second, African governments must also build strong operational capabilities. The most critical factor in enhancing the security of the region is strong intelligence and operational cooperation between our security and intelligence agencies and their regional and international counterparts.

Third, African governments need close international security cooperation. Terrorism is a global threat, and terrorist groups do not respect international borders. Therefore counter-terrorism forces must also collaborate internationally.

International cooperation also includes sharing experiences at Events like these.

This integrated approach for Africa would be based on security, good governance, political and economic empowerment, social justice, development, creative institutional designs to alleviate ethnic and other social tensions, and capacity building.

What is required is greater actions in a number of specific areas:

- Strengthening bilateral and regional cooperation to maintain the region's peace, security and socio-economic development,
- Pursuing programs for sustainable development to improve people's living conditions, and especially to ensure the social and economic integration of young people,
- Combating terrorism and criminality by winning the support of local populations,
- Bolstering judicial cooperation and the monitoring of illicit financial flows, and,
- Improving coordination among the military high commands of the continent countries.

This enables Africa to deal with those issues on which terrorist groups attempt to build their support. Alienation, marginalisation, widespread poverty, underdevelopment, injustice and conflict provide the context for terrorists to establish support systems and recruit their followers.

What is also required is to evolve a more powerful counter-narrative to combat incitement and Self-radicalization. We need to inculcate values among African young minds that promote tolerance and respect for diversity and different cultures.

B). International Military Approach in Africa-2014

- *France*

France is reorganizing its deployment in Africa to be more reactive about potential political crises in Africa, and to better fight the terror threat from extremist groups in the Sahel region.

France is moving toward a new regional counterterrorism approach in Africa's turbulent Sahel region which will involve creating specialized posts such as for logistics, intelligence-gathering and fighter planes.

Under the plan, France is going to reinforce Abidjan, Ivory Coast, as an entry point, a logistical support post. Chad's capital, N'Djamena, will be a hub of French air power in the region and a base for Rafale and Mirage fighters. A site in Niamey, Niger's capital, will be equipped with unmanned aircraft such as France's Harfang and the U.S. Reaper surveillance drone.

- *U.S.*

1. Though AFRICOM handles training and humanitarian duties in various parts of the continent, more urgency has been placed on response times to threats and crises affecting American interests along the Mediterranean-North African region.

Recent events in Mali and Libya have partly motivated the U.S. move to expand Rapid-Response Forces for Africa. In that context, U.S. has asked Spain if it can expand an already 500-strong Marine rapid-reaction force for Africa by a minimum of 50 percent, along with extending its presence at the Marines stationed at the Morón de la Frontera air base by another year.

2. U.S. is also moving forward in the Sahel region where Military service members from African, European and North American countries will gather in Niger in February for the next 'Exercise Flintlock'. The two-week Exercise Flintlock is designed to foster regional cooperation to enable African partners to stabilize regions of North and West Africa, reducing sanctuary and support for violent extremist organizations.

The international operation also tends to the humanitarian needs of local communities, in the form of medical assistance for residents of areas where the exercise takes place.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Conclusion

The international community and Governments are fighting terrorism using a multiple set of strategies and tactics, and none of them operates to the exclusion of another. Similarly none of them has been singularly effective. In other words, on strategies and tactics used in responding to terrorist threats, no one approach should be selected or even preferred over the others.

Terrorism must be strategically tackled through long-term measures that would deny terrorists the ideological space to operate, long term development perspectives, education, inter-cultural dialogue, and criminal justice are equally essential elements in countering terrorism.

As we are aware, the threats posed by terrorism are very real and indeed far-reaching; every effort must be made to sustain our proactivity in the fight against that which threatens our existence and peaceful way of life.

Our cooperation is essential to effectively combat terrorism, and no action against terrorism would be sufficient unless all major determinants of international, regional and national policy-making are attuned to the threat posed and committed to dealing with all aspects that affect the fight against terrorism.

Let us remain vigilant and strengthen our defenses against terrorism, and work together to keep our world safe.

Ambassador (Ret.) Al Maamoun Baba Lamine Keita
Former Ambassador of the Republic of Mali

Part 2*

Thank you Professor Don Wallace Jr., Chairman, International Law Institute for your kind opening remarks. I also would like to thank, Professor Yonah Alexander, and the Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies (IUCTS) for the invitation, and I am honored to address you today.

Indeed, it is a great pleasure to share the dais with Ambassador Maowia Khalid of the Republic of the Sudan, Ambassador Jean Kamau, Interim Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of Kenya, and Prof. Christos Kyrrou, Research Director, Center for International Relations.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We convene today to exchange views and insights on the crucial theme of “The Current Security Challenges in Africa: The French Interventions in Mali and CAR, and the Multilateral Holistic Approaches for peace and security in Africa”.

Of course, our Ambassadors' Forum comes at an opportune time in view of recent global developments in Nigeria, CAR, South Sudan, Somalia, and Mali. We do need to review the international agenda for peace, security, and sustainable development in our region as well as the Peace and Security Mechanisms of the African Union, and see how they can be addressed in the most practicable and effective ways.

African current security dynamics and challenges are an amalgam of issues such as: terrorism and transnational organised crime, cycles of ethnic groups clashes, religious radicalization, human and drug trafficking, piracy and arms proliferation, as well as money laundering.

The natural phenomena and disasters, food insecurity, refugees and internally displaced persons, and extremely severe diseases like Ebola virus (EBOV), are also some of the most current challenging situations facing Africa.

In that context, I'd like to make two main points.

First, the general overview of the situation in Africa.

Second, I will discuss the International Holistic approaches and African initiatives in the Sahel region, CAR, and South Sudan: "How the International community is helping and What African nations should do for themselves? "

I. General overview of the situation in the region

On March 6, 2014, the commander of U.S. Africa Command Army Gen. David M. Rodriguez described challenges facing the United States and Europe across Africa, from the Sahel region in West Africa to Somalia in the east.

* This presentation was delivered at the seminar on “The Current Security Challenges in Africa” on March 27, 2014.

He told the Senate Armed Services Committee in prepared testimony, that terrorist groups in North and West Africa have expanded their operations, increasing threats to the United States and its interests, and using the region as a base to extend their reach across northwest Africa (1).

Today, West Africa has the unenviable reputation of being one of the most volatile regions in Africa. The situation in Nigeria and Mali remains problematical, and highly complicated by a combination of perceived State weakness and the presence of myriad terrorist groups, which pose a huge threat of instability and destabilization to Mauritania, Niger, Chad, Cameroon, Sudan, and even the Central African Republic (2).

Nigeria

In Nigeria, despite the state of emergency decreed by the government in May last year, Boko Haram is still carrying out its indiscriminate and deadly campaign against civilian and government facilities and has extended its reach into neighboring Niger, Chad and Cameroon.

More than 700 people have died in the restive northeast, while tens of thousands more have fled for their lives, either in fear of further attacks or after militants razed their homes and businesses.

A wave of strikes, including the slaughter of boarding school students in their beds while they slept, has prompted international condemnation and raised questions about the military's response (3).

For a long time, Nigeria viewed Boko Haram as a domestic problem and insisted that a domestic approach is needed to resolve. Now, Nigeria's call for help from France and other regional and international actors can be seen as an acknowledgement of the limitations of national efforts in combating terrorism as a global threat.

In the meantime, ethnic and sectarian clashes is another threat facing Nigeria, where, gunmen have killed at least 100 people, on March 16, in attacks on three villages in central Nigeria, an area where long-standing disputes over land, religion and ethnicity had killed 3,000 people since 2010 (4).

Mali

In Mali, a year after the French military Operation Serval to clear northern Mali of jihadists, the al-Qa'ida-linked militants operating in the Sahel region seem to be back.

Pockets of fighters still operate from desert and mountain bases.

There is also growing concern at the repeated attacks by suicide bombers or with mines and small arms on French, Chadian and Malian forces despite the presence of 6,000 troops from the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Mali (Minusma) on the ground.

Over the past six months al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) has murdered several people who helped the French military in Mali, in particular Tuareg members of the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA).

Pierre Boilley, a specialist on the Sahel, thinks the jihadists "have just changed their organization". "The biggest source of concern," he adds, "is the political deadlock in negotiations between the

government in Bamako and movements in northern Mali, which facilitates the jihadists' return. Time is on their side, too" (5).

Many fear the political peace process has lost momentum.

With ethnic tensions running high, armed groups are conducting feuds in the lawless north with little fear of facing justice.

Residents of northern Mali also face a severe humanitarian crisis and absence of essential infrastructure and services.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The prevailing security challenges in Africa bring the East Africa region also into similar reckoning.

It needs to be recognized that ethnic and sectarian conflicts, and armed conflicts are gaining ground; also that there is a resurgence of new radical outfits; and, in turn, religious extremism is aggravating existing turmoils.

Central African Republic

In Central African Republic, there have been dramatic changes in the situation on the ground, as the inter-communal hatred remains at a terrifying level, as evidenced by the extraordinarily vicious nature of the killings. This has become a country where people are not just killed, they are tortured, mutilated, burned and dismembered.

Some 8,000 foreign troops are working to disarm Central African rebel groups after a year of inter-religious violence.

At this time, ethnic and religious demography of the CAR has changed radically, and around a quarter of the country's 4.6 million people displaced.

South Sudan

Warring parties in South Sudan failed to resume planned peace talks with fighting continuing on the ground, despite threats of possible sanctions if they fail to progress.

The ceasefire deal has failed to halt fighting on the ground, with both sides accusing each other of violating the terms of the agreement (6).

Yesterday, South Sudanese rebels of the SPLM/A said their forces have advanced on Jonglei state's Duk county after repulsing government troops and their foreign allies who had attacked their defense positions on last Monday in the Greater Bor area.

In Juba, the South Sudanese army confirmed the capture of the area by the rebels.

Somalia

In Somalia, African Union and Somali troops moved deeper into land controlled by al-Qaida-linked militants, last week, forcing fighters to flee from five towns in quick succession in a further squeezing of al-Shabaab's strongholds.

The current operations represent the most significant progress regional forces have made against the militants since 2012.

Security sources report some al-Shabaab members are fleeing to mountains in northern Somalia's Puntland region, but some foreign fighters may seek to cross to Yemen, or flee southwards into neighboring Ethiopia and Kenya (8).

But military success does not come without challenges. In fact, despite losing territory to AMISOM in recent years, the militant group has continued to launch suicide attacks against government and international targets, including an assault on the presidential palace in Mogadishu last month that killed at least 17 people.

And, "What we have realized before, is that some area was liberated from al-Shabaab but there was not a political strategy in place. And what happened, there was a power vacuum, but also clan infighting." Mahamed Muse Tarey, Executive director of the Somali Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, stated.

North Africa

Finally, in North Africa, although the situation in Tunisia appears to be better, it too carries the potential for a future filled with uncertainties. Islamist militant violence is one of the main challenges for the new caretaker government.

Libya called on the United Nations and international community to help fight what it called a war on terrorism. But, the weak central government did not say what kind of help it expected.

In Darfur, the international community is deeply concerned by the sharp escalation in violence and insecurity in Darfur which, so far this year, have displaced an estimated 215,000 civilians.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Terrorism has mutated into global franchise, as also the existence of close coordination in operational matters among terrorist affiliates groups such as AQIM, Ansar Dine, the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa, or MUJAO, Boko Haram, Ansaru, Al-Shabaab, terrorist threat has become very real.

The fight against them demands more than national responses (9).

The reality is that with the immanent withdrawal of coalition combat troops from Afghanistan, there is the possibility of Africa as a continent becoming the new front in the Global War on Terror (*Mben et al.*, 2013).

The reality is that all the signs are there that a new geopolitical map of terrorism is taking shape in the absence of any prevention strategies.

The reality is that crisis unfolding in Africa are now almost always regional wars, not national ones.

II. International security Holistic approaches and African initiatives in the Sahel region, CAR, and South Sudan.

A). How the International is helping?

Addressing the sophisticated challenges posed by the complex phenomena of terrorism, religious extremism, sectarian conflicts, national reconciliation and development is a matter that will require a longer term sustainable intervention, and comprehensive and coordinated regional and international strategies.

Given these various overlapping and interweaving challenges, International and regional approaches must entail both immediate actions and a long term approach to deal with the root causes of African security threats.

Sahel region

In the Sahel region, the African Union has developed a draft AU Strategy for the Sahel region, together with a Plan of Action, which is submitted to this meeting for consideration.

It should also be pointed out that the United Nations had developed an Integrated Strategy for the Sahel, which encompasses, in a holistic approach, the security, the humanitarian dimension and development challenges in the region.

The European Union (EU) also has developed a Strategy to guide its action in the Sahel region; it is being adjusted and harmonized with other initiatives.

Similarly, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has made efforts in this area, and in the context of the overall objective to ensure greater coordination between all actors concerned.

On February 2014, the Marrakech Security Forum backed a collaborative plan to tackle the security threat. Participants noted that to fight effectively against the security threats and challenges in the region, it is important to adopt integrated, global and co-ordinated strategies involving all parties

Ellen Wasylina, the president of the Observatory of the Black, Gulf and Mediterranean Seas, was among those calling for the need for regional co-operation. "Its architecture should not be created in the north, even if the main targets are Western. All states in the Sahel must be involved," she said. "Dialogue with and between populations across the Sahel region must therefore be a consideration in taking action against terrorism, because terrorists have infiltrated them," Wasylina added (10).

In CAR, the current deployment of international security forces is not sufficient, and lacks the civilian component to adequately protect civilians under imminent threat or tackle the root causes of the conflict.

The EU had promised to send as many as 1,000 soldiers. Today, however, it seems that the European Union peacekeeping mission in Central African Republic can't start as scheduled because some countries haven't provided the troops and resources they promised.

In that context, France said on Friday, March 14, the European Union was shirking its responsibilities for international security.

Meanwhile, the leader of the South Sudan rebels, Riek Machar, has strongly rejected the proposed deployments of regional forces by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and warned to boycott the ongoing peace talks in Addis Ababa, unless the decision was reversed.

Machar condemned the proposed deployments of such forces, warning that it will widen and regionalize the current violent conflict which began as an 'internal misunderstanding' in the ruling Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM).

The former vice president said the decision questioned the neutrality of the IGAD member states in the conflict, as he believes that those who mediate cannot be part of any force deployments.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The AU, alongside other members of the international community, supports the regional efforts aimed at addressing the current challenges facing the region, in the Sahel region, CAR, and South Sudan, and Mali.

Of course, efforts have been done by AU and the International community. But much more must be realized.

There is a real need for continued vigilance and determined efforts to deepen regional security cooperation on the basis of a unified vision of collective security, transparency and shared responsibility

There is a real need for a working synergy to be established between national, regional and extra-regional actors and initiatives.

There is a real need for an efficient coordination of efforts and the different initiatives for the Sahel as stressed at the high level seminar organized by the European Union in Brussels on 6 February 2014.

There is a real need for greater synergy between the various components of the African Standby Force (ASF), covering the North, West and Central Africa, particularly through closer cooperation in intelligence sharing, training, equipment and the necessary operational capacity building (11).

Far more importantly, there is a real need for the AU's Peace and Security early warning to be effective, and followed by early response – an area which Africans need to improve on.

B). What African nations should do for themselves?

While the commander of U.S. Africa Command Army Gen. David M. Rodriguez said Africom is using military-to-military engagements, programs, exercises and other operations to respond to crises and deter threats in Africa, he emphasized that these efforts are geared toward enabling African partners to handle these problems.

“We believe efforts to meet security challenges in Africa are best led and conducted by African partners,” he said, efforts that ultimately will depend on African nations developing effective partner-nation security institutions that respect civilian authority.

On the National level, African governments must take their responsibilities to strengthen capacities, to break the cycle of recurring political and security crisis, and contribute to establishing the conditions for long-term stability, and social and economic development.

More needs to be done.

- 1). Addressing the crisis in the CAR requires a unified and integrated approach, through the deployment of a multidimensional peacekeeping operation, with the protection of civilians as its utmost priority. There is a need for a political commitment from national stakeholders, as well as a commitment from the international community to work together and to provide the necessary assistance to the CAR to ensure the effectiveness and sustainability of its actions.
- 2). In South Sudan, a successful deal will need to reflect more than just the military realities in Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile – the states where most of the fighting has taken place. It needs to involve South Sudanese civil society in the talks.
- 3). In Mali, a deal was reached to confine rebel fighters to barracks at preparatory talks in Bamako last month - which started three months late - but with no-one to enforce it, it may fall simply by the wayside. Restoring stability to north Mali is a crucial step in stamping out al-Qa’ida cells and traffickers operating in the arid Sahel belt south of the Sahara.

"If northern Mali is missing, the Sahel puzzle won't be completed," said Jean-Baptiste Bouzard, Africa analyst at risk consultancy Maplecroft.

In fact, achieving a peace deal with Tuareg rebels is key to restoring security but negotiations have stalled. But, a lack of cohesion within the array of separatist groups and the plethora of mediators is complicating talks.

In that context, I would like to appreciate the full readiness of Morocco and Algeria to support Mali in its efforts to consolidate security and stability, to promote an inclusive national dialogue, in all transparency, loyalty, efficiency, accountability and ownership by the Malians of this process.

- 4). In Nigeria, security analysts have long argued that the government needed to tackle the root causes of the problem, rather than only fighting fire with fire. Finally, Last week, Nigeria unveiled a new National Counter-Terrorism Strategy to tackling the Boko Haram insurgency that touched not only on past mistakes but also indicated a “soft power” plan including “de-radicalization” programs for suspected and convicted Boko Haram fighters as well as closer co-

operation with communities most affected by the deadly violence. Central to this would be an “economic revitalization program” in the six northern states most hit by extremist violence, involving state and federal agencies.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Michael D. Lumpkin, assistant secretary of defense for special operations and low-intensity conflict testified at a hearing of the House Armed Services Committee’s emerging threats and capabilities subcommittee, on March 14, 2014.

According to Michael D. Lumpkin: "with security threats evolving with terrorist organizations expanding in Syria, North Africa and the Sahel, the United States must maintain pressure on such organizations to protect the nation".

Having noted that, it is of paramount importance to address the fundamental causes of terrorism and other security challenges such as Democratic governance, marginalized peoples, socio-economic and political disparities.

If these deep-seated issues are not dealt with they will continue to be a breeding ground for the manifestations and the spread of terrorism, ethnic groups clashes, and religious extremism in Africa.

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Ambassador Maowia Khalid
Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of the Sudan*

Thank you so much Professor Alexander and Professor Wallace for allowing me the opportunity to speak today about the current security challenges in Africa. I am indeed privileged and honored to do so alongside my colleagues who are the experts in this issue. I would also like to thank all of you for taking the time to be with us this afternoon as we address this critical subject.

Africa has through the years, attracted a lot of attention in Washington and from different U.S. administrations. Just recently, President Barack Obama launched an initiative calling for a summit of leaders of the U.S. and Africa to convene this coming August in Washington D.C. We appreciate and commend this initiative and even though my country has not been invited to the summit, we look at it as being a very important event and are fully confident that those who participate will speak on behalf of all their fellow Africans including those who like Sudan, are not invited.

Since my mentor Ambassador Keita, has covered the issue of security challenges facing Africa in a comprehensive manner, I just want to touch upon some basic facts in this regard. The deterioration in the security conditions in Africa today is evidenced by the numerous conflicts that have galvanized the continent. But the reality is that most of these disastrous conflicts in the continent are a direct result of certain conflicting demands and motives, which are more prevalent in Africa than in any other place. We can cite as an example, the dispute over land ownership as being one of the most important sources of conflicts in Africa. In many African countries the tribal and communal conflicts or may I say wars, which have erupted because of conflicting claims over limited land and water resources have resulted in massive numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). As you all know, my country has suffered a lot from such tragic events especially in the region of Darfur where the disputes between nomadic herders and sedentary farmers over land ownership and land-use-rights do constitute the major cause for the conflict.

Sudan, its neighbors and other countries in the region also suffered from the tragic consequences. The refugees and IDPs themselves became a security challenge due to the demand they had created for essential needs such as shelter, water, food, sanitation, and other service as well as for security and safety. Unfortunately, the camps for refugees in neighboring countries and for IDPs in Sudan became safe havens for criminals who were involved in arms selling, human trafficking, child soldier recruitment, drug trafficking, banditry, and other serious crimes. This is definitely adding a new element of security challenge in Africa.

Ethnicity and religion have been at the heart of much of the recent conflicts in Africa and as such they represent a grave challenge to the security of the continent. The recent crisis in the Central African Republic is a case in point. The fighting there reflects very negatively on Africa and exacerbates the overall security situation. The region of Darfur for one is being further burdened by the influx of refugees from that neighboring country.

* This presentation was delivered at the seminar on “The Current Security Challenges in Africa” on March 27, 2014.

Border disputes are also part of the security challenge. Some of the significant examples include the two border disputes between Ethiopia and Eritrea and between Sudan and the new country of South Sudan. In the case of the latter, the issue of border demarcation is not yet settled but we are going through a different type of negotiations to resolve this issue. I would like here really to commend the essential role of our partners, the countries members of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), especially Kenya, who hosted one of the longest and very complicated negotiations in the recent history, which ended in a comprehensive peace agreement. The agreement as you all know, led to the secession of South Sudan as an independent country. However, a few small issues such the border disagreement between the two countries remained unresolved. So, border disputes are indeed a type of security challenge in Africa.

The rise of armed insurgent or rebel groups is one of the most significant components of the security challenges facing Africa today. Yes, there are some legitimate and acceptable kinds of demands from different groups in Africa today but taking up arms against governments as a means of realizing these demands, is not acceptable. Yet, at the end of the day, these demands must be addressed peacefully. We can say confidently that wars do not resolve problems. Only agreements that are reached peacefully at the negotiation table, such as the comprehensive peace agreement between Sudan and South Sudan, can lead to some kind of good conclusions.

We are still suffering greatly from those rebel groups who are attacking villages, towns and cities nearly every day and causing more casualties among civilians. But governments have a responsibility to protect their civilian population and the territorial integrity of the country. Unfortunately, civilian casualties always come as a result of attacks and counter attacks and through such kinds of terrorism activities.

Terrorist and other militant groups in Africa such as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, and anti-Balaka in the Central African Republic represent a very big challenge right now to our safety and our security. Sudan is cooperating with the regional efforts to combat those groups and we have designated all of them as terrorist organizations.

We are also being negatively impacted right now, by the situations that have transpired in the wake of so called "Arab Spring" in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. Fortunately, Tunisia is following a good path of national dialogue, which makes the democratic process a little bit more successful. However, Libya and Egypt are still suffering a lot from the negative ramifications of the Arab Spring. In my country Sudan, there are still some problems regarding the different political forces in the country; some of them armed groups, some peaceful civilian opposition parties. My government has recently launched a new initiative of national dialogue to address the issues of concern and the demands, which are raised by different political parties and ethnic groups in the country so we may all come to a conclusion of dealing with our issues peacefully. We undoubtedly, need regional and international support to help make these kinds of initiatives and peaceful mechanisms work.

Generally, in order to address the root causes of these security challenges in Africa, I could say very briefly that development is the most effective measure for dealing with these threats. That is because a viable and sustainable nation-state will only come about through development. Here too, the U.S. can play a significant role in eliminating the dependency syndrome through trade

enhancement rather than continuing to provide aid to African countries. Some studies show that terrorist networks are more successful recruiting in poor areas and the poorest of the youth rather than among those who enjoy a little bit of good life.

Another effective measure for dealing with the causes of the security challenges is cooperation on different areas and levels among the African countries themselves and between them and the U.S. in order to combat terrorism. Without cooperation, terrorists and armed rebels will continue to threaten our lives.

Regional and sub-regional organizations also need to be energized and empowered to be able to address this issue. They need to be able to fulfill their duties of maintaining peace and security in Africa more effectively. We can also draw valuable lessons from the experience of IGAD in Sudan and South Sudan. In fact, IGAD right now is engaged in the same process of trying to resolve a most unfortunate situation, which is the internal conflict in South Sudan. Also, the African Union (AU) through the chairmanship of President Mbeki has been working diligently to try to broker a peace agreement between the Republic of the Sudan and the Sudan Liberation Movement North (SPLM/N) who has affiliation with the Government of South Sudan.

Creating political stability is also essential for combating the root-causes of the security challenges facing Africa today and it can only occur through the promotion of democracy, human rights, good governance, transparency, accountability, and the rule of law.

Readdressing the notion and objective of the sanction regime is also very crucial in this effort. The calls to build leverage that could be used timely and effectively is in my opinion, something that can come through engagement. Right now we see that sanctions are hurting ordinary peoples more than the ruling parties. Just imagine that at this time in the 21st century people are dying from not getting antibiotics because of sanctions and that because of sanctions, so many young people do not know what even credit cards mean. Those same people today cannot look at America as the land of opportunities or the land of dreams. Instead, they will look at America as the power of suppression and aggression. I think they would be emotionally more vulnerable to manipulation by terrorist networks. Therefore, I think this is something that should be readdressed.

This can give another dimension of combating terrorism and other criminal networks because, as you rightly just said it Professor, after 9/11 and despite some differences in the past between Sudan and the U.S., Sudan began a huge cooperation program with United States in the area of counterterrorism. In return, we got nothing from that cooperation. I am not the one who can tell you but I think, most of you, especially those who are affiliated with security agencies, can understand very well what the significance of that cooperation is. In addition, al-Qa'ida was expelled from Sudan in 1996, and has since never returned. However, we still suffer from small pockets of militant youth groups who may be affiliated with jihadists in the area and we are taking the responsibility of fighting them. However, this also needs some sort of cooperation between Sudan and the U.S. Some politicians may ask, "why do we continue cooperating with the U.S. on security issues and fighting terrorism while this cooperation is not reflected in the political and bilateral relations between the two countries?" I just want to say here that the top leadership in Sudan, the presidency and the foreign affairs, really understand the essentiality of

this cooperation and that this is something that should be continued and not be jeopardized by any kind of interference from the political side.

I want to mention another issue of importance to us and it has to do with U.S. capacity building training programs. When you leave some countries out somebody else may take them in. In the case of Sudan, we will be forced to depend on ourselves. But with limited knowledge and know-how and with very small capacity, Sudan's possibilities to be an active partner in counterterrorism will shrink. So, building capacity, sharing intelligence information and cooperation can enhance the ability and capabilities of Sudan and some other countries to combat those same threats, which we are discussing right now. I just wanted to link the capacity building issue with the notion of cooperation. I do not want to take much of your time, I can just leave it here and I'll be more than glad to share more in the discussion if there are any questions.

Ambassador Jean Kamau

Interim Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of Kenya*

Thank you very much Professor Yonah and Professor Wallace, for your opening remarks. I also thank my colleagues on the panel for setting the framework of our discussion today. Ladies and gentlemen, I don't have much to add beyond what my colleagues have said but would like to share with you a few points about the challenges for security in Africa with a specific focus on the lessons we can draw from regional insecurity in the East Africa region.

I want to start by stating that the stability of any nation is really paramount to safeguarding its security. What we know from experience in the East African region is that the effective management of the election cycle in a country will have a bearing on that country's stability and security. Our own experience in Kenya through several multi-party elections since 1992 has tested our ability to maintain our stability and security and also to transition peacefully from different governments. The test lies in the ability of constitutional offices to play their part and provide the necessary leadership to ensure that stability and security is maintained. Therefore the electoral body and security agencies must work together to provide this assurance. This also builds confidence in the electorate and political leadership that the process will be fair and security is guaranteed.

Within the Inter governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) region, and under the African Union, there is specific interest in any of the member nations' electoral cycle. Each of these agencies will work closely with a nation's electoral agency to support preparations for a peaceful election through observer missions and regular consultations. The African Union works with its member states to ensure peaceful elections and transitions because the result of a poor election and any emerging conflict during the electoral cycle, affects the whole region. The 2007 general elections in Kenya and the aftermath proved this fact. The impact of the violence that was witnessed in Kenya affected the stability and economic activity in the East African region. So it is important to always look at the governance and political processes in order to assess if there is a risk of tension and instability that could result in or to insecurity in the region.

The economy of a Nation and the ability of the Government to deliver the electoral promise of is very important for ensuring stability and security. Some of our previous speakers have talked about the need for strong economic developments within different countries as a contributor to stability. This is an important point. In East Africa, we are steadily moving to an integrated economic model, in order to enhance trade and facilitate the movement of people. In addition we are pursuing regional infrastructure projects that will significantly contribute to the development of all our countries. This effort is made due to the fact that we face similar social economic challenges that require common solutions. By working together we stand a better chance of succeeding and pulling our resources and opportunities. Some of these projects include an ambitious single gauge rail link that will improve the transport network between Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan and Rwanda, in addition the Lamu Port and Lamu South Sudan Ethiopia Transport Corridor (LAPPSET) that will open up the northern part of the country and enhance regional integration and cooperation with South Sudan, Uganda and Ethiopia. All of these factors help contribute to stability and enhance economic activity leading to job creation, sustained economic

* This presentation was delivered at the seminar on "The Current Security Challenges in Africa" on March 27, 2014.

development and improved livelihoods for all the peoples in the region. Progressive economic planning and implementation of transforming activities will give impetus to the government's efforts to deliver on its promise and generate wealth and economic empowerment for citizens.

Let me now turn to terrorism and its impact in the region. The threat posed by al-Shabaab presents challenges for peace and security in the East Africa region. The instability in Somalia since the early 1990s has been a huge concern to us in Kenya and the East Africa region. We have monitored and watched how this Nations instability has continued to threaten our own security. Kenya has played host to Somali refugees. In addition, the Kenya government has played a pivotal role in facilitating peace talks leading to peace and stability in Somalia. However the emergence of al-Shabaab, a terrorist group that has pledged allegiance to al-Qaida is not only alarming but presents a real and present retreat to peace and stability in Somalia and the region. The threat posed by al-Shabaab has significantly impacted Kenya national security priorities, security planning and resources to ensure that we can respond to the threat it presents and maintain the safety and security for our citizens.

The Westgate Mall incident of September 2013 was a turning point for our security as al-Shabaab was able to carry out a terrorist attack on a mall within the capital city. The consequences of the Westgate attack were of course 67 people died, the disruption of the economy, and to property as well. However it is important for me to stress that this is not the first terror attack in Kenya. As mentioned by Professor Yonah, Kenya has faced several attacks attributed to al Qaida. For example the attack on the US embassy in August 1998 and an attempt in 2002 where al Qaida linked terrorists tried to bring down an Israeli charter plane in Mombasa. Although they failed to bring down the plane, they were successfully in attacking a hotel where many local people died. Subsequent to these attacks, Kenya has remained under constant threat from terrorists groups but the vigilance and effective policing effort has secured the countries security. Threats and actual criminal acts from al-Shabaab resulted in the Kenyan Defense Forces (KDF) entering into Somalia in October 2011 as a way stopping the threat. Since the Kenya Defense Forces joined the African Union Mission to Somalia (ANISOM) forces in Somalia, there has been relative peace and an end to threats along the Indian Ocean and parts of Kenya Somalia border. However, Al Shabaab has changed tack and is now focused on attacking Kenya directly. In the north of Kenya, in Garissa, Wajir and Madera counties Al Shabaab has attacked towns in these counties by carrying out raids, using improvised explosives, kidnapping government officials and causing disruption to the local economy. It is not just Kenya that al-Shabaab targets, Uganda which also contributes soldiers to ANISOM, has faced terrorist attacks.

Al-Shabaab remains a threat for the East African region. There are several issues and challenges that this threat presents. Firstly al-Shabaab is attracting foreign fighters from the United States and Europe who have joined the groups as fighters. This creates new challenges and opportunities for closer collaboration and partnership between law enforcement agencies to work together on intelligence and counterterrorism efforts. Closer collaboration is especially necessary with the U.S because where former Somalia refugees now US citizens are some of the fighters who lead al-Shabaab and contribute immensely to its strategy and ability to be a disruptive force. It is important to also establish who is financing of al-Shabaab as this is what enables the group to remain relevant and disruptive. This is an issue that Kenya is keenly focusing on and directing our energies towards.

Another source of instability is the challenges posed by hosting a refugee population. As has been mentioned by other speakers, having a refugee population again can be a cause of instability. Recent acts of terror in Kenya point to the refugee camps in the northern part of Kenya as a point of planning and transfer of arms and weapons. This development requires closer policing within the refugee camps. The Kenya government in collaboration with the Somalia government is pursuing the resettlement of Somalia refugees back into Somalia. Closing down the refugee camps is a key objective of the Kenya government. There are sections of Somalia that are relatively safe and secure and can accommodate the returning refugee community. This exercise will be undertaken in full compliance of international obligations and will be done on a voluntary basis and working very closely with the government of Somalia to try and address the closure of these camps, which have been open for almost 20 years. The stability of Somalia is critical for this effort to succeed. Without a stable Somalia, we will continue to have instability in the region. This effort requires a global effort to support and compliment the efforts of the African Union and United Nations.

Another issue that was mentioned by Professor Yonah is the effect of natural disasters on security. Disasters, natural disasters, man-made disasters, really need a concerted effort to integrate effective resilience and response into our planning. Some of the common disasters we have witnessed include famine, earthquakes, drought and floods. For example if we have drought in Kenya and pastoralists move into Ethiopia this may result in tension and conflict over grazing lands. A similar situation occurs regularly between pastoralist communities along the Kenya Uganda border. From these disasters emerges insecurity, and repeated disasters then create a cycle of opportunities for instability and insecurity. Having disaster risk reduction strategies that incorporate resilience in the planning is very important to mitigate against the risk presented by disasters. This touches on our ability to address emerging risks and the impact on peace, stability and security in the region.

The last issue I will mention is South Sudan. South Sudan is a young democracy. All countries in the IGAD region contributed immensely to the establishment of South Sudan. We hosted refugees, facilitated the peace talks and contributed resources and support the creation of new country. The ongoing internal conflict in South Sudan is a tragedy and a huge disappointment. The instability on South Sudan creates a challenge for all the IGAD countries and this is why they are all at the forefront of finding a solution. As previous speakers have said it is not a military solution that will resolve this crisis, but a negotiated solution where all parties respect the peace agreements and cessation of hostilities. It is really important that South Sudan succeeds because the consequences of a broken South Sudan are very bad for the region.

I think those are just the points that I would like to highlight to follow up on the presentations by my colleagues but also to confirm that I think the presentations that have been made here about the importation of terror across the region present new challenges for securing peace and security in Africa. I agree that some of the solutions that my colleagues have mentioned here on sharing integrated approaches and strengthening cooperation, partnerships, and networking is needed to address the problem of terror groups such as al-Shabaab.

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