

**NATIONAL DEFENCE  
ACADEMY  
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE SUPPORT  
AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**



**Security Policies and  
Challenges in WESTAFRICA**

# **Extremism and Terrorism**

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CEsA/ISEG Portugal

A collection of historical artifacts is displayed on a light-colored surface. On the left, there is a wooden chessboard with several pieces. Next to it are two ornate medals with red and blue ribbons. A silver compass is visible in the bottom left corner. A pair of round, gold-rimmed glasses lies in the center. A thin, long object, possibly a quill or a pen nib, is positioned diagonally across the middle.

# Index

- **What is Terrorism?**
- **CS1: Terrorism in the US**
- **CS2: Terrorism in the SAHEL**
- **Possible Solutions**

*Hello?*



*FEAR*

# Concept of Terrorism

## Concept before September 11, 2001:

- ◆ «We have cause to regret that a legal concept of ‘terrorism’ was ever inflicted upon us. **The term is imprecise; it is ambiguous;** and above all, it serves no operative legal purpose.» (R. Baxter, “A Skeptical Look at the Concept of Terrorism, 1974”).
- ◆ «**Terrorism is a term without legal significance.** It is merely a convenient way of alluding to activities, whether of States or of Individuals, widely disapproved (...)» (R. Higgins, “The General International Law of Terrorism”, 1997).

Divergence of points of views. What was at the heart of the debate?

- The protection of the State and of the democratic values of society.
- Who are the terrorists and who are the ‘freedom fighters’? Risk of an unjustified repression of the ‘freedom fighters’.



# Terrorists or Freedom Fighters?



Anders Behring Breivik  
(attacks of 22/07/2011, Norway)



Osama Bin Laden  
(died 02/05/2011,  
Al-Qaida)



Abubakar Shekau  
(Boko Haram, Nigeria)



Mokhtar Belmokhtar  
(died 02/03/2013.  
Argelia, AQIM and  
Sign with Blood  
Brigade)



**«What looks,  
smells and kills  
like terrorism is  
terrorism.»**

**(Sr. Jeremy Greenstock, UK permanent  
representative at UN, 01/10/2001)**





# United Nations and Terrorism

- ◆ Terrorism is not a new phenomenon.
- ◆ **Terrorism has been in the international agenda since 1934** (discussion of a draft convention for the prevention/punishment of terrorism, adopted in 1937, but that never came into force.)
- ◆ Between 1963/2010 the international community (under the auspices of the UN and the International Atomic Energy Agency) has elaborated **14 universal legal instruments** and **4 amendments** to prevent terrorist acts.

<http://www.un.org/terrorism/instruments.shtml>

- ◆ **A/RES/60/288 (2006): UN Global Counterterrorism Strategy**
- ◆ A/RES/66/10 (2011). UN Secretariat was able to launch the United Nations Counterterrorism Centre (UNCCT). Engages with 30 Counterterrorism Implementation task Force (CTITF) entities.

<http://www.un.org/en/terrorism/ctitf/entities.shtml>



# UN – Concept of Terrorism



**A/RES/60/288 (2006):** member states united for the first time behind a common vision against terrorism):

**«Reaffirming that acts, methods and practices of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations are activities aimed at the destruction of human rights, fundamental freedoms and democracy, threatening territorial integrity, security of States and destabilizing legitimately constituted Governments, and that the international community should take the necessary steps to enhance cooperation to prevent and combat terrorism, reaffirming also that terrorism cannot and should not be associated with any religion, nationality, civilization or ethnic group (...))»**



**Ban Ki-Moon**  
Secretary-General of UN

# US – Concept of Terrorism



## US. Title 22 of the United States Code. 2656 (d) Definitions:

- ◆ (1) the term “**international terrorism**” means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than 1 country;
- ◆ (2) “terrorism” means **premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant** targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents;
- ◆ (3) “terrorist group” means any group practicing, or which has significant subgroups which practice, international terrorism;
- ◆ (4) “territory” and “territory of the country” mean the land, waters, and airspace of the country; and
- ◆ (5) “sanctuary”: territory of the country— (A) that is used by a terrorist or terrorist organization— (i) for training, fundraising, financing, and recruitment); (ii) for a transit point; (B) with the government contentment.

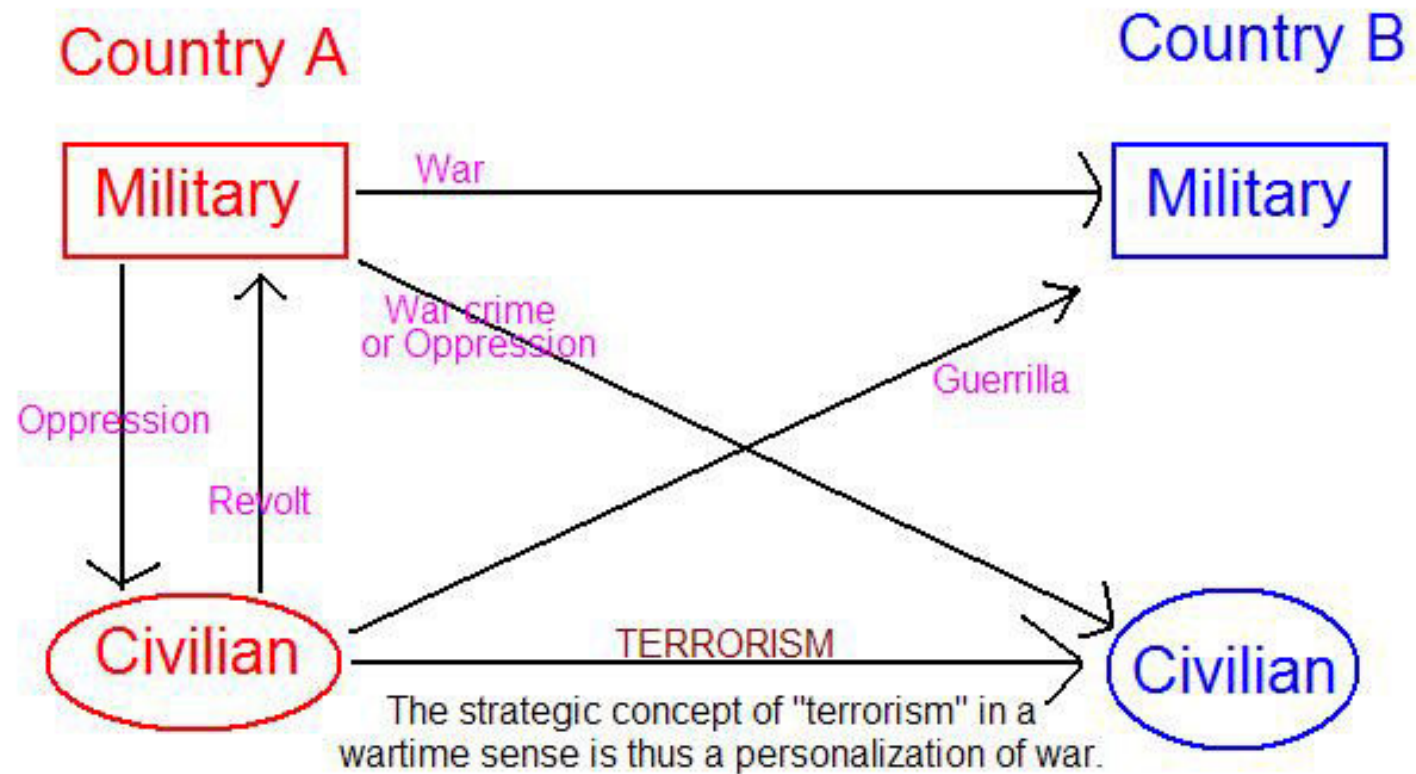
# EU – Concept of Terrorism



## Council Framework Decision 2002/475/JHA of 13 June 2002

- ◆ an objective element: **serious criminal conduct** (murder, bodily injuries, hostage taking, extortion, fabrication of weapons, committing attacks, threatening to commit any of the above, etc.);
- ◆ a subjective element: **terrorist offences** when committed **with the aim of seriously intimidating** a population, unduly compelling a government or international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act, or seriously destabilising/destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation.
- ◆ are punishable as offences linked to terrorist activities even if no terrorist offence is committed: public provocation to commit a terrorist offence; recruitment and training for terrorism; aggravated theft/extortion/falsification of administrative documents with the aim of committing a terrorist offence.
- ◆ [http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/justice\\_freedom\\_security/fight\\_against\\_terrorism/133168\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/fight_against_terrorism/133168_en.htm)

# Terrorism is Different



# Conventional War/Guerilla/Terrorism

	<i>CONVENTIONAL WAR</i>	<i>GUERRILLA</i>	<i>TERRORISM</i>
UNIT SIZE IN BATTLE	Large (armies, corps, divisions)	Medium (platoons, companies, battalion)	Small (usually less than ten persons)
WEAPONS	Full range of military hardware (air force armor, artillery, etc)	Mostly infantry-type light weapons but sometimes artillery pieces as well	Hand guns, hand grenades, assault rifles & specialised weapons, e.g., car bombs, remote-control bombs, barometric pressure bombs
TACTICS	Usually joint operations involving several military branches	Commando-type tactics	Specialized tactics: kidnapping, assassinations, carbombing, hijacking, barricade-hostage, etc.
TARGETS	Mostly military units, industrial & transportation infrastructure	Mostly military, police & administration staff, as well as political opponents	State symbols, political opponents and the public at large
INTENDED IMPACT	Physical destruction	Mainly physical attrition of the enemy	Psychological coercion
CONTROL OF TERRITORY	Yes	Yes	No
UNIFORM	Wear uniform	Often wear uniform	Do not wear uniform
RECOGNITION OF WAR ZONES	War limited to recognized geographical	War limited to the country in strife	No recognized war zones. Operations carried out zones world-wide
INTERNATIONAL LEGALITY	Yes if conducted by rules	Yes if conducted by rules	No

MERARI, Ariel (1993). "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency",  
[http://www.martinfrost.ws/htmlfiles/strategy\\_insurgency.html](http://www.martinfrost.ws/htmlfiles/strategy_insurgency.html)

# Possible Concept of Terrorism

What does it imply? Generally, Terrorism involves:

- ◆ Criminal act. The use of serious violence against human beings as a means of terrorist action. More recently seems to include violence against objects as well as threats of serious disruption or damage (of public utilities, ...).
- ◆ Bad intentions of the perpetrators. Violence with the aim of causing feelings of fear and insecurity, and with the purpose of influencing the Government or the international order.
- ◆ Motivations. Requires political reasons? May or may not oblige political, religious or ideological motivations. Can have economical (trading raw materials) or selfish grounds (leadership or groups rivalry).
- ◆ One or more terrorists. It usually refers to a collective action but it may be an *one person act (lone wolf)*.



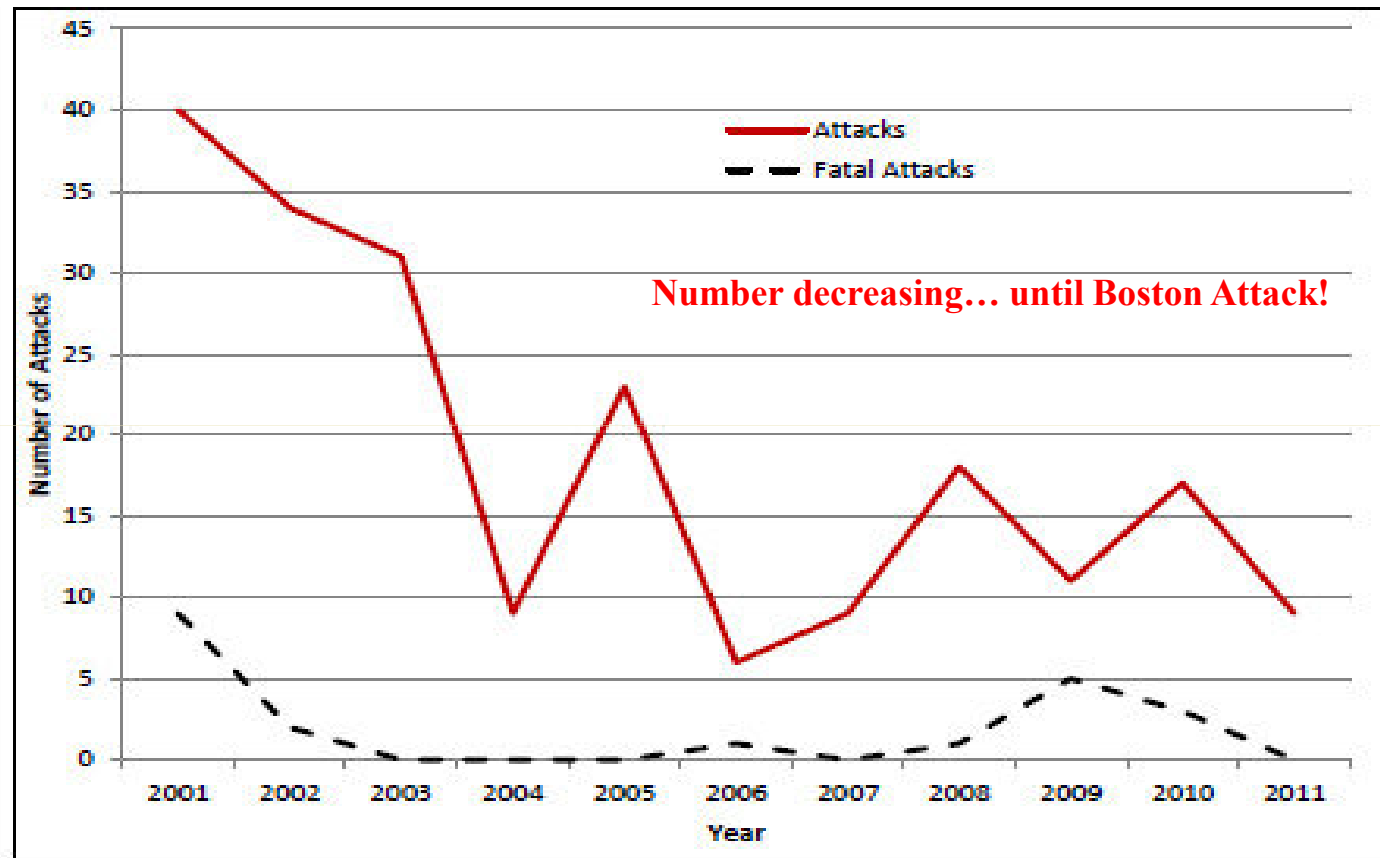


# Terrorist Attacks XXIst Century



- ◆ **9'11 (11/09/2001): New York, Washington DC (US)**
- ◆ **3'11 (11/03/2004): Madrid (Spain)**
- ◆ **01/09/2004: Moscow (Russia)**
- ◆ **07/07/2005: London (UK)**
- ◆ **26/11/2008: Mumbai (India)**
- ◆ **22/07/2011: Oslo (Norway)**
- ◆ **15/04/2013: Boston (US)**

# Terrorist Attacks in the US (2001/2011)



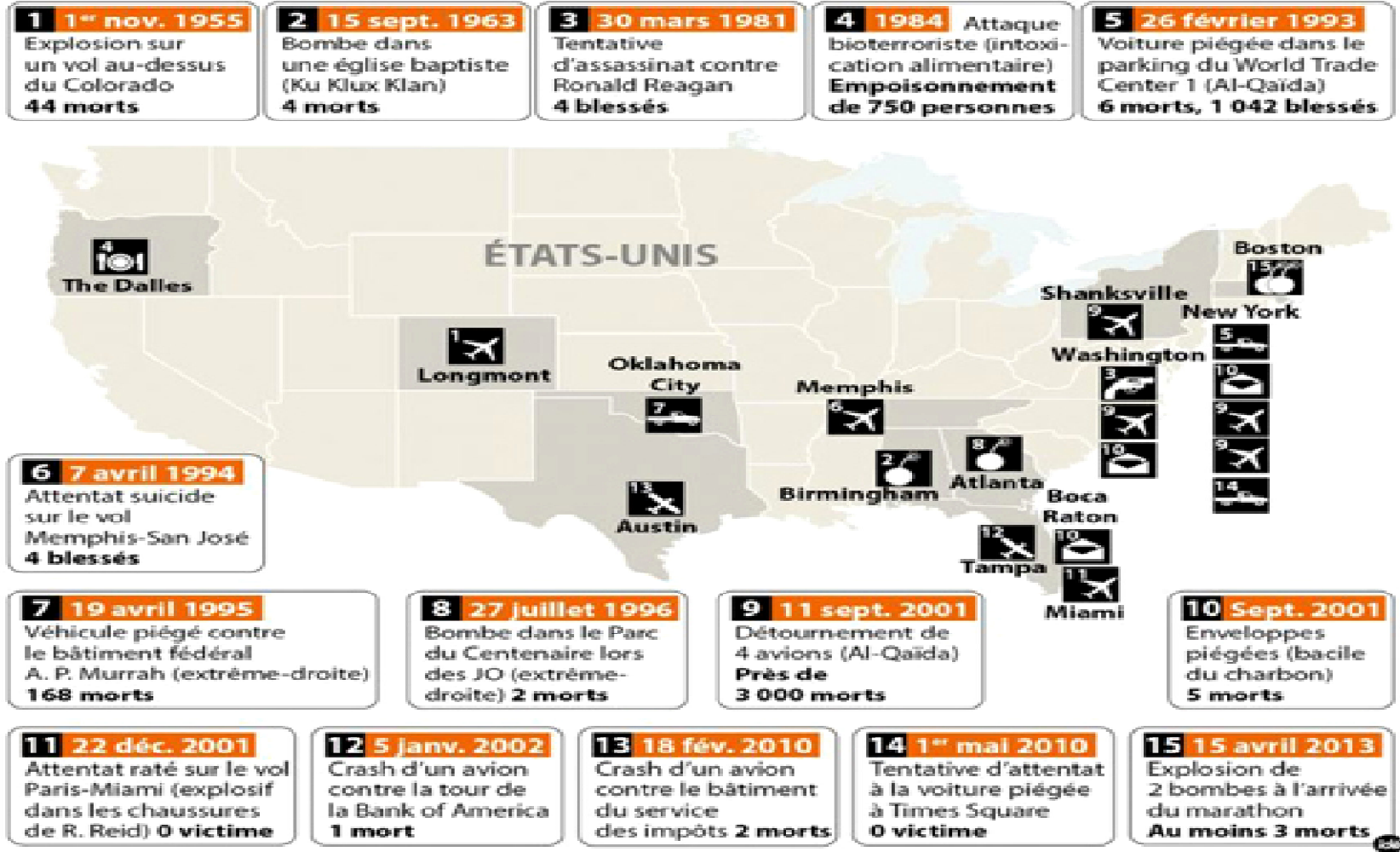
Note: There were 208 total attacks and 21 fatal attacks in the United States between 2001 and 2011.

[http://www.start.umd.edu/start/publications/START\\_IUSSDDataTerroristAttacksUS\\_1970-2011.pdf](http://www.start.umd.edu/start/publications/START_IUSSDDataTerroristAttacksUS_1970-2011.pdf)



# Terrorism: US History

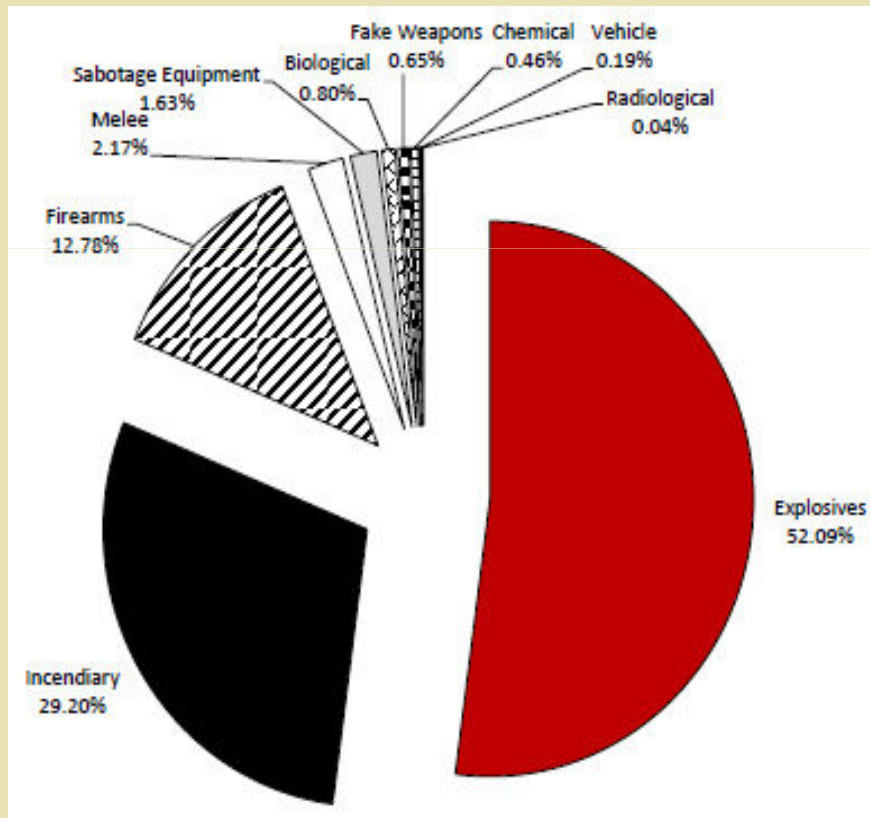
## Les actes terroristes aux États-Unis depuis 1955



<http://alliancegeostrategique.org/2013/04/21/every-place-that-i-gooh-it-seems-so-strange-aint-no-love-in-the-heart-of-the-city-bobby-blue-band/>

# Terrorism: US History

## Weapons used in Terrorist Attacks in the US (1970/2011)

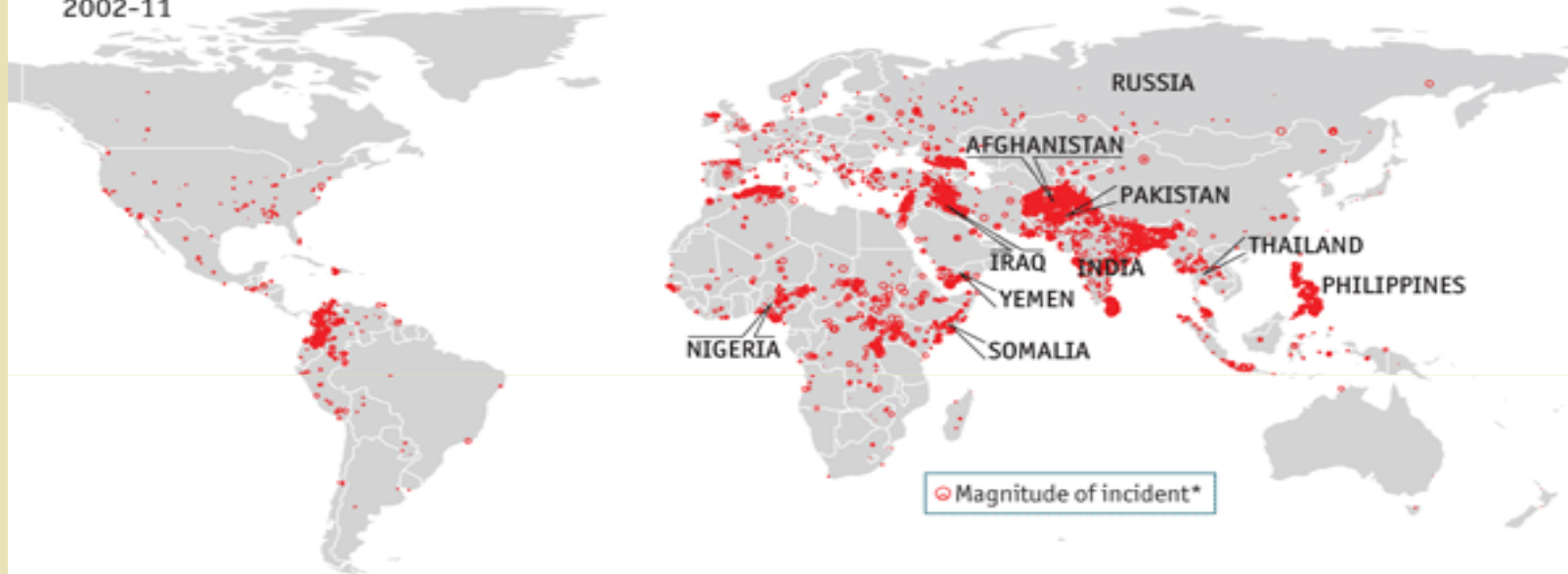


- US terrorist attacks (1970/2011): 2,362.
- 16 terrorist attacks in Boston since 1970 (only 3 since 1990).
- Boston has been the 14th most frequently targeted U.S. city by terrorists in the past 40 years.

<http://www.start.umd.edu/start/publications/>

# Terrorism Worldwide (2002/11)

## Global terrorism index 2002-11

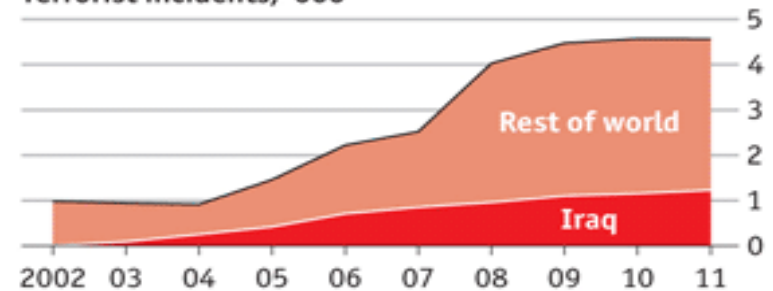


Score, maximum=10

Rank	Country	Score	Rank	Country	Score
1	Iraq	9.56	6	Somalia	7.24
2	Pakistan	9.05	7	Nigeria	7.24
3	Afghanistan	8.67	8	Thailand	7.09
4	India	8.15	9	Russia	7.07
5	Yemen	7.31	10	Philippines	6.80

Source: Institute for Economics and Peace

Terrorist incidents, '000



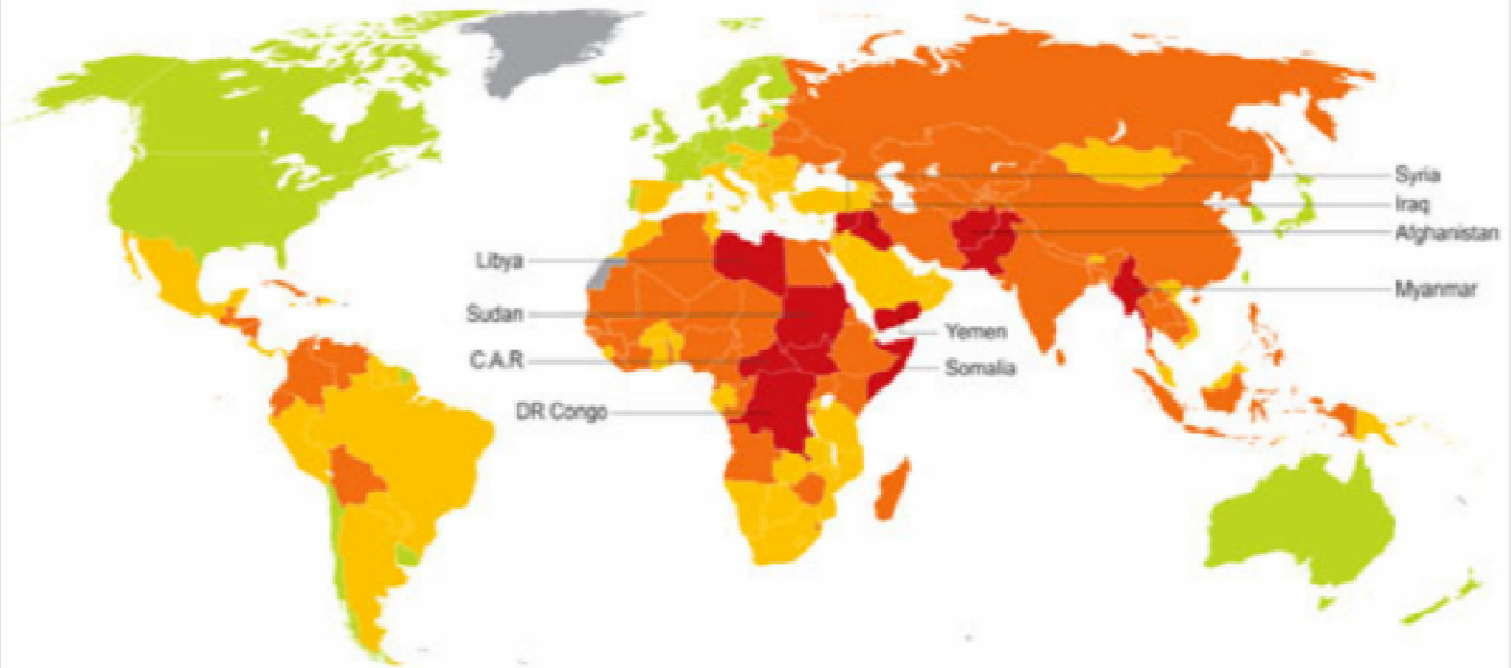
\*Based on deaths, injuries and property damage

Economist.com/graphicdetail

<http://www.visionofhumanity.org/globalterrorismindex/#/2011/OVER/>



## Maplecroft's Political Risk (Dynamic) Index 2013



Legend		Rank	Country	Rating	Rank	Country	Rating
Extreme risk	■	1	Somalia	Extreme	6	Iraq	Extreme
High risk	■	2	DR Congo	Extreme	7	Libya	Extreme
Medium risk	■	3	Sudan	Extreme	8	C.A.R	Extreme
Low risk	■	4	Afghanistan	Extreme	9	Syria	Extreme
No Data	■	5	Myanmar	Extreme	10	Yemen	Extreme

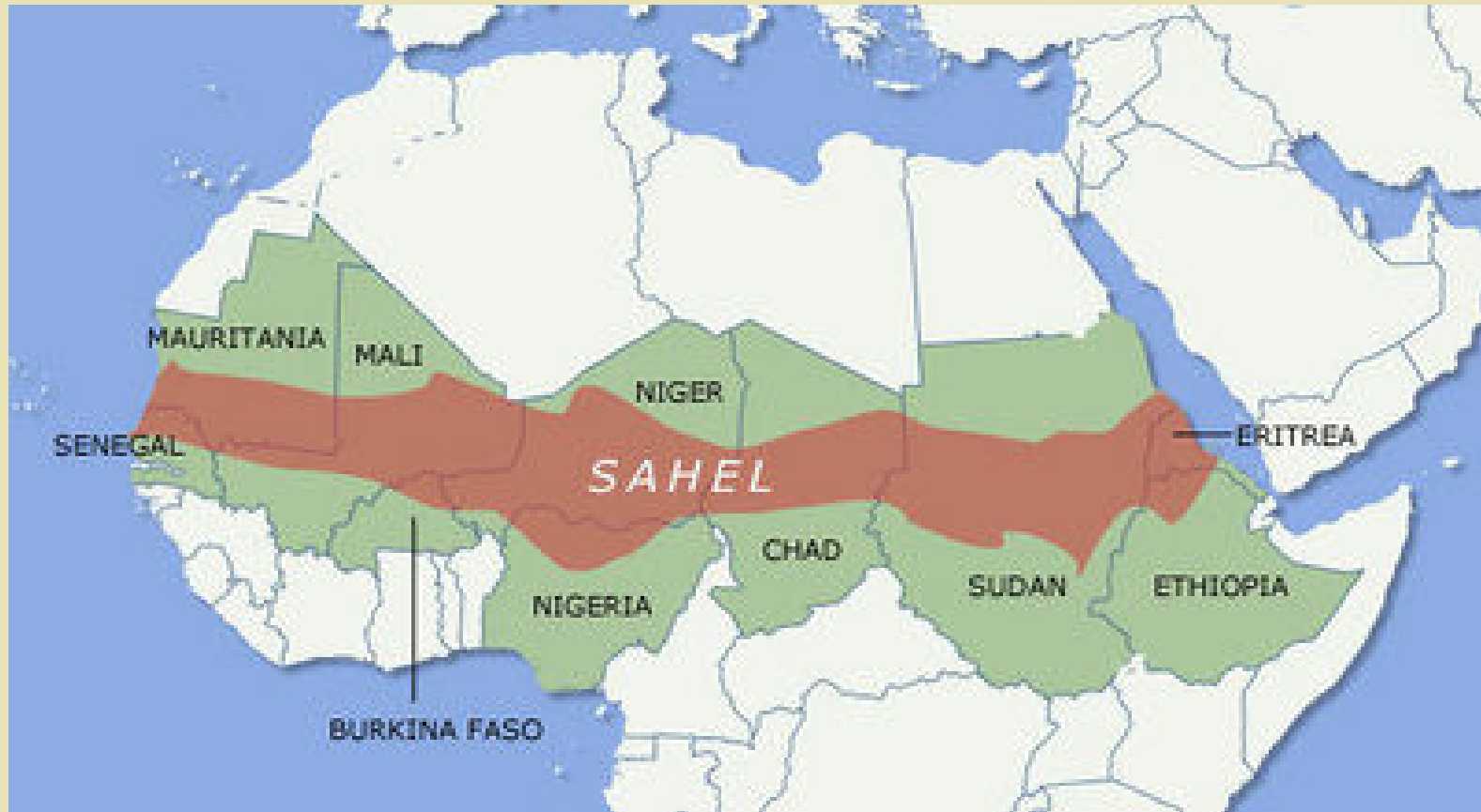
© Maplecroft, 2013

[http://maplecroft.com/about/news/pr\\_2013.html](http://maplecroft.com/about/news/pr_2013.html)



# SAHEL

# Sahel Region



**Area: 1 million square miles of arid/semi-arid land along Sahara**  
**Population: 31 million (1950), 100 million (2013), 300 million (2050)**  
Today, 12 million to 18 million people in this region are hungry.

[http://nature.berkeley.edu/release/oasis\\_monograph\\_final.pdf](http://nature.berkeley.edu/release/oasis_monograph_final.pdf)

# Failed States of Sahel

Countries	Ranking 2012	Total 2012
North Sudan	3	109,4
South Sudan		108,4
Chad	4	107,6
Nigeria	14	101,1
Ethiopia	17	97,9
Niger	18	96,9
Eritrea	23	94,5
Mauritania	38	87,6
Burkina Faso	41	87,4
Senegal	71	79,3
Mali	79	77,9

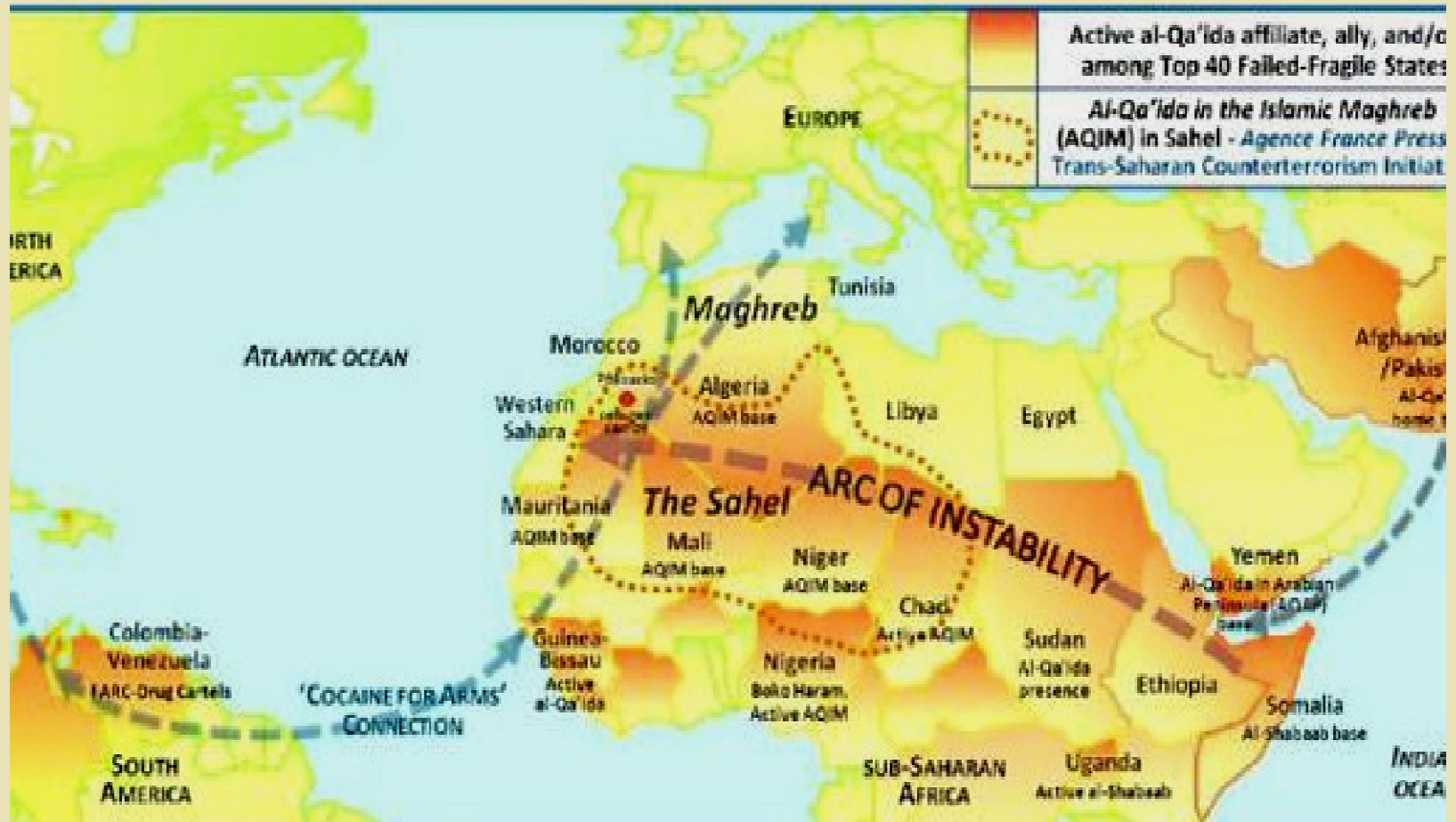
<http://ffp.statesindex.org/rankings-2012-sortable>

- 1) Somalia
- 2) R.D.Congo



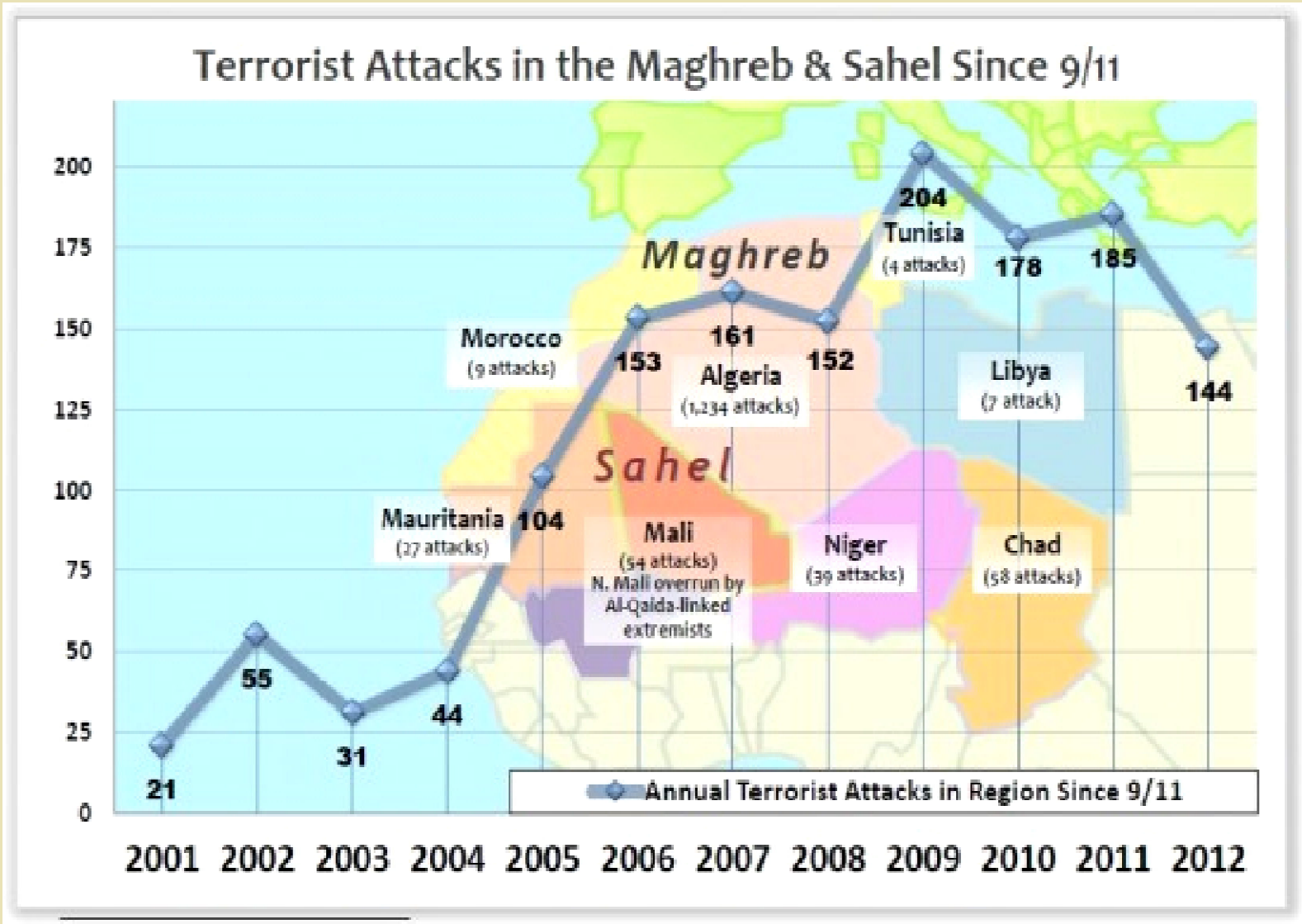
# Arc of Instability

## Terrorism and Traffic of Drugs (AQIM)



Yonah Alexander, "Terrorism in North Africa & the Sahel in 2012: Global Reach & Implications"  
<http://www.potomac institute.org/attachments/article/1358/Terrorism%20in%20North%20Africa%20&%20the%20Sahel.pdf>





Yonah Alexander, "Terrorism in North Africa & the Sahel in 2012: Global Reach & Implications"  
<http://www.potomac institute.org/attachments/article/1358/Terrorism%20in%20North%20Africa%200%20the%20Sahel.pdf>

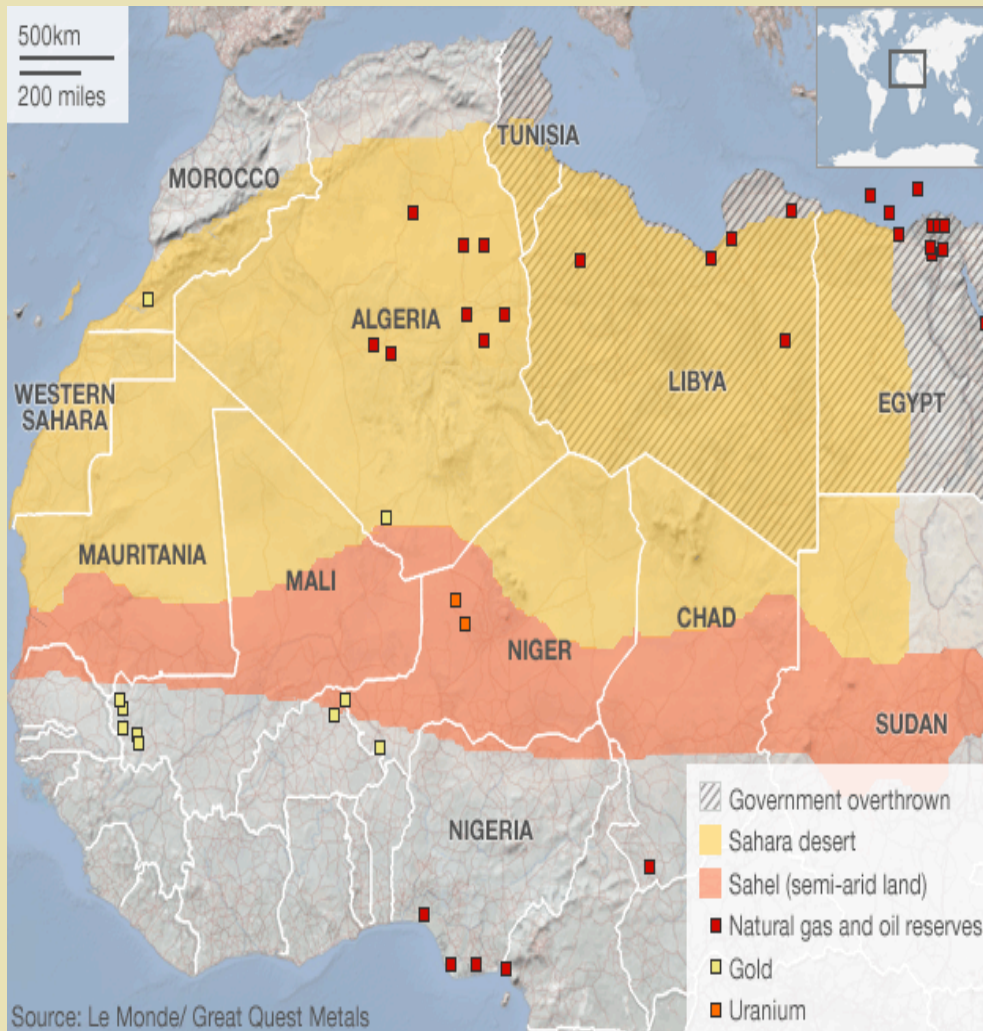


**«The Western world had no idea what Sahel was because history has taken the attention of NATO and Western countries to Iraq and to Afghanistan, but Sahel is potentially even more dangerous... certainly than Afghanistan.»**

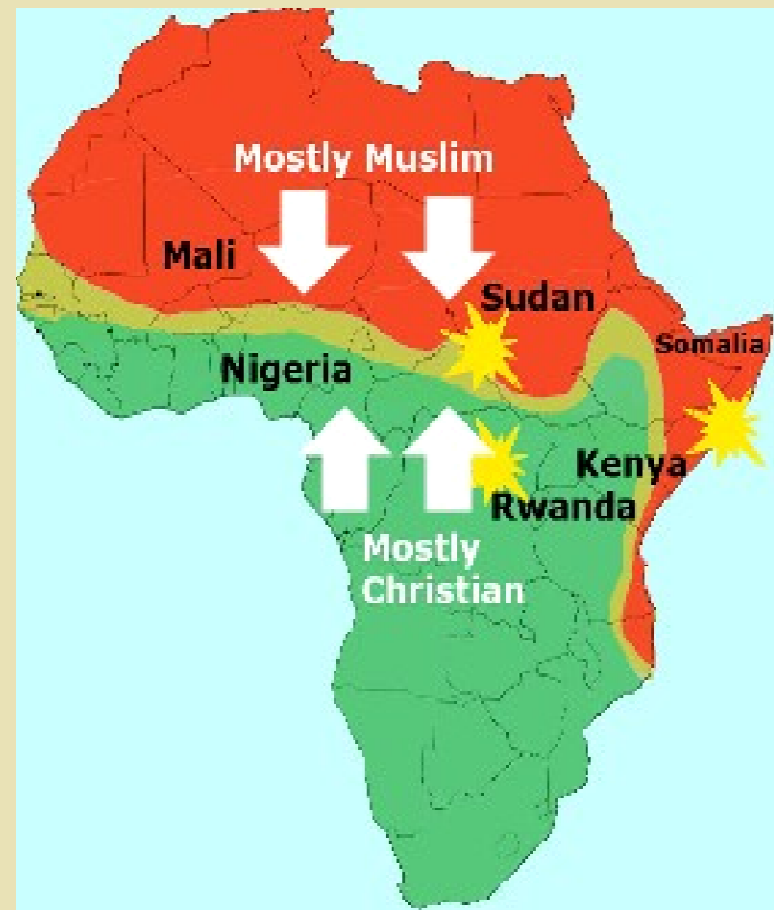
(Romano Prodi, UN Secretary General's Special Envoy to the Sahel)

[http://nature.berkeley.edu/release/oasis\\_monograph\\_final.pdf](http://nature.berkeley.edu/release/oasis_monograph_final.pdf)

# Natural Resources



# Religious Tension in Africa?



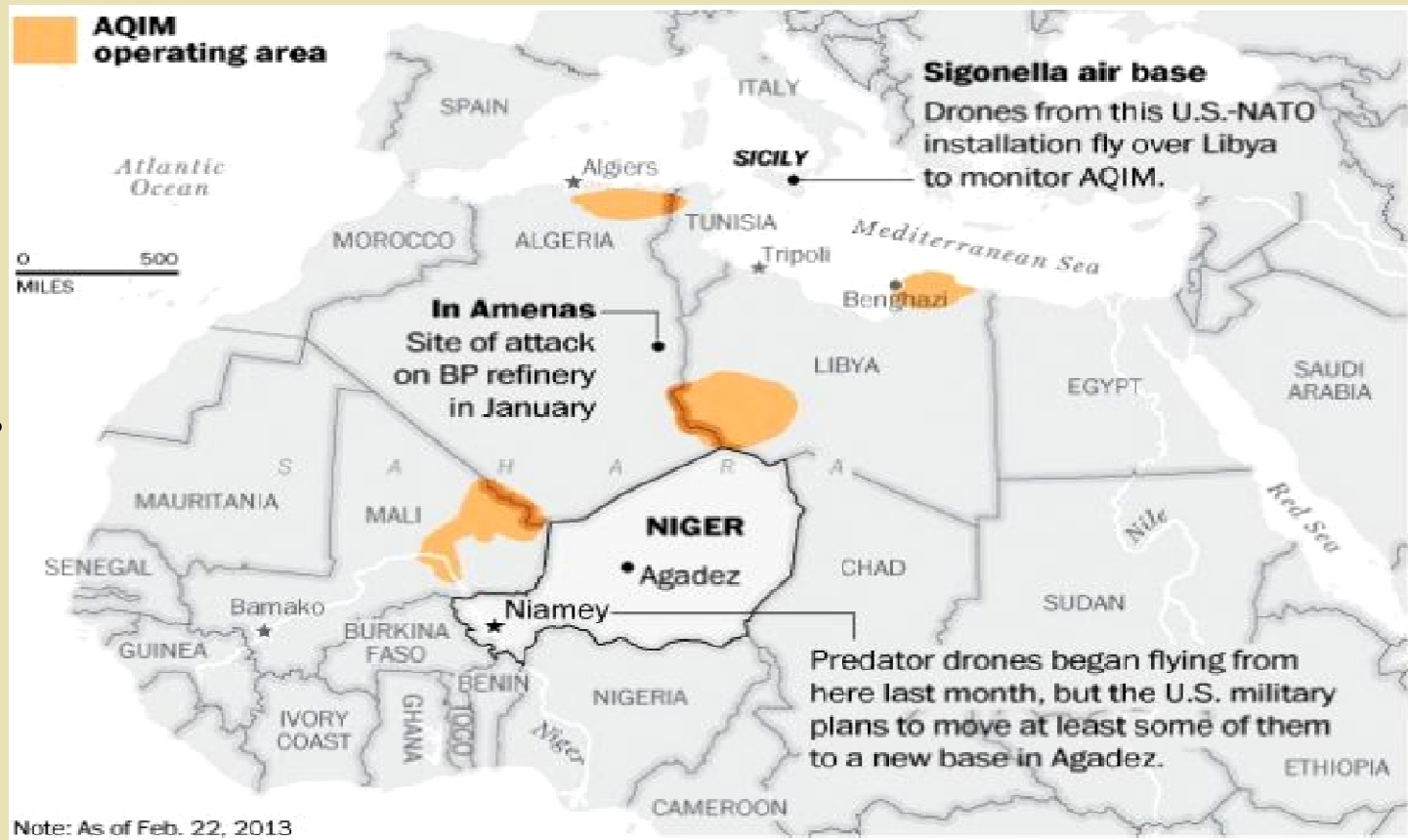
# SAHEL: Terrorist Groups

- ◆ Al-Qaida (since 1980s)
- ◆ AQIM: Al-Qaida in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb (since 2007)
- ◆ Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (since 2011)

## Accusations:

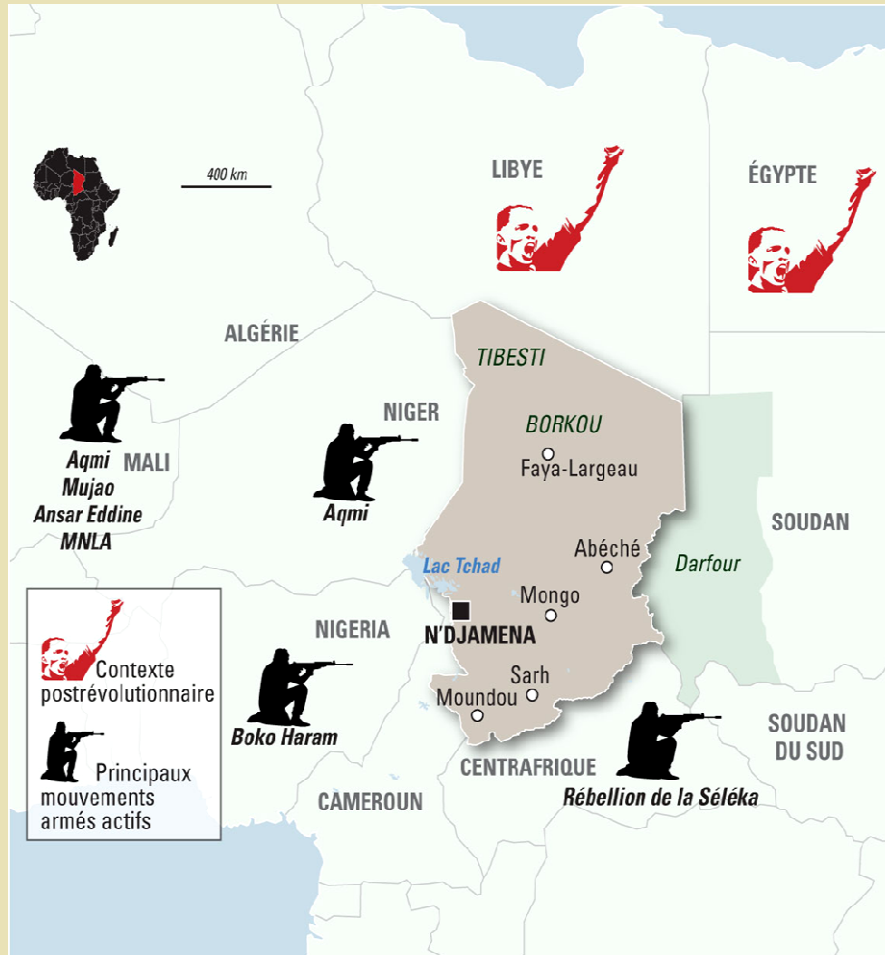
Smuggling  
Drugs Traffic  
Arms Traffic  
Bombs Attacks  
Murders

*kidnaps* for  
ransom for  
raising funds

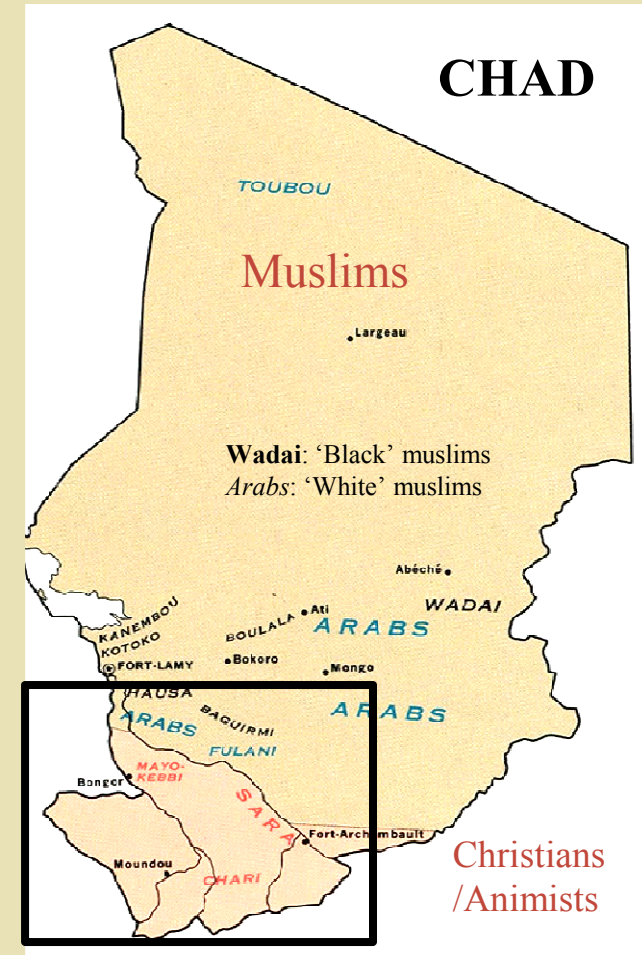


<http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/>

# SAHEL



<http://alliancegeostrategique.org/2013/04/21/every-place-that-i-gooh-it-seems-so-strange-aint-no-love-in-the-heart-of-the-city-bobby-blue-band/>



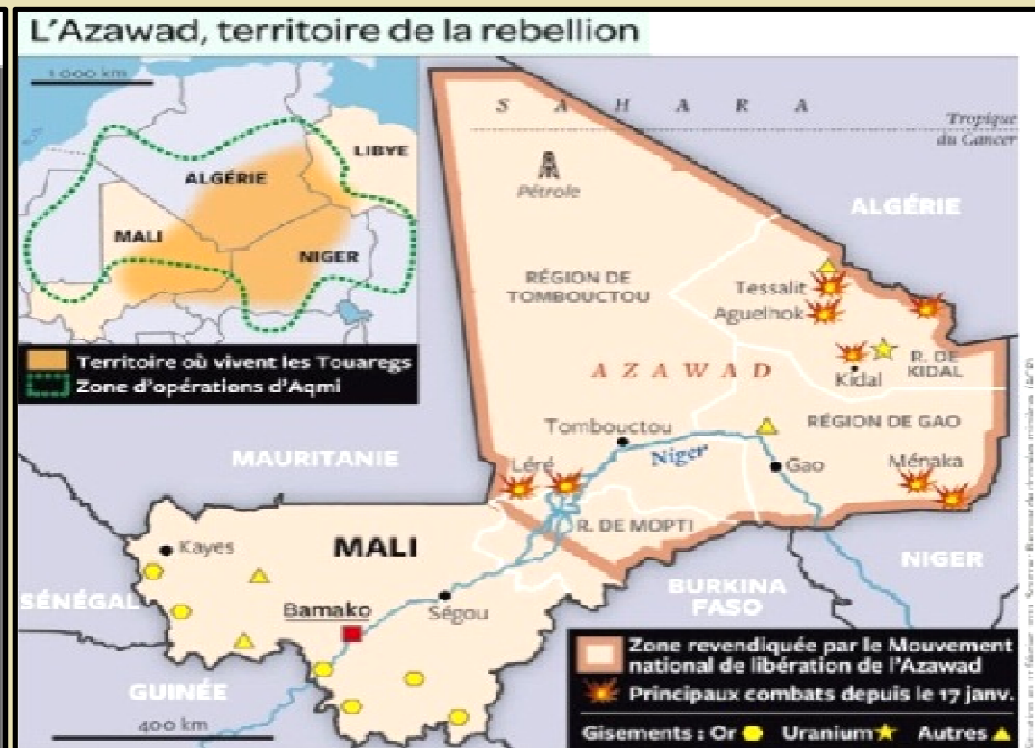
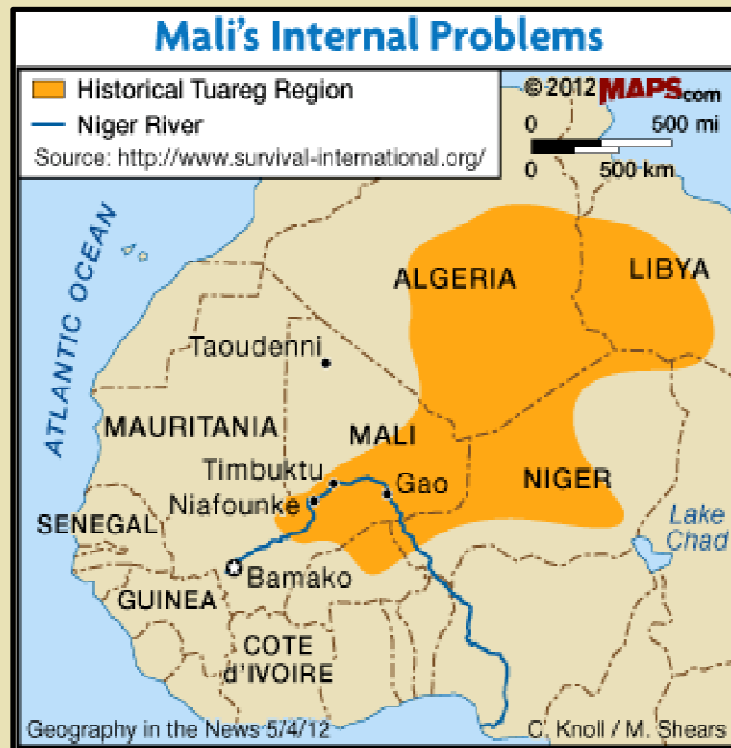
[http://images.nationmaster.com/images/motw/africa/chad\\_ethnic\\_1969.jpg](http://images.nationmaster.com/images/motw/africa/chad_ethnic_1969.jpg)



# MALI

There is diverse blend of religious fighters, ethnic militias and secularists)

- ◆ Tuareg Rebel Groups
- ◆ Democratic Alliance May 23th (2006/08)/ Tuareg Alliance *of the North Mali for Change (ATNMC)* (after).
- ◆ National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (since 2011)
- ◆ Ansar al-Din or Ansar Dine (since 2012)



# Terrorism in MALI

## Inter-communal violence between ethnic affiliations

### **Ganda Koy** (*Masters of the Land*, in Songhai)

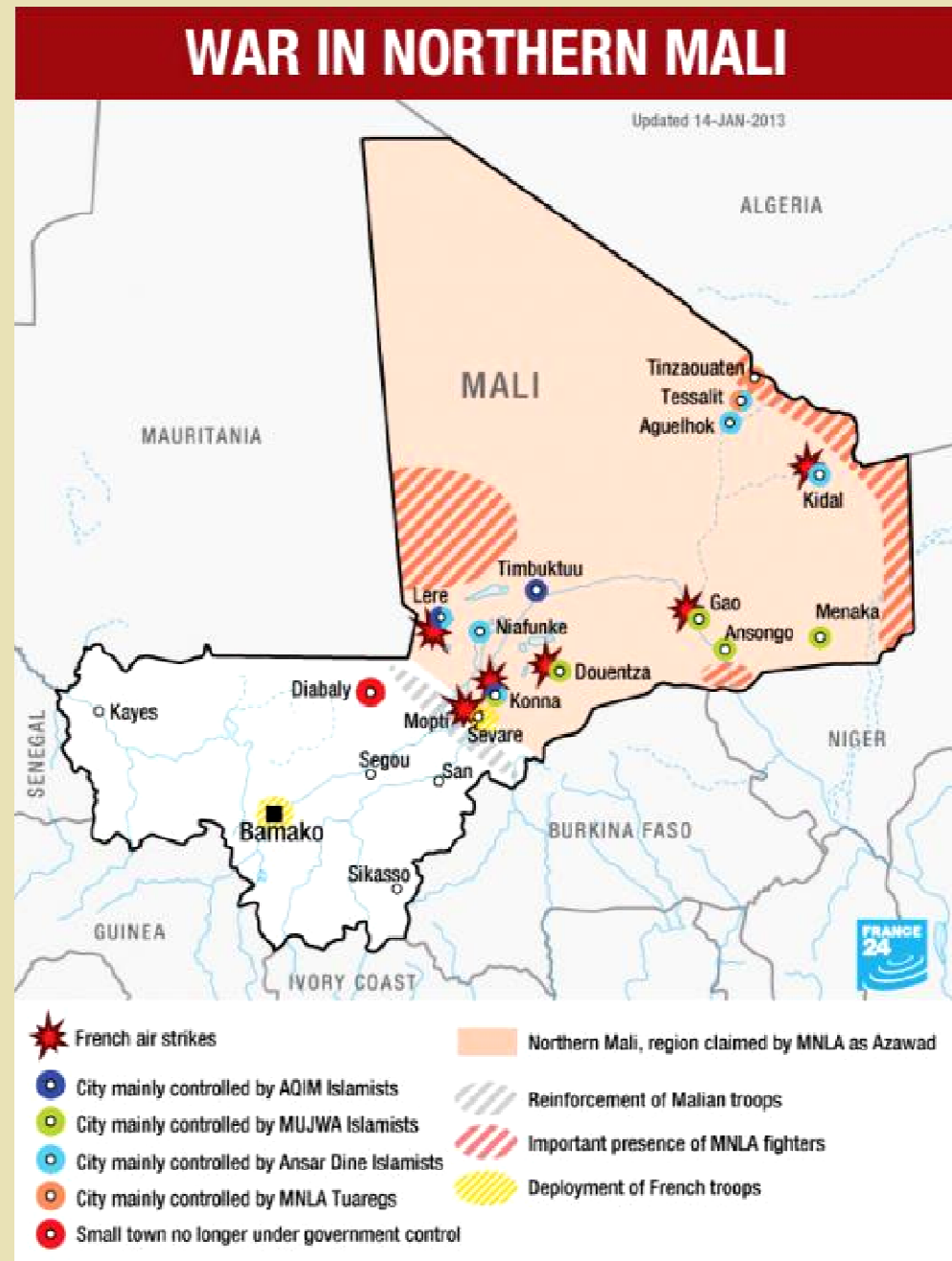
- ◆ Patriotic Malian Movement Ganday Koy (MPMGK). Or Ganda Koy for short.
- ◆ Borned between 1992/94.
- ◆ Ethnic Songhai deserters of the malian army
- ◆ Frustrated with the malian government for protecting the northern Mali's sedentary populations (mostly Songhai and Fulani) from Tuareg extremism (attacks and banditry).
- ◆ Perpetrated several massacres in the Gao and Timbuktu areas in the 1990's (like the killing of October 1994 of 60 tuareg holy men from Kel Essouk in Gao).
- ◆ They attack Tuaregs and arab civilians.
- ◆ Note: *Ganda Koy has become a label for rebels.*



# Terrorism in MALI

April 2013. UN Office in Mali (UNOM) condemned the terrorist suicide bombing attack in Kidal (north-east of Mali) which injured several people serving under the African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA Force)

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) said that the Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF) has allocated 16 million U.S. dollars over the past few weeks to kick-start life-saving humanitarian projects in Mali.

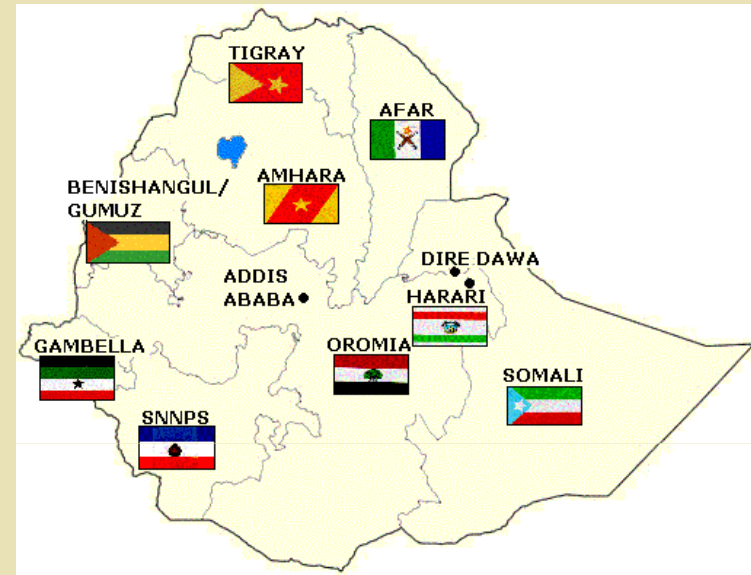




# Tension in Ethiopia and Eritrea

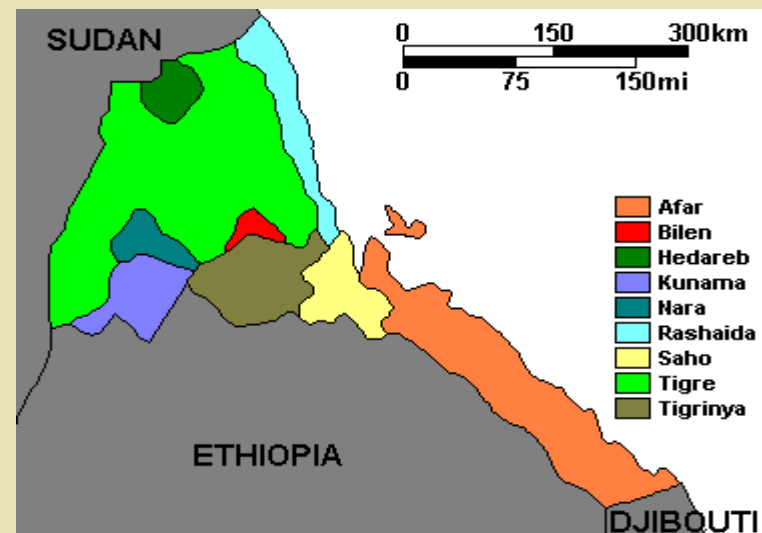
## ETHIOPIA

- ◆ Afar Revolutionary Democratic Unity Front (since 1993)
- ◆ *Al-Shabaad* (since 2004)

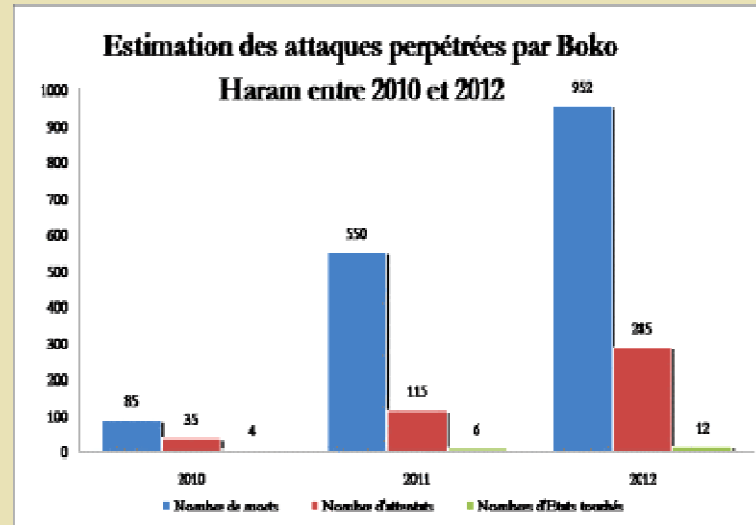
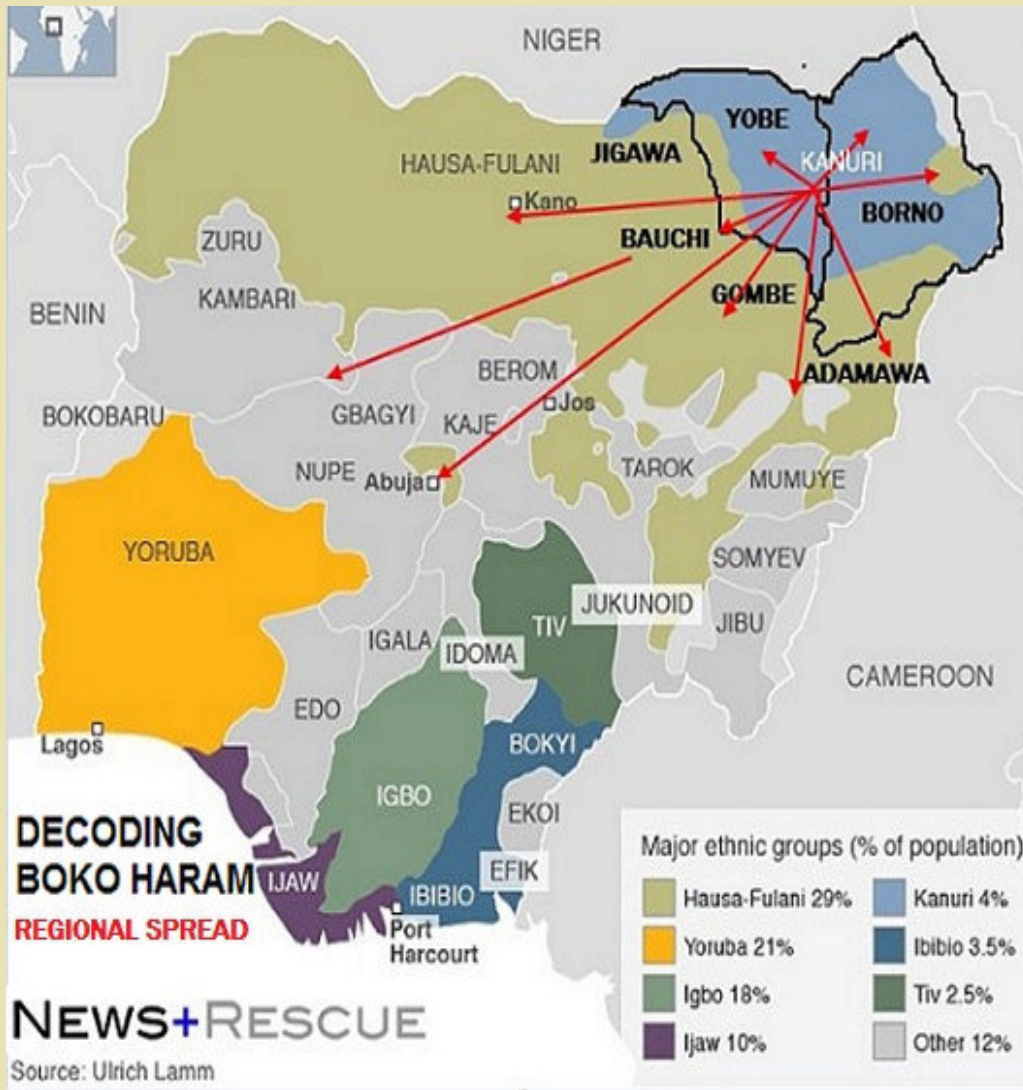


## ERITREA

- ◆ Eritrean Islamic Salvation Movement
- ◆ Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF).



# BOKO HARAM (Nigeria)

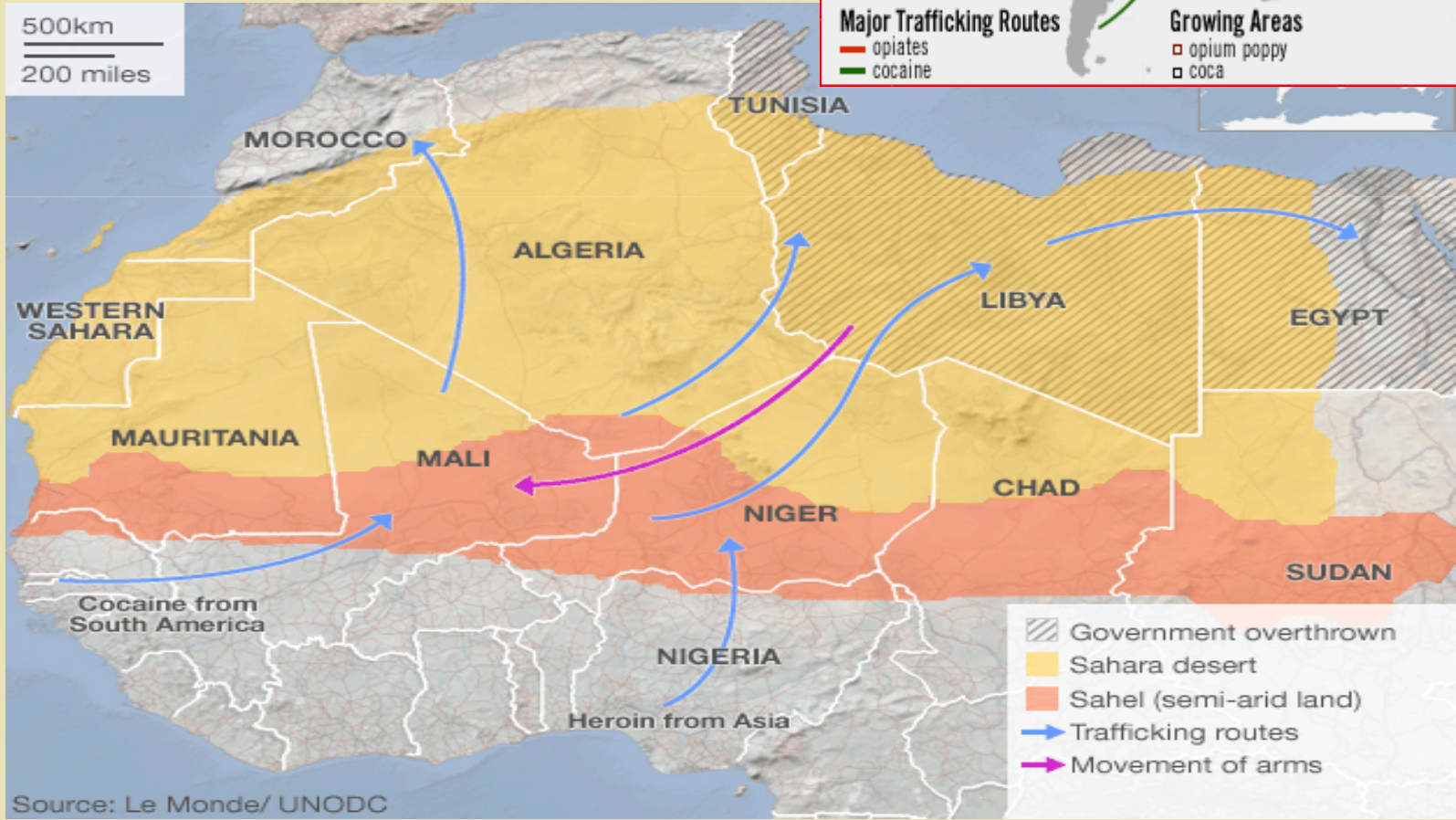
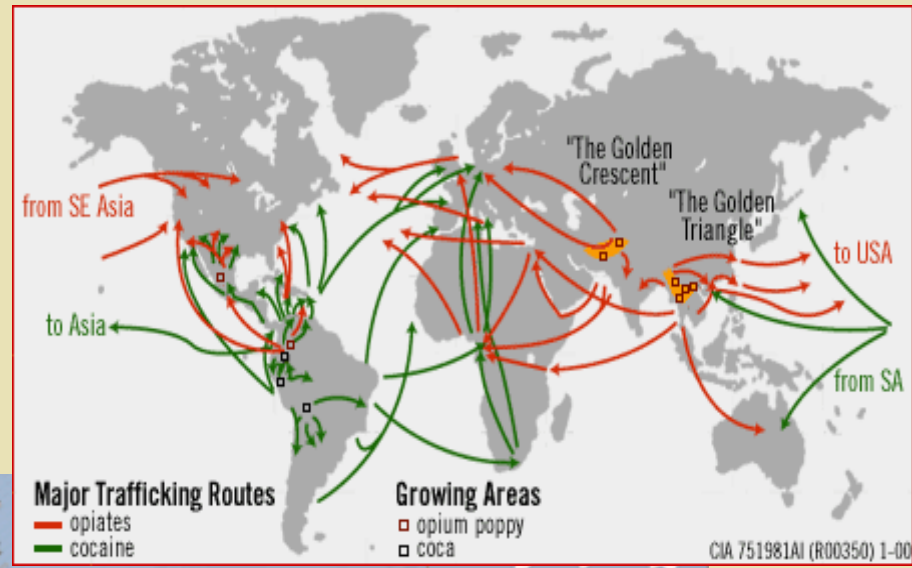


<http://etudesgeostrategiques.com/tag/terrorisme/>

Boko Haram is accused of kidnaps and bombing attacks in Churches and government buildings; also targets media houses, telecommunications infrastructures. Boko Haram is maybe more a Kanuri than a Hausa-Fulani phenomenon.

<http://247ureports.com/decoding-boko-haram-the-regional-ambitions-and-permutations/>

# Arab Spring Drugs Trafficking



# Recent News

January 11<sup>th</sup> 2013: French military intervention in Mali. Justification: a necessary battle to stem the advance of Al-Qieda-linked militants who had seized northern Mali, and threatened to gain control over the capital Bamako. French troops are still battling insurgents in Gao as well as in Timbuktu.

Part of the old neo-colonial *Françafrique* system?

08/04/2013: Romano Prodi (UN special envoy for Sahel) said: «I always looked towards peace, but the French intervention has proved to be absolutely crucial since [Mali] was on the verge of collapse.» Important to ensure the upcoming elections in Mali in July 2013 run smoothly.

April 2013: France withdrawn first batch of 100 troops out of the 4,000 in Mali.

Will hand over operations to a UN peacekeeping force, with 1,000 French troops until the end of 2013. Additional Troops from UN in Mali? Only a thought.

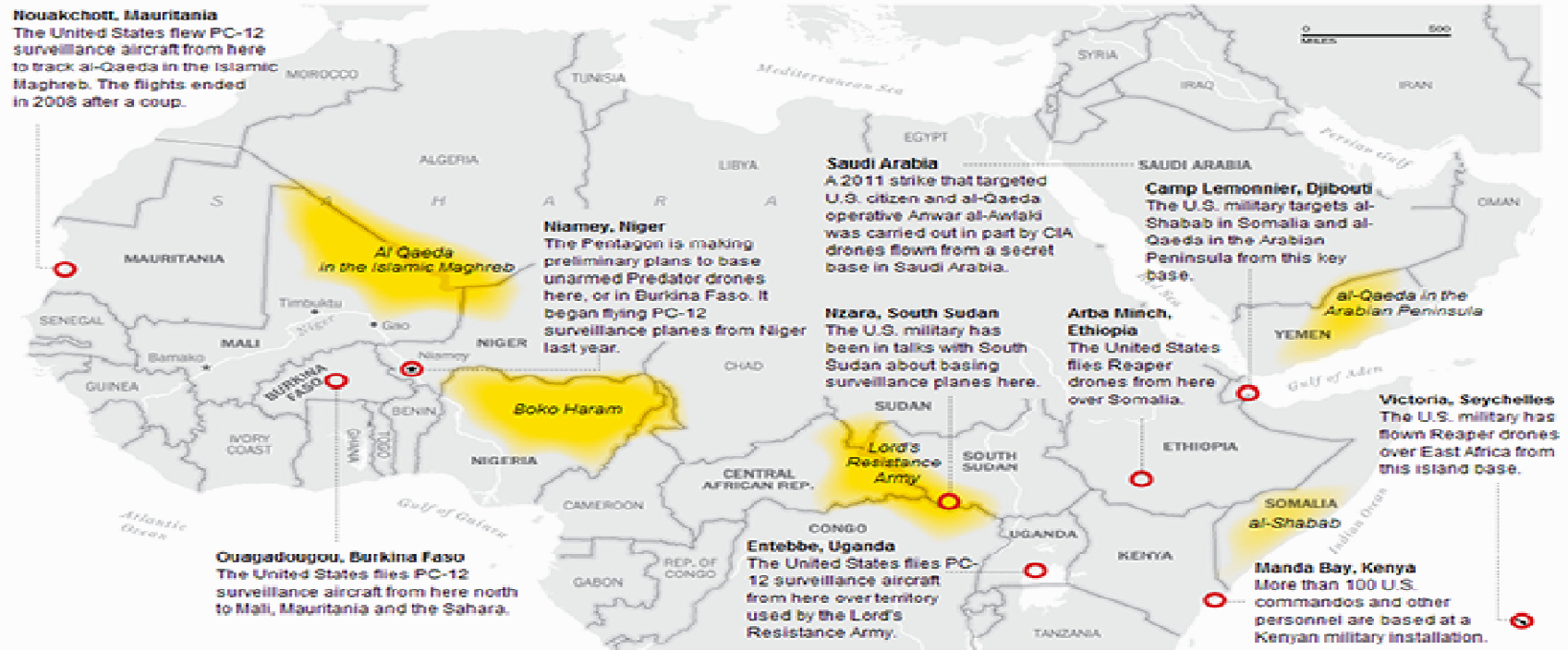
Troops from Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). *Capable?*

# Counterterrorism in Africa

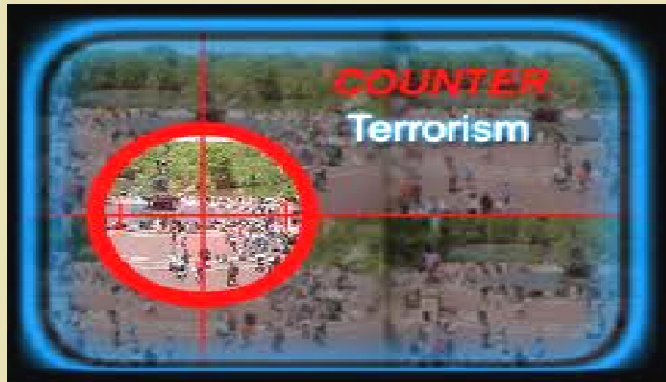
US/Niger: US expands its counterterrorism operations in Africa and Niger is emerging as a key partner. With chaos enveloping Mali to the west and militant groups holding sway in Libya to the north, Mahamadou Issoufou (President Niger) looks like a possible ally against violence in Niger/region.

## Drones and spy planes over Africa and Arabian Peninsula

In response to the proliferation of extremist groups, the Pentagon has greatly expanded its base network for drones and other surveillance aircraft.



# Recent News



March 12th-15th, 2013: The United Nations Centre for Counterterrorism (UNCCT) organized the event in Morocco (Rabat) as part of its technical assistance program for Sahel states. Initiative of the Direction of the Committee against Terrorism (DECT).

- ◆ to promote dialogue among intelligence services of Sahel-Saharan countries
- ◆ to promote a sincere co-operation in border control
- ◆ to promote successful co-operation at these levels, within the rule of law, and the sovereignty of states and their political, social and cultural rights
- ◆ to fight and combat terrorism in an effective and sustainable manner.

# More Possible Solutions for Terrorism

Face the main causes of Terrorism in Sahel:

- ◆ Population Growth, Poverty and Unemployment
- ◆ Growing desertification and climate change
- ◆ Fights over Natural resources
- ◆ Undemocratic Governments and Failed States
- ◆ Indoctrination and Alienated Brains (intellectuals or religious leaders who brainwash young, poor or confused people)
- ◆ Rivalry among different ethnic groups or different political agendas
- ◆ Business of terrorism (funds from oil or gas, drug and weapon traffics, charities/religious schools, money laundering,...)

Other Solutions:

- ◆ Agree on a unique definition of terrorism worldwide.
- ◆ Democracy/Rule of Law
- ◆ AID should be more monitored and the recipient countries made accountable
- ◆ Trade among Nations
- ◆ Securing Defenses
- ◆ International Organizations
- ◆ Learn how to fight an irrational enemy with an united will.

# Thank You



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- ◆ April 18<sup>th</sup>, 2013

