

THE COMPLEX DIMENSION OF TERRORISM IN WEST AFRICA

VULNERABILITIES, TRENDS AND NOTORIOUS TERRORIST
NETWORKS

PRESENTATION PREPARED FOR SWAC/OECD

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Facts and Figures About West Africa

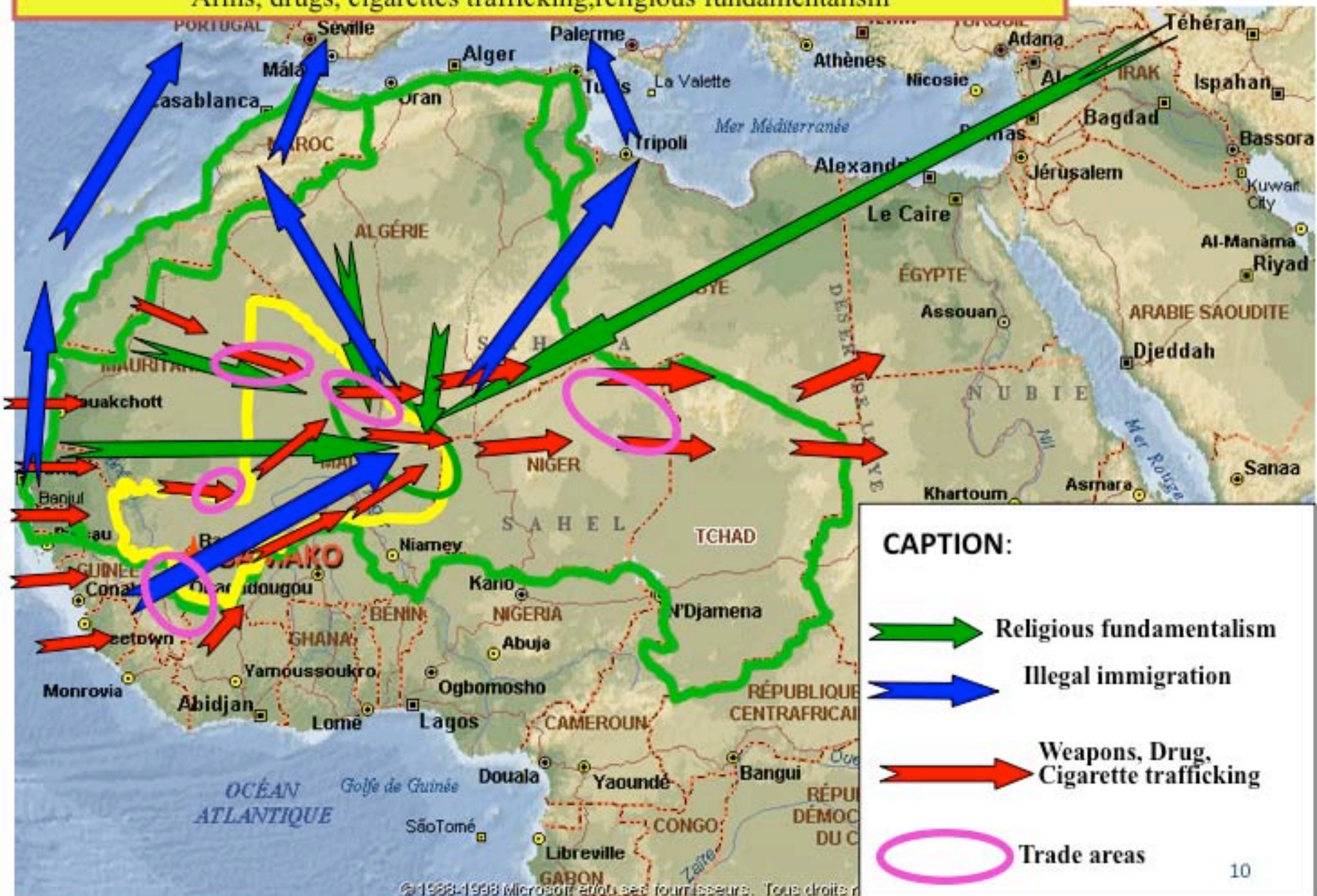
- Comprises 15 ECOWAS Countries
- *Total land surface*: 5.1 million square km (17%)
- *Total population*: 282.5 million (2009 estimate – 29% of Africa's population)
- *Regional GDP*: over 343 billion USD
- Average per capita GDP at PPP of US\$1,316 (2004)
- 11 countries lie on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean
- About five countries form part of the Sahel

West African Vulnerabilities to Terrorism

- Chronic corruption undermines law enforcement
- Weak Institutions/Failed States (Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria)
- Muslim-Christian conflict (religious fundamentalism)
- Farmers-Grazers land conflicts
- Porous borders
- Conflict, coups and ethnic tensions
- Proliferation of arms and light weapons
- Poverty and mass youth unemployment

GENERAL SCHEME OF THREATS TO SECURITY IN THE REGION:

Arms, drugs, cigarettes trafficking, religious fundamentalism



CAPTION:

-  Religious fundamentalism
-  Illegal immigration
-  Weapons, Drug, Cigarette trafficking
-  Trade areas

Trends in Terrorism in West Africa

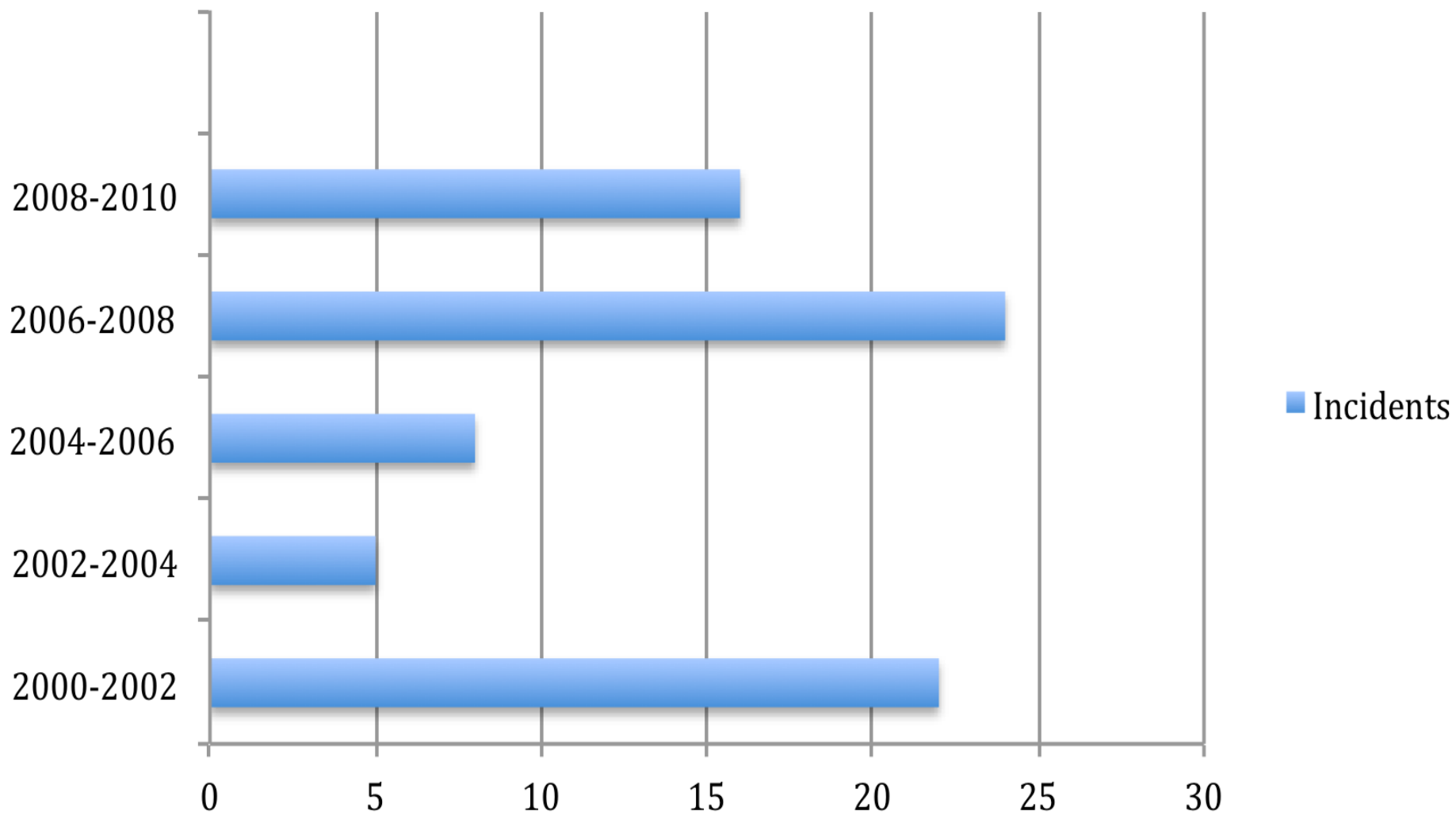
- Terrorism is generally considered a recent development in West Africa but the use of terror as a strategy is not new
- A bomb exploded in Accra in 1964 predating the assassination of President Kwame Nkrumah
- Kidnapping in the post-independence period occurred in Kaduna, Nigeria, when ZANU-PF kidnapped 10 people in the British Consulate
- Then of a letter bomb on 19 October 1986, a letter bomb killed a renowned journalist, Dele Giwa
- Bilma bombing, 19 September 1989
- 30 May 1995, a bomb exploded at Ilorin stadium, Nigeria
- Characteristics of Terrorism in West Africa: kidnapping, hijacking, hostage-taking, bombing, suicide attacks, murder, etc.
- 2000 – 2010: Most deadly terrorist decade in West Africa

Overview

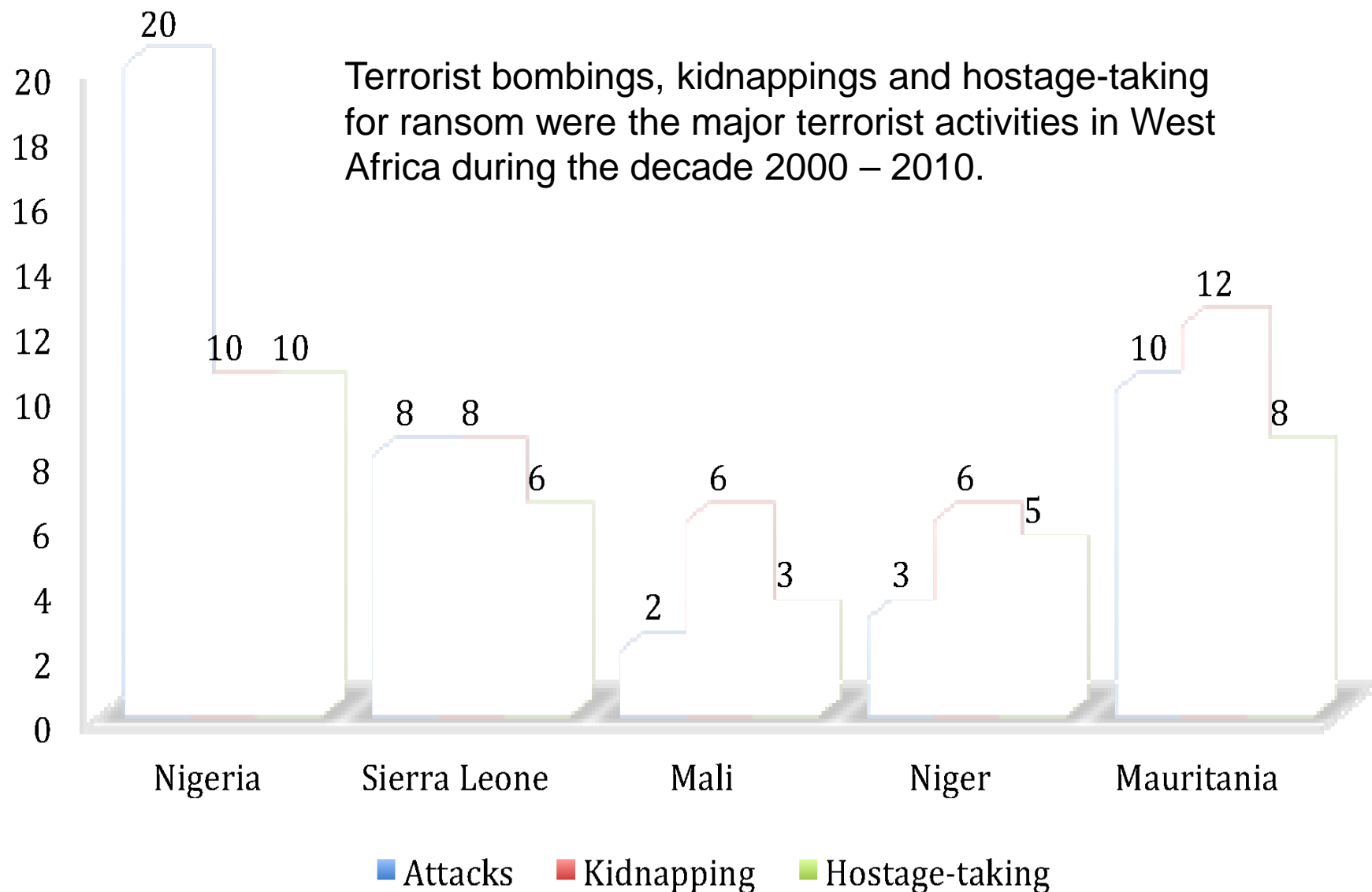
- 50 major attacks between 2000 and 2009
- 300 attacks between 2010 and 2012
- 90% of attacks occurring in Nigeria
- 65% of attacks have to do with religion

Terrorist incidents in West Africa—2000 - 2010

Incidents



Major Terrorist Incidents in West Africa by Country 2000 - 2010





MOST WANTED TERRORIST GROUPS IN WEST AFRICA

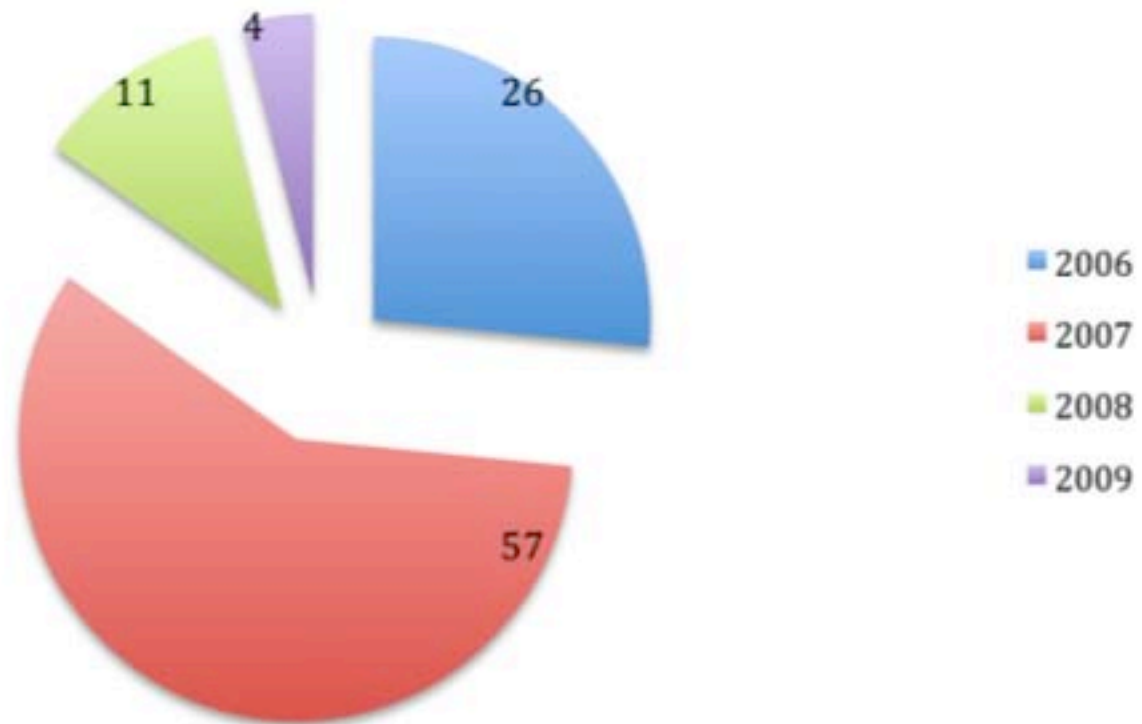


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Major Attacks by MEND

Major Kidnappings by MEND



Major Attacks by AQIM

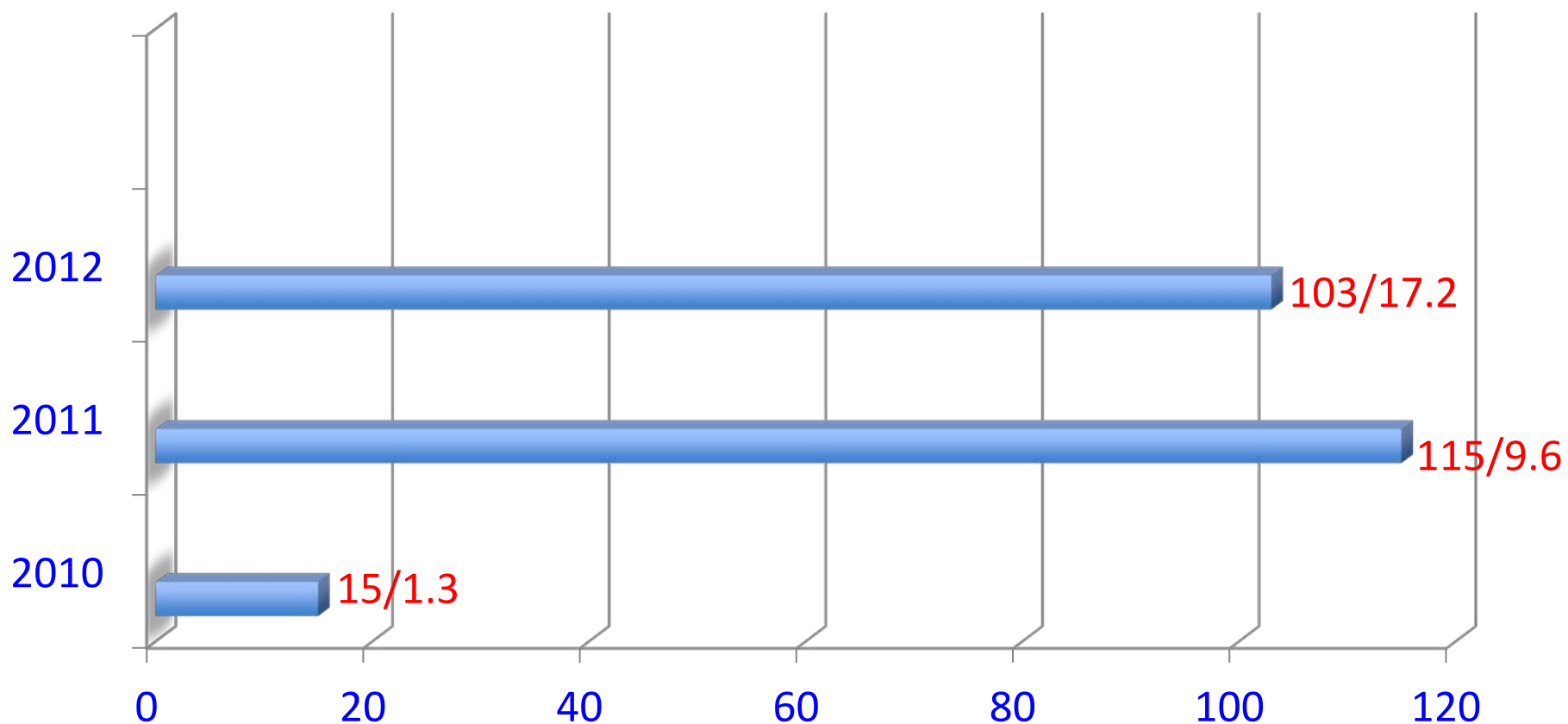
| Year | Kidnapping | Bombing | Shootout |
|------|------------|---------|----------|
| 2006 | 3 | 6 | 3 |
| 2007 | 10 | 5 | 1 |
| 2008 | 3 | 5 | N/A |
| 2009 | 8 | 3 | 5 |
| 2010 | 5 | 2 | 2 |

Boko Haram

- *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad (People committed for the Preaching of Mohammed and Jihad) of Boko Haram—Western edu. Is sinful.*
- *Founded in 2002*
- *Has evolved from various sects in Nigeria*
- *Goal is to spread sharia, eliminate corruption, free prisoners, seek justice*
- *Crushed in July 2009, reemerged in 2010*
- *Attacks Christians and Muslims*

Attacks Carried out by Boko Haram between 2010 and 2012

- The Table below shows total attacks by year and monthly average



Major Nigerian Cities Affected by Boko Haram Attacks

| City | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|-----------|------|------|------|
| Maiduguri | 9 | 25 | 18 |
| Jos | 2 | 13 | 8 |
| Bauchi | 2 | 11 | 3 |
| Kano | - | 8 | 12 |
| Abuja | - | 4 | - |
| Damaturu | | 5 | 2 |
| Gombe | | 7 | 2 |

Strategy and Tactics

- Invisible
- Surprised attacks
- Mingle with fulanis
- Recruits non-Muslims
- Use of suicide attacks
- Explosives (commercial explosives)
- Mount attacks on motorbikes and cars
- Simultaneous attacks
- Centralised structure of leadership
- Use any weapon for attacks (knives, arson, bombs, guns—shootout with security agencies)
- Armed robbery

Targets

- Security agencies
- Government officials
- Civilians
- Anyone who has offended them
- Limited attacks on foreigners (extensive use of threat as a strategy)
- Target moderate Muslims and Christians
- A strong dislike for Western culture

Tools

- Motorbikes
- Household explosives
- Small and medium weight weapons
- About 5000 fighters
- Some well trained

Sustenance

- Growing links with AQIM, al Shabaab
- Use of madrassas
- Use of Mosques
- Use of universities and other academic centres for recruitment
- Involves in legitimate and corrupt businesses

Assessing Regional Capacity to Prevent and Combat Terrorism

ECOWAS Relevant CT Instruments

- 2001 ECOWAS Protocol on the Fight against Corruption;
- 2008 ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework;
- 2006 ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, Their Ammunition and Other Related Materials;
- 2001 Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security;
- 1999 Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security;
- 1994 Convention on Extradition;
- 1992 ECOWAS Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters;
- 1982 Convention for Mutual Administrative Assistance in Customs Matters;
- 1981 Protocol on Mutual Assistance in Defence;
- 1978 Protocol on Non-Aggression; and the
- 1977 Framework Agreement of the Protocol on Non-Aggression and Assistance in Defence.

ECOWAS Counter-Terrorism Strategy and Implementation Plan

- Provides a common framework for the prevention and combating of terrorism
- Serves as a toolkit for the implementation of international, regional and national legal instruments against terrorism
- Based on measures provided in the United Nations Security Council resolutions including, 1373, 1267, 1566, 1540, and the GA Global CT Strategy
- Contains practical strategies for the prevention and combating of terrorism and the measures for the respect of international law including human rights

Pillar 1

- **Pillar 1 deals with prevention of terrorism:**
 - identify key areas where Member States should take actions to detect and prevent terrorism before it emerges.
 - address and eliminate conditions conducive to terrorism as contained in the UN General's Assembly's 2006 Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.
 - promote policies aimed at addressing the root causes of terrorism including poverty and widespread unemployment, economic and political marginalization of some groups, human rights abuse, corruption, weak security institutions and illicit trans-border activities.
 - Outline measures to counter terrorist propaganda, dissuade and deter people from turning to terrorism and deny terrorists access to funds, materials and space with which to plan and launch their attacks.

Pillar 2

- Pillar 2 deals with measures to Pursue terrorism
 - focuses on measures for intercepting, combating, prosecuting terrorism
 - operational responses to terrorism
 - enables Member States to undertake rapid, timely and effective responses to terrorism when it occurs.
 - disrupt terrorists' planning, networks and their activities; bring terrorist leaders and their followers, supporters and sympathizers to justice to the full extent provided by the law;
 - cut off terrorists' funding and access to equipment, finances, training and meeting ground; and to create a hostile environment for terrorists in the region.

Pillar 3

- Pillar 3—Reconstruct--deals with the reconstruction of society after a terrorist act.
 - Deals with the aftermath of terrorism or counter-terrorism operation
 - Intended to build confidence and trust in CT agencies
 - strengthens the role of the state and its responsibility to protect.
 - provides measures for rebuilding society and enabling the state to heal social wounds caused by terrorism and counter-terrorism.

Relevant ECOWAS CT Mechanisms

- ECOWAS Authority—supreme policy-making body
- Executive Council—main policy-making organ
- Community Court of Justice—deals with legal matters and human rights
- ECOWAS Commission—monitors and ensures policy implementation, deals with coordination of policies
- WAPCCO—deals with police coordination on criminal matters
- CCSS—deals with coordination of security agencies

States' Capacities and Mechanisms

- Protocol on Democracy: 10 states Parties—Benin, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo (EIF:4 January 2000)
- Conv. On Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters: 11 rats: Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo (EIF: 28 October 1998)
- Conv. on Extradition: 11 rats: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo (EIF: 8 December 2005)
- Protocol on Conflict Prevention: 7 rats: Burkina Faso, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo (EIF: upon adoption)
- Conv. on Small Arms: 10 rats: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo (EIF: 5 August 2009)
- Protocol on Corruption: 8 rats: Benin, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Togo (EIF: not yet)

The ISS Programme for West Africa

- Building Regional CT Capacity
- Building National CT Capacity
- Providing technical assistance
- ECOWAS Counter-Terrorism Training Manual
- ECOWAS CT Strategy and Implementation Plan