

COLLOQUIUM THE SECURITY-DEVELOPMENT NEXUS IN WEST AFRICA: REGIONAL CHALLENGES

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West Africa is facing new and more complex acts of violence that combine identity claims, religious extremism, and arms, drug and human trafficking. These dynamics continue to develop while the region deals with structural weaknesses such as the competition for mineral and agro-pastoral resources, environmental degradation, unfinished demarcation of borders, the fragility of some democratic processes, and socio-economic challenges.

The development of these instabilities, and their interdependence, reinforces the need for co-ordinated proposals within the framework of the security-development nexus in which political and operational dimensions are sometimes difficult to reconcile. Cross-border co-operation is an example of a possible response to this challenge.

The transnational dimension of past insecurities, the global dimension of some trafficking and terrorism, and the regional economic integration as part of the ongoing process of globalisation, call for regional responses and a more active participation of West African institutions and representatives in global debates.

Analysing the links between “security and development”, this Colloquium aims to improve the understanding of West African security-development challenges in the context of recent tensions and to promote dialogue between OECD member countries and West African countries. More particularly, participants will exchange on experiences, challenges and best practices reflected in regional and international policies. Among the participants will be Club Members, representatives of international institutions, and specialised agencies and research centres working on the theme of security and development.

2 AGENDA

- 08:30 - 09:15** **Opening address**
→ Mr. François-Xavier de Donnea, President, Sahel and West Africa Club
→ H.E. Mr. Boubacar Sidiki Touré, Ambassador of Mali to France
- SESSION 1** **Geographic dynamics of West African security challenges**
→ Chair/Facilitator: Mr. Manuel Lopez-Blanco, Director, European External Action Service, EU
- 09:15 - 09:30** **The evolution of instability in the Sahel and West Africa since 2005**
→ Mr. Henry Wilkinson, Head of Intelligence and Analysis, The Risk Advisory Group plc, United Kingdom
- 09:30 - 09:45** **Co-ordinated mechanisms to fight against terrorism and transnational organised crime**
→ H.E. Mr. Soumeylou Boubèye Maïga, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Mali
- 09:45 - 10:45** **Debate**
- 10:45 - 11:00** **Coffee break**
- 11:00 - 11:15** **Security, development and regional relations: A historical and geographical perspective based on the experience of Chad**
→ Mr. Géraud Magrin, Researcher, CIRAD, France
- 11:15 - 12:15** **Debate**
- 12:15 - 12:45** **Roundtable discussion by West African regional organisations on the tools implemented to fight against new forms of insecurity**
- 12:45 - 14:15** **Lunch break**
- SESSION 2** **Identifying policies and cross-border co-operation practices to address the Security-Development nexus**
→ Chair/Facilitator: Mr. Olivier Ray, Economist, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, France
- 14:15 - 14:30** **Coherence of aid policies with regard to security and development**
→ Mr. Félix Nkundabagenzi, Researcher, Royal Higher Institute for Defence, Belgium
- 14:30 - 14:45** **Are the international mechanisms in the fight against insecurity still relevant with the emergence of new forms of insecurity in fragile states?**
→ Mr. Martin A. Ewi, Senior Researcher, Institute for Security Studies, South Africa
- 14:45 - 15:45** **Debate**
- 15:45 - 16:00** **Coffee break**
- 16:00 - 16:15** **Cross-border co-operation as an example of how to converge security and development in the Mano River region**
→ Mr. Francis Keili, Director, Office of National Security, Sierra Leone
- 16:15 - 16:30** **Southern Senegambia: From the Casamance conflict to the development of new trafficking**
→ Mr. Abdoulaye Diallo, Technical Advisor, GIZ – ProCas, Senegal
- 16:30 - 17:30** **Debate**
- 17:30 - 17:45** **Synthesis**
→ Mr. Laurent Bossard, Director, SWAC Secretariat/OECD
- 18:00** **Cocktail**

3 DEBATE

Session 1. Geographic dynamics of West African security challenges

This session discusses the major West African security challenges (terrorism, transnational organised crime and trafficking) and analyses the correlations between current insecurity dynamics and the consequences of the North African crises. This session will also question the economic and political links between Chad and West Africa with regard to the decision taken at the 39th Ordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of

State and Government which granted Chad ECOWAS observer status. An overview of the security situation in West Africa combined with concrete examples of Chad's stabilisation process provides an interesting basis for discussion on the regional dimension of the security-development nexus.

The following topics will be discussed in further detail:

THE EVOLUTION OF INSTABILITY IN THE SAHEL AND WEST AFRICA SINCE 2005

→ Mr. Henry Wilkinson, Head of Intelligence and Analysis, The Risk Advisory Group plc, United Kingdom

Terrorism in the Sahel and West Africa: "myth becomes reality"

- Review of terrorist activity and networks
- Known intentions and capabilities of terrorist groups
- Knowledge gaps and security gaps

Causes and Vulnerabilities - a long time coming?

- Long-term, systemic causes - corruption, underdevelopment, poverty, ideology
- Short-term direct causes - weapons influx, weak state control, displacement, kidnapping and trafficking
- Impact of political tumult- the Arab spring, the Touareg rebellion and coup in Mali

Impact and Prospects

- Challenges for regional governments
- Insecurity on development and investment
- Foreign intervention and regional security initiatives

CO-ORDINATED MECHANISMS TO FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM AND TRANSNATIONAL ORGANISED CRIME

→ H.E.Mr. Soumeylou Boubèye Maïga, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Mali

Mali is part of several initiatives

- The consolidation of co-operation in the fight against terrorism on the border between Algeria and Mali, in particular on the Algiers-Bamako corridor
- The Special Programme for Peace, Security and Development in the North of Mali (PSPSDN)
- The Joint Military Staff Committee of the Sahel Region (CEMOC)
- What is the relevance in providing regional responses to security and development issues particularly in the wake of the current situation in Mali?

SECURITY, DEVELOPMENT AND REGIONAL RELATIONS: A HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE BASED ON THE EXPERIENCE OF CHAD

→ Mr. Géraud Magrin, Researcher, CIRAD, France

African crossroads

- The beginning of the 20th century and its consequences
- Overview of regional relations from top to bottom

Political instability and insecurity since the 1960

- Instable geopolitical situation at the national and regional level
- Insecurity, causes and consequences of underdevelopment

Oil, "profession of arms" and challenges of current transitions

- Oil and insecurity: a complex relationship
- Demographic and employment challenges

Lake Chad as a test for integration

- A "hot spot" for informal exchanges
- Fragile institutions

Session 2. Identifying policies and cross-border co-operation practices to address the Security-Development nexus

The discussions are dedicated to the coherence of policy dialogue between European/OECD member countries and Africa from a security-development nexus perspective. It will review some of the international mechanisms relevant to insecurity in fragile states and focus on cross-border co-operation practices that address the nexus. Examples of activities in the Mano River region and in the

Southern Senegambia will point out the needs required in fragile states. The presentations will contribute to the debate on reinforcing co-ordination in both “security and development” at the political level and call for regional responses to global issues.

The following topics will be discussed in further detail:

COHERENCE OF AID POLICIES WITH REGARD TO SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT

→ Mr. Félix Nkundabagenzi, Researcher, Royal Higher Institute for Defence, Belgium

The nature of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa

- Its impact on the security and stability of states (examples in West and Central Africa)
- The European response in the fight against the root causes of crises in the region

The various European tools

- Tools for the structural prevention of crises and conflict management (within the framework of CSDP, development co-operation, etc.)
- Coherence and relevance of European response with regard to security challenges in Africa
- Assessing the links between European tools (impact of the Lisbon Treaty in particular) and the quality of policy dialogue between Europe and Africa

ARE THE INTERNATIONAL MECHANISMS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST INSECURITY STILL RELEVANT WITH THE EMERGENCE OF NEW FORMS OF INSECURITY IN FRAGILE STATES?

→ Mr. Martin A. Ewi, Senior Researcher, Institute for Security Studies, South Africa

A set of specific response tools

- Tools for fragile states designed to better target growing criminal networks
- What role do government institutions and regional organisations play?
- Special emphasis placed on mechanisms to fight against terrorism
- Discussion on the links between “security and development” in their political dimension

CROSS-BORDER CO-OPERATION AS AN EXAMPLE OF HOW TO CONVERGE SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE MANO RIVER REGION

→ Mr. Francis Keili, Director, Office of National Security, Sierra Leone

Conflict and insecurity in the Mano River region

- Outbreaks of civil war
- Post-war revitalisation of the Mano River Union
- Current state of security

Cross-border co-operation

- Strategies to enhance cross-border co-operation
- Cross-border co-operation and the security-development nexus

SOUTHERN SENEGAMBIA: FROM THE CASAMANCE CONFLICT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TRAFFICKING

→ Mr. Abdoulaye Diallo, Technical Advisor, GIZ - ProCas, Senegal

The Casamance conflict

- A conflict handled with multiple challenges

Cross-border areas in Southern Senegambia

- Lawless area and the development of trafficking

Strategies for conflict reduction combined with economic and social stability

- Lessons learned
- What are the strategies introduced to challenge Latin American drugs coming into the region?

4 FACTS AND MAPS

West Africa still faces difficulties finding the stability and security necessary for its development. The major security challenges and cross-border threats undermining its stability include terrorism, in particular, the presence of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), transnational organised crime, the development of trafficking, and interlinked rebellions and insurgencies. These challenges are closely intertwined, complicated not only by the aforementioned realities but also by weak state capacity and economy, lack of perspectives for populations and unresolved internal tensions.¹

The regional and global dimensions of these crises are a threat to fragile states. The Sahel-Sahara region is comprised of vast remote spaces with porous borders that are neither marked nor patrolled, facilitating the development of criminal networks.² Mali, Mauritania and Niger are particularly concerned when considering the above security challenges, and this affects neighbouring countries as well, notably Burkina Faso, Chad and, above all, Nigeria. These areas have been the sites not only of transnational organised crime and trafficking but also of high profile kidnappings of Westerners across a vast area and terrorist attacks.³ The UN Security Council has recently expressed concern over the presence of terrorist groups, as well as over the proliferation of arms in the region reinforced by the recent events in Libya.

Recognising that insecure borders may contribute to recurrent conflicts, the African Union (AU) established the AU Border Programme (AUBP) in 2007 to demarcate sensitive borders and promote cross-border co-operation as a tool for conflict prevention.⁴ ECOWAS adopted the Cross-Border Initiatives Programme (CIP) in 2005 which supports and promotes initiatives to strengthen existing co-operation frameworks on intra-community borders.

AQIM in West Africa

Through 2009 and 2010, AQIM has intensified its activities in the region. By 2011, the organisation had become a predominantly Saharan-based organisation as it expanded southwards, making its influence felt throughout the region. The International Crisis Group (ICG) reported that the US military has referred to the region as “the new front in the war on terrorism”.⁵ The impact is felt economically by the return of migrant workers, and at the security level, by the flow of weapons. The EU’s Counter-terrorism co-ordinator, Gilles de Kerchove, confirmed these reports in a press conference in early September 2011, when he said that AQIM had gained access to weapons in Libya and that these were “either small arms or machine-guns, or certain surface-to-air missiles [that] pose a risk to flights over the territory”.⁶

In late April 2011, the former Malian Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Soumeylou Boubèye Maïga, described the situation as “serious and worrying”, mentioning the establishment of a new AQIM base in Mali near the border with Mauritania, which would

allow the group to launch new operations in Mauritania. Having increasingly expanded its operations in the Sahel, AQIM now poses a serious threat to regional security and stability, particularly as it is profiting from the instability and insecurity engendered by the Arab Spring uprisings.⁷ The threat of AQIM was confirmed at the beginning of 2012 when, together with other Salafist groups and separatist movements, they contributed to the secession of northern Mali.

Mali is part of several initiatives to fight against insecurity and terrorism: the consolidation of co-operation in the fight against terrorism on the border between Algeria and Mali in particular on the Algiers-Bamako corridor; the Special Programme for Peace, Security and Development in the North of Mali (PSPSDN); and the Joint Military Staff Committee of the Sahel Region (CEMOC) whose member states include Algeria, Mali, Mauritania and Niger. Mauritania recently adopted a new comprehensive national counter-terrorism strategy which addresses several fronts: religion, culture, education, communication, politics, justice, defence and security. And finally, Niger also adopted a national strategy to fight against insecurity and terrorism and highlights five areas of intervention: “the strengthening of security of goods and persons; the creation of economic opportunities for the population; the improvement of access to basic services (water, education, health); the enforcement of local governance; and the integration of returnees from Libya, Nigeria, Côte d’Ivoire”.⁸ The strategy aims to promote economic and social development more particularly in the six regions situated in the north of Niger.

Transnational organised crime and trafficking

West Africa has experienced a worrying rise in the activity of criminal networks linked to transnational organised crime since the early-2000s, and has become a major hub for various types of trafficking, including arms, drugs and human beings. In February 2010, the UN Security Council took note of “the serious threat posed in some cases by drug trafficking and transnational organised crime to international security in different regions of the world”.⁹ Some experts stated that “criminal networks have been able to expand largely unchecked [...] because there has been no effective response to the new forms of organised crime in the region”.¹⁰ Although there is no definitive proof linking trafficking to the presence of AQIM, it appears that the latter is associated with trafficking insofar as it “protects” the illegal trade. In addition, it has been proven on many occasions that drug trafficking goes hand-in-hand with arms trafficking, which is bound to be of direct interest to AQIM. Since 2005, Latin American drug traffickers have regarded West Africa as being one of the safest routes to Europe. Coastal countries such as Guinea, Guinea-Bissau (where the situation is of greatest concern), and Senegal are the main hubs for smuggling Latin American cocaine into Europe; however the role of the countries in

the Sahel, and Mali in particular, has been expanding, with cocaine shipments from the region to Europe increasing fourfold. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has further classified and categorised Guinea-Bissau as a narco-state, where a certain number of officials are known to be involved in drug trafficking.¹¹ Regional and global initiatives have been launched to address transnational organised crime and trafficking, such as the joint UN/ECOWAS West African Coast Initiative (WACI) on transnational organised crime and the adoption by the UN General Assembly on 8 September 2006 of a comprehensive strategy for counter-terrorism, known as the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.¹² These initiatives have marked the beginning of the international community's commitment to work alongside some West African governments.

Touareg rebellion and coups d'état in the region

Mali and Niger faced multiple Touareg rebellions in the late-1950s and the early-2010s. A high-magnitude rebellion with unprecedented violence began in mid-January in northern Mali. The massive influx of weapons and fighters returning from Libya, and strengthened alliances with Salafist groups, took the Malian army by surprise who were inadequately prepared and equipped. A series of military defeats pushed the army into overthrowing President Amadou Toumani Touré in March, which created political and institutional chaos. Armed groups in the North took this opportunity to advance further and proclaim the independence of Azawad. These events outline the regional dynamics of the situation which no single government can address alone. Their short-term consequences (i.e. flow of refugees) as well as long-term consequences (i.e. strengthened terrorist and criminal networks) are also regional. Even though the events affect the Malian population above all, this triple crisis – territorial partition, terrorism, governance – is a challenge to the entire region and also to North Africa and the rest of the world.

Equally troubling are difficulties that occurred in Guinea-Bissau, where a coup d'état on 12 April 2012 took place (coups d'état in the country also occurred in 1980, 1986 and 2003). Rebel soldiers seized power and arrested the country's interim President Raimundo Pereira as well as former Prime Minister Carlos Gomes Jr. In May 2012, ECOWAS peacekeeping forces arrived in Guinea-Bissau as part of the effort to restore constitutional rule. A transitional government was formed; Manuel Serifo Nhamadjo became interim President, and Rui Duarte Barros was sworn in as Prime Minister. Presidential elections should be held within a year. National mechanisms able to resolve the situation peacefully are very limited; however, regional action to restore constitutional order has been consistently strong. The AU and ECOWAS applied pressure in order to return to a constitutional path, which was crucial as "regional and global recognition for responsible leadership can play a role in strengthening [...] accountability at the national level".¹³

The security-development nexus in West Africa

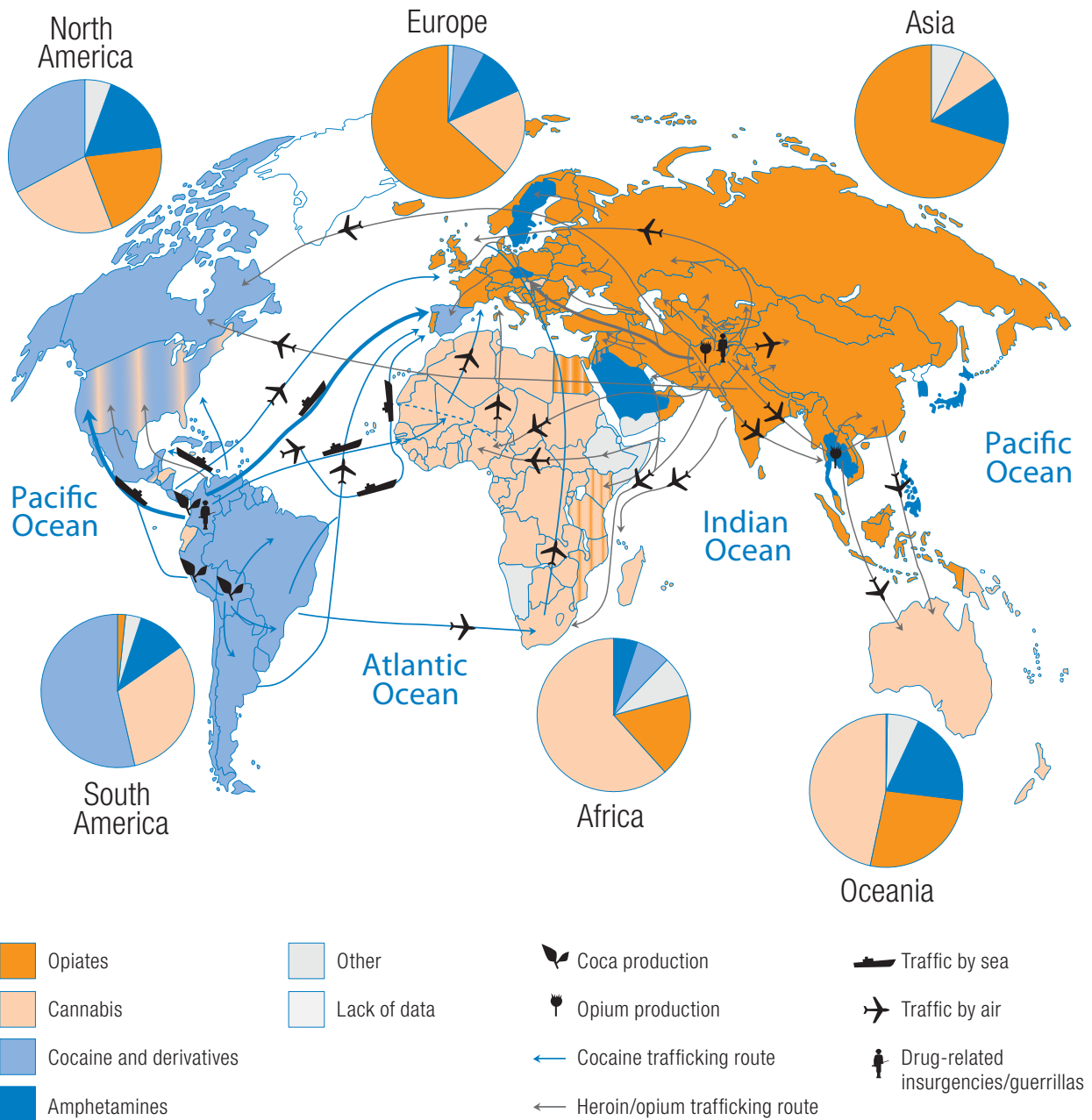
For several years now policy-makers have integrated the security-development nexus approach into numerous initiatives, as well as into regional and international mechanisms. The UNDP first introduced the human security approach in 1994. The approach contains seven dimensions: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security.¹⁴ The World Bank¹⁵ has similarly reported that investing in security, justice and jobs is essential to the reduction of instability and elimination of conflict. However, the AU and recurrent players in Africa often find it difficult, if not impossible, to bring about an end of conflict in countries with a weak economy and government, also subject to recurrent tensions (competition for mineral and agro-pastoral resources, environmental degradation, unfinished demarcation of borders, the fragility of some democratic processes, and socio-economic challenges).¹⁶

The European Union, by far the largest provider of development aid, has also integrated the security-development nexus approach in its strategies and policies. In November 2009, Catherine Ashton was appointed High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy by the European Council, and has an "extensive mandate to ensure coherence in the EU, including with regard to the conduct of the Union's foreign and security policy, the representation of the EU in international organisations and conferences, the establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS), the chairmanship of the Foreign Affairs Council and the co-ordination of the Commission's external relations portfolios".¹⁷ This effort of coherence in security and development activities at the institutional level represents a key issue in co-operation with West Africa.

Fragile states such as those in West Africa – and particularly across the Sahel – are particularly vulnerable to conflict. As the World Bank¹⁸ puts it, "the problems of fragile states spread easily: they drag down neighbours with violence that overflows borders, because conflicts feed on narcotics, piracy, and gender violence, and leave refugees and broken infrastructure in their wake." With human development understood by the UNDP¹⁹ as consisting of the opportunity for individuals to enjoy a positive quality of life, human security becomes increasingly necessary. It is quite clear that if there is no security, then there can be no sustainable human development.

The security-development nexus is only possible through closer regional co-operation with a particular emphasis on border areas where tensions may be crystallised. As underlined in the 3076th Foreign Affairs Council meeting on the EU Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel, "improving the security situation is integral to economic growth and the reduction of poverty in the region." The tenth anniversary of NEPAD, the recent EU Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel, and the potential impact of the North African crises on West African countries, have created new opportunities to strengthen dialogue within free-movement areas and to reassess the regional dimension of both instability dynamics and economic potential.

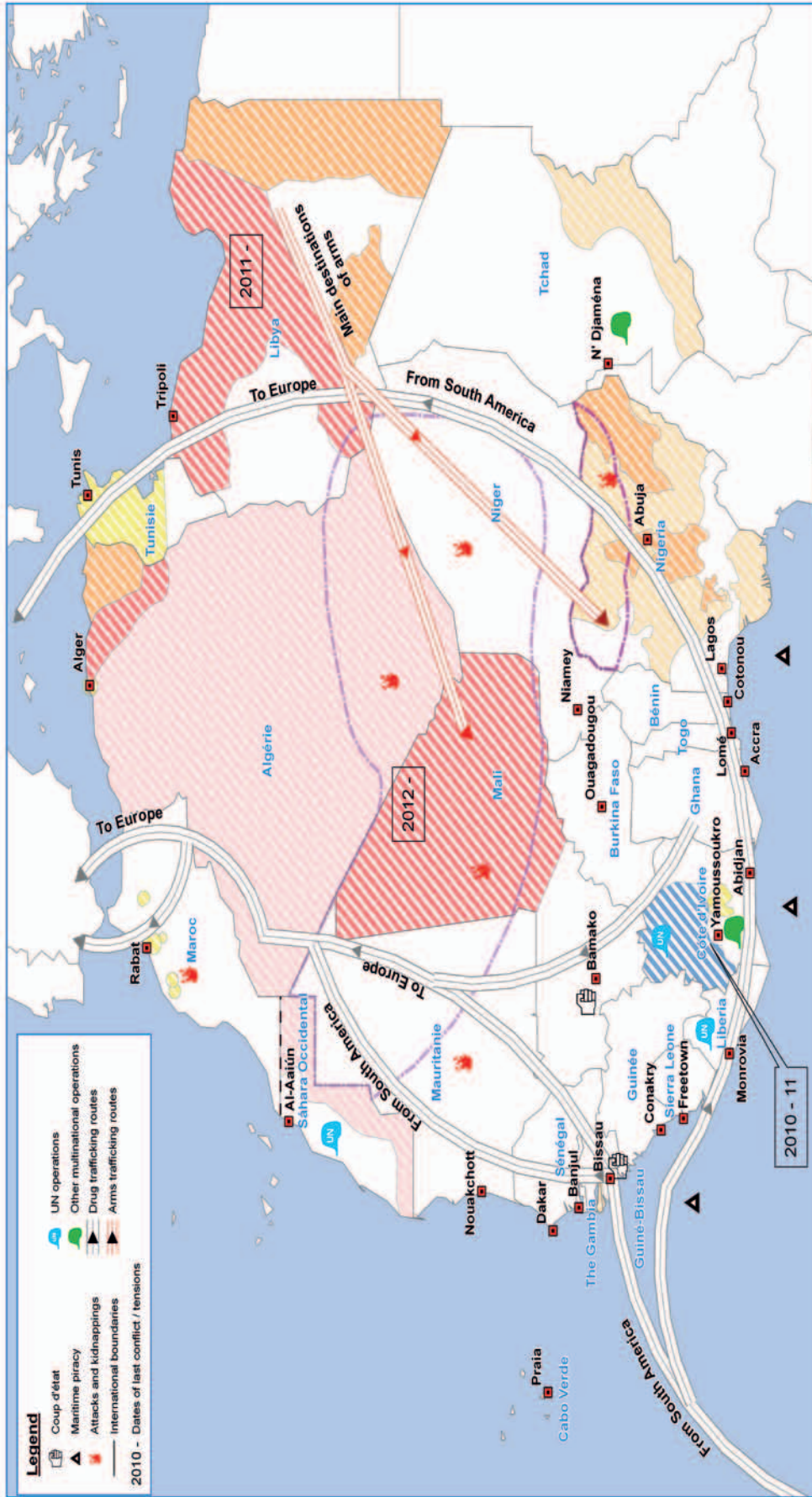
Drug consumption and supply routes



Source: French Centre for Research and Intelligence, CF2R

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Tensions in West and North Africa 2011 - 2012



This map is a regional approximation based on data with margin of error. Furthermore, this map is without prejudice to the status of, or sovereignty over any territory, to the delimitation on international frontiers and boundaries and to the name of any territory, city or area.

Sources: The International Institute for Strategic Studies / SWAC Secretariat

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RATIFICATIONS AND NATIONAL LEGISLATION ON TERRORISM IN WEST AFRICA

National legislation

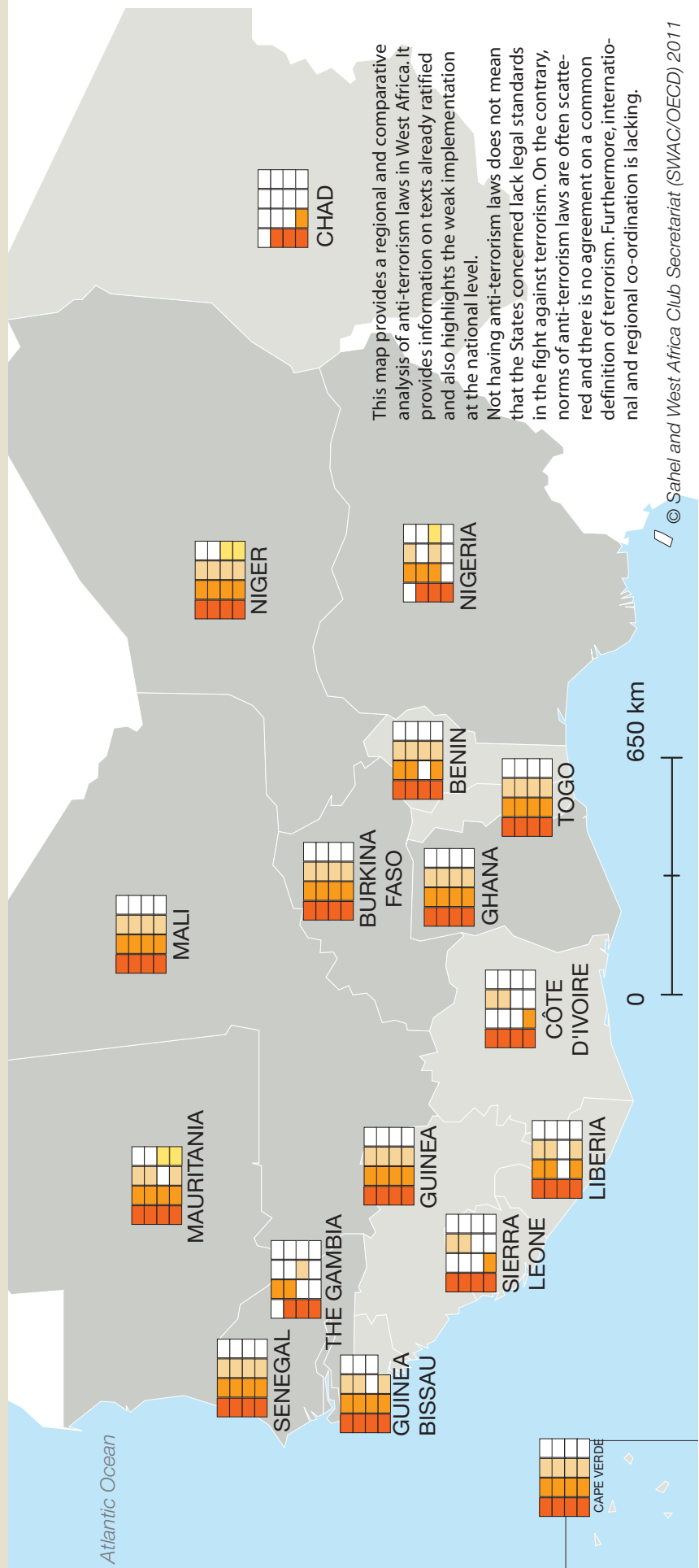
States without anti-terrorism law

States enforcing one or more anti-terrorism law(s)

Conventions not ratified

Conventions ratified

- 1973 : Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomatic Agents
- 1971 : Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomatic Agents
- 1970 : Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft
- 1963 : Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed On Board Aircraft
- 1988 : Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation
- 1988 : Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation
- 1980 : Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material
- 1979 : International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages
- 1993 : International Convention for the Suppression of Financing of Terrorism
- 1997 : International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings
- 1991 : Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives or the Purpose of Detection
- 1998 : Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf
- 2005 : Protocol of 2005 to the 1988 Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Fixed Platforms
- 2005 : Protocol of 2005 to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation
- 2005 : Amendment to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material
- 2005 : International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism



Notes

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- 6 Ibid., 29
- 7 Ibid.
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ABOUT THE CLUB

The Sahel and West Africa Club is a group of West African regional organisations, countries and international organisations that work together towards the development and integration of the West African region. The Club's mission is to pool together Members' experiences, ideas and perspectives to help build more effective regional policies. Drawing on factual studies and independent analyses, the Club devises strategic guidelines and policy tools for Members and other stakeholders.

The Club is also a space for policy dialogue. As a member of the OECD Development Cluster, the SWAC Secretariat contributes to the work of the Organisation and ensures that West African concerns and initiatives are taken into account in global debates, particularly those on food, energy and security issues.

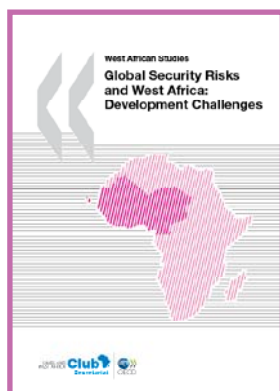
Fora aim to:

- Support West African regional policies;
- Enrich strategies by sharing experiences from other regions of the world;

- Promote West African positions and policies in global debates and initiatives;
- Draw policy guidelines from SWAC work and define roadmaps for their implementation.

The Strategy and Policy Group (SPG) brings together Club Members twice a year to define the Club's work priorities and approve the programme of work and budget as well as activity and financial reports. Members also ensure the Club's smooth functioning through their financial contributions (minimum contribution agreed upon by consensus) and designate the Club President. The position is currently held by Mr. François-Xavier de Donnea, Belgian Minister of State. Under the management structure of the OECD Secretariat for Global Relations, the SWAC Secretariat is in charge of implementing the work programme. It organises and facilitates the Club Forums, Working Groups and other meetings that capitalise on the experiences and viewpoints of Members as well as West African socioprofessional and civil society organisations, relevant OECD Directorates, experts, and representatives from other regions of the world.

To read!



Global Security Risks and West Africa: Development Challenges

OECD West African Studies, January 2012

This SWAC publication explores current global security issues, their development in West Africa and their potential impact on regional stability. It takes a close look at issues such as terrorism and trafficking, climate change, and the links between "security and development". Some of these issues are still the object of heated debate. This book draws attention to the risk of oversimplified analyses and biased perceptions of security risks. It also highlights the need for co-ordinated policies and dialogue between West Africa, North Africa and OECD countries.



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