



Africa's Response to Terrorism

An AAI symposium – February 17, 2006

SUMMARY

This half-day symposium was organized by the Africa-America Institute in collaboration with the office of United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Ibrahim Gambari. It was comprised of two periods of roundtable discussion featuring presentations by high-level United Nations officials, diplomatic representatives and other experts on the topic. (See attached agenda for details.) The aim of this event was to help generate policy analysis regarding the United Nations counter-terrorism strategy, in preparation for the deliberation on this subject that will take place at the UN throughout the coming year.

SYNOPSIS OF DISCUSSION

Opening Remarks from Professor Gambari, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, United Nations

Opening remarks were made by Professor Gambari, who began by describing the work of the Department of Political Affairs, ranging from conflict resolution and mediation to substantive assistance in procedural and technical matters such as elections. Professor Gambari indicated the pressing need for a dynamic, coordinated and sustainable approach to counter-terrorism, and the steps that have been taken thus far by the UN towards that goal. As a starting point for discussion, he enumerated the five “elements of a UN counter-terrorism strategy” that were proposed by Secretary-General Kofi Annan at the UN World Summit in 2005:

- To dissuade disaffected groups from choosing terrorism as a tactic to achieve their goals;
- To deny terrorists the means to carry out their attacks;
- To deter states from supporting terrorists;
- To develop state capacity to prevent terrorism;
- To defend human rights in the struggle against counter-terrorism

In addition to the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, Professor Gambari cited several other relevant UN projects, such as the Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (UNCTED). He also noted several non-UN multilateral initiatives such as the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism—which has been ratified by 36 of the 53 African countries—and the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT) which has been established in Algiers.

Professor Gambari concluded his remarks by making reference to a previous symposium on terrorism organized by AAI, and posed the following question: What has Africa done to mobilize against terrorism since 2001, and how can it take on responsible leadership on this issue in the future?

In response to Professor Gambari’s remarks, it was noted that the role of poverty in Africa and the

African burden of developmental inequality cannot be excluded from a broad definition of security. It was also noted that there are more Arabs in Africa than in the Middle East, and that for this as well as other reasons it is neither prudent nor strategic to take Africa for granted in combating terrorism.

Opening Remarks from Dr. Robert Orr, Assistant Secretary-General for Policy Planning and Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, United Nations

Dr. Orr's opening remarks provided an overview of the work of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF). The CTITF is made up of 23 members, including the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, International Maritime Organization, World Customs Organization and others. In fact, Dr. Orr said, there are many agencies and initiatives in the UN which could be helpful in combating terrorism, and the challenge is to harness the disparate components of the UN system to work together.

Dr. Orr clarified that what the Secretary-General has thus far articulated is not a full working strategy but just the elements that would constitute such a strategy. He said that although the UN has great potential to foster international and regional cooperation, the real capacities and the most basic anti-terrorism strategies are those of its member states. It was also noted that African countries comprise the single largest group in the UN.

Dr. Orr went on to say that a fundamental first step towards cooperation involves reaching agreement on how to conceptualize the issue, and that this can only be done by the member states themselves. In this regard, he described four key aspects of the issue which have particular importance for Africa:

First, the issue of "root causes" or "context" for terrorism. Dr. Orr said that this is an old debate, but thus far rarely a constructive one, because actors with vastly differing perspectives too often talk past one another. It is necessary to find some language with which a meaningful discussion can take place. Obviously, the issue is a complicated one. On the one hand, no study can show concretely what the causes of terrorism are. At the same time, the international community cannot afford to ignore underlying contexts and treat every case as entirely unique. Although we cannot arrive at agreement about causes, it is possible to identify conducive conditions.

Second, the issue of stable governance and institution-building.

Third, the issue of development and the vulnerability that comes from economic dislocation.

Fourth, the issue of conflict resolution, with an understanding that conflict itself is a major driving force behind much terrorist activity.

Dr. Orr said that not a single UN member state is truly ready to combat terrorism, but that the capacity needs are most acute in Africa. He said that the UN can be a key resource and referral institution for countries in need of help, and noted that many countries needing to protect themselves from terrorism are reluctant for various reasons to ask the USA or EU for assistance. He added that very often member states do not know where in the UN to go for specific kinds of help. The UN must strengthen its internal coordination and communication, if it is going to move forward with operational work against terrorism.

A question was raised regarding what process the CTITF will use to bring about these results. Dr. Orr responded by describing the internal work to date of the CTITF, and said that this symposium is part of the launching of a more recent "external" process intended to engage member states and other constituencies and to help broaden the understanding of the nature of terrorism and how it can most effectively be combated.

Another question was raised regarding the role of education in counter-terrorism work. Dr. Orr agreed in principle but also noted that education is a highly sensitive issue, and one which many states and even individual cities or counties tend to hold dear. He mentioned UNESCO's work on analyzing quality of education, and the need for bilateral cross-sharing, for example between the US and African countries.

There was also discussion of the value of "mainstreaming counterterrorism," both as a potential role of education in general, and also in order to show how many issues on which the UN has historically focused remain highly relevant to terrorism. Ambassador Mahiga said that terrorism has entered the general curriculum in Tanzania since the 1998 US embassy bombing, and noted that the African Union has been ahead of many individual countries in addressing this topic.

Part One: African Perspectives on a Counter-Terrorism Strategy

The first roundtable discussion period was intended to address the following questions, among others: What is Africa's importance in the United Nations overall efforts to counter terrorism? How can a UN counterterrorism strategy be updated to resonate with Member States? What are the short- and long-term priorities for African states in dealing with terrorism?

Remarks of Mr. Wayne Mulgas, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations

In opening his remarks, Mr. Mulgas noted that the key lesson to be derived from South Africa's "peculiar" past history as an apartheid regime and police state, is that a "pure security approach" to combating terrorism is destined to fail. He said that Africa's strategy should be in line with the rest of the world, and then mentioned a few areas that are especially problematic in Africa. The first of these involved the relevant legislative framework: Mr. Mulgas said that terrorists should not be able to hide behind a lack of jurisdiction or of requisite speed in the judicial process. Precisely because extra-judicial punishment cannot be considered, the judicial bench must be prepared to act as necessary against terrorist threats. Mr. Mulgas also noted the importance of preventing terrorist groups from exploiting the resources of existing crime syndicates. Other areas of special importance for Africa therefore include the need for judicial training and specialized law enforcement skills.

It was generally agreed that fighting terrorism requires specific skills and cannot be accomplished merely by following the traditional methods for prosecuting organized crime. It is important to bring together financial skills, for example, with investigative skills and intelligence-gathering at multiple levels. There followed a discussion of the need to balance concern for human rights with timely and effective action against terrorism.

Professor Gambari asked Mr. Mulgas for an assessment of the African Union's Plan of Action for the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism. Mr. Mulgas said that in terms of these joint initiatives, there is a long way to go before the goals are reached. There are some working components—for example as regards addressing the problem of money-laundering—and the new African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism in Algiers is a step in the right direction. However, he said, these initiatives are not well-coordinated with one another.

Remarks of Mr. Idd Mohamed, Deputy Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission of Somalia to the United Nations

Mr. Mohamed of Somalia gave detailed background information on the history of terrorism and conflict in his country. He described how a vacuum resulting from political collapse, combined with isolation and withdrawal, has made Somalia especially susceptible to use as a terrorist haven. In the absence of manifest state power, radical Islamic organizations have responded to basic needs, offering education, small business loans and other forms of support and relief to the

majority of the population who have no other recourse. He said that among Islamists there are two schools of thought—the social service providers and the militias.

Mr. Mohamed called for the international community to be more active in providing a variety of relief services to countries in turmoil, and suggested that the absence of such intervention creates a gap which extremist movements and organizations can easily exploit. By providing social services, these entities can win the trust and allegiance of large populations. Mr. Mohamed added that these issues come quickly to the forefront when the basic challenge of establishing a functioning government has not been met.

Professor. Gambari agreed that if the state is not present, non-state actors will step in to fill the void, but he disagreed with the notion that the international community has abandoned Somalia. He emphasized that a state can only be built by its people, from the bottom up, without too much reliance on the international community.

Dr. Orr asked in which specific areas such vacuums are most critical. What are the highest value areas for the UN to focus on strengthening?

Ambassador Yousfi responded by mentioning human resources—including experts from the UN and other world regions—as well as more cooperation between institutions in the field and the sharing of databases and information. Other speakers mentioned governance and security as top priorities, saying that in order to combat terrorism there needs to be an official government and security system in place.

In response to a question about US engagement and foreign policy, it was pointed out that current US foreign policy in Africa centers around containment. In other words, the US is willing to give support only where it deems such action necessary to contain the conflict within a single country or region.

Remarks of Ambassador Hiruy Amanuel, Director, IGAD / ISS Counter-Terrorism Project in Ethiopia

Ambassador Amanuel questioned the existence of uniquely African perspectives and asked whether specialized strategies were necessary. But he added that although Africa's strategies will be similar to those of other regions, there may be some aspects of the terrorism issue that are specific to Africa.

For example, he suggested, some people say that Africa faces more domestic terrorism than international. This leads to less US and EU attention focused on terrorism in Africa, because people in those areas do not expect to be directly affected by it. But of course, local terrorism is no less deadly than international terrorism, and the need to combat it is no less real.

Ambassador Amanuel pointed out that although a context of poverty can lead to extreme frustration and make it easier for terrorists to find new recruits—especially among the young and urban poor—the actual leaders and masterminds of terrorist organizations are seldom poor themselves. Many of them are in fact very wealthy.

Ambassador Amanuel also spoke about the need to strengthen both state institutions and cooperation between African states. He said that the idea of “denying terrorists the means to operate” goes hand-in-hand with developing and strengthening the institutions of the state, and that effective policing will never be sufficient by itself. At least in the Horn of Africa, the prevalence of bad relations between states—characterized by the mindset that “the enemy of my enemy is my friend”—is a strong enabling factor for terrorism. The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development was born not out of cooperation, Ambassador Amanuel said, but out of the need to create cooperation where there was hostility.

Ambassador Amanuel illustrated this point by describing how difficult it can be to “enhance border control” along a border which is nothing more than a line drawn in the sand and stretching for hundreds of miles. Governmental and economic cooperation and partnership between bordering states, he suggested, will be far more effective than attempting to enforce strict police control along such borders. He said that African states need to be convinced that lack of cooperation makes them more vulnerable to threats like terrorism. As a counter-example, he noted that Nigeria has a 1,300-mile border with Niger and does not need to worry excessively about the impossible task of policing it because of the high level of cooperation between those two countries.

Lastly, Ambassador Amanuel noted the need to take seriously the definitional questions that inevitably arise regarding who should be classified as a terrorist. He said that there are efforts underway in multilateral circles to more clearly define terrorism, and indicated that such a definition must avoid simply advocating the support of the status quo in all cases. In some countries, blind support of the government in the name of stability could be the wrong path to pursue.

In response to a question about the extent to which manifestations and responses to terrorism differ throughout Africa, Professor Gambari highlighted Ambassador Amanuel’s point about cooperation between states and said that the regional economic communities—ECOWAS, COMESA, SADC etc.—must also take part in a discussion that unveils the nuances of sub-regional differences.

Ms. McLean acknowledged Ambassador Amanuel’s caution against focusing unduly on policing functions, but noted that post-9/11, the New York City Police Department (NYPD) had become a local police force with an international staff profile and presence, and one with unrivaled anti-terrorism expertise. She asked whether the UN had considered engaging the NYPD in discussions of various ways to build capacity in Africa as well as elsewhere. No one had heard of such work taking place. Dr. Orr confirmed that the CTITS had been struck by the breadth of the international perspective offered by the NYPD during a presentation on terrorism, and it was agreed that such avenues should be pursued.

Part Two: Africa’s Challenges and Capacity Needs in Countering Terrorism

The second roundtable discussion period was intended to address the following questions, among others: How do regional differences affect the coordination of counter-terrorism efforts among African states? What issues do African countries face in implementing relevant international treaties and resolutions? What technical assistance can the United Nations deliver to African member states fighting terrorism?

Remarks of Ambassador Augustine Mahiga, Permanent Mission of Tanzania to the United Nations

Ambassador Mahiga noted that, even as the symposium was underway, a team of 11 international experts was visiting his country to discuss ways of strengthening counter-terrorism measures in Tanzania. He said that this team intends to visit military, police, customs, financial and other organizations in Tanzania. He also noted that UN assistance has been inconsistent in the past, and suggested that the current level of support is related to Tanzania’s current presence on the Security Council.

Ambassador Mahiga added that in order to ensure that the visiting experts made the right contacts, he took the initiative to send a staff member from his embassy to accompany the delegation and assist in coordinating meetings with the various Tanzanian agencies. Professor Gambari commented on the wisdom of that approach and noted that more African missions

should emulate that example.

Ambassador Mahiga then proposed a typology for analysing the phenomena of terrorism in all its dimensions. First, he contrasted the *international* and *domestic* aspects. Second, he said that terrorism can have both *legal* and *criminal* aspects. Next, he described the *military* aspects of terrorism and suggested the need to consider what terrorists' potential military strategies would be. Then he referred to the *political* aspects of terrorism, in which attacks on civilians are linked to specific political issues. Lastly, he mentioned the *ideological* aspects of terrorism.

Ambassador Mahiga said that any counter-terrorism strategy must respond to all of these aspects. For example, he noted that although the 1998 US embassy bombing was directed *politically* against a foreign government (the United States), the terrorists, weapons, and victims were all Tanzanian—thus raising issues of domestic criminal law. This example illustrates the complex relationship between the political, international and domestic aspects of terrorism.

Ambassador Mahiga also noted that some countries use the idea of counter-terrorism to justify their own corruption and oppressive regimes.

Remarks of Ambassador Youcef Yousfi, Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations

Ambassador Yousfi spoke about Algeria's long struggle with terrorism. He described a lack of response from the international community when asked for aid in the form of both weapons and intelligence sharing (for example, the use of satellite data to track the movement of groups of people). He said that for a long time very few international actors even understood the terrorist issue. Although Algeria sought help in all available fora, it received it only from within Africa. Ambassador Yousfi said that other regions responded only later on, when terrorism began to be discussed on the global scale.

Ambassador Yousfi said that Algeria was very pleased to see the international community beginning to face issues such as the destruction of schools and hospitals, and the need to cut off the flow of money and weapons to those responsible for such acts. He said that cooperation is the main instrument in fighting terrorism, and explained that the ACSRT [African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism] in Algiers was founded with this principle in mind. He also spoke about the root causes of terrorism and said that crucial elements include not only poverty as such, but also the many exclusions and losses of dignity that attend marginalization—including that which results from foreign occupation.

In concluding, Ambassador Yousfi underscored that in addition to helping African states fight terrorism more efficiently and providing them with assistance to meet the requirements of international conventions, the international community must also take initiative when it comes to resolving conflict. This is crucial.

Remarks of Ambassador Simeon Adekanye of Nigeria, Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations

Ambassador Adekanye said that he concurred with the views expressed among those present that strategies to combat terrorism should touch on issues of governance, development and cooperation. He said that there is no doubt about the political will of the continent when it comes to fighting terrorism, and mentioned in a positive light the way in which ECOWAS, through force of circumstance, evolved from a sub-regional entity focused on economic integration into a peace-keeping force. He also referred to the Millennium Development Goals and suggested that the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) is an important major step along the way to fulfilling them and arriving at security in the broader sense.

Closing Remarks and Discussion

Professor Gambari stressed that Africa must accept a dual role in combating terrorism: It must be an active contributor to the strategy as well as a beneficiary. He said that African UN member states must be more proactive on issues of governance, poverty and conflict resolution.

Ms. McLean asked whether there existed a vehicle in the UN community in which religious groups can discuss the issue of terrorism.

Professor Gambari also emphasized the need to develop better coordination among the many agencies and initiatives of the UN. He said that this must be the premise upon which the UN will then ask for various kinds of cooperation from its member states.

SYMPOSIUM MODERATORS AND PRESENTERS

Ms. Mora McLean, President, The Africa-America Institute

Dr. Ibrahim Gambari, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, United Nations

Dr. Robert Orr, Assistant Secretary-General for Policy Planning and Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, United Nations

H.E. Hiruy Amanuel, Director, Project to Counter Terrorism in the Horn of Africa, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development / Institute for Security Studies

H.E. Simeon Adekanye, Ambassador, Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations

H.E. Augustine Mahiga, Ambassador, Permanent Mission of Tanzania to the United Nations

H.E. Yousef Yousfi, Ambassador, Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations

Mr. Idd Beddel Mohamed, Deputy Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission of Somalia to the United Nations

Mr. Wayne Mulgas, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations

ATTACHED DOCUMENTS

Symposium Agenda

Remarks by H.E. Simeon Adekanye

Remarks by Dr. Ibrahim Gambari

Remarks by Mr. Wayne Mulgas

Remarks by Dr. Robert Orr

Remarks by H.E. Youcef Yousfi

Paper by Professor Ibhramin Gambari: "Has Africa Any Role in the Current Efforts against World Terror?" (Originally presented as part of the African Leaders' Lecture Series at Brown University.)



THE AFRICA-AMERICA INSTITUTE
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Africa's Response to Terrorism

Graybar Building, 420 Lexington Avenue, Suite 1706, New York
10:30AM-2:30PM, Friday, 17 February 2005

This half-day symposium will bring together high-level academic and policy experts with knowledge relating to Africa's response to terrorism. It will provide a venue for in-depth discussion on these issues and will help generate policy analysis in elaborating and refining the elements of a United Nations counter-terrorism strategy which will serve as a basis for the General Assembly's deliberation this spring.

10:30 – 11:00 WELCOME, INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Chair: *Mora McLean*

Keynote: *Professor Ibrahim Gambari, Under-Secretary General for Political Affairs, UN*

Overview: *Dr. Robert Orr, Assistant Secretary-General for Policy Coordination and Strategic Planning and Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, UN*

11:00 – 12:45 AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON A COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGY

Why is Africa important in the United Nations overall efforts to counter terrorism?

How can a UN counterterrorism strategy be updated to resonate with Member States?

What are the short- and long-term priorities for African states in dealing with terrorism?

Chair: *Dr. Robert Orr*

Presenters: *H.E. Wayne Mulgas, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of South Africa to the UN*

H.E. Idd Mohamed, Deputy Permanent Representative, Somali Mission to the UN

H.E. Hiruy Amanuel, Director of the Institute for Security Studies Counter-Terrorism Project in Addis Ababa and Ambassador of Ethiopia to Germany

Presentations followed by a short break, then discussion continued over lunch.

12:45 – 2:15 AFRICA'S CHALLENGES AND CAPACITY NEEDS IN COUNTERING TERRORISM

How do regional differences affect the coordination of counter-terrorism efforts among African states?

What issues do African countries face in implementing relevant international treaties and resolutions?

What technical assistance can the United Nations deliver to African member states fighting terrorism?

Chair: *Professor Ibrahim Gambari*

Presenters: *H.E. Augustine Mahiga, Ambassador, Permanent Mission of Tanzania to the UN*

H.E. Yousef Yousfi, Ambassador, Permanent Mission of Algeria to the UN

H.E. Simeon Adekanye, Ambassador, Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the UN

Presentations followed by discussion.

2:15 – 2:30 SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Professor Ibrahim Gambari with symposium participants



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STATEMENT

BY

**H.E. MR.SIMEON ADEKANYE
DEPUTY PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF
NIGERIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

ON

**AFRICAN CHALLENGES AND CAPACITY IN COUNTERING TERRORISM,
REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN COORDINATION OF COUNTER TERRORISM
EFFORTS REGARDING THE UN ANTI-TERRORISM TECHNICAL
ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA.**

AT

THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE (AAI), NEW YORK

NEW YORK, 17 FEBRUARY 2006

The President, African American Institute (AAI)
The USG, UN Department of Political Affairs, Prof. Ibrahim Gambari
Ambassadors/Permanent Representatives
Ladies and Gentleman

I thank the African American Institute (AAI), which, in collaboration with the Office of the United Nations Under-Secretary-General (USG) for Political Affairs, has organized this forum to examine the crucial challenges and problems encountered by African countries, with particular reference to developing the capacity to fight terrorism. This eminently reaffirms the vision, mission and commitment of the AAI to promoting Africa-US relations in particular and the causes of Africa in general. We also appreciate the USG for Political Affairs, Professor Ibrahim Gambari, for your role in this. We will ever be proud of you.

Terrorism remains a cardinal threat to national, regional and international peace and security. It constitutes a deliberate violation of the fundamental principles of law, order, human rights and freedoms. It is an affront to the Charter of the United Nations and the principles and values enunciated in the Constitutive Act of the African Union, and its Protocol to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council (PSC). It seeks to destroy both physical and economic infrastructure. Terrorism poses a grave threat to territorial integrity and stability of States. The scope of this menace is succinctly captured by the United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan as follows:

“Terrorism is a global threat with global effects; its methods are murder and mayhem, but its consequences affect every aspect of the United Nations—from development to peace to human rights and the rule of law. No part of our mission is safe from the effects of terrorism; and no part of the world is immune from this scourge”

It is, therefore, apparent that no effort should be spared to confront and eliminate it in our world. This has apparently informed the Secretary-General Kofi Annan’s “five pillar” anti-terrorism strategy. Enunciated in the celebrated report entitled, “In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all (A/59/2005)” and duly endorsed by the United Nations 2005 Summit of Heads of State, the strategy seeks to

- Dissuade people from resorting to terrorism or supporting it;

- Deny terrorists access to funds and materials;
- Deter States from sponsoring terrorism;
- Develop State capacity to defeat terrorism; and
- Defend human rights.

Africa's Anti-Terrorism Initiatives

African countries have, in deed, been at the vanguard of combating terrorism. They have been making efforts at regional level to fight and eliminate the menace through a comprehensive and collective approach that addresses its root causes. To this end, the Member States of the African Union have adopted conventions and related instruments that create a universal framework for preventing and eliminating the problem. They, in 1999, crowned this anti-terrorism commitment with the adoption of the 1999 OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism. This was followed up with the establishment in Algiers, Algeria, of the African Center for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT), as an institution of the AU Commission to boost the capacity of the Union in the prevention and combating of terrorism in Africa. It is therefore apparent that the AU, in the light of the universal threat posed by terrorism to international peace and security, is determined to collaborate with other regions of the world, particularly through the auspices of the United Nations, to strengthen international cooperation and a common approach to eradicate the scourge.

Anti-Terrorism Instruments, State Responsibilities and the Challenges

To properly examine African challenges in relation to the capacity of the countries of the region to counter terrorism, particularly with regards to the implementation of the various anti-terrorism instruments, there is the need to understand the issues involved with their implementation. For instance, in addition to the exacting demands of the Secretary-General's anti-terrorism strategy given above and the current 13 major multi-lateral anti-terrorism conventions and protocols, States are also expected to implement scores of relevant resolutions by the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). For instance, Security Council

Resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1373 (2001), among other things, require States to

- Criminalize the willful provision or collection, by any means, directly or indirectly, of funds by their nationals or in their territories with the intention that the funds should be used, or in the knowledge that they are to be used, in order to carry out terrorist acts;
- Freeze without delay funds and other financial assets or economic resources of persons who commit, or attempt to commit, terrorist acts or participate in or facilitate the commission of terrorist acts; or entities owned or controlled by such persons;
- Prevent the movement of terrorists or terrorist groups by effective border controls and controls on issuance of identity papers and travel documents, and through measures for preventing counterfeiting, forgery or fraudulent use of identity papers and travel documents;

For any State to effectively implement the provisions of these resolutions, particularly in the 21st Century, enormous financial outlays and additional manpower and skills in a wide range of areas including security, technical and acquisition, installation, maintenance and staffing for sophisticated computer hardware, security equipment and effectively networked and monitored national banking system would be entailed. For instance, to sign/ratify and implement the latest addition to the anti-terrorism instruments, the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, a State needs to have some nuclear scientists, physicists, chemists, experts on terrorism and international law, prosecutors, more police officers, immigration officers, updated airports and seaports and effectively manned international land borders, among others. Unfortunately, while it is evident that most of the developing countries of Africa cannot afford these requirements, they, as lawful members of the international community, are still bound to implement the instruments.

UN Technical Assistance Efforts

In an effort to address the challenges encountered by the most developing States in this respect, the United Nations Secretariat has put in place bodies and attendant Technical Assistance to help. These include the Counter Terrorism Committee (CTC) of 2001 and its Executive Committee (2004), the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team of the 1267 Committee on Al-Qaeda and the Taliban and the United Nations Office on

Drugs and Crimes (UNODC), mandated to monitor the implementation of anti-terrorism resolutions by States and to help States develop the capacity to combat terrorism, among others. The UNODC has been quite useful in the area of providing legal skills and guidance in understanding and signing/ratifying instruments and preparing national anti-terrorism bills. Most developing countries have, in deed, been helped by the seminars organized by UNODC. We appreciate and commend their efforts.

The Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team of the 1267 Committee on Al-Qaeda and the Taliban and the Security Council Committee on Terrorism, in 2004 and 2005, visited some African countries to assess their national needs for effective implementation of the relevant UN resolutions. They had very fruitful discussions with host authorities. Some of the visited countries are said to have made requests for provision of training in the financial and security, to be accompanied by donation of much needed technical equipment to help combat financial fraud and related crime. It has been gathered that the requests are still being considered.

African Challenges , UN Technical Assistance and Anti-Terrorism Capacity

While Africa sincerely appreciates the United Nations anti-terrorism technical assistance in this regard, there is no gainsaying that they fall far short of the actual capacity needs of the developing countries of Africa to combat the menace of terrorism. In addition to the lack of requisite capacity in the financial, technical and human resources sector to implement the relevant United Nations instruments, the problems of Africa are further compounded by the well-known challenges, including prevailing poverty, acute lack of basic infrastructure, HIV/AIDS and festering conflicts exacerbated by the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and illicit arms trafficking across borders. Efforts to improve the capacity of Africa to effectively combat terrorism should take these deep-rooted problems into considerations.

In our assessment that Africa's socio-economic, political and security challenges, some of which are mentioned above, impact on the continent's capacity to combat terrorism. It is further apparent that the delivery strategies of UN anti-terrorism technical assistance to the various geographical regions of the world should be informed or guided by the peculiar socio-cultural, economic and political situations of regions

concerned. For instance, facilitating the provision of quality education and basic infrastructure would ultimately provide the much-needed capacity, not only for combating terrorism but also would help Africa to effectively partner with other regions in globalizing world.

It is on this score that Nigeria wishes to re-emphasize the need to steadfastly implement the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the Monterrey Consensus, including the cancellation of all the external debts owed by countries in the region as well as to enhance the implementation of the continent's poverty alleviation efforts. I hasten to acknowledge the important steps already taken in this connection, which has resulted in the cancellation of debts of about 14 African countries. Nigeria has also been a beneficiary of this initiative by the G-8.

It is our view that the better and sustained way to help Africa acquire the capacity to adequately combat terrorism is to help fulfill the noble aims and objectives of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). The scope of UN anti-terrorism technical assistance to Africa should not only be expanded to reflect the region's enormous socio-cultural, economic, political and sustainable development challenges but also that such technical assistance packages, as are envisaged, should be implemented in very close collaboration and coordination with the African Union and the African Center for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT), and should be consistent with NEPAD objectives.

STATEMENT

BY

IBRAHIM A. GAMBARI

Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs

United Nations, New York

AT THE

DPA-AAI WORKSHOP

ON

AFRICA'S RESPONSE TO TERRORISM

GRAYBAR BUILDING
420 LEXINGTON AVENUE
SUITE 1706
NEW YORK

17 February 2006

1. It is with great pleasure that DPA co-organized this symposium together with the Africa-America Institute (AAI). I would like to extend my special thanks to President Mclean, who remains an old friend of the UN. I remember that in 2001 right after the September 11th terrorist attacks, I was in the same conference room together with some African Ambassadors discussing Africa's solidarity with the international community in the fight against terrorism. Five years later, it is truly a privilege to have you—distinguished practitioners and experts—join this timely **symposium, which aims to facilitate Africa's deliberation on a UN counter-terrorism strategy, as well as enhance my Department's policy work** on a key issue concerning international peace and security, one of the three pillars of a re-vitalized DPA.
2. A global response to terrorism must be undertaken with dynamism, coordination, and sustainability. To that end, **Secretary-General Kofi Annan envisions a counter-terrorism strategy** with five pillars: **1) dissuade** disaffected groups from **choosing terrorism as a tactic** to achieve their goals; **2) deny terrorists the means** to carry out their attacks; **3) deter states from supporting terrorism; 4) develop state capacity** to prevent terrorism; and **5) defend human rights** in the struggle against terrorism. Member States welcomed the identification of those elements at the 2005 World Summit and asked the General Assembly to further **develop them with the aim of promoting an inter-governmentally approved counter-terrorism strategy.**
3. We value the support of **African** countries and believe that their **concerns and hopes are important in shaping a UN strategy to counter the menace of terrorism.** The terrorist attacks in Nairobi, Dar es Salaam and Mombasa and the terror warnings in Kenya and elsewhere in East Africa early this year reminded us that Africa remains vulnerable to the threat of terrorism. Just days ago, 13 Al Qaida suspects escaped from a jail in Yemen, new reports speculated that they could flee to Somalia. This raised our concern that they could seek safe heaven in the Horn of Africa to regroup, train, organize and plan future operations. **How to fight terrorism** while battling with many other pressing issues such as conflict, poverty, HIV/AIDS, **is a huge challenge that African countries face with the expectation of support from the international community.**
4. We believe that a comprehensive and coordinated UN counter-terrorism strategy could help: to send out a clear message that **terrorism is unacceptable** whatever its form and motives, to jointly **narrow the space** for terrorists to operate, to **help those countries** that are willing but **less able to fight terrorism, to reduce the conditions** conducive to the spread of terrorism, and to ensure that counter-terrorism efforts **be balanced with the protection of human rights.**
5. **African countries have taken strides in recent years to prevent and combat terrorism.** For example, 36 out of 53 countries in the Africa Union have ratified

the **Convention on the Prevention and Combating of terrorism**. The **African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism** was established in Algeria in 2004. Even small countries such as **Djibouti** have taken steps to remove aliens, close down terrorist-linked financial institutions, and share information on possible terrorist activity in the region.

6. Despite this progress, many African countries continue to be plagued by the threat of terrorism, and they lack adequate legislative, financial, technical and regulatory programs to counter this threat. We believe that **strengthening the UN's technical assistance function and coordination to help States build up their capacity to combat terrorism remains the cornerstone of a UN counter-terrorism strategy**.
7. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (**UNODC**) **has given special attention to the needs of African counties in strengthening the legal regime against terrorism**. Since January 2003, the Terrorism Prevention Branch (TPB) of UNODC has supported 36 African countries in the ratification and implementation of the universal instruments, the incorporation of those provisions into national legislation, and the submission of national reports to the Counter-Terrorism Committee.
8. The Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (**CTED**) **has also endeavoured to facilitate technical assistance to African countries**. So far, CTED has conducted visits to five countries to assess their implementation of the obligations set forth in Security Council Resolution 1373 and to facilitate technical assistance in this regard. Four out of those five countries are African countries, including Morocco, Kenya, Algeria, and most recently Tanzania. We can, of course, do more and better, and we welcome African countries reaching out to us for their capacity needs.
9. Besides assisting African countries to build capacity, we must also **reduce the hospitable environment for terrorists to recruit and thrive**. Terrorists exploit and strike where they see opportunities and weak links. We must deal with the prevalence of poverty, economic distress, interlocking conflicts, poor governance, and criminal networks in the region, which are often exploited by terrorists—and which are addressed by other priorities of UN programs. In this regard, 34 out of the 50 Least Developed Countries are Africans.
10. We should also try to **prevent the potential sources of conflict in Africa that might give rise to extremism**. **Rejecting extremism that incites terrorist acts** on the national and international level should be an integral part of a counter-terrorism strategy. It is striking that during the recent controversy over the Danish caricatures, there has been little or no violent acts in Africa. This suggests that Africa can play a pivotal role in solidifying support in the Muslim and Arab world for responsible leadership in the fight against violent extremists. By promoting good governance, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), to

which about 25 countries have voluntarily subscribed, could also make valuable contribution in this regard.

11. Secretary-General Kofi Annan envisages the development of a credible counter-terrorism strategy involving the Member States of the Organization to address the interlinked chain of global problems in accordance with the core values the United Nations stands for: the rule of law; the protection of civilians; tolerance; the promotion of peaceful conflict resolution; and respect for human rights. **I hope African countries will rally behind such a strategy**, which would help unite the world in the common cause to defeat terrorism. **African countries can be both contributors to and beneficiaries from the strategy.**

12. This Symposium aims to share perspectives on Africa's response to terrorism. However, **our deliberation may go beyond the continent of Africa to construct a broader, multinational and multi-faceted strategy to counter international terrorism.** Once again, I extend my warm welcome and thanks for your participation. Now I will give the floor to my colleague Bob Orr, chairman of the UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), who will brief you on its work and our deliberation on a UN counter-terrorism strategy.

Thank you.

**PRESENTATION BY MR W MALGAS,
COUNSELLOR, SOUTH AFRICAN MISSION TO THE UN**

**SYMPOSIUM ON AFRICA'S RESPONSE TO TERRORISM
THE AFRICA-AMERICA INSTITUTE, NEW YORK
17 FEBRUARY 2006**

Chair,

You Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thank you for allowing me this opportunity to address you on this most important subject. The fact that we are sitting here today is testimony of the seriousness that we view the phenomenon of international terrorism and the imperative of combating it. The world has changed a great deal: conflicts have taken on new forms; technology has and continues to develop in leaps and bounds. Inherent in change are opportunities – but also challenges.

Various parts of the world have experienced terrorism for decades – be they state sponsored or otherwise. To take my country, South Africa, as an example: We waged a long and difficult struggle for many decades – starting off with peaceful resistance that later escalated into violent conflict. The apartheid state used terrorism to counter the liberation movements through bombings and assassinations. This has been well documented and I won't dwell on it suffice to say that many of us who are currently in government were also classified as terrorists by the former apartheid regime. More recently we experienced urban terrorism in parts of South Africa and successfully dealt with it through a comprehensive countering strategy. So, the debate on terrorism and the global and Africa's responses is rather close to our hearts.

Inherent in critical debate is the need to explore and not be prisoners to what is the vogue or to advocate positions simply because it will satisfy one or other party despite obvious shortcomings in these positions.

There is a school of thought that holds the view that we should simplify the debate on countering strategies by merely tracking down terrorists and their support networks – apprehend them – lock them up and throw away the key. If it was as simple as that we would have defeated international terrorism long ago. Any counter-terrorism strategy should have as its strategic focus: the eradication and prevention. Prevention simply means that we have to address the root causes to prevent a recurrence – whatever those root causes may be – if it is development or governance, then it should be addressed. Not addressing it simply invites a vicious cycle of strikes and counter strikes. In saying this I do not advocate satisfying the demands of terrorist groups as these are often unreasonable. However, there are certain factors that do give rise to terrorism and redressing it, is many a time within our abilities. There is no template that can be used to understand the causes of terrorism all over the world. The situation is much more complex than that.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is important to note that Africa is not an island. The world has become a village – globalization is the buzz word nowadays. The world is different from what it was 10 years ago: the growth and advances in ICT is phenomenal. Nowadays people travel across borders more freely than before. The movement of money across jurisdictions has been made so much easier. These developments represent progress and should be welcomed. However, it has also presented enormous challenges as it is being exploited by criminal and terrorist groups. Africa can therefore not develop an effective counter-terrorism strategy in isolation of what is being done elsewhere in the world.

Africa has long recognized the need to embark on concrete measures to counter this phenomenon at individual and collective levels. We adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in 1999, which came into force in December 2002. This was followed up by a Plan of Action by the Inter-Governmental High Level Meeting in September 2002. In addition, the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT) was established in Algiers. This is demonstrative of the commitment by African countries to address terrorism. Complimenting these multilateral initiatives

are domestic programmes aimed at addressing legislative gaps and the lack of capacity within our criminal justice systems. To illustrate the challenges that Africa is facing I would like to quote from the Plan of Action:

"Terrorism is a violent form of transnational crime that exploits the limits of the territorial jurisdiction of States, differences in governance systems and judicial procedures, porous borders, and the existence of informal and illegal trade and financing networks"

This is not merely a statement of challenges. It gives one a very clear idea of what a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy should address.

I would like to high-light a few specific areas that are short and long term priorities for us in Africa. For the sake of brevity I will not go into too much detail:

Legislative Frameworks:

This is a minefield and one that will continue to require attention in the long term. We need to effect a degree of fusion and harmony to address aspects such as: extradition, mutual legal assistance and criminal procedures, to mention a few. Our joint legislative framework should ensure that terrorists are not able to hide behind defenses of lack of jurisdiction. Terrorist activities should be outlawed irrespective of which jurisdiction the planning takes place or which jurisdiction resources are procured or where the actual attack takes place. Criminality should extend beyond jurisdictional boundaries.

A related matter is the judiciary. We respect the independence of the bench and will challenge any attempt to blur the separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary. These are the corner stones of democracy and cannot be tampered with. Having said that, we are also mindful of the fact that the judiciary – not only in South Africa, but in many countries - is not known for its activism and tend to move much slower than some of us would like. In South Africa, for instance, there are still members of the bench who – and with due respect - question the need for special legislation such as asset forfeiture in respect of organized crime groups. They

hold the view that we should merely use existing legal instruments and investigative techniques to counter very sophisticated crime groups whose leaders insulate themselves and do not get their hands dirty. Sometimes the judiciary does not have full appreciation for the nature and impact of contemporary threats, be they organized crime or terrorism. Training of members of the bench should be factored into the equation. The judiciary will play an important role in a counter-terrorism strategy. Due process is paramount and we cannot run away from it. Extrajudicial killings and detention without trial should be condemned wherever and whenever it occurs. To quote the Secretary General: "...terrorism is in itself a direct attack on human rights and the rule of law. If we sacrifice them in our response, we will be handing victory to the terrorists".

Border Control

Our porous borders are not only a security priority from a counter-terrorism point of view, but also to counter transnational organized crime. History has shown that terrorist organizations are not very finicky about who they work with – as long as it is not the enemy. A common denominator between organized crime and terrorist groups is that they are opportunistic. This is why we will find terrorist groups relying on the infra-structure and information base of criminal groups to further their agenda's. This can be as simple as routes used for human trafficking to complex money laundering schemes. Therefore, more effective control of our borders and related aspects such as adequate identity and travel documents, are important. Deployment of appropriate technology and capacity building of the personnel corp have proven to be key contributing factors to the successes that have been registered to date. Combating corruption among officials is part of this capacity building. Motivated, disciplined staff will go a long way in improving the security at our borders.

Coming to capacity building.

I earlier mentioned that the world has changed. The manner in which law enforcement officers investigate certain new crime trends have to be different. Also, the methods used should be above reproach and should be able to withstand judicial

scrutiny. This requires scientific investigative methods and the directed and efficient use of intelligence. Progress in this regard is more advanced in some parts of Africa than in others. It simply requires a great deal of investment in human and material resources – something that we in Africa don't always have. Joint training initiatives among law enforcement and security agencies in the region as well as technical assistance by agencies such as the UNODC and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is assisting in addressing some of the weaknesses that we currently have.

Another area that requires attention is the exchange of information.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I cannot recall ever hearing of a terrorist group that drafted notes verbale or letters rogatory to associates elsewhere in the world. They are not known for adhering to bureaucratic rules of procedures. The point that I am trying to make is that formal communication is important and should be followed as we are dealing with sovereign states. However, at an investigation level – where the rubber meets the road – it can retard investigations. Even worse, completely sink it. Informal law-enforcement-to-law-enforcement communication should be encouraged. The planning of acts of terror, movement of funds and people all demand a much more efficient manner of cross-jurisdiction communication between LEA's. South Africa has found this to be a key to success in cross-border operations targeting vehicle smuggling and proliferation of illegal weapons. New methods of integrating capabilities should be explored. The task team approach through the establishment of multidisciplinary teams has not yet been mastered completely by many of the law enforcement and security agencies. This approach requires bringing together financial investigators, forensic scientists, criminal investigation and other relevant skills into one cohesive unit that is able to direct operations and resources optimally. Additionally the troika methodology – i.e. where a project rests on three legs, evidence gathering, intelligence and prosecution, should become the norm. I am listing these very practical issues as they are crucial to the effective and successful neutralisation of this threat.

Dismantling terrorist infrastructures

Merely arresting suspects is not sufficient – their infrastructures have to be dismantled as well. The combating of the financing of terror (CFT) is crucial – not only as one of the mechanisms to track terrorists, but also in the final stages, to effect asset forfeiture and confiscations in order to render the network moribund. Financial intelligence units play a vital role and it is unfortunate that not many countries in Africa have established them yet. To, once again, use South Africa as an example: we found it very useful to be part of forums such as the Egmont Group of FIU's in exchanging information on money laundering by transnational organized groups. Effective operationalisation of the information has resulted in numerous successes. Notwithstanding the shortcomings, we are aware that many African states are in the process of setting up structures of this nature and programmes such as those by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is assisting in this regard. The exchange of information and regional typology studies on how funds are laundered should also be held more frequently as it will inform investigative techniques that should be employed by law enforcement officers on the ground.

Chair, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to end off by saying that the fight against international terrorism is essential to ensure the human security of all our peoples. The domestic and international instruments that are being put in place are vast in their scope – the effects on targeted groups, be they states that support terrorism or individual groups, are severe – and so it should be. These instruments can therefore not be used, or threatened to be used with disregard for the wider implications. Threats to use counter-terrorism instruments against opponents – simply to settle scores that have nothing to do with counter-terrorism undermine the global efforts that are required to eradicate this phenomenon. The use of suspect methods of investigation, interrogation and detention further undermines international efforts. I wish to reiterate the words of the Secretary General that if we sacrifice human rights in our response we will be handing victory to the terrorists and Africa will do well to continue heeding these wise words.

The challenges facing Africa are enormous and will not be achieved overnight. However, leaders in the region have demonstrated their commitment to bring about an enabling environment to effectively counter international terrorism and

there is a need to move with speed in the practical implementation of a counter-terrorism strategy.

I thank you.

Note

**Africa-American Institute
17 February 2006**

Points raised by Dr. Robert Orr, Assistant Secretary-General for Policy Coordination and Strategic Planning and Chairman of the Counter-terrorism Implementation Task Force, UN

The work of the UN Secretary-General and the comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy

The 5 “Ds” are elements of a strategy, rather than a strategy in and of themselves. They will contribute toward building an inter-governmentally approved CT strategy.

After the March speech of the Secretary-General wherein he outlined the 5 D’s, Member States inquired as to the next steps particularly concerning implementation. As a result, the Counter-terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) was formed, comprised of representatives of UN system entities whose work is relevant to terrorism – related issues. The Task Force consists of 23 members from within the UN system. Thus far, 4 meetings have been held. It was pointed out that the UN cannot create national Counter-terrorist strategies, but can contribute to those at the international and (sub-) regional levels. As such a layered approach is needed – at the national, (sub-) regional and international levels.

Since last March, some feedback from Member States has been provided concerning the elements of the strategy. The elaboration of these elements will be debated in the General Assembly some time this Spring.

Areas of Concern to Africa

A number of areas were raised as being of concern to Africa are indicated below:

1. Root causes of terrorism and/or their context
 - a. This has not been a particularly productive debate
 - b. There are some conditions that can be exploited by terrorists
 - c. We need to find a language to have useful discussions on the topic
 - d. No study exists that explains what the causes of terrorism are
 - e. Other areas that emanate from this debate include re-establishing and establishing good governance and strengthening specific institutions
2. The Challenge of Development
 - a. There is a debate about the relationship between terrorism and development
 - b. some argue that there is a direct link between terrorism and poverty while others argue that there is not
 - c. there does not appear to be a direct causal linkage
 - d. nonetheless, terrorists are able to exploit poverty conditions - this, which needs to be explored

- e. The UN will pursue the poverty issue for the sake of pursuing the reduction of poverty. If in doing so there is a benefit to reducing terrorism, then this is an additional benefit
3. Conflict resolution
- a. conflict as a main driving force influencing security, etc.

In general, there is agreement among Member States that there is a need for capacity building, given that no country has all the necessary institutions to address and combat terrorism. This is something which is needed across the board and is most acute in Africa.

How the UN can be of assistance

- a. the UN can help with information sharing, but not intelligence
- b. Member States can go to the UN in order to get assistance, as the UN has reach-back into a number of resources. For example, if one needs a person to assist in the rebuilding of justice, the UN can refer the country to the appropriate entity
- c. Member States may prefer going to the UN before going to other possible sources for assistance
- d. the UN is accessible

Next Steps

- a. The Secretary-General will provide enhanced, deepened elements of a counter-terrorism strategy
- b. Preparation is under way to set-up the forthcoming debate on this issue with a view to reaching agreement among the 191 Member States on a counter-terrorist strategy
- c. All is being done to harness 191 Member States to the cause of fighting terrorism

Statement made by H.E **Ambassador Youcef Yousfi**, Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, before the Symposium organized by the Africa-America Institute about **Africa's Response to Terrorism**.

Madame President McLean,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all, I would like to thank the organizers of the "Africa-America Institute" for inviting me to address this honorable audience and to contribute to this symposium devoted to a very sensitive and important matter, that of Terrorism and in particular the Terrorism in Africa.

Indeed, Africa remains affected by several problems in various fields, economic, social area as well as security. It is of our responsibility as Africans, at this time when the International Community is mobilized to fight Terrorism, to make the voice of Africa heard on the subject.

Algeria is one of the African States which suffered most of Terrorism. My country had, during a whole decade, to face alone this phenomenon. We lost thousands of lives, lost a great number of economic and social infrastructures, lost a decade of development. We tried to promote international conventions to fight terrorism and I have to say that only Africa responded to our concerns at that time. In fact, all the calls we made, for assistance, cooperation, cutting funds and weapons for terrorists, did not have the desired echo at that time. Worst, several terrorists were financed and supported directly or indirectly by organizations of some countries, which suffered themselves from the same terrorists, in the aftermath.

Indeed, it is only when some important countries became victim of the same attacks that the International Community started to be more aware of the

sufferings, which my country and some others endured and of the necessity of organizing global response to this phenomenon, because every state could become a victim.

We are very pleased with this new spirit although we are convinced that if this cooperation would have started earlier, we would have suffered less. We have quickly answered this new spirit, and at the African level, the African Union has established in Algiers the African Center for Studies and Research on Terrorism. Algeria wishes that the Center becomes the interlocutor of our continent with the United Nations Authorities and other International Organizations in charge of the fight against Terrorism.

Co-operation remains the main instrument against Terrorism. Indeed, no country, in spite of its capacities could fight it alone. We are pleased with the progress made until now and we call for more vigilance. The combat is not finished and the danger still exists.

Algeria welcomes the Secretary General Koffi Anan elements of strategy for fighting terrorism, though, these elements should be enriched, as expressed by our Heads of State and Government during the summit of September 2005.

We consider that terrorism has its root causes and that a war which targets only the symptoms without tackling the roots of the phenomenon, could not be a winning battle.

The discussions which continue within the United Nations to lead to a Comprehensive Convention on Terrorism crystallize different points of view, which should be taken into account in any work of achieving a comprehensive and consensual strategy.

The internal and regional conflicts in Africa, poverty, under development, foreign occupation, bad governance and other factors, entail Terrorism. Africans and other populations do not engage in terrorism by vocation. The clear lack of future, the persistence of foreign occupation, the deprivation of elementary rights to a worthy life, are some elements which nourish frustrations

and give to the preachers of extremism, the suitable compost to recruit the first victims of terrorism, generally found among the youngest population.

An active role of the United Nations is more than necessary, to solve these conflicts, to sponsor the processes of peaceful transitions towards democracy and good governance and to launch a sustainable development in these areas.

Some regions in Africa are more vulnerable. Allow me to enumerate hereafter some factors which in our opinion specify terrorism in Africa:

- Africa, because of its geography offers bases of fold to the international terrorist organizations. It is the case of the Sahel region in particular, where many dangerous factors are combined.
- Security is less strong in Africa; it remains a culture to be taught, due basically to the lack of necessary instruments.
- Africa is torn by all kinds of internal conflicts, with the problems of circulation of significant quantities of weapons, in spite of the embargoes imposed by the UN, but unfortunately not respected.
- Poverty in Africa is a factor which facilitates the recruitment by Al-Qaida of extremists, particularly among African youth.
- Africa is a tourist destination appraised by people of different nationalities. Terrorists target these people to obtain maximum media publicity.

This is not a fate; with more means and assistance the African countries can fight well against Terrorism, enabling them to get rid of this danger, which adds in fact a burden moreover to those already existing.

Africa needs more attention and assistance from the United Nations and the International Community. It should not feel isolated in its fight against transnational terrorism. Several actions must be accomplished, by the African Union but also by the United Nations, I can quote some of them, starting with what falls within the competence of the African Union:

- The African Union should call upon its Member States to ratify the International Conventions on Terrorism and also the African Convention of 1999 and its protocol. In fact, more than 15 African countries have not ratified the latter yet.
- The African Union should help its Members to implement all elements of the African Plan of Action to fight terrorism adopted in Algiers in 2002.
- The African Center of Algiers must be the unique interlocutor of all, when dealing with the coordination of the inter-African co-operation on Terrorism.

The International Community through the United Nations and other Regional Organizations must, according to our point of view:

- Increase assistance to the African States in all its forms, legal, institutional and logistic. A lot of actions could be done in providing an assistance particularly to ratify International Conventions on terrorism, to train African prosecutors and judges, to improve their legal arsenal.
- Take advantage from the experience of the African States in their fight against Terrorism and to provide them the assistance needed regarding extraditions, mutual legal advice based on the obligation “ persecute or extradite “
- Help the African States - by the implementation of the measures provided in Article 50 of the United Nations Charter - to apply and respect the embargoes on Weapons, imposed by the United Nations against some States in Africa, because of civil wars.
- Assist the African Union in its efforts to solve the existing regional conflicts, in order to stop the emerging cells of Terrorism.
- Associate Africa, through the African Center for Studies and Research on Terrorism, in the actions carried out by the United Nations and its various committees, in order to increase the awareness of the political leaders and their security and intelligence Services, on the harmful effects of this phenomenon on African economies and societies.
- Assist Africans in their economic and social development process.

Lastly, I would like to stress the importance of the actions carried out by the United Nations through, inter alia, the various Committees of experts of the Security Council. Africa never stopped showing its availability to implement the relevant Security Council resolutions. As an example, Algeria, as a nonpermanent member of the Security Council, requested last year, to be visited by Experts of the Executive Direction of the Counter Terrorism Committee. Today, the same team of Experts is visiting Tanzania.

Africa is making a huge effort to fight Terrorism, it so deserves respect, encouragement and assistance from the International Community.

Thank you.

February 17th, 2006



**“Has Africa Any Role in
the Current Efforts
against World Terror?”**

**“THE AFRICAN LEADERS’
LECTURE SERIES”**

by

IBRAHIM A. GAMBARI
Under-Secretary-General and
Special Adviser on Africa

At

**THE AFRICA GROUP AND WATSON
INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS, BROWN UNIVERSITY**

Providence R.I.
Friday, 5 November 2004

Honourable Charles Fogarty
 Lt. Gov. of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,
 Excellencies,
 Dr. Wood,
 The Director of African Orbit, Prof. Angelicus-M. Onasanya,
 Head of the Dept. of Anthropology and Africa Group, Dr. P. Leis,
 The Faculty and Staff of the Watson Institute for International Relations
 Ambassador Bill Twadell,
 Distinguished Participants,
 Ladies and Gentlemen,

I Introduction and Context

It is indeed a great honour and privilege to be invited to speak at “The African Leaders’ Lecture Series” on the topic, “Has Africa Any Role in the Current Efforts against World Terror”. This is a particularly timely question in the face of growing insecurity in the world. Wars and conflicts have been the major source of insecurity in Africa threatening the lives of millions and diverting the resources of the continent from socio-economic development. Nonetheless, the peace and security concerns of Africa cannot be divorced from those of the international community and vice-versa. Hence Africa would benefit from multilateral efforts to combat the old as well as new threats to global security such as terrorism while also contributing to such efforts.

II. Global Context of Efforts Against Terrorism

In this regard, the tragic events of September 11 remind all of us of three main facts: that we live in a dangerously insecure world; that security is indivisible and finally that the growing indivisibility of security underscores the need for global cooperation in tackling global challenges. Moreover, the idea that security is also a function of military supremacy has been proven wrong and perhaps redundant in this world of increasing globalization. The impact of endemic poverty; volatile international financial markets; transnational organised crime; HIV/AIDS pandemic; environmental degradation and international terrorism have also challenged the assumption that the world can be divided into safe and unsafe areas.

We must also recognize the fact that the terrorist networks find it easier to breed and prosper where organized crimes reign, where political and administrative machinery and state institutions are weak or malfunctioning, where ideology and religious fanaticism have replaced reason and morality and where despair has destroyed a sense of purpose. However, when terrorists strike, no one is spared. Their acts affect us all: rich and poor, strong and weak states, developed and under-developed world, East and West, North and South. In 1998, terrorists struck in Tanzania and Kenya, but in 2001, it was in the United States of America and in 2004, it was in Spain, Saudi Arabia and Morocco. The intended consequences of their acts include the creation of widespread fear, uncertainty and insecurity. As Secretary-General Kofi Annan pointed out, in his celebrated

Commencement Address at Harvard University, “today, the strong feel almost as vulnerable to the weak as the weak feel vulnerable to the strong (June 10, 2004)”.

Hence, there is a strong case for building strong and lasting global coalitions to combat old and new threats to international peace and security, especially terrorism. As the then Russian Foreign Minister, Igor Ivanov, put it, “only on the basis of such a coalition is it possible to create an atmosphere of total rejection of terrorists’ actions and to banish them from their last nests. Indeed, the present solidarity against terrorism provides a unique chance to begin constructing a system of international security adequate to address 21st Century threats” (New York Times, January 27, 2002).

That solidarity was clearly demonstrated on 12th September, 2001, when both the General Assembly and the Security Council adopted resolutions strongly condemning the attacks and calling on all states to cooperate in bringing the perpetrators to justice. The Security Council then passed, unanimously, a second and more detailed Resolution 1373 which mandated all Member States to take a broad range of measures targeting terrorists and all those who harbour, aid or support them. The Council then established a follow-up mechanism through its Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) to combat terrorism.

In order to assist the Council’s Counter-Terrorism Committee, an Executive Directorate was established for an initial period ending 31 December 2007. On 29 June 2004, the Secretary-General appointed Ambassador Javier Ruperez (Spain) as Executive Director of CTC. He submitted the organizational plan to continue the Committee’s efforts to increase the capabilities of Member States to combat terrorism; to identify and address their problems in implementing resolution 1373 (2001); to facilitate the provision of technical assistance adjusted to the countries’ needs; to encourage the largest possible number of States to become parties to the international conventions and protocols related to counter-terrorism; and to strengthen its dialogue and cooperation with international, regional and sub regional organizations acting in the areas outlined in resolution 1373 (2001).

The Committee has now began preparations for its first visit to a Member State, aimed at promoting a climate of cooperation and for providing technical assistance based on more accurate assessments of the country’s needs. The development of cooperation with international, regional and sub regional organizations would remain one of the Committee’s priorities. The Committee has accepted the proposal by the League of Arab States to host its next meeting with international organizations to be held in November-December 2004 in Cairo. Furthermore, on 8th October 2004, the UN Security Council passed resolution 1566 expanding the definition of terrorist groups and individuals to include entities other than those affiliated with Al Qaida. Through the Resolution, a working group is to be set up to make recommendations on how to deal with entities associated with terrorist activities.

Notwithstanding these concrete steps to combat terrorism, Secretary-General Kofi Annan reminds us, “none of the issues that faced us on September 10 has become less urgent”. According to him, “The number of people living on less than one dollar a day

has not decreased. The numbers dying of AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, and other preventable diseases have not decreased. The factors that cause the desert to advance, biodiversity to be lost, and the earth's atmosphere to warm, have not decreased. And in the many parts of the world afflicted by the scourge of war, innocent people have not ceased being murdered or mutilated, dragged or driven from their homes. In short, the agenda of peace, development and human rights set for us in the Millennium Declaration is no less pressing." These are also the main challenges which Africa is grappling with and for which the support of the international community is essential in the context of a new partnership.

Meanwhile Secretary-General Kofi Annan has established a High-Level Panel on New Threats, Challenges and Change whose Report is to launch a comprehensive review of the substantive concerns, structure and method of work of the United Nations. The Panel is expected to identify new and old, "hard" and "soft" threats to peace and security and make recommendations to address them. In this regard, the Secretary-General acknowledged that: "all of us know there are new threats that must be faced or, perhaps, old threats in new and dangerous combinations, new forms of terrorism, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction." He observed, however, that "while some consider these threats as self-evidently the main challenge to world peace and security, others feel more immediately menaced by small arms employed in civil conflict, or by so-called 'soft threats' such as the persistence of extreme poverty, the disparity of income between and within societies, and the spread of infectious diseases, or climate change and environmental degradation"(Address to the General Assembly, 2003).

III Africa's Regional approach to the Efforts against Terrorism

The *raison d'être* of the United Nations is to rid the world of the scourge of war. Hence the Charter made provisions for enhancing peace and security while encouraging all peoples to "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another". Furthermore, in some circumstances, the Organization and the international community may adopt measures to deter threats to peace and to combat "acts of aggression or other breaches to peace". In this regard, the Security Council has been assigned the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

In the discharge of its responsibilities, two distinctive approaches were provided for the Security Council: first, conflict prevention with a long-term approach contained in Chapter VI and, second, peace enforcement through the collective security principles based on Chapter VII of the Charter. Moreover, the Charter has provisions in chapter 8 for cooperation between the United Nations and of regional organisations including NATO, EU and OAU (now renamed African Union), as partners in peace making; peace keeping and peace enforcement. And in recognition of that partnership, most of the regional organisations, especially the OAU, refer to the UN Charter in their own Charters.

In July 1999, the African States signed, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity, the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in Algeria.

This Convention has entered into force on 6 December 2002. A Plan of Action to operationalize this Convention was later approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the successor organization, the AU, in Maputo in July 2003. The signing of this Convention has led to other initiatives in the region aimed at strengthening the mechanisms to combat terrorism in the African continent such as the Bamako Declaration of December 2000, on African Common Position on the Illicit Proliferation, Circulation and Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons; the West African States Moratorium on the importation, exportation and manufacture of small arms and light weapons in West Africa; and the Nairobi Declaration of March 2000 and the Ministerial Follow up in August 2002 on the problem of the Proliferation of Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great lakes Region and the Horn of Africa. These instruments and initiatives can only make a difference if they are followed by concrete actions to implement them.

The broad approach to combating terrorism has involved two types of activities at the level of African Union and at the level of sub-regional organizations: the design of instruments to facilitate action at the national level and co-operation between the states and undertaking operational measures to prevent, deter and combat terrorist acts.

1. Activities on the Legislative Front:

- a. Review of the African States' national legislations and the establishment of criminal offences for terrorist acts and make such acts punishable by appropriate penalties that take into account the grave nature of such offences;
- b. Accelerating the signing or ratification of, or accession to the related international instruments aimed at combating terrorist acts. For example, the New York Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected persons, International Conventions on Hostage taking, Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, etc.
- c. Enactment of legislation and establishment as criminal offences of certain acts as required in terms of international instruments referred to in paragraph (b) above and ensuring that states ratify and agree to make such acts punishable in appropriate ways which take into account the grave nature of those offences;
- d. Notifying the Chairperson of the AU of all the legislative measures that each country has taken and penalties imposed on terrorist acts, within one year of its ratification or accession to the Convention.

2. Activities at the Operational Level:

- a. Preventing African states territories from being utilized as sanctuaries, or bases for planning terrorist acts, participation or collaboration with terrorist groups by monitoring the developments and creating preventive measures;

- b. Developing and strengthening methods of monitoring and detecting plans or activities aimed at the illegal cross-boarder transportation, importation, export, stockpiling and use of arms and ammunition and explosives and other materials as means of committing terrorist acts;
- c. Developing and strengthening methods of controlling and monitoring land, sea, and air borders, and customs and immigration check-points in order to pre-empt any infiltration by individuals or groups involved in the planning, organization and execution of terrorist acts;
- d. Strengthening the protection and security of persons diplomatic and consular missions, premises, or regional and international organizations accredited to the State Party;
- e. Promoting the exchange of information and expertise on terrorist acts and establishing data bases for collection and analysis of information;
- f. Taking necessary measures to prevent the establishment of terrorist support networks in any form of whatsoever.

Although regional approaches promote coordination, sharing of resources and experiences and common planning, the ultimate test to combat terrorism lay in the ability of individual states to implement at the national level the Convention and other regional initiatives at the national level.

IV Efforts by the African Union on Broader Peace and Security Issues

The African Union (AU) approved a new Peace and Security agenda at its Summit Meeting in Maputo from 9-12 July 2003. It includes the following:

- a. Developing Mechanisms and institutions and support to instruments for achieving peace and security in Africa;
- b. Improving Capacity for, and coordination of, early action for conflict prevention, management and resolution including the development of peace and support operations capabilities;
- c. Improving early warning capacity in Africa through strategic analysis and support;
- d. Prioritising strategic security issues as follows:
 - promoting an African definition and action on disarmament demobilization and reconstruction efforts in post-conflict situations;
 - coordinating and ensuring effective implementation of African efforts aimed at preventing and combating terrorism.
- e. Ensuring efficient and consolidated action for the prevention, combating and eradicating the problem of illicit proliferation, circulation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons;
- f. Improving the security sector and the capacity for good governance as related to peace and security.
- g. Assisting in resource mobilization for the African Union Peace Fund and for

regional initiatives aimed at preventing, managing and resolving conflicts on the continent.

Prior to its Summit in Maputo, the AU also adopted in July 2002 the Peace and Security Protocol, an enabling instrument for the AU to play an effective role in peace and security matters and conflict resolution. One of the most attractive aspects of this Protocol is the establishment of the African Peace and Security Council as a standing decision-making body for the prevention and management of conflicts and promotion of peace in the continent. The Council is charged with the promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa, from early warning to peace-building activities. The Peace and Security Protocol has now entered into force. The African leaders also adopted a Common Security and Defence Policy at an Extra-Ordinary Summit in Libya on February 27 and 28, 2004.

Furthermore, through NEPAD, African leaders established the African Peer Review Mechanism, a voluntary but important instrument to promote good governance at the political, economic and corporate levels. The expectation is that through the sharing of experiences, reinforcing successful best practices, including identifying deficiencies and assessing capacity building needs in the areas of peace and security, Africans would be addressing the root causes of conflicts and wars and also promote development.

V Conclusion

There is a sad paradox that Africa is perhaps the richest continent in terms of natural and mineral resources but contains the world's poorest peoples. Thirty four out of fifty Least Developed Countries in the World are in Africa. And if present trends continue, the continent is the least likely to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) especially the first one, i.e., halving those who live in extreme poverty (less than one dollar a day) by the year 2015. These facts point to Africa as a continent that is very susceptible to harbouring terrorists, facilitating their activities and unable to effectively combat terrorism. The continent has a disproportionate share of failed states, weak institutions, poverty, wars and conflicts, incomplete peace consolidation efforts, porous borders and youth unemployment etc.

In order to deal with these issues, Africans need to develop a greater sense of common purpose, common destiny and common agenda, an agenda that is capable of addressing generalized insecurity and eliminating loopholes and weak-points in its security systems. And in partnership with Africa, the United Nations, G-8 countries, the European Union and the international community have important roles to play. Such partnerships would cover many areas, including addressing the root causes of conflict in Africa and enhancing the capacity of African states to engage effectively in conflict management and resolution while building durable peace and security systems. In this regard, the decision by the Millennium Challenge Corporation established by the US Government invited 16 eligible countries, of which 8 are African, to submit proposals for aid from the Millennium Challenge Account, is a step in the right direction.

One of the key lessons of September 11 for the West is that the security of the North can no longer be separate from the security of the South. On their part, the Africans realise that when terrorists attacked the US Embassies in Nairobi and Kenya, more Africans were killed than the Americans who were the targets and this has implications for the future. This therefore re-enforces the collective desire to find global solutions to global problems. Closer cooperation with African nations and multi-dimensional support from the Western partners for capacity building, technology transfer and additional resources are crucial if the continent is to increase its ongoing role and efforts against world terrorism. This would also be in the self interest of the West. As General Charles Wald, Deputy Commander for the European Command (EUCOM), USAF, said recently at Washington Foreign Press Centre Roundtable on “New initiatives with African Countries,” “terrorist training in the Sahel (in Africa) can be in the United States or Europe in a matter of hours”.

I thank you for listening.