AUPSC

PEACE AND SECURITY
COUNCIL OF THE AFRICAN UNION

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III MODELO POTIGUAR DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS
AUPSC – AFRICAN UNION PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL

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AUPSC'S BUREAU

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CARTA DO SECRETARIADO

É com imensa felicidade que o Secretariado da III POTIMUN felicita toda a comunidade acadêmica e dá as boas-vindas às delegadas e delegados que aceitaram dividir conosco um pouco do carinho, amor e trabalho envolvidos no Modelo Potiguar das Nações Unidas. Esperamos que todo o cuidado empregado na realização deste belíssimo evento se traduza em momentos únicos e inesquecíveis.

Em 2020, nosso modelo de simulação está de cara e nomes novos, refletindo nosso desejo de ampliar perspectivas e reivindicar espaços de aprendizado acadêmico inclusivos, dinâmicos e potiguares. É nesse sentido que a POTIMUN apresenta nesta edição grande diversidade de temáticas, um leque de assuntos importantes para a sociedade, a qual carece cada vez mais de diplomacia, diálogo, cooperação e desenvolvimento mútuo.

Nesse contexto, agradecemos a toda a equipe que fez nossos dias de simulação possíveis com muita dedicação e entrega a este projeto tão lindo. O trabalho de vocês nos mostrou o quanto cada pessoa é importante e que, em conjunto, somos mais fortes nos momentos de dificuldade e nos empecilhos que surgem pelos caminhos da vida. Nosso muito obrigado a cada um e uma que fizeram a família POTIMUN crescer.

Por fim, o presente Guia de Estudos é fruto da dedicação de uma grande equipe, que se esforçou para oferecer a melhor experiência acadêmica para vocês, senhoras e senhores delegadas e delegados, razões da nossa existência. Nada seríamos sem a confiança e o apoio de vocês ano após ano, e desejamos que todos e todas possam se sentir acolhidos e abraçados pela nossa família.

Assim, nossas mais sinceras boas-vindas!

Com amor,

Secretariado da III POTIMUN.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFISMA	African-led International Support Mission to Mali
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
AUPSC	African Union Peace and Security Council
CAR	Central African Republic
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
CTED	Counter terrorism committee executive directorate
DR Congo	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
EUROPOL	European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation
GATIA	Imghad Tuareg and Allies Self-Defense Group
GIA	Armed Islamic Group
GSPC	Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat
HRW	Human Rights Watch
HSM	Holy Spirit Movement
JNIM	Jama'a Nusrat ul-Islam wa al-Muslimin'
KFR	Kidnappings for Ransom
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
MINUSCA	*Mission multidimensionnelle intégrée des Nations unies pour la stabilisation en Centrafrique*
MNJTF	Multinational Joint Task Force
OHCHR	Office of The High Commissioner for Human Rights
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PoW	Panel of the Wise

PSC	Peace and Security Council
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
TGF	Transitional Federal Government

LIST OF IMAGES

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

The African Union Peace and Security Council (AUPSC) is the decision-making organ of the African Union (AU) aimed at the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts to achieve security and efficient responses to critical situations. It was established in 2002 and became fully operational in 2004. Among the objectives of the council, there are the "co-ordination of efforts to prevent and combat terrorism" and the protection of human rights (AFRICAN UNION, 2018).

Having said that, it is common knowledge that terrorism is an increasing global threat, affecting hundreds of people. Therefore, terrorist offenses are associated to the disrespect of human rights. Besides that, human rights violations are also related to the practice of human trafficking, which has increased during the last decade.

That violation mainly affects vulnerable societies, where people live in poverty and discrimination. This is a common picture found in Africa, where GDP rates are the lowest in the world. Consequently, the number of African victims of human trafficking has increased, resulting in 9 million Africans in 2016 (UNITED STATES DEPARTAMENT OF STATE, 2019).

At the same time, a variety of terrorist groups such as Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda are active in Africa, putting these people's lives at risk not only due to the conflicts injuries, but also as a result of the forced recruitment of soldiers and the exploitation of survivors to finance the organised crime.

In 2016 the UNSC unanimously adopted the Resolution 2331, including Angola, Egypt and Senegal - current members of the AU - recognizing the connection between terrorism and trafficking in persons once that terrorist groups can earn money through the sexual exploitation of people, slavery and trafficking in human organs to finance their actions. Considering that and the AUPSC's role of combating terrorism and protecting human rights, it is expected that the committee in its forthcoming meeting discusses the refereed subject under the light of African relevant matters addressing possible solutions.

2 AFRICAN UNION

The African Union is an institution that aims for the integration of the African regions as bounded with one purpose. It is the most influential organization in the continent, which builds up goals and strategies for the sustainable development considering each country's particularities.

2.1 History of the African Union

The African Union (AU) was created with the purpose of drawing up an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa (AFRICAN UNION, 2019). The continental organization is the result of the development of the successful Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was created for the emancipation of those continental nations, from 1963 to 2002. The past arrangement also was directed to constructing an atmosphere of harmonization not only of the empowerment and solidification of those sovereignties, but also in the economic growth and, consecutively, in the human rights protection.

Historically, the Pan-Africanism has been a meaningful conductor to the institutionalization of the past OAU and the reinforcement of the AU. It is a movement that has the objective of building up strength and supporting unity between those descendants who now are farther the continent, because of the diaspora, and those who are still in their origins, which share not merely a common story but a common destiny as well (MAKALANI, 2011). It ends up being the belief that people of African descent have common interests and should be unified, regardless the frontiers.

The movement was born in the 19th century, and it gets its shape with not only with the reverberation in the Afro-American movement, but also with uncountable artistic and political expressions in the African continent, which fought against slavery and colonization, fighting for the emancipation of each region and the consequential cultural liberty. The advocates of Pan-Africanism defend and promote the values that are product of the African civilizations and comprehend the struggles against all prejudices and harms that the continent faces - not only as a geographic reference, but also as the cultural representation and the human foundations that it represents.

The African Union is, in matter of fact, one of the most evident pragmatic applications of the concept of "*transconstitucionalism*" (NEVES, 2018), since the constitutional problems

of each country are overseen by those who integrate the united organisation. In this sphere, it is essential to consider the institutional history and the actual agenda, which seeks to accelerate the continental development with the integration and multinational cooperation, with a high standard fixed on the past and present projects of socioeconomic growth.

2.2 The Agenda 2063

In the celebration of the AU's 50th year anniversary, it was reaffirmed: one of the missions of the organization is to "*continue to speak with one voice and act collectively to promote our common interests and positions in the international arena*" (AFRICAN UNION, 2013). So, in the 21st Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union, at Addis Ababa, on 26 May of 2013, it was created the provision of the Agenda 2063.

The Agenda is a strategic framework and revolutionary goal that intends to accomplish a drastic economic transformation in the continent. It has more specific aims than the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals for 2030, even though that it may also be considered as coincidental and complementary.

Image 1 – The Agenda 2063

Source: UNITED NATIONS (2013).

There is a plane for the implementation of those goals, attributing responsibility also to each integrated country, and creating a structured timeline for its effectuation. The African Union mission looks forward to the day that Africa will have the conditions for its sustainable self-development, with no need for external donations.

The end of the Agenda 2063 involves the fact that today Africa has the largest register of births, and in a closer future, it will have the largest young population in the globe. So, this long-term initiative expects to reduce poverty and to create employment to the young people, creating, for them, a clearer future. It becomes essential to develop the efficient management of the existing funds, the share of experiences and the deep analysis of each country's potential. One of the essential aims has been shown up as leaving the condition of a commodities exporter and following the path to industrialization.

The Africa we want[1], as it has been popularized, considers the dream of a pacificated continent, with reduced or eliminated conflicts, more integrated and empowered; Afterall, Africa shall develop, besides the war. It is not surprising that one of the most ambitious goals is the Peaceful and Secure Africa, that is projected to undertake all the wars in Africa by 2020. (AU; ECOSOC, 2017).

Furthermore, it's important to underline that the AU approaches the concept of peace based on endogenous context and values (site), and how the instability of one country effects the continent as a united and cooperated system. With that mentioned, one of the most relevant principles expressed in the Constitutive Act, in its article 4, to be specific, is the right "*to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity*".

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[1] The Africa We Want is a campaign for the achievement of the 2063 goals. For more acknowledgments about the progress made after the 10th anniversary of the agenda, check the report made by the AU in https://au.int/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/32150-wd-progress_rept_on_implemen_of_agenda_2063_first_ten_year_implementation_plan_e_original.docx.

3 THE AFRICAN UNION PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL

The Peace and Security Council (PSC) is the decision-making organ of the AU for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts, aiming at security and efficient responses to critical situations. It was established in the *Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union*, adopted in July 2002, as the successor to the OAU Central Organ of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution.

The OAU was created in 1963 in Addis Ababa with 32 Member States. Later on, 21 more African countries would join the organization which had the main responsibility of freeing Africa from the European colonialism, besides racism and apartheid. Consequently, the decolonisation became the priority of the OAU.

Many African countries became independent given OAU efforts, however, in the meantime, conflicts due to political power, territorial acquisition, religious supremacy and ethnic domination arised. The OAU failed in monitoring and managing the affairs of its Member States, what was evident with the abuse of human rights, increase of violence, gender inequality and poverty in the continent. Its failure might be justified by the principle of non-interference in sovereignty of Member States, that was misinterpreted as a reason not to intervene in affairs of Member States (JOSHUA; OLANREWAJU, 2017).

The OAU was dissolved, giving place to the AU and the OAU Central Organ of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution was later replaced by the AUPSC.

3.1 The Protocol

According to the referred Protocol, "the Peace and Security Council shall be a collective security and early-warning arrangement to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situations in Africa".

The Council became active in December 2003 and fully operational in 2004 as the main pillar of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), "which is the framework for promoting peace, security and stability in Africa" (AFRICAN UNION, 2018). The APSA guarantees that, besides the support from the African Union Commission (AUC), the PSC is

also supported by the Panel of the Wise (PoW), the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the African Standby Force (ASF) and the Peace Fund.

The PoW was established on article 11 of the PSC Protocol (2002). It is composed of five African recognised personalities, one from each African region, that have contributed to the cause of peace, security and development who are selected by the AUC. It supports the PSC and the Commission in the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability, using preventive diplomacy and mediation to that end.

The CEWS is under article 12 of the same Protocol (2002) and has the main objective of anticipating and preventing conflicts on the continent, besides providing timely information about violent conflicts. It consists of the Situation Room, which is an observation and monitoring centre, and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) that must collect and process data to be transmitted to the Situation Room. To promote its operation, the Commission shall work in collaboration with the UN, international organisations, research centres, academic institutions and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Under article 13 of the Protocol (2002) is established the ASF, the organ responsible for supporting civilian and military missions, intervening in a Member State if it is in grave circumstances or if it is requested, alongside with preventing conflicts and providing humanitarian assistance. It became fully operational in May 2013, when the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises was settled with the purpose to provide a voluntary force from the Member States to respond to emergency situations, which can be authorised by the PSC.

Finally, the Peace Fund, under article 21 of the Protocol (2002), has the role of providing "the necessary financial resources for peace support missions and other operational activities related to peace and security" (AFRICAN UNION, 2002), which shall be administered by the Financial Rules and Regulations of the Union.

The objectives of the Council are established under article 3 of the Protocol (2002) and among them is the promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa; the prevention of conflicts, undertaking peace-making functions for the resolution of these conflicts; the progress of peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction activities; the co-ordination of efforts to prevent and combat terrorism; the development of a common defence policy for the Union; the promotion of democratic practices by the rule of law, protecting human rights and respecting the international humanitarian law (AFRICAN UNION, 2002).

Beyond that, the principles of the PSC are established on article 4 of the Protocol (2002) following the principles of the Constitutive Act, the Charter of the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They aim at peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts; early responses to crisis situations; respect for the rule of law, human rights and international humanitarian law; respecting the interdependence between socio-economic development and the security of peoples and States; respect for the sovereignty and territory of Member States; the non-interference in internal affairs of another Member State; as well as the sovereign equality and interdependence; inalienable right to independent existence; respect of borders; the right of the African Union to intervene in a Member State in grave circumstances; and the right of Member States to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security (AFRICAN UNION, 2002).

3.2 Composition

The PSC is composed by 15 member states, none of which are permanent. All members are elected in January (AFRICAN UNION, 2018) and, to guarantee continuity on its agenda, five members are elected for three-years terms and ten for two-years terms.

The members are elected according to the principle of equitable regional representation and rotation, which means that there are four seats representing Western Africa, three seats representing each Central, Eastern and Southern Africa, and two seats representing Northern Africa. All members, regardless of the region they represent, have equal voting powers and their term begins in April.

Table 1 – Members of the African Union Peace and Security Council in 2019.

REGION	COUNTRY	END OF MANDATE
Western Africa	Liberia	2020
	Nigeria	2022
	Sierra Leone	2020
	Togo	2020
Central Africa	Burundi	2022
	Equatorial Guinea	2020
	Gabon	2020
Eastern Africa	Djibouti	2020

	Kenya	2022
	Rwanda	2020
Southern Africa	Angola	2020
	Lesotho	2022
	Zimbabwe	2020
Northern Africa	Algeria	2022
	Morocco	2020

Source: Produced by the author with information from the African Union Peace and Security Council.

However, Member States shall be elected regarding the criteria list established under article 5 of the Protocol (2002). Those criteria include commitment to the principles of the AU; contribution to the promotion and maintenance of peace and security in Africa; capacity and commitment to the responsibilities as a Member of the PSC; participation in conflict resolution, peace-making and peacebuilding; conflict resolution initiatives; contribution to the Peace Fund; respect for constitutional governance, rule of law and human rights; participation in Permanent Missions at the Headquarters of the Union and the UN; besides the commitment to honour financial obligations to the AU (AFRICAN UNION, 2002).

3.3 Meetings and voting procedure

The PSC Member States, together with the Chairperson of the AU Commission, meet in continuous sessions held at the Headquarters of the Union, which is in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, happening at three different levels. At least twice a month the Permanent Representatives meet at the Headquarters, but more meetings can be required as needed. The Member States also meet at the level of Ministers or Heads of State at least once a year, as well as at the level of Government.

The meetings might include closed sessions, open meetings and informal consultations. The Council adopts the principle of consensus in the process of decision making, but, when it is not possible, they accept simple majority (9 votes) on procedural matters and two-thirds majority (11 votes) on substantive matters.

The Chairperson of the month is determined by the alphabetical order and is responsible for determining the committee's agenda, which might be a consensus and regards the matters proposed by the Chairperson of the AU Commission and the PSC Member States.

Moreover, other AU Member States that are involved in a conflict or crisis situation that is the subject matter in the PSC may be invited to the meeting, however they shall not participate in the discussion nor in the decision-making process (AFRICAN UNION, 2018).

4 TERRORISM

One of the greatest challenges of this continental organization is actually the disarmament and the aim to rebuild the peace and security. *Silencing the guns*, as the institution itself communicates, is deeply connected with the agenda 2063. As a matter of fact, it ends up being a pandemic issue in the continent, which is unquestionably one of the major victims of this horrific threat.

There are some conventions and treaties made not only with the Pan-Africanism animus, but also with the communication with other orders, like the UN and some multilateral (and also bilateral) agreements. The terrorism is undeniably a harm to the socioeconomic development, since it has the intrinsic aim to destabilize States and their *rule of law*.

Although the term is not subject to an universally agreed definition, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) tries to pacify the term terrorism as a *method of coercion that utilizes or threatens to utilize violence in order to spread fear and thereby attain political or ideological goals.*

The distinguishment from the regular violence oversees that the intentional spread of fear against innocent victims, as citizens, it's an instrumentalization of the terror as a kind of pressure on third parties such as governments to change their policy or position. In the actuality, the terrorism is expressed in many forms of violence, by targeting civilians, military facilities and state officials, among others (UNITED NATIONS OFFICE ON DRUGS AND CRIME, 2018, p. 1).

Image 2 – Activists claiming for the end of terrorism.

Source: SOUISSI (2019).

For the African Union, there's a file of the OAU that remains until the actuality, that is the *OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism*. It establishes the deep concern over the scope and seriousness of the phenomenon of terrorism and the dangers it poses to the stability and security of states, expecting the strengthening cooperation among member states in the combat of the problem, since there's a threat to the self-determination and the independence, as a transnational issue.

It also expresses the concern and the conviction that the terrorism constitutes a serious violation of human rights, considering the harms to the physical integrity, life, freedom and security. Moreover, it explicitly repudiates every expression of it, including when States are involved directly or indirectly, without regard to its origin, causes and objectives - since terrorism cannot be justified under any circumstances (ORGANIZATION OF THE AFRICAN UNITY, 2002, p. 2).

The OAU members that ratified the convention have agreed on the current institutional definition, expressed on the Convention's 3rd article:

> [...] 3. Terrorist act means:
> i.   any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a State Party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause

serious injury or death to, any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to:

1.   intimidate, put in fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint, or to act according to certain principles; or

2.   disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency; or

3.   create a general insurrection in a State.

ii.   Any promotion, sponsoring, contribution to, command, aid, incitement, encouragement, attempt, threat, conspiracy, organizing or procurement of any person with the intent to commit any act referred to in paragraph (a) (i) to (iii) [...] (ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, 1999, p 3)

There is a Joint Press Stakeout between the Secretary-General and the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, published on 10 July 2019. The statement reinforces that, as important as fighting terrorism, is preventing it from happening, and an essential element in the capacity to prevent is, undeniably, the socioeconomic development. (GUTERRES, 2019).

The support for the implementation of the agenda the Agenda 2063 of the African Union is an instrument for a fair globalization. "We need a globalization with opportunities for all. We need to make sure that nobody is left behind, that nobody feels discriminated or abandoned" (GUTERRES, 2019), and that means to listen the local urges, to immerse in the cultural contexts and to mediate solutions, not imposing it, but empowering the regional organizations capacity to better identify and apply it's paths to solutions, diplomatically.

4.1 Terrorist groups in Africa

Terrorism in Africa is a relatively recent phenomenon. Following the insurgency of terrorist groups in other continents, African countries are inspired by organizations like Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) into starting their own insurgencies and participating in a global jihad initiative. Ethnic conflicts and separatist causes are also the reasons for some militias and paramilitary groups to take in terrorist acts. Suicide bombings, abductions and the raiding of villages are the main practices taken by these organizations.

4.1.1 Boko Haram

Created in 2002 under the lead of Mohamed Yusuf in northern Nigeria, Boko Haram or Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad defends the principles of Salafism and advocates for Sharia law. The group's goal is to overthrow the Nigerian government and

establish a caliphate. The group's name translates to "Western education in sinful" from the Hausa language. (ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA)

Turned into a jihadi militant group in 2009, the same year of a clash with the Nigerian police which caused the death of 55 (fifty-five) people, many of them Boko Haram militants, including leader M. Yusuf. The group was fragmented, but Abubakar Shekau became one of the leaders, becoming afterwards *de facto* leader and remaining as such as of 2019. Shekau's tactics includes extensive use of violence targeted at civilians, which caused the latest years in Boko Haram's history to be the most violent ones; being considered by the Global Terrorism Index of 2017 to be the deadliest terrorist group in the world (GLOBAL TERRORISM INDEX, 2017) .

Soon after the 2009 uprising, attacks by Boko Haram increased in frequency and intensity. In June 16th, 2011; the Abuja police headquarters bombing - the first suicide bomb attack in Nigeria's history - was claimed by the Boko Haram. On August 26th the same year, a car bomb exploded in Abuja's UN building marking, also, the first group's attack to an international organisation.

Boko Haram is believed to have caused approximately 20,000 deaths and the displacement of at least 2,000,000 people. The victims are civilians and security agents, such as police officers and soldiers; Christians are preferred targets. Attacks are done coordinately, making a very high number of victims. The strategy behind all the killing is to weaken the government, which has been criticized for not doing enough to stop the group, especially after the kidnapping of 276 (two hundred and seventy-six) female students in the town of Chibok, located in Borno, where the majority of the Boko Haram attacks have taken place. (BRITISH BROADCAST COORPORATION, 2018)

The Chibok schoolgirls kidnapping caused international outcry and brought the world's attention to Boko Haram. The attack happened overnight between the 14th and 15th of April 2014. Of over two 200 (two hundred) girls abducted, 112 (a hundred and twelve) are still captives, while the others have escaped, were rescued or liberated. (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 2017)

Image 3 – Kidnaped women in Nigeria, victims of the Boko Haram.

Source: Sahara Reporters (2014).

Although most of the attacks have occurred in Northern Nigeria, Boko Haram has expanded its actions to neighbouring countries like Cameroon, Niger, Chad and Benin; which began to demand international collaboration to the efforts against the group. This prompted the AU to form a Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF).

4.1.2 Al-Shabaab

Al-Shabaab was formed in Somalia in 2006 by a set of young men – the group's name means "the youth" in Arabic. They're a jihadist organization and have pledged allegiance to Al-Qaeda. Al-Shabaab's goal is to start a global caliphate and they have taken advantage of the weaknesses in the Somali Transitional Federal Government (TFG) that ruled the country until 2012, when the Federal Government of Somalia was inaugurated. Nevertheless, Al-Shabaab already had control of the most part in south and central regions. (UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE, 2015)

Al-Shabaab's former leader – Emir – Ahmed Abdi Aw-Mohamed "Godane" fought with Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan until 2001. Its current leader, Abu Ubaidah, grew in the ranks of the terrorist organization and was once Godane's assistant. The group takes strong inspiration from Al-Qaeda in the use of violence, previously unknown in Somalia, to attain their goals, its rhetoric and strong use of media to transmit messages and call for recruits – including on an international scale. Despite mutual demonstrations of support between the two terrorist organizations, Al-Shabaab is not an Al-Qaeda affiliate – it operates independently (SHINN, 2010).

Recruitment is not made through appearances in media alone. Al-Shabaab has recruiters in Somalia and in neighbouring countries as well: Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique. In Kenya, one of Al-Shabaab's most brutal attacks took place: the Westgate shopping mall attack in Nairobi, on September 21st, 2013. Four militants opened fire against civilians, the number of fatalities is disputed, but at least 67 people were killed on the occasion.

In claiming the attack, Al-Shabaab militants justified it as a response to Operation Linda Nchi, carried out by Kenya Defence Forces (KDF), TFG and Somali paramilitary groups in Somalia between 2011 and 2012 as response for the kidnapping of Westerners in both countries. Although concluded in 2012, Kenya forces still act in Somalia as part of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), which duties involve, not exclusively, aiding Somalia to battle Al-Shabaab (AL-JAZEERA, 2011).

Image 4 – Security footage of a terrorist during the Westgate Mall attack.

Source: Business Insider (2013).

In October 14th, 2017, joint bomb blasts in Mogadishu caused the deaths of 587 (five hundred eighty-seven) people. A truck bomb exploded outside a busy hotel; its effect was intensified due to a fuel tanker parked nearby. It is still Africa's deadliest attack and the seventh deadliest terrorist act in modern history. (REUTER, 2017)

Al-Shabaab continues to clash with East African forces; despite losing territory and quitting recruitment in Kenya, they have expanded to other countries in the region through alliances with local jihadists. Killings of Christians, Muslim clerics and police officers in Tanzania associated with Al-Shabaab's activities have been registered since as early as 2011. Tanzanians already formed the second largest group of foreigners to join Al-Shabaab (behind Kenyans) and returnees from Somalia are suspected to be forming training camps in their home country. (INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP, 2018)

4.1.3 Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb

This branch of Al-Qaeda operating in the Sahara and Sahel regions only began using this denomination after 2007, being previously known as the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC); the change of name didn't bring any meaningful changes to the group's operation and is considered a recruitment strategy. They merged in 2017 with other terrorist organizations Macina Liberation Front, Ansar Dine and Al-Mourabitoun to form Nusrat al-Islam – officially named Jama'a Nusrat ul-Islam wa al-Muslimin' (JNIM). (FILIU, 2009)

The group's history started in Algeria, in 1998. Its leader, Hassan Hattab, broke with the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) – one of the groups that fought against the Algerian government during the Algerian Civil War (1991-2002) – one that killed over one hundred thousand people. The GSPC remained, though, with the same goal as GIA: to establish an Islamic State in Algeria. (FILIU, 2009)

The move to becoming an Al-Qaeda franchise added a new ambition to the group, that of participating in and expanding the global jihad.

> By affiliating itself with al-Qa'ida, AQIM stands to gain new sources of financial support as a result of its official participation in the global jihad, and it may also receive financial support directly from al-Qa'ida. AQIM may have an easier time recruiting informants, logisticians, and operatives for a cause that is seen (by some) to benefit the global community of Muslims. (BOUDALI, 2007).

Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb's current leader is Abdelmalek Drukdal, he replaced Nabil Sahrawi – Hattab's successor – after Sahrawi's death in a clash with Algerian army in June 2004, less than a year after becoming leader. Drukdal is responsible for the group's approximation with Al-Qaeda in Iraq, pledging allegiance to Osama bin-Laden in September 13th, 2006 and changing officially the name to "The Organization of al-Qa'ida in the Land of the Islamic Maghreb" or Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). (BOUDALI, 2007)

Initially, their strategy was based on the "triangular dynamic of the Middle East" where Iraq was the magnet for potential recruits and Europe was a source of recruits, where the group displayed intense propaganda against the French and Spanish governments calling them "crusaders". Later, AQIM had to change ways due to the demise of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, turning the focus of its activities to countries in North and West Africa. (BOUDALI, 2007)

The group still tried to focus on international targets inside Algerian territory. Killing western tourists – which represented a change of habit from the kidnappings For Ransom (KFR) used before for financing – has been one of the main strategies of AQIM. In the process, the group has also been responsible for the deaths of fellow Muslims and Algerian people, in some cases in higher numbers than the Western targets. They try to mask the real numbers by claiming that the attacks only killed the Westerners involved.

The group's extension to other African countries has made Mali a frequent place for AQIM's terrorist attacks. Coming from a military *coup d'état*[2] in March 2012; political, security and humanitarian crises made possible for AQIM to take control of the entirety of Northern Mali. The Malian army was in insufficient number to fight the group, which lead the government to request for French assistance in fighting AQIM in 2013, the same year AU launched the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) (COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, 2015)

They expand to other countries by making alliances with local jihadists groups; Burkina Faso, Niger, Tunisia and Ivory Coast have also fallen victims to AQIM's attacks.

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[2] A *coup d'état* is the overthrow of a government by a small group.

5 HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human trafficking - or trafficking of persons - is generally associated to the economic exploitation of people, which is a historical practice that guides us back to at least a century ago (OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 2014). However, only in the past decade it became a major concern of international organisations and governments. It was a result of the high increasing rate of victims reported. For example, in 2016 almost 25,000 victims were reported to UNODC, while in 2008 less than 15,000 were identified.

To understand why trafficking happens is a difficult thing to do because there are varied causes and patterns to analyse. Notwithstanding, it is secure that inequalities between countries, poverty, violence and discrimination are undeniably causes for its outgrowth.

That having been said and considering that Africa has low Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rates, we assume that the continent is vulnerable to the practice of human trafficking. That can be proved once that more than 9 million Africans were reported victims of human trafficking. Therefore, it is important to analyse the concept of human trafficking and how it affects the African society.

5.1 Definition

The Trafficking Protocol defines trafficking in persons as:

> "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation" (PALERMO CONVENTION, 2000).

This definition makes clear that there are three basic elements involved in the practice: the act, what is done to the victims, which is the transportation of them; the means, how it is done, using threat, force, coercion or abuse of power; and, lastly, the purpose, why it is done, which includes exploiting prostitution of others, sexual exploitations, forced labour and the removal of organs (UNITED NATIONS OFFICE ON DRUGS AND CRIME, [20--?]).

5.2 Human Rights violations

In order to put the protection of Human Rights as a priority in prevention and combat of human trafficking is a necessity, as their violations are most commonly the cause and the consequence of this practice. On top of that, every action regarding measures on fighting trafficking should always ensure the safeguard of the victim's rights and dignity, preventing them from having to deal with any kind of extra unnecessary suffering (OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 2002).

5.2.1 Human Rights as an international and regional principle

The importance given to Human Rights protection is considered nowadays as one of the bases of international law and, most importantly, international humanitarian law. That happens because the contemporary international community was deeply moulded by the terror and violence of World War II, reason why, with the guidance of Eleanor Roosevelt, 50 (fifty) members of the United Nations (UN) devised a list of rights that had to be universal, inalienable and interdependent, creating thus, what became the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, 2019).

Furthermore, concerning the African continent, the members of the organization of African Unity – name of the African Union at the given time – elaborated the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, convinced that a more regional and coercive document was necessary to deal with the particularities of Africa. Not only a declaration of rights, the African Charter also brings duties, measures of safeguard and directives to form a regulator organ specialized on dealing with that matter, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' rights (AFRICAN UNION, 1981).

5.2.2 Human trafficking as a violation of Human Rights

Exploring a different approach, The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) of the UN exposes what it calls "Human rights most relevant to trafficking":

> The prohibition of discrimination on the basis of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status; the right to life; the right to liberty and security; the right not to be submitted to slavery, servitude, forced labour or bonded labour; the right not to be subjected to torture and/or cruel, inhuman, degrading treatment or punishment; the right to be free from gendered violence; the right to freedom of association; the right to freedom of movement; the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health; the right to just and favourable conditions of work; the right to an adequate standard of living; the right to social security; the right of children to special protection

(THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 2014).

This extensive but not exhaustive list is due to some practices intrinsically related to human trafficking or almost always related to it, seen many times as steps to the crime and therefore part of it. For instance, a common form of the attraction phase is made by using debt bondage, prohibited by international law, this resumes in "the pledging of personal services as security for a debt where the value of those services is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or their length or nature is not limited and defined" (THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 2014), usually regarding transportation and allocation fees.

Other important crime usually related to trafficking is forced labour, a common ending for the victims, being it, all forms of labour realized on menace of a penalty and that the person had not agreed voluntarily with. Concurrent to that, when analysed on a gendered and aged view, this servitude is usually to an end of child sexual exploitation, forced marriage, enforced prostitution or the exploitation of prostitution (THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 2014).

These associations though, have not been pointed out exclusively for academic reasons. It is by understanding what human rights are being violated in each case that makes it possible to hold responsible States and coerce them to act urgently on ending trafficking, seen that the violation of these rights is notably present in more international treaties and conventions than human trafficking itself.

5.2.3 The Human Rights of trafficked persons

Considering trafficking of persons as a transnational issue, one that goes beyond State borders and crosses the territorial and personal responsibility of nations, a preoccupation to be deeply taken into consideration is the safeguard of the rights of the victims, seen that they might be outside their country of residence, in need of assistance and in a situation of vulnerability. Even when nationals, the victims of human trafficking should receive a specialized protection, particularly if they are part of a group of refugees, persons with disabilities, children or women who may have been sexual exploited (THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 2014).

This issue can be tackled in different ways and manners, such as, primarily, an immigration issue or an affair of crime and public order, objecting the imposition of a penalty

on the aggressors, or even as a matter of State security. However, the international community, United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) and the United Nations Humans Right Council (UNHRC) included, have Advocated on the approach of it as a human rights issue, on the detriment of the rights of the victims. It should be addressed, thus, as if the main end of every action and policy is to protect the dignity and rights of the affected, be it to remove them from the risk of harm or to legally and humanly assist them as early as possible (THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 2014).

In fact, the victims of trafficking ought to be identified as soon as possible so that they can receive immediate aid and support, being absence or error in this step, considered a primordial reason to the continued violation of the human rights of these victims. Because of that, trafficked persons are commonly imprisoned and/or criminalized for being in a country without the proper documents, working "illegally" or even for committing prostitution (THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 2014).

Moreover, the return of these persons to their country of origin – when they are trafficked through borders – is also a risky situation, regarding human rights. Because of their legal status, by not having visas and sometimes any paper, the temporary residence, the participation at the legal proceedings against their traffickers and subsistence itself can pose as major challenges for the victims. It is, thus, of extreme concern for the States to be extra careful with the "rescued" from trafficking and to provide a fast identification in these cases (THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 2014).

5.2.4 Monitoring and accountability of human trafficking in the Human Rights system

The main form a State acquire obligations with respect to the trafficking issue is through becoming party in treaties regarding it or regarding related matters, these treaties, in turn – as international law – are enforceable in international courts and tribunals depending on the appropriate jurisdiction. In addition, custom, general principles and decisions from international tribunals can also be referred as complementary in determining what can required from the Sates (THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 2014).

However, these varied sources constitute only "soft law" instruments, that cannot impose or oblige directly on States, which, stressing, does not take away its utmost important in the international scenario. Moreover, as it involves a broad variety of inflicted rights, the trafficking issue is also handled in its diverse aspects by different human rights treaty bodies

(THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 2014). Concerning the AU, the competent organs are the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights.

As a consequence of the constitutive act and competence of some UN Human Rights bodies, their State parties are obliged to provide regular reports on the trafficking matter, helping the international community to handle it more effectively, whilst they are authorized to request more information from governmental and intergovernmental bodies to help prevent it. In that sense, the UN Adopted in 2010, via UNGA, a Global Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking, urging all countries to take coordinated measures to deal with the issue, stressing the importance of sharing data on the subject and even establishing the United Nations Voluntary Trust Fund for Victims of Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, administered by a board of elected trustees (THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS 2014).

Nevertheless, the observed ideal way to address human trafficking ought to be through regional integration – even though the AU doesn't have a firmed stand on it –, seen that national monitoring, rapporteurs or equivalent mechanisms are the most effective way to rapidly deal with the crime and intergovernmental cooperation finds itself indispensable on sharing information, strategies and even safety measures. The European Union for instance, adopted a mandatory position on the member states to cooperate with relevant civil society organizations and to elaborate national adequate responses, believing that the international obligations on the aspects were insufficient to tackle it.

6 THE NEXUS BETWEEN TERRORISM AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

As a known fact, human trafficking is not a recent problem, but it has been increasing as the passage of time, and terrorism has been one of the reasons. This connection has been constructed a lot by the armed conflicts that sets people into a sensitive condition, not only emotional, but also financially, leading them to the trafficking that promotes false hopes of a better future, only to get into a more exposed estate, where the terrorism finds a chance to recruit new members to their groups (UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, 2019a).

6.1 Development

The purpose of this relation is to achieve the vulnerability of the people, with different intentions. New perspectives have shown that the terrorist groups have not only been into the human trafficking to finance their organization or to find new members, but also to create an instability in the society becoming even easier to control and install their ideas. The human traffickers are benefited from this, because in an unstable society it is easier to induce people to be trafficked (UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, 2019a).

In a lot of different places of the African continent the terrorist groups control the borders of the countries and allows immigrants to pass, but ask for a later payment, that in the most cases is related to an eternal debt and the payment is prostitution, forced labor and others. A report by the United Nations Security Council shown that Sub-Saharan migrants are one of the most vulnerable groups, because when they cross the Nigerian border they encounter the traffickers that offers them a passage in exchange for a later payment and part of this sufferers are also trafficked to Libya. This happens because of the control of the area of Sahel, that is a border from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea, and also because of the lack of state authority.

Moreover, when the goals of this relations are talked about most of the groups want the same things that is to finance their movement, but there are other groups that wants different results such as to spread the chaos, to create an army, to force girls to marry members of their group (UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, 2019).

To begin with the recurrent situation of the children that are trafficked, UN sources have shown that people younger than the age of 18 are the biggest target, and that the group al-Shabaab, in Somalia have been using male children to create an army, putting them to plant bombs and face death, and also using the girls to marry their leads for sexual servitude. In

addition, the research also exposed that this same group invades schools and intimidate teachers and parents with death threats to allow the children to work for them (SETON HALL, 2013).

Furthermore, there is also the goal to disseminate the chaos, the terrorist groups' use of the human traffic as a strategy to weaken the population through several acts of violence. Part of these acts happens with women that are kidnaped and used for sexual slavery, and after that, receive no support of the society. On the other hand, they are classified as associates, leading them to no other choice than to integrate the organization, and to be more vulnerable to the human traffic. Part of the trafficked women are also sold through online auctions to people of different parts of the world (UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, 2019a). This situation ends up not only affecting the victims but also their family, friends and making the community more susceptible to accept the terrorist groups ideologies (SETON HALL, 2013).

6.2 Difficulties in the combat

The law enforcement that investigates the human trafficking and terrorism work with a big complication that is the fact most of the combatant forces work separately, without the exchange of information, but also with the big issue that is the lack of law to prevent the terrorism (UNITED NATIONS, 2019).

Although, the resolution 2331 (2016) of the UNSC recognized that there is a connection between the human traffic and terrorism to raise funds (UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, 2019a), the officers around the world that combat this practice are still working separately without sharing information, when the terrorist groups and human traffickers work together sharing information about the grey areas.

However, another point that another circumstance that complicates the combat is that without sharing information it becomes even more complicated to establish a connection between the groups. A good relation between the combatant groups would make the existent law enforcement more effective, since it currently is wasted pursuing victims instead of the criminals. In addition, if the data is not shared most of these crimes will not be investigated, since a lot of organizations have difficulties noticing the existence of the crime in the country (SETON HALL, 2013).

6.3 Terrorism financing human trafficking

Human trafficking is used to finance and strengthen terrorist groups in many ways. It is a key element in terrorist strategy to subjugate and control vulnerable populations, advance ideologies and bolster recruitment, according to the United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee. The terrorists have employed systematic use of ICT (Information and Communication Technology) to spread ideology, incentivize recruitment and move funds. Social media platforms have also been constantly used to facilitate the sale of slaves, including through online auctions, and to deceive people into becoming victims of human trafficking.

Victims of violence and forced recruitment are frequently labelled as "affiliates", rather than receiving assistance. Their vulnerability – mainly caused by the rejection from society – may leave them even more susceptible to recruitment, radicalization and trafficking. These factors and their impact generate a vicious cycle that may lead to other violence and, consequently, to forced displacement or destruction of communities (UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL COUNTER-TERRORISM COMMITTEE, 2019).

For all those reasons, these practices are common among all terrorist groups as highly effective means to achieve strategic objectives, for their short term and self-maintaining impacts, which also generate profit on the long term. The next subtopics will address some of the main uses of these trafficked humans:

6.3.1 To intimidate populations and decimate communities

The strategic use of human trafficking-related activities to pursue ethnic cleansing campaigns targeting persons belonging to minorities is quite common. Terrorist groups often attack any group under their territory that has opposing ideals to their own. This systematic oppression sends a clear message: "Either you play by my rules and fight for my ideals and objectives, or you will face death". Groups like ISIL are a clear example of this, by persecuting Christians and targeting Yazidis, one of the world's most endangered religious minorities. By keeping the control of the religious belief of the population, it becomes much easier to control and recruit them to join the terrorist's cause.

6.3.2 To institutionalize sexual violence and slavery

The systematic use of rape, sexual violence, enslavement and other such practices as a tactic to spread terror, advance ideology, decimate communities and exert control on population – notably women – is particularly evident in the modus operandi of Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab. Despite attempts to legitimize and institutionalize these acts of violence,

including through theological or ideological justifications, such practices have been conducted for opportunistic reasons. Slaves have been mainly exploited as: A recruitment tool to attract new fighters (e.g., through forced marriages) or to be directly deployed in military operations (as human shields, informants, bombmakers, executioners/suicide bombers); Literal "baby making machines", forcibly having to give birth to as many babies as possible for them to grow and fight for the terrorist cause; Merchandise to be sold and re-sold; A means to secure ransom payment; Instruments to perform servitude roles.

Acts of sexual violence, slavery, and domestic servitude have been at the core of Boko Haram's *modus operandi*[3]. Boko Haram has abducted hundreds of girls in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states and subjected them to domestic servitude, forced labor, and sexual slavery through forced marriages to its militants.

6.3.3 As a driver for recruitment

Terrorists and terrorist groups have used trafficking both as a tool to forcibly recruit new fighters and to incentivize and attract individuals who are willing to sacrifice their lives for the "cause". In the first instance, the link between trafficking and recruitment for terrorist purposes is immediate and direct. The fighter is the victim of trafficking: he or she has been forcibly recruited, indoctrinated, and trained to fight alongside terrorists. In the second example, the link is indirect, since trafficked victims are generally used to attract new recruits.

This approach is done by Al-Shabaab, for instance, who recruited and used more than 2,100 children in Somalia in 2017. The children were forced to participate in conflict situations, including by planting explosives, carrying out attacks, and playing support roles, such as carrying ammunition, water, and food; removing wounded and deceased militants; gathering intelligence; and serving as guards. Al-Shabaab also continued to raid schools, madrassas, and mosques, for recruitment purposes. In rural areas of Galmudug state and elsewhere, terrorists forced students as young as seven to enrol in Al-Shabaab-run madrassas, whose curriculums included military training and indoctrination.

The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) also has continued to abduct boys and girls for use as cooks, porters, concubines, and combatants. Regional military operations have curtailed the group's activities, but the group remains a threat. In 2016, abductions for recruitment by the LRA increased slightly. Sixteen Burundian child soldiers and one Rwandan child soldier, some recruited from refugee camps, were stopped by government officials while reportedly

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[3] Mode of operating.

transiting through the Democratic Republic of the Congo to fight with armed groups in Burundi.

6.3.4 Acts of sexual and gender-based violence as an instrument to increase terrorist finances and human trafficking

> "Drug trafficking generates greater dollar revenues, but trafficked women are far more profitable. Unlike a drug, a human female does not have to be grown, cultivated, distilled, or packaged. Unlike a drug, a human female can be used by the customer again and again" (KARA, 2009, p. 12).

The systematic sale of women by terrorist fighters represents the most significant known instance of the use of sexual slavery to generate revenue. Women and girls are exposed, both at the slave markets and at the holding sites, as chattel. Interested buyers can check their hair or teeth and ask them to walk through the room, as if parading on a catwalk. Their price was based on marital status, age, number of children and perceived beauty, ranging between $200 and $1,500. They are also forced to engage in prostitution and are even object of speculation, where terrorists bought them aiming to sell them afterwards for a higher price.

6.3.5 Kidnapping for ransom, terrorism, and human trafficking

Kidnapping for ransom (KFR) is a major element of terrorist strategies because it fuels insecurity and represents a highly profitable funding source. Terrorists tend to profit from ransom payments or political concessions and to secure the safe release of the victims of human trafficking that are now being held as hostages.

One of the most notorious abductions occurred on the night of 14 April 2014, when Boko Haram kidnapped 276 female students from the Government Secondary School in the town of Chibok in Borno State, Nigeria. Here, the nexus with human trafficking is clear. Most captives were compelled to convert, subjected to domestic servitude, forced labor, and sexual slavery (including through forced marriages to Boko Haram members), and used as suicide bombers in military operations. The gradual release of the "Chibok girls" was facilitated through negotiations with the Nigerian Government 139 involving, inter alia, the exchange of five Boko Haram leaders and the payment of around $3.7 million in ransom money.

6.3.6 Trafficking in human organs

Another use for the victims of human trafficking is the harvesting and sale of their organs to the black market, serving as another possible income source for these terrorist groups. Additional information concerning the possible involvement of terrorist groups in the international black-market organ trade is provided by the analysis of financial patterns relating

to kidney transplants, conducted by national security and money-laundering experts150 at George Mason University, Washington D.C. This analysis suggests that, during the last five years, most kidneys traded in illicit organ markets were taken from Syrian refugees and from refugees from Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea in the Syrian camps who crossed into Lebanon from temporary settlements controlled by Al-Nusrah and its affiliated organizations.

7 CONFLICTS

Observing the Agenda 2063, as a dream, and the continental reality as a surface full of challenges, it's undeniable that the Peace and Security aims are currently a difficulty that reverberates not only in the socioeconomic development of the continent, or either the welfare of the communities, but also in the credibility of the governmental and continental sovereignty itself.

The religion and the ideology are, indeed, factors that deeply influence the instability in the region. Einas Mohammed, head of the AU Defence and Security division, made a statement in the Second Annual US-AU Countering Violent Extremism Week considering the challenges of trying to prevent and eradicate the terrorism pandemic issue in the continent. The point is that the political violence remains a key impediment to the socio-economic development, which is renovated in a vicious cycle that undermines the credibility of official institutions in Africa. Also, the absence of concrete and sustainable post-conflict reconstruction - besides the statements of the OAU and AU for itself consolidation – is an interlinked cause of political violence and under-development, also fortified with the absence of prevention against conflicts instaurations (MOHAMMED, 2018).

Furthermore, other difficulty is to get into the comprehension of what motivates young men and women to join the ranks of violent extremist groups abandoning common sense of the religious or ideological factors. Indeed, there is a deeper combination of reasons connected with the local realities and the scenarios multiplicity, whether ethnic, economic, political or religious. Conclusively, one of the most important concerns is the international community, and the circumstances that lie beyond the immediate local context. (MOHAMMED, 2018).

> From the conflict in the Middle East to the rise of Islamophobia and right-wing groups in the west, these issues are craftily integrated into the narrative of violent extremist groups to portray a global injustice and instill fear and hatred. We should therefore be mindful of the fact that conditions that provide a fertile ground for violent extremism have to be addressed both locally and globally. [...] (MOHAMMED, 2018)

Plans, as the African Solidarity Initiative, which are made for the reconstruction of post-conflicts countries, have made its effects, but still are not enough for the vulnerable scenario that the African institutions currently are immersed in. That is the reason why it is essential to analyse each region's pragmatism, searching for specific solutions for each case, comprehending the depth behind local and international issues.

7.1 Central Africa

This regional group of the African Union is not to be confounded with the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), that comprehends also Rwanda and Angola, countries from other African groups. Although, it is important to take in consideration that the ECCAS has great importance in the economy of these countries. Central Africa is marked with intern long lasting national conflicts and suffers from the influence of the transnational terrorist groups Boko Haram and Lord's Resistance Army (LRA).

These national conflicts, that sometimes have transnational influence, are mainly the ones still active, or that have been active recently and its consequences impact the contemporary as if they were. In addition – this type of conflict in Central Africa – is, most of the times, a conflict that originated or, at least, got bigger around the post-cold war era (CAIRN, 2012).

Furthermore, this analysis shows an evident lack of effectiveness in the actions of the United Nations in this territory, that tried to maintain peace in the region ever since. One of the causes for it being that the countries in analyse have strongly opposed the dominance of the members of the Security Council over their sovereignty and their military over and over (CAIRN, 2012).

That observed, it is useful to consider that the United Nations have two formal peacekeeping missions on the region, being: the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA, by abbreviation of its French name *Mission multidimensionnelle Intégrée des Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation en Centrafrique)* and the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO, by abbreviation of its French name *Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation en République démocratique du Congo*, UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING, 2019a; 2019b)

The aforementioned peacekeeping missions are due to the intense instability present in both countries, combined with both humanitarian and political crises and resulting in severe human rights law violations. As an example, an estimated 70% of the region of the Central African Republic is considered controlled by armed groups, namely the Seleka rebels and the Anti-balaka militia, among others. About it, "a political dialogue between the African Union (AU) and armed groups, aimed at reaching a political agreement to end the fighting, resumed

in August but did not stop the violence and abuses against civilians" (HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, 2019).

Notedly, Chad and Cameroon can also be cited as countries going through intense violence and harsh crises in the region, with their ethnic and separatist disputes, accordingly. These frequent conflicts, not necessarily loaded with terrorist or human trafficking actions from either side, harden the hold of measures to solve both problems, especially when they ought to come from States. That, particularly, is a problem in Central Africa, considered that, as seen, most countries lack the political and military unity to perform such a complex operation as the ones required for an efficient combat to human trafficking and terrorism.

7.2 Eastern Africa

The Eastern Africa should be well-known by its rich diversity of people, culture, nature, politics and religion. Unfortunately, there's a difficult reality established right before the solidification of the dream of a peaceful Africa, and it concerns the fact that virtually all countries are affected by conflict. By the African Union regional division, the area is composed by 14 countries: Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda.

The reality is that the frontiers aren't expressively boundaries of isolation when the subject are the armed strife. A conflict in any one of the countries that compose the Eastern Africa has far reaching effects in all the surrounding states as well. In a geographical analysis, each country in this region has at least one shared frontier with other country that has a security complication.

> The regional dynamics of conflicts and the cross-border nature of security threats such as arms and human trafficking require the collaborative role of regional and sub regional actors who have intimate understanding of the local contexts. Human trafficking is one clear indicator of defective security sector governance and all EAC countries are victims to this menace either as transit points or as places of origin where syndicates operate (BRYDEN, 2005).

Indeed, the fact is that the Eastern African Countries are filled with problems of identity and legitimacy, as a fruit of what some authors recognize as a *failure* in the transition of the decolonization - that happened until the nineties. And now, it is unquestionable that the terrorism is one of the major indicators of the intercommunication of the conflict's effects with the international incisive imperialism in Africa.

The truth is that after the colonization, the violence had become institutionalized (ABBINK, 2000, pg 152). The intensification of the global contact between different human communities through the domain economic, politics and cultural, mostly, had been developing a new relation of interdependence stronger day-a-day, in different levels. The white elephant in the room, after the decolonization, has the name of institutionalized violence, legitimated, in the past, by those who controlled the now emancipated - in some way - areas. Now, in Africa, as the same author thinks, there's what we might call *revolutionary violence*.

The intercommunity violence is the biggest example, accordingly to the fact that the colonization brought a false sense and standard of homogenization of the conquered regions. With the globalization of Africa, the survival of the minorities in the continent became more difficult and harmed with the opened scars that remain.

> *À la fin des années cinquante et au début des années soixante, dans la période qui a conduit à l'indépendance, l'idée d'une violence révolutionnaire <<rédemptrice>> était très courante en Afrique. [...] C'est ainsi que les sens de la violence a changé et que d'une conception idéologique où elle était instrument et le symbole de la <<libération>>, la <<révolution>> et la <<fondation d'une nation>>, l'on est passé à autre conception qui se manifeste par la domination brutale, l'oppression et l'appropriation sous différentes formes: criminelle (ex Zaïre, Nigeria, Guinée Equatoriale), cupide (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mozambique), ethnocentrique (Kenya, Togo, Cameroun) ou génocidaire (Rwanda). [...] Cet aspect transformateur de la violence est désormais au centre de l'analyse anthropologique des structures sociales des pratiques politiques et culturelles. De plus, il définit, également, les grandes lignes de la reconstruction sociale.* (ABBINK, 2000, pg 149-150)[4]

The Eastern Africa has a unique experience from the other regions, since strongly as never, it has experienced the extreme violence inherited of the post-colonial civil wars. The not-so-further past scenario was an attempt to clear the contrasting ethnics, and that strongly reverberated in the pragmatic reality of minority exclusion. Also, since the American colonization, when the European nations institutionalized the kidnapping and slavery of

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[4] "In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the period leading up to independence, the idea of "redemptive" revolutionary violence was very common in Africa. [...] This is how the senses of violence changed and of an ideological conception where it was an instrument and the symbol of liberation, revolution and emancipation of a nation, to another conception manifested by brutal domination, oppression and appropriation in different forms: criminal (ex Zaire, Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea), greedy (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mozambique), ethnocentric (Kenya, Togo, Cameroon) or genocidal (Rwanda). [...] This transformative aspect of violence is now at the center of the anthropological analysis of the social structures of political and cultural practices. Moreover, it defines, also, the outline of the social reconstruction" (Our translation).

thousands of people, the human trafficking left deep scars, still representing a problem nowadays.

As a barrier for the implementation of the Agenda 2063, there are remaining still three types of conflicts: the first one occurs with small communities that don't have a real representation in the state, and consequently, suffer with the forced *domestication*; the second one deals with the institutionalized violence, that reverberates not only in the indigenous communities, but also as a state *status-quo*; moreover, the third one is about the conflicts between different groups or ethnicities.

It becomes necessary to understand the roots that originate those conflicts. Withal, those that still remain as an affront to the aim of a peaceful and safe Africa. With the specific analysis, it is possible to expect that the cooperative action could bring up options and negotiate its pacification, understanding what the needs and interests are involved.

Image 5 – Young boy conducting members of Al-Shabaab in the military army at Somalia, in 2010.

Source: WARSAMEH (2010).

Each country has a different experience, but indeed the mark of this region is the fragility of the governance institutions. The violence expression is revealed a scar as a reaction of the traditional people, reacting to the current arrival of resource scarcity, the

marginalization of the political decisions, and the access to fire armament, that inaugurates a next-level truculence, breaking through old alliances and stressing the need of reaffirmation.

Since the delimitation of the boundaries and territories by the colonizers didn't respect the reality of the original communities, the necessity of the self-determination developed a revolutionary warlike desire. With that, the violence is used as an instrument to attend the politic objectives and as a symbol to express an opposition or a cultural difference, designing the frontiers and intimidating "others". The Suris, in Ethiopia, are a great example of that.

Somalia, as well, a state that the governance is almost null, is controlled by the Al-Shabaab. Even though the fact that the country itself don't have the cultural contrasts that Ethiopia does, the insurgence came after a 22 years government unbelieved and unrepresentative. The country is now marked by transcontinental crimes, such as piracy, kidnapping and drugs dealing. Even the actual president is faced as a fraud elected representative.

The terrorism ends up being stimulated, nowadays, by the proportion of the visibility that the medias bring. The need of affirmation of an identity and the failure of the corrupt and Ineffective governments gives strength to organizations as the ISIS was given, and other insurgences that try to bring up the force of those who were once forced to submission to the potencies in the globalized world.

7.3 Northern Africa

In the contemporary world, there are three active terrorist groups, especially in North and Sub-Saharan Africa, that are linked to the Middle East and the Islamic religion. And, by the end of the Cold War, there was a rising of the Islamic terrorism, creating groups as Boko Haram, Al-Shabab and AQUIM. Those groups are active and extremely violent. They believe in the Islamic Jihadist, preaching religious fundamentalism and applying the Sharia regime to the places that were dominated. Given those characteristics, they also have connections to international known main groups/networks, such as Al Qaeda and the Islamic State, promoting international connections full of symbolism and with some practical results that can expand the capacity of these groups in the African continent. Terrorism is a challenge that goes beyond Africa´s borders, involving other countries – even from outside the continent- affecting the national and international community.

Boko Haram acts, mainly in three African countries: Cameroon, Nigeria and Niger. This terrorist group is affiliated to the Islamic State. Al-Shabab acts in Somalia and goes to countries such as Quenia, and AQUIM acts especially in Argelia, both terrorist groups are linked to the Al-Qaeda.

Northern Africa is composed by the modern countries of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Sudan and all of them have a very big influence from the Middle East countries and their religion, and this region is known by the Arabs as "Maghreb".

One of the main issues in North Africa is the media. Extremis propaganda are being spread beyond Libya to reach other countries, such as Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt, and North African states continue to suffer from terrorist attacks, such as the attack that happened at the "Tripoli-based Libyan National Oil Company" by militant linked to ISIS. The use of propaganda by the extremist groups are increasing and imposing a threat to the African Security.

ISIS-affiliated propaganda is threatening North African security, together with smaller localized groups that use young people, because extremist media creates a complex opportunity to deceive young people, turning them from "losers to winners" and putting them inside this whole crime. Breaking the big nexus between terrorism, human trafficking and all the criminality, it will create a stable and secure region.

7.4 Southern Africa

To start with this area is important to recognize their history that is composed with ethnic conflicts, health crises and weak governments, although the region has made a huge progress in the last decade.[5]

Even though the recognized progress made by the SADC, a lot of groups are now discussing about the inefficiency of the organ (FREEDOM HOUSE, 2014), that has done nothing with the abstention from discussion by some leaders. For instance, the South Africa situation where the country has been put as a transit point for terrorists, training base and planning centre, but the government officially denied and refused to investigate the situation (INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES, 2019).

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[5] The foundation of the Southern African Development Community has been one of the enormous reasons of progress and achievement of goals in this region, but they still remain in a vulnerable position (DAI, 2007).

There are also others countries in this region that have been suffering with the presence of the terrorism, as Mozambique, for example, which in spite of not confirmed the existence of a group of terror, has been receiving, in the last 2 years, a lot of attacks (DEUTSCHE WELLE, 2019). So there is a fear present in the population that it might be evolving a group of terror called al-Sunnah, that first appeared in Cabo Delgado in Mozambique as a religious group formed by a part of the population that has not been satisfied with the form the community was practising Islam, and also the way they were treated by the government (INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES, 2019).

However, it is important to clarify that the existence of the group al-Sunnah as terrorist groups is only a rumour set by the population, that started calling them al-Shabaab – that means "youth" in Arabic –, and is also an extremist group present in Somalia, supposedly affiliated to the Mozambique group. The hearsays also mention that groups of terror in Tanzania and Somalia has been financing the al- Sunnah, and these countries are also the place of their training base (QUARTZ AFRICA, 2019).

Moreover, there are no more reports of the presence or suppose presence of the terrorism in the Southern Region, all the other countries have not reported cases or strong connections with any group of terror.[6]

7.5 Western Africa

The West of Africa is one of the regions with the most occurrences of terrorist attacks due to the presence of such groups as Boko Haram and the recently formed Nusrat al-Islam.

Nigeria is considered a hub for human trafficking in West Africa, working as a source, transit and destination country for women and children subjected to forced labour and sex trafficking. Children from countries like Benin, Togo and Ghana are trafficked to Nigeria and made to work in its granite mines. Nigerian women and girls are taken to a variety of countries as victims of the sex slave industry – Italy, Spain, Scotland, the Netherlands, Germany, Turkey, Belgium and Denmark to name a few.

Other destinations for either forced prostitution or labour to Nigerian women are North Africa, Middle East and Central Asia. Given the large participation of a wide number of

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[6] SADC is a regional economic community composed only by members of the southern region. The organ was founded with the goal to promote a good development and political stabilization for all the countries, through the search of solution for mutual problems (DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION, 2019).

European countries in these human trafficking schemes, the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation (EUROPOL) has "identified Nigerian organized crime as one of the largest law enforcement challenges to European governments" (UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE, 2012). Some women are also used as drug mules in the human trafficking market, although the main purpose envisioned for them is sex work.

Nigeria's National Agency for the Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP) has, for years, investigated a high number of human trafficking cases, but a very small amount was prosecuted.

In the wake of the Chibok girls kidnapping in 2014, Boko Haram's leader Abubakar Shekau appeared in a video message claiming he would sell all the 276 girls then in their captivity. Enslavement and sexual violence are part of the Nigerian group's *modus operandi;* not to financial means alone, but to exert control and use the girls for servitude roles, forced marriages and even in suicide bombings. Some of the freed girls kidnapped in Chibok revealed that they had bombs strapped to them but managed to ask for help once deployed to the intended place of attack. Even so, Boko Haram has also sold girls as "brides" to Islamist militants in Cameroon and Chad, for prices of 2,000 naira or $USD 12.

The central sections of the Sahel, particularly in Chad, Mali and Niger, includes smuggling and trafficking routes directed to the west. "A major obstacle is that cross-border cooperation and coordination among the Member States of the region and between its subregions remains weak". (UNITED NATIONS OFFICE ON DRUGS AND CRIMES, 2019)

In addition to that, it is recorded that most terrorist organizations have ties with local criminal organizations; AQIM's financing – once being through KFR – is now based on smuggling and trafficking of drugs and humans. AQIM's association with groups responsible for these kinds of crimes has proved itself to be profitable to the point of making them the richest Al-Qaeda affiliate. Mali and Niger, the two West African countries most affected by AQIM have made efforts to improve the combat of human trafficking.

In the US State Department 2019 Trafficking in Persons Report, both countries have been upgraded to Tier 2 (second in their ranking, not meeting the standards for the elimination of trafficking but improving their efforts from the year before) for their actions convicting traffickers, training law enforcement officers and increasing public awareness. Mali, although, continues to be scrutinized for providing support and collaborating with the Imghad Tuareg

and Allies Self-Defense Group (GATIA), an armed group that recruits child soldiers, sometimes forcibly.

8 CONCLUSIONS

The Agenda 2063 aims at achieving development in Africa and complements the UN Sustainable Development Goals for 2030, including in its framework topics such as *Good Governance, Democracy, Human Rights, Justice and rule of law* and *Peaceful and Secure Africa*. Coincidentally, both are objectives of the AUPSC, as established in the Protocol that originated the Council. Therefore, the AUPSC, with its decision-making power to maintain peace, security and stability, is an important institution to promote the Agenda 2063 goals.

In order to guarantee efficiency, the AUPSC shall be an early-warning mechanism for conflicts and crisis situations in Africa. To that end, it works together with other AU institutions, the UN, international organisations, research centres, academic institutions and NGOs.

Under the light of the principles of the Constitutive Act, the Charter of the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the AUPSC function includes the respect and protection for human rights and international humanitarian law, promotion of peace and prevention of conflicts in Africa, which includes the combat to terrorism, and peace-making strategies.

Considering that, the Resolution 2331, adopted by UNSC, recognizing the connection between human trafficking and terrorism and the fact that both terrorism and human trafficking are more common in Africa, the AUPSC has the substantial role of analysing the nexus between them, designing methods to combat them and guarantee peace, security and stability in Africa.

In its meeting, the 15 member states, together with the Chairperson of the AU Commission, are expected to discuss the current situation in Africa and to take action on it, so that human rights and stability in Africa are preserved. In order to achieve those goals, the delegates are inspired to establish common agreements with others, besides using creative solutions that take into consideration the AUPSC capability and its association to other organisations aiming at a sterling Final Resolution.

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