Border Management and Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism and Counter-Terrorism Strategies
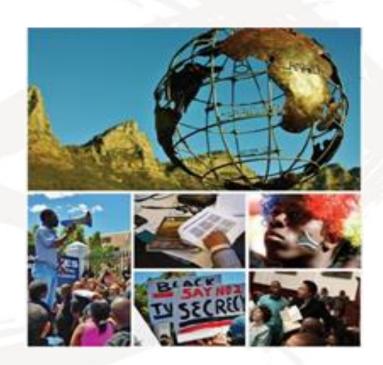
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SUMMARY

- Background and Context
- AU Border Management and Governance Programme
- Political and Legal Instruments for AUBP

- AUBP in Context
- Trade-Offs in Border Management
- Strategies for P/CVE and CT
- Key Insights and Lessons Learned
- Recommendations

African Borders and their Orgins

- How were they established?
- 1885 - Scramble for Africa
- Artificiality of African borders - borders are poorly defined
- A *recurrent source of conflicts and disputes* on the continent
- Location of **strategic natural resources** in cross-border areas poses additional challenges
- intra-state conflicts with **regional dimensions**
- **regional conflict systems**
- **Examples** – Somalia/Kenya conflict system;
- Al Shabaab; Boko Haram; AQIM; ISIS-affiliated
- Northern Uganda Lord's Resistance Army;
South Sudan conflict dynamic; Mali, CAR
- Eastern DRC –armed militia; Burundi crisis; Rwanda

AU Border Management and Governance

- There have been a number of border disputes:

  - Nigeria and Cameroon;
  - Tanzania and Malawi;
  - North and South Sudan - JBC
  - Ethiopia and Eritrea; Somali Penninsula
  - Sahel

AU Border Programme

- **Pan-Africanism** - the achievement of greater unity and solidarity among African States and peoples
- Porous borders and **self-help** approach – despite AU?

- *Inability to address transnational threats like International Terrorism* – African Union (AU) Border Programme…

Political and Legal Instruments guiding the AUBP

* AUBP Vision - *a united and integrated Africa with peaceful, open and prosperous borders*

*

* Member States adopted a number of *political*
* *and legal instruments* to guide their efforts in the management of border issues;

• **July 1964 -** 1st Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held in Cairo, Egypt,

* Resolution AHG/Res.16(I) on border disputes between African States, adopted by the;

Africa and Border Management

- **July 1986** – Organisation of African Unity, 44ᵗʰ Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers, in Addis Ababa
- **Resolution CM/Res.1069(XLIV)** on peace and security in Africa through negotiated settlement of boundary disputes

• OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held in Durban, South Africa, in July 2002 - *Memorandum of Understanding on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA)*

- provides for the delineation and demarcation of African boundaries by 2012 where such an exercise has not yet taken place;

Africa and Border Management

- **African Union Constitutive Act - Article 4 (b)**
- *"respect of borders existing on achievement of independence"*

- Decision of **8th Ordinary Session of Heads of State and Government of the African Union**, held in Addis Ababa in January 2007 - implementation of the AUBP

• **AU Commission, Addis Ababa, on 7 June 2007, first-ever Conference of African Ministers in charge of Border Issues**

• Conference adopted a Declaration on the AUBP and its Implementation Modalities, endorsed by the Executive Council in Accra, Ghana

Africa and Border Management

- **25 March 2010** - Commission convened 2nd Conference of African Union Ministers in charge of Border Issues held in Addis Ababa
- **23 July 2010** - Ministers adopted *Declaration on AUBP and Implementation Modalities*, endorsed by the Executive Council in Kampala, Uganda
- 2013 - 50th Anniversary Declaration on Continental Agenda 2063
- 2016 - AU Roadmap on 'Silencing the Guns'
- 2016 - **African Union PASSPORT** - heads of state; ministers; ambassadors - not yet for all African citizens
- **2020** - formal issuing of AU Passport - **a 'game changer'** for border management in Africa

Africa and Border Management
- Addressing Cross-border Terrorism
- African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) - Al Shabaab threat;
- AU Support for Nigeria - Boko Haram
- Nigeria security and intelligence partnership with France to contain the Boko Haram threat

- **G5 Sahel Initiative** - violent extremism in the Sahel region
- AU Lord's Resistance Army - operational across Uganda, South Sudan, Central African Republic

- Illicit trade across borders – Networks, Financing, Social Media
- Limited Success in Containing Cross-border Extremism

TRADE-OFFS IN BORDER MANAGEMENT

- **Border Checks vs Free Movement of People and Goods**

- Cumbersome - undermining cross-border economic trade - only 14-15 % intra-African trade

- March 2018 - Kigali meeting - establishment of an AU Continental Free Trade Area

- **Free Movement of People** - will increase social interaction across borders and further **consolidate Pan-Africanism**

National Sovereignty vs Sub-regional commitments

ECOWAS - 16 West African countries share a common passport; citizens can live and trade in different countries

EAC - common passport but not formalised

Major challenges in Central Africa and North Africa - political disagreements and weaker states

• military and intelligence sectors are also struggling to introduce a regional security and intelligence approach
• **African Standby Force (ASF)** – 2016/7 operationalisation?
• regional coordination is a *necessity not a luxury*

STRATEGIES FOR P/CVE AND CT

- *Hard Security* – "Nuts and Bolts" Approach
- Full spectrum dominance militarily – troop deployment, AMISOM
- Established regional initiatives – *Regional Interoperability*
- Rwanda and Uganda – joint intelligence sharing
- Counter-intelligence infiltration – disrupt, dismantle and degrade existing capacities

- *Soft Security –* "Hearts and Minds" Approach
- Regional Reconciliation
- High-Level regional political dialogue
- *Regional Truth-Analysis; Regional Criminal Tribunals;*
- *Regional Reparations; Regional Institutional Reform*
- **Cross-border Institutions to drive regional reconciliation**
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Cross-border Institutions to drive regional reconciliation

- Reality of **cross-border violations** and the need for **cross-border redress**
- applying a regional lens to reconciliation
- how can reconciliation also take place across borders
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- Fostering regional reconciliation requires **a more innovative approach**

The Limits of Regional Reconciliation

- Border restrictions and perpetrators evading justice
by hiding in other countries

KEY INSIGHTS AND LESSONS LEARNED

- **Hard security** approaches are already being implemented with limited success
- "the Guns are not Silent"
- Substantial financial, personnel resources are being deployed

- ***Soft Security approaches –*** under-resourced by comparison
- Ad hoc high-level engagement – not strategically focused or driven within the context of a regional framework;
- Some grassroots cross-border initiatives, but in need of greater capacity

- Guiding Principles Integration and Cooperation

RECOMMENDATIONS

• Revise and re-align National P/CVE and CT Strategies with a Regional Strategy

• Establishing regional focal points for strategy implementation – *improve multi-agency collaboration and partnerships*

• Implement High-level Regional Reconciliation initiatives

• Additional policy analysis and awareness raising/sensitization initiatives at the high-level, to reframe the prioritization of approaches

• Increase resources allocated to regional reconciliation initiatives

Consequences of our inability to innovate on border management strategies and our approaches roaches to regional reconciliation

•**Geo-political instability;**
• **Political tension; armed militia formation; mobilization through the triumph of extremist ideology**

BORDER MANAGEMENT P/CVE AND CT

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