Lt. Col. Karim Boudadi:

SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE AFRICAN SAHEL REGION

ABSTRACT: The Sahara Coast region is one of the geo-strategic areas that have jumped to the forefront of global security concerns in recent times due to the region's ongoing crises and security disturbances. It has become the focus of regional and international concerns because of public and hidden dimensions. This focused attention to the region requires analysis of the backgrounds and dimensions to be aware of what is the reality, to adopt appropriate strategies and alternatives to contain the fuse of the growing crisis within this region. To dismantle the ongoing security disturbances in the region, the following questions must be answered: What is the geo-strategic importance of the Sahel? What is the conflict in the region? What are the dimensions of this conflict and its background? Who benefits from the geopolitical crisis of the region? Is there any serious international cooperation to contain the security threats and what lies in the field?

KEYWORDS: Africa, Sahel region, security

I. GEOSTRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE SAHEL REGION

For the United States¹ and other international powers the African Sahel has recently become a source of interest, having long been a marginalized region at all levels, strategic, economic and political. The justification of this concern, however, is that the United States is interested in the security situation in the African Sahel and the threat it poses to international security as a whole, but a very important question must be asked: Has the security situation on the African coast actually reached a crisis stage that could expand outside the region and harm the interests and national security of the United States in particular and international security in general? Or is this American-French interest in the region not only due to the security dimensions, but also to other dimensions?²

¹ Boumediene, A. "African coast within the American security architecture". *Journal of African Readings*, January 2014. 26.

² Zarif, S. "The Crisis of the State in the African Sahel and the Sahara, A Study of Causes and Implications". *Arab Journal of Political Science* 11/41-42. 2014. 93–94.

1.1. The geopolitical approach to the Sahel region

1.1.1. The geographical area of the African coast:

The African Sahel region³ is the geographical area between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, the world's largest deserts, with several names such as the Coastal Seaboard, the African Coast, and the Shore. Regardless of the differences in these labels, this geographical area, including the sub-arid subtropical region of the African continent, the problem is the transitional phase between the Sahara Desert to the north and the most fertile region to the north. This is a buffer zone between two regions, North Africa on the Mediterranean, the southern wing of European security, and black Africa.

The coastline of the Sahara coast, as shown on the geopolitical map below, an area of 2,400 miles in length from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Red Sea in the east, lies in a political belt of several hundred to 1,000 kilometers in width. Geographically the Sahel region extends horizontally 4,830 km from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Red Sea, along the Sahara and perpendicular to the south at a depth of 1,930 km including the following countries: from Senegal through Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, North Nigeria, Chad Ethiopia and there are those who enter as far as Cape Verde, 500 kilometers west of the Senegalese coast of the Atlantic Ocean.

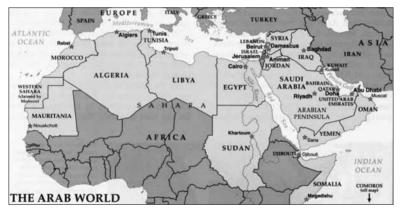


Figure 1. The Arab World. Source: http://atlantislsc.com/maps-arabic/mapsarabic-download-map-the-world-in-arabic/, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

³ The African coast is a term of Arab origin, referring to the shore and the southern edge of the desert. Also, the first sign of this concept was the desert strip separating southern Africa from the North Africa. The concept then evolved until it became reflected by the arc or crescent that begins from the Atlantic Ocean in the west And the Sahara is often seen as a buffer zone between two fields of black Africa. In the Arabic texts in the «white» geopolitics are different, North Africa or Africa. Thus, the «Sahel» Medieval, the coast was intended for the space between the Maghreb and the coastline, is an area extending from the Red Sea east to the Atlantic Ocean to the west, and includes the following countries: Sudan, Chad, Niger, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal. This region is often expanding according to geo-economic calculations to include Burkina Faso from the "arc of crises" and Nigeria, and even the Cape Verde Islands. See: Taje, M. "Sécurité et stabilité dans le Sahel africain". NATO Defence College, Academic Research Branch, Rome. December 2006. 6. http://www.ndc.nato.int/download/downloads.php?icode=127, and Taje, M. "West African Challenges: Vulnerabilities and Insecurity in the Sahel". OECD, SWAC. August 2010. 02. https://www.oecd.org/swac/publications/45830109.pdf, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

The African coast is also known for its ethnic problems and crises. It includes Sudan, Mali, Niger, Chad and Mauritania. In reference to the total number of states included by the Inter-State Committee to Combat Drought, which was established in 1971, the Sahel states are Senegal, Gambia, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Chad and Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Saharan Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya.

1.1.2. The nature of society on the African coast:

What distinguishes the society in the African Sahel is the multiplicity of ethnicities, which weakens social cohesion and creates problems within one state and among the countries of the region, which contributed greatly to the colonial division.⁴

1.1.3. The nature of the state on the African coast:

Politically, the new countries that inherited their borders after the colonial division, which did not respect their borders, failed to realize their authority on their territory and to create a modern combination of states based on equal rights and duties and guarantees of equality for all. The forced separation and disintegration of ethnic groups led to permanent tensions in the region and the weakening of the sovereignty of states in the Sahel.⁵

Economically, the failure of the Sahel states shows that the economies of these countries are deteriorating, and increasing poverty and unemployment are sources of hopelessness, creating fertile ground for insurgency and extremism and militarization, which is an unfavorable environment for foreign direct investment.⁶ However, as indicators of oil explorations and energy sources have begun to emerge, international attention to the region is beginning to show signs.

1.2. GEO-SECURITY APPROACH:

Many factors have been highlighted, including the nature of the climate in the Sahel and the resulting recurrent droughts that have led to severe famine that has caused more than 2 million deaths in the past 30 years. Moreover, the governments' failure to create a system that guarantees equality for all, especially in the light of the multiple traditions in the Sahel countries, these factors and others resulted in poverty and the spread of epidemics.

The humanitarian disasters stemming from internal wars have made the security situation in the African Sahel unstable and in constant tension. These factors have created a set of basic security dilemmas that will be exacerbated in the coming years by the persistence of these causal movements. These dilemmas are mainly about terrorism, organized crime and internal crises.

⁴ Al-Nuwaini, H. "The Post-Colonial State Crisis in Africa: The State of the Failed State". Center for Arab Unity Studies. 65–67.

⁵ Abu Farha, A. "The distortions of the African reality ... Implications of the importation of the state and the continuation of the tribe". *Journal of African Readings*, April 2014. 25.

⁶ Abu Farha, A. "The Future of the African State between the Military Stability and the Viability of Democracy". *Journal of African Readings*, 13 September 2012. 51.

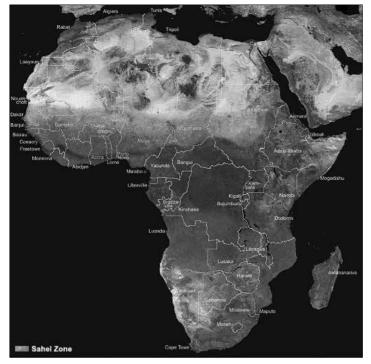


Figure 2. The Sahel Zone. Source: http://ddc.arte.tv/ karten/74, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

1.2.1. Terrorism:

The influence of religious extremists such as the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC)⁷, which has become known as AQIM, has also emerged in the Sahel. These networks and terrorist organizations have been able to benefit from the insecurity in the Sahel region and the failure of states to provide safe haven. Their cooperation with Touareg⁸ and other tribes helped them to work in the region, especially because their interest in the lack of interference of the state security services, as well as the expansion of the coast of Africa and the fragility of its borders and the inability of States to monitor contributed greatly to the presence of terrorists in the region and eased their movement across the coastal desert region.⁹

Although security instability in the Sahel is not new and terrorism is not the first problem in the region which suffers from corruption, civil strife, smuggling, drug and arms trafficking. Recent terrorist incidents, however, have drawn more attention to this region. The coast

⁷ The Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat, or GSPC, is a Salafist jihadist organization in Algeria. The organization is on the official list of terrorist organizations in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. Leaders: Hassan Hattab (1998-2003), Nabil Sahraoui (2003-2004), Abdelmalek Droukdel (2004). Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salafist_Group_for_Preaching_and_Combat, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

⁸ The Tuaregs, who call themselves the Kel Tamasheq, (in Berber: Kel Tamaceq) are inhabitants of the central Sahara and its borders (Algeria, Libya, Niger, Mali, Mauritania and Burkina Faso). They speak a Berber language, Tamasheq, and use an alphabet called Tifinagh. Regions of origin: Sahara Languages: Tuareg (Tamasheq, Tamajeq, Tamarezit) related Ethnic Groups: Berbers. Religions: Islam.

⁹ Boumediene, A. "The reality of human security in the African coast and its impact on national security". University of Oran, Faculty of Law and Political Science. 2014. 98.

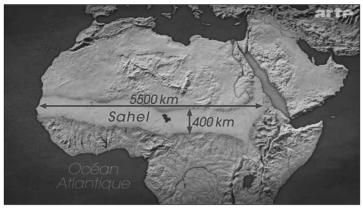


Figure 3. The Sahel Zone. Source: http://studylibfr.com/doc/4283438/jgst.-8-le-sahel--zone-%C3%A9cologique-fragile, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

has become popular among the terrorist groups because it is an extended area that can provide asylum for terrorists fleeing Afghanistan and Iraq.¹⁰

1.2.2. Organized crime:

Organized crime is one of the most serious security threats in the African Sahel.¹¹ In recent years, this phenomenon has become a major problem, threatening not only Sahel countries, but even neighboring countries such as Algeria and Tunisia, or even Europe. The risk of drug trafficking is not only a form of organized crime that threatens state security and social security in particular, but also the risk that it has become a major financier of terrorist groups in the African Sahel region; in fact, the Sahel region is almost devoid of most organized crime including drug trafficking, turning the coast into a transit point for hard drugs such as "heroin, cocaine and crack" from Latin America to Europe through West Africa, the African coast and across the Maghreb.

1.2.3. Internal crises:

As a result of ethnic diversity in the African Sahel region, the region is known for many tensions and unrests, as well as interference of external parties in internal crises, making the situation more difficult. A clear example is Darfur, which has received focused media coverage without denying its humanitarian dimension. It is located on one of the major oil lakes in the coast, with fierce Chinese-Western competition. Chad, and the Touareg crisis are also the most important internal crises in the Sahel.

1.2.4. External ambitions:

The external interest in the region has increased as a result of the abundant resources of some of them, including the presence of uranium (Niger in particular), oil and gas discoveries,

¹⁰ "Algeria in front of major military and security challenges and threats". Algerian Army Magazine. June 2015. http://www.mdn.dz/site_principal/sommaire/revue/images/EldjeichJuin2015Ar.pdf, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

¹¹ Lacher, W. "Organized Crime and Conflict in the Sahel and Sahara Region". Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 13 September 2012. 21. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/sahel_sahara.pdf, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

which is the fundamental objective of these forces in their struggle for the region. Especially, as reports indicate that the sub-continent of Africa sleeps on 80 billion cubic meters of light crude oil of high quality.

Such ambitions are the explanation for the exploitation by France, the former colonizer of the region with the security problems of the Sahel region, which occupies a very important position in the geopolitical concerns of the French security strategy for the struggle over the spheres of influence. In fact, the essence of French security policy in the region is governed by the question of protecting its colonial areas rich in resources and markets in order to give France additional strength in the context of the fierce economic competition among the major Powers.

As for the United States of America, its economic ambitions in the Sahel desert region fall within the framework of geo-strategic directions towards the African continent as a whole, within the policy of "continental regimes" of all continents, within the logic of gaining new areas of influence in the war for resources and markets existing among the major international powers.

1.3. Geo-economic approach:

The geo-economic approach to the Sahel gives us a number of problems which we summarize as follows:

1. The Problem of the Moderation of Economic Security and the Adoption of the Economies of the States of the Region on the One-Hand Product (Agriculture, Mining).

2. The problem of widespread poverty.

3. The problematic distribution of distributive justice in some countries of the region that generated the dynamics of rebellion, violence and crime.

4. The problem of the economic deficit of the States of the region, given the humanitarian consequences of the transnational movement of refugees.

5. The problem of the geopolitical conflict between the major Powers and the treasures of the region.

What distinguishes the economic reality in the Sahel is the fragility and deterioration of its economies so that most of the Sahel countries are classified as the least developed countries, in addition to the large external debt they suffer from. However, with the discovery of significant oil wealth indicators in the Sahel, and possible good governance by the governments of the region, may allow the improvement of the living conditions of the population in the African Sahel. In addition to oil there are other substances richly available in the Sahel countries.

Figure 4. Number of people in risk of food insecurity in Sahel. Source: https://www. wmaker.net/saharafr/Mauritanie-Plusde-635-000-personnes-sont-en-situationd-insecurite-alimentaire_a4225.html, Accessed on 04 April 2018.



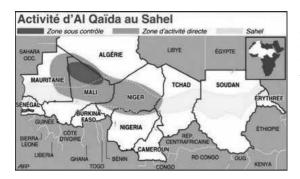


Figure 5. Activity of Al-Qaida in Sahel. Source: https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/ monde/un-raid-mauritanien-contre-aqmiau-mali-fait-17-morts_1006530.html, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

Niger ranks first in Africa in the production of uranium (3,434 tons in 2011), an increase of 11% over the previous year and ranked fourth in the world after Canada, Australia and Kazakhstan. The presence of uranium was also discovered in the Nuba Mountains and the copper hole in Sudan.

These energy resources, which are available to the Sahel countries, are important for the implementation of development programs in these countries. However, the political and economic failures and administrative corruption that dominate the state organs in the African Sahel prevent this. These energy materials become more important for the major countries, especially China, France and the United States of America. These countries have been racing for the African Sahel region's unexploited raw materials to take the largest share of them and to secure their future participation.

II. ALGERIAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE AFRICAN COAST

The Algerian role in the Sahel is linked mainly to the nature of the security threats in the latter and their impact on the southern borders of Algeria.¹² Algerian efforts to combat the existing threats in the region together with other countries of the area challenge the American goals from the following two main points.¹³

- Because Algerian and regional efforts to reduce American influence and to combat the security threats in the Sahel, if successful in eliminating or merely reducing the severity and spread of these threats, will create a kind of security and stability in the region, thus the United States will lose its justification to achieve its strategic objectives in the African Sahel.
- Because if the African Sahel countries, in cooperation with Algeria, bring positive results and improve the security situation in their countries and achieve stability, they will not need to cooperate with the United States of America. These countries are concerned about the increasing American influence in their region.

¹² Bouhaniyeh, K. "Algeria's strategy towards the security developments in the African Coast". Aljazeera Centre for Studies. http://studies.aljazeera.net/ar/reports/2012/06/20126310429208904.html, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

¹³ Bourib, K. "Algerian Security Diplomacy in the African Sahel, Reality and Bets". Arab Journal of Political Science 11/41-42. 2014. 26.

The military intervention as happened in Afghanistan has increased these concerns in particular after the establishment of AFRICOM, a military headquarters for Africa.¹⁴

Algeria has always refused to have any foreign interference in its internal affairs, it has also been one of the most prominent countries rejecting the establishment of the American military presence in Algeria, and conducts its activities in the Sahel and strengthen its cooperation with the Sahel countries to avoid any foreign interference in these countries may be reflected on them. The security threat in the Sahel on the Algerian southern border continues, especially with regard to threats under general law, notably: illegal immigration, smuggling, and epidemics.¹⁵

In April 2009, Algeria rejected a request by France and Britain to use its airspace to monitor and strike the terrorist group that kidnapped six European hostages in northern Mali and Niger. Algeria was also able to be behind the UN charter, which criminalizes the payment of ransom to terrorists on 17 December 2009 for the release of the hostages, in order to dry the financial sources that support the activities of terrorist organizations in the region.

III. SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE SAHEL

The countries of the region (Algeria, Mali, Mauritania and Niger) have confirmed their intention to jointly confront the new security challenges in the Sahel.¹⁶ The political classes of these four countries, during their successive meetings, emphasized the recent challenges in the region, considering that it was more important than ever to strengthen their joint actions to meet those challenges.

They also stressed the need to strengthen and activate the mechanisms that have been developed for this purpose and are ready to support cooperation and consultation with partners from outside the region to confront terrorist threat, which constitutes a "challenge to the entire group" as the region "is gradually facing threats that pawn all development efforts in the region."

In this regard we recall the chaotic movement of arms, transnational crime, and al-Qaidalinked terrorism in the Islamic Maghreb and its "branches of the Boko Haram Group"¹⁷ in Nigeria. Poverty also "provides an environment conducive to the activities of terrorist organizations that feed on illegal acts, especially drug trafficking and ransom obtained from hostage-taking.

¹⁴ Qalaa, S. "Algerian approach to building security in the Sahel African region". University of Algeria 2., Faculty of Political Science and International Relations. 2012. 162.

¹⁵ Ben Aisha, M. "The crisis of the coast and engineering Algerian diplomacy". http://www.maqalaty.com/43553. html, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

¹⁶ Bourib. "Algerian Security Diplomacy...". 34.

¹⁷ The Islamic State in West Africa (abbreviated as ISWA or ISWAP), formerly known as Jamā'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihād (Arabic: تواجدلل ونوعدلل من المال على المال على المال المالي بالمالي المالي المالي المالي and Jihad") and commonly known as Boko Haram] until March 2015, is a Jihadist militant organization based in northeastern Nigeria, also active in Chad, Niger and northern Cameroon. Founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002, the group has been led by Abubakar Shekau since 2009. From March 2015 to August 2016, the group was briefly aligned with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.

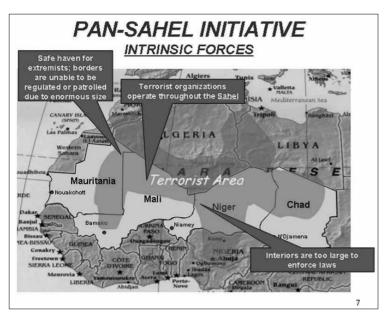


Figure 6. The Pan-Sahel Initiative. Source: http://rsistons.over-blog. com/article-pansahel-algeriefrance-us-israelvers-la-partitioncoulisses-d-unassassinat-64954220. html, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

In this regard the representatives of the countries in the field stated that "they are required to develop a joint strategy for combating at bilateral and multilateral levels, as well as legal, institutional and operational levels, and this strategy should constitute a multifaceted, joint and collective response within the framework of regional cooperation."¹⁸

They also proposed providing assistance to populations in the areas bordering the four countries and strengthening legal cooperation through border agreements and training programs, travel control and counter-terrorism. Especially, because of the growing challenges through the intensive flow of weapons and the return of ex-combatants after the Libyan crisis, as the rate of violence increased, due to the increasing number of networks and exploitation of demands, particularly in northern Mali.

It allows the states of the region to assess the cooperation that has been in place for almost two years and to provide an outcome of the mechanisms used as instruments and frameworks for such cooperation, in particular the Command-based Operational Command Committee based in Tamanrasset, and the Integration and Communication Unit, also based in Algeria.¹⁹

There will also be an opportunity to assess the development of the terrorist threat and to take decisions on the new mechanisms to be developed in order to enhance security and development cooperation.

¹⁸ Ali, M. "Algeria and neighboring countries... Exhaustive security challenges". *El-Badil.* 07 May 2015. https:// elbadil.com/2013/07/173662/, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

¹⁹ Ammour, A. "La nouvelle diplomatie algérienne face à la complexité des défis de sécurité régionaux". Econostrum. 30 January 2015. https://www.econostrum.info/La-nouvelle-diplomatie-algerienne-face-a-la-complexite-desdefis-de-securite-regionaux_a19695.html, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

IV. REQUIREMENTS TO ADDRESS SECURITY THREATS IN THE SAHEL

There is no doubt that the African Sahel region is a crisis zone because of the region's destructive impact both on regional and international security as a whole. "The region is witnessing various criminal activities, committed by terrorist organizations or organized crime in all its forms, in addition to minorities, ethnicities and conflicts. 'This is causing them to achieve some narrow interests, especially the separatist demands, while all these threats made the Sahel and the Sahara' a hotbed of tension and an incubator for terrorism.

Algeria adopted the regional security approach based on the activation of military and diplomatic cooperation between the countries of the region concerned, and the adoption of Algeria's regional security approach to:

1. Paving the way for international competition for the presence in the Sahel and the Sahara because of the wealth as well as the geostrategic location it occupies.

2. Eliminating the activities that could pose a threat to Algerian national security by several parties.

3. Blocking any direct foreign intervention in the region under the pretext of combating terrorism, which remains one of the constants of the security policy towards the African coast, where Algeria refused to establish military bases such as the military base "AFRICOM" in southern Algeria as well as to address and pressure any Sahel States that may wish to allow foreign interference.²⁰

Consultative meetings among officials of the region were focused on six points that served as a security approach:

1. Establish a unified database containing all available information on Al-QA'IDAH in the Islamic Maghreb.

2. Allow the staff of its five armies to pursue the terrorist groups within the Sahara and allow the borders between the States concerned to be traced.

3. Agreement on military cooperation between the regular unified forces and the Tuareg tribes and the tribes of Arabs.

4. Provide material incentives for the provision of intelligence on terrorist groups.

5. Diligence of sources of financing terrorism, dealing with smugglers and supporting development by establishing development projects in northern Mali and Niger.

6. Intensifying the control of the Sahara region.

1. At regional level:

The regional system is defined as a group of countries belonging to a single region, which are linked by factors of interest and loyalty to assess the basis of their regional treatment for a sense of excellence, cooperation and integration in the areas of security and economy.²¹

- Regional Neighborhood.
- The existence of common interests contribute to the establishment of the bloc and cooperation.

²⁰ These principles are based on the principle of good neighborly relations based on contributing to the efforts to end regional conflicts, strengthen regional cooperation frameworks, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of countries, the Principle of non-infringement of borders and respect for the territorial integrity of States.

²¹ Ammour. "La nouvelle...".

 The sense of excellence and privacy stemming from the recognition of the existence of the factors of the regional system by the member states, but only to initiate integration in other areas.

2. At international level:

1. The mobilization of the coastal states: The Sahel countries suffer from a lack of material and human resources, which makes their role weak in the fight against terrorism and organized crime. Therefore, the EU and the USA must support these countries and try to overcome the shortcomings especially in the military sphere.

2. Supporting initiatives to enhance dialogue and increase the capacity of local communities to confront and resist the attractiveness of terrorism.

3. The need for continued international support to the coastal states to strengthen their capacity to protect and control their borders by providing them with material and logistic support and enhancing their security capabilities.²²

4. Encourage major states and international organizations to undertake the political, economic, social and cultural development of the coastal States and provide them with the necessary support in order to achieve political and security stability.

5. The need for the United Nations to intensify its efforts to mobilize material for the social and economic reintegration of the population in the Sahel region, especially in the midst of the food crisis that is threatening the region.

6. Reducing formalities in the field of cooperation and activating the mechanisms of international cooperation.

V. CONCLUSION

The security challenges of the region in its internal dimension fall within the framework of the security problems of the national state entity in Africa, which face, with some exceptions, the security challenges of the state-building, the weakness of its distributive justice and the fragility of the security administration. Growing tensions in the Sahel region, and the exacerbation of internal crises, are all indicators that will be nominated in the future as a field of conflict between regional and international powers. There are internal contradictions that enhance the potential for Maghreb terrorism to threaten the region as a whole.

There are growing offshore accounts, which are looking for an outlet to achieve their interests in the region (Resources + Markets). The prospects of the failure of the Sahel countries to contain the security disturbances of the region are high due to the weakness of social integration, the economic deficit and political construction suffered by the countries of the region, all of which threaten the security and stability of the Sahel.

These risks are compounded by the suspicious movements of some obscurantist forces, which are working to sink these states into a quagmire of chaos, with the intention of dooming them for intervention.

This requires careful and constant security vigilance from Algeria, to monitor the regional movements of the region and to be careful to drag it into the quagmire, unless it undermines the vital interests of Algerian national security in its African regional dimensions.

²² Algerian Radio, in the presence of the Prime Minister representing the President of the Republic ... Launch of the Elysee Summit on Peace and Security in Africa. December 2014. http://www.radioalgerie.dz/player/ar/ live/cha%C3%AEne-1, Accessed on 04 April 2018.

Perhaps the most important feature to be emphasized is that cross-time intervals have formed an important area for understanding Algerian behavior. There are also security doctrines and procedural, constitutional constants that are based on the concepts of noninterference in the affairs of others and the control of the pace of diplomatic action within the Arab or African community, taking into account the policy of good neighborliness as an important resource in understanding the Algerian diplomatic relations.

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