

THE ROLE OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES IN FIGHTING TERRORISM IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY ON DEVELOPMENT (IGAD)

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Abstract

In Africa, Regional Economic Communities (RECs) were initially established to tackle the economic challenges of the continent. However, overtime, they expanded their mandate to deal with the security threats of the continent such as terrorism. In fact, the fight against terrorism has been internationalized following the September 9/11 terrorist attack in the U.S.A. Since then, RECs have been giving considerable attention to preventing and combating terrorism in their respective regions. Similarly, IGAD has been involved in preventing and combating terrorism. So far, however, little has been done with regard to what IGAD has performed in fighting terrorism. Therefore, this study was intended to describe and analyze the legal and practical activities carried out by IGAD in its fight against terrorism in the region general and in Somalia in particular. Both descriptive and analytical methods were employed and data were analyzed through qualitative approach. Finally, based on the findings, the study argues that, instead of overreliance on hard power as a means of fighting terrorism, IGAD should invest more on the political and socio-economic problems of its member states so as to address the root causes.

Keywords: Regional Economic Communities, IGAD, Terrorism, Treaties

The Genesis of Regional Economic Communities in Africa

The idea and practice of regional integration in Africa is not a new phenomenon. Africa has a long track record of economic cooperation and regional integration since independence in the 1960s (Bourenance, 2002). The changing nature of the international trade due to the globalization of the world economy has increased the urgency of economic cooperation and integration among African countries to gain a large share and benefits from the international trade.

The urgency for regional economic communities in Africa has been reinforced by both external and internal factors (Memar, 2012). Externally, the end of the Cold War and the acceleration of the globalization process, along with Africa's risk of further marginalization from the global market, presented the establishment of regional economic communities (RECs) as an imperative. According to Okoth (2004), the emergence of a strong desire to have regional economic communities was a clear response to the events of the end of the

Cold war. In fact, in Africa, there had been regional economic communities such as the Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS), Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), East African Community (EAC) and Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Desertification (IGADD) prior to the culmination of the Cold War,

Internally, the proliferation of intra-state conflicts in Africa following the withdrawal of the then Super powers (the U.S.A and U.S.S.R), necessitated the establishment of RECs as the only mechanism to handle the security matters of the continent. The prevalence of bad governance, human rights violation, poverty, humanitarian catastrophe and environmental degradation presented the argument that RECs are the essential vehicle to address these key challenges by promoting maximum mobilization of regional resources while minimizing external dependence. There was also a recognition that regionalism could create a springboard for economic liberalization and free movement of labour which would enable neighbouring countries to deepen commercial ties and to solidify their economies through harmonization of policies for mutual benefits and joint regional development.

The imperatives of RECs has also to do with the dynamism and the complexity of the global economy, as an instrument to increase flow of investment and to promote economic growth through better leverage in international trading (Ndomo, 2009). It also offers the opportunity to broaden national markets and production scales; and to advance trade in services and inter-regional investments. According to the first report of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), regional integration provides a number of opportunities which includes but not limited to sustainability; increased foreign and domestic investment; increased global competitiveness; promotion of regional public goods; prevent conflict; consolidation of economic and political reforms (ECA, 2004).

The genesis of a concerted effort to integrate the African continent economically can be traced directly to the Lagos Plan of Action and to the OAU Charter. This effort resulted in the adoption of the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community (The Abuja Treaty) in June 1991. The Abuja Treaty recognizes RECs as the only viable means to overcome underdevelopment and the security challenges of the continent (The Abuja Treaty, 1991). It emphasizes, in one way or another, the need for regional integration given “the nature of Africa’s economies, which, being small and fragmented, stand to enjoy a variety of economic benefits that would come from integration, in addition to becoming a stronger voice in international economic decision-making” (Janneh, 2012).

The African Economic Community (AEC) was established as an integral part of the OAU with the primary objective of promoting the integration of African economies. In this regard, Chapter XIX of the treaty emphasizes the importance of establishing the AEC “through the coordination, harmonization, and progressive integration of the activities of regional economic communities” (Abuja Treaty, 1991). It further underscores that member states have the responsibility “to promote the coordination and harmonization of the integration activities of regional economic communities of which they are members with the activities of the community” (Ibid, 1991). In addition, Article 3 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union also recognizes the need “to coordinate and harmonize the policies between the existing and the future RECs for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union” (AU Constitutive Act, 2002).

However, multiplicity of membership, lack of political commitment coupled with ineffective organizational structure and regulatory policies have impeded their success and the delivery of expected outcomes. In this regard, Naceur Bourenane has summarized constraints which have been hindering the process of regional integration in Africa into six categories. These are: i) infrastructural constraints; ii) institutional constraints, which refers to organizational matters and choice of economic policy; iii) constraints related to country’s economic structure; iv) those concerning the international environment and its changes; v)

constraints linked to the players involved and their strategies; and vi) conflicts. Among other things, lack of well established infrastructures continue to be the biggest challenge of the RECs which has been obstructing the expansion of cross-border regional trade and the deepening of economic integration by combating security threats such as terrorism and piracy. Although the challenges differ from region to region, terrorism, for instance, have been the most challenging security threats of IGAD.

Regional Economic Communities and the Fight Against Terrorism

The fight against terrorism came to be an international phenomenon following the Sep. 9/11 terrorist attack on the U.S.A. Since then, international and regional economic communities have taken the issues of combating terrorism as a priority in their efforts to maintain international peace and security. For example, the UN has introduced various legal and institutional counter-terrorism mechanisms to fight against terrorism. In addition, the UN security Council through its 1373 (2011) resolution recognized and mandated RECs as a viable means of battling terrorism due to its transnational nature (Rosand and etal., 2008). Following that, several RECs established legal and institutional regimes within the context of their regional peace and security frameworks to prevent and combat terrorism. Besides, they have also developed counter-terrorism strategy that reflects the terrorist threat posed by international and/or regional terrorist organizations within their own regional contexts.

Although the target was the U.S.A, it was after the 1998 attack in the U.S embassies in Kenya and Tanzania that took the life of many Africans that Africa became alerted to international terrorism. It seems for this reasons that, the then OAU adopted the “Convention on the Prevention and Combating Terrorism” in 1999. The convention was later supported by Protocols and Institutional Mechanisms. “The AU Plan of Action” adopted in 2002, provided a framework and road map for RECs and African Stats to implement international counter-terrorism measures as provided in the OAU Convention, as well the measures mandated by the UN Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) (OSAA, 2006). Following that, several of Africa’s sub-regional RECs involved in Peace and Security Programs. However, out of the eight RECs, only IGAD and ECOWAS “--have established significant counter-terrorism capacity building programs in each of their respective regions for the benefit of their members” (OSAA, 2006:37). In the following section, we shall see how IGAD evolved and incorporated combating terrorism as part of its mandate.

The origin of IGAD

The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) was established in 1996 to supersede the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Desertification (IGADD) which was created in 1986. The original founding members of the organization were Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda. Later on, Eritrea became the seventh member of the Authority in Addis Ababa in 1993 (IGAD, 1996). However, it withdrew from its membership in 1998. In 2011 South Sudan admitted as a new member to the Authority. Initially, IGADD was created to mobilize and coordinate resources of member states to prevent the spread of drought, famine and desertification.

Later on, the organization was revitalized into a full-fledged regional political, economic and security entity in the mid-1990s. This time, member countries recognized that economic development and regional integration could not be achieved without the existence of perpetual peace and security in the region. Consequently, they transformed the organization and expanded its mandate to incorporate wide array of regional issues especially in areas of conflict prevention, management and resolution in 1995 (Kine, 2007).

The role of IGAD in conflict prevention, management and resolution had shown significant progress when it carried out conflict resolution and mediation attempts in the

Sudan and Somalia. IGAD also attempted to mediate Ethiopia and Eritrea during the 1998-2000 war (Lata, 2007:12) although they remained to date in a state of no-war no-peace situation. The ultimate objective of IGAD is to achieve economic cooperation and integration by averting the destructive energies of conflict into regional cooperation and development (IGAD, 1996). It also aims to harmonize the policies of member countries in order to maintain lasting peace and security in the region. To achieve these objectives, it has established four hierarchical and complementary operational structures which include the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers, the Committee of Ambassadors and the Secretariat (Ibid, 1996).

The IGAD region has been the most conflict and terrorism torn zone in the world. Since the 1998 terrorist attack on the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania fighting terrorism has been one of the international obligations of IGAD. Following the adoption of the Draft Implementation Plan to Counter Terrorism in 2003, IGAD has taken a more proactive role in strengthening cooperation against terrorism and transnational organized crime in region (CGCC and ISSP, 2012).

Conceptualizing Terrorism

There is no concept as controversial as terrorism. Its meaning has been a bone of contention among scholars and politicians since antiquities. It did not start with the demise of the Soviet Union or with the horrors of September 9/11. It has deep roots in history.

The term terrorism entered in the English language at the time of the 1789 French Revolution (Weinberg and Eubank, 2006). At that historical juncture the term was used to refer to a time (1793-1794) during the revolution when the Jacobins, a radical group, who controlled the government, executed thousands of people at the guillotine whom they considered as threats of the revolution (Ibid). Since then, the term has been used to refer different forms of political violence by different actors. However, the modern usage of the term, “developed in the mid-twentieth century, regards terrorism as a tool of ethnic and religious fanatics to serve political ends, such as liberation from an alien occupying group, or simply to exact righteous vengeance against a group labeled as a threat or enemy” (Forst, 2009:3).

As its meaning, labelling the perpetrator of the act as a terrorist is also debatable. This is to say that what is a terrorist for one group may be a freedom fighter for the other. Needless to say, some individuals who involved in a "liberation" struggle were labelled as "terrorists" by the Western governments or media. Later, the same individuals, as leaders of the liberated nations, were called "statesmen" by Western governments. Two examples of this phenomenon were the Nobel Peace Prize laureates Menachem Begin and Nelson Mandela.

There are many definitions given to terrorism by different authorities. For instance, in November 2004, the United Nations Secretary General report described terrorism as any act "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act". Still others define it as a political violence in an asymmetrical conflict that is designed to induce terror and indiscriminate psychological fear through the violent victimization and destruction of non-combatant targets. Such acts are meant to send a message from an illicit clandestine organization. The purpose of terrorism is to exploit the media in order to achieve maximum attainable publicity as an amplifying force multiplier in order to influence the targeted audience(s) to achieve short- and midterm political goals and/or desired long-term end states (Held, 2008). What distinguishes terrorism from other forms of political violence and war is the deliberate killings of innocent people and this has been widely considered as the central characteristics that defines terrorism.

For the purpose of this paper we have used Seumas Miller's (2009:36) definition of terrorism. According to him, terrorism is a "political or military strategy that consists of violent actions directed against civilians involving such methods as assassination (targeted killings), indiscriminate killing, torture, hostage taking, kidnapping, ethnic cleansing and the use of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons in order to cause some other group to do what they otherwise might not have done". In his definition, he underscores that terrorism is a strategy used by state or non-state actors to engender widespread fear in the target political or social groups and to achieve a political goal. Generally, terrorism has been carried out in different forms by different actors.

Types of Terrorism within the IGAD Region

The IGAD region is one of the most volatile and conflict-ridden parts of the world (Kinfe, 2006). Some commentators describe it as the hot-bed of the world. The region has been the epi-centre of continental instability and humanitarian catastrophe. States of the region experienced authoritarian regimes which massacred thousands of people. They also undergone through conflicts over ethnic identity, resources and boundary questions (Medhane, 2004, Wood Ward, 1996). Thus, the region has seen very little of democratic governance and economic development. Furthermore, the IGAD region is also drought, famine and refugees affected area of the globe. Among other things, terrorism has been of the great security challenges of the IGAD region. According to David Shinn (2003) the region has seen three types of terrorism. Each type varies mainly on the basis of the nature of the terrorist organizations and the objectives they sought to achieve.

The *first* type of terrorism is an acts perpetrated by organizations outside the region. This type of terrorism is usually known as international terrorism. The organizations which are perpetrating the acts either be states, non-state actors or the combination of the two. By their very nature, the terrorists are not indigenous to the region. Their primary goal is not to injure the country where the terrorist attack takes place; rather it is designed to harm a third party which is the target of the act. The assassination attempt by the Palestinian terrorist group Black September in 1973 of the American Ambassador and a Belgian diplomat in Khartoum is a typical example of a terrorism act that falls in this category. The attempted assassination against the then Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak, in 1995 in Addis Ababa by the Egyptian terrorist group *Gama'at al-Islamiyya* is also an example of this kind. Other examples include the bombing by *al-Qaeda* in 1998 of the American embassies in Dares Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya, and the simultaneous *al-Qaeda* attacks at Mombasa, Kenya, in 2002 against an Israeli airliner and bombing of an Israeli owned hotel popular with Israeli tourists (Molla, 2000:43-44).

The *second* type is an act committed by organizations within the region. It is conducted by organizations in the region against neighbouring countries. Example of this type include, a series of attacks carried out by Somalia-based *al-Ittihad al-Islamia/Al-shabbab* against civilian targets in Ethiopia in the 1990s (Medhane, 2002). The terrorist acts that have been committed by same organization in Kenya and Uganda also fall under this category.

The third type is a terrorist acts instigated by insurgent groups fighting the government within a particular state. These groups aim to either control the government, influence the policy of the government towards the people they are fighting for or greater autonomy (secession) or to change the regime by deliberately attacking and harming civilian population (Held, 2008). They generally are not aimed at a third party. Example of this category includes insurgent groups such as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and Allied Democratic Front (ADF) in Uganda and the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) in Ethiopia, which committed terrorist attacks in Uganda and Ethiopia respectively (Medhane, 2004).

It is crystal clear that the most common and dominant form of trans-national terrorism in the IGAD region has been the second type; an act of terror committed by organization operating within the region. *Al-shabbab* has been the major terrorist organizations operating within the IGAD region. It declared itself as an *al-Qaeda* affiliated organization with the primary objective of establishing an Islamic republic state in Somalia (Menkhaus, 2005). With the gradual erosion of the power of factional leaders in Somalia and due to the absence of effective regional or inter-regional political force, it came to dominate the political dynamics in Somalia in 2006 and controlled the entire parts of Mogadishu.

It is apparent that the 2006 Ethiopia's intervention in Somalia by the invitation of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia had broken the backbone of AIAI and consequently it fractured into several segments. Ethiopian's primary objective was to crush AIAI, and to deter the spread of political Islam in the region (Medhane, 2002:155). The evacuation of the Ethiopian military force in 2008 had created a fertile ground for *Al-shabbab* to revive and to regain its dominance in the South-central part of Somalia including the capital, Mogadishu. Although *Al-Shabbab* was driven out from its strong hold by AMISOM, it still remains a great security threat not only to Somalia but also to the entire IGAD region. It is enough to note the recent terrorist attacks in Kenya, Westgate, and in other areas perpetrated by *Al-Shabbab* to recognize how it is challenging the peace and security of the region. The fight against Al-Shabbab requires regional coordination of resources and sharing of intelligence information.

IGAD and the Fight against Terrorism

As mentioned elsewhere above, IGAD has been involved in preventing and combating terrorism. In the following sections we shall deal with the conventions, institutional mechanisms and programs introduced with the purpose of preventing and combating terrorism. Following that, we shall see the practical activities that IGD performed in its attempt to preventing and fighting terrorism.

Conventions/ Treaties and Institutional Mechanisms

Terrorism is perceived as a present challenge and an eminent threat to the sub-region. Since 1990s, terrorism has increasingly threatened the security of the IGAD region. The major acts of transnational terrorism in the IGAD region emanates from Somalia, a state that has been virtually "failed" to provide security since the downfall of the Siad Barre government. Somalia's geographic location and its failure to function as an effective sovereign state has created an opportunity for several Al-Qaeda linked terrorists from North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula to establish Al-Qaeda cell in the region. Here is what United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (UNOSAA) has to say how acts of transnational terrorism in the IGAD region have been emanating from Somalia:

"Al-Qaida and al-Shabaab pose serious terrorist threats to the countries of the Horn of Africa, destabilizing the sub-region. Somali territory provides safe haven for terrorists and is used by them as a recruiting and training ground for terrorists. It was from the Somali territory that the 1998 terrorist attacks on the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya were launched. Al-Shabaab now controls and operates in a vast area of Somali territory, which also provides safe haven and staging ground for pirates plaguing international shipping in the Indian Ocean off the Horn of Africa" (UN-OSAA,nd:38).

Recognizing transnational nature terrorism, IGAD member states agreed that no individual member can single-handedly be able to deal it effectively (CGCC and ISSP, 2012). Consequently, the Draft Implementation Plan to Counter Terrorism was adopted by IGAD in 2003 in Kampala, Uganda, with the purpose of combating terrorism. It was the first major

step towards legal cooperation against terrorism taken by IGAD. It called on member states to work towards a common legal framework, develop extradition and Mutual Legal Assistance (MLA) treaties, and encouraged ratification of relevant continental and international instruments. The plan also called for increased information exchange, training coordination, and international cooperation and highlighted the importance of respecting human rights while countering terrorism (Ibid).

In late 2009, acting on a desire to implement the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in the region, the IGAD Council of Ministers adopted two new Conventions, one on Extradition, and the other on MLA. Another further step taken by IGAD in combating terrorism was the adoption of the Security Strategy in 2010. With its adoption, IGAD restructured what was known as IGAD Capacity Building Programme Against Terrorism (ICPAT) and established the IGAD Peace and Security Strategy (IPSS). The transformation of ICPATP to ISSP was motivated by the recognition of the changes in security situation in the region that includes a convergence of various transnational crimes. ISSP has four pillars: Counter-terrorism (CT), Transnational Organized Crime (TOC), Maritime Security (MS) and Security Institutions Capacity Building (SICB) (Capital, 2013).

IGAD Member state as well ratified several international conventions on combating terrorism. The major ones among them are the UN Convention for the Suppression of Financing Terrorism and the AU Convention for the Prevention of Terrorism (CGCC and ISSP, 2012). IGAD member States have also ratified the following key legal documents of AU's Counter-Terrorism Initiatives: The 1999 Algiers Convention (the OAU, 1999); Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism; The 2002 AU Plan of Action for the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in Africa (AU, 2002), and The 2004 Protocol to the Algiers Convention (AU, 2004; Wani, 2007; Wesi and Aning, 2006 and Ford, 2011). In addition to acceding to global, regional and sub-regional treaties on counter-terrorism, IGAD member states have been introducing legal codes that help them in fighting terrorism and other transnational crimes at national level (CGCC and ISSP, 2012).

Currently, IGAD has a *program unit* established to handle issues of security. This unit is called the IGAD Security Sector Program (ISSP). The ISSP replaced ICPAT and is mandated with enhancing “the capacity of IGAD member states to combat terrorism, to deal with maritime security threats, contain the intensity and impact of organized crime, and provide security efficiently and effectively through security sector reform with capacity building as an overarching component” (CGCC and ISSP, 2012:13). IGAD also works in collaboration with the Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (EAPCCO).

IGAD has also been working with the USA led Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF -HOA) in its attempt to combat terrorism. The CJTF –HOA's mission is to detect, disrupt, defeat and deny terrorist activity in the Horn of Africa. The CJTF -HOA is a joint and combined effort of personnel from all US services and allied officers from numerous other countries, such as Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya. CJTF -HOA provided military training to Ethiopia, Uganda, and Djibouti; and trained the navies of Kenya and Djibouti (Nzau, 2010).

Practical Activities

IGAD through IGAD Capacity Building Program against Terrorism (ICPAT) has been engaged in developing program aimed at counter-terrorism capacity building of its member states and promote regional security cooperation. In 2006, ICPAT launched a four-year programme in Addis Ababa called the now replaced by ISSP. IGAD's counter-terrorism program targets five areas: (a) enhancing judicial capacity; (b) working to promote greater inter-agency coordination on counter-terrorism within individual IGAD member states; (c) enhancing border control; (d) providing training, sharing information and best practices; and

(e) promoting strategic cooperation. In this regard, IGAD's program is often held up as an example for other African Regional Economic Communities to emulate (UNOSAA, nd).

IGAD through its ICPAT/ISSP and in collaboration with international organizations have been performing the following practical activities with the intention of combating terrorism and to ensure peace and security in the IGAD region.

Working on Democracy, Development and Interconnectedness

The structural problems on which terrorism thrive is attributed to poverty, unemployment, ignorance, bad governance, disorder, insecurity (Nzau, 2010), extremist ideology and lack of tolerance (Shinn, 2008) as well as state failure. Recognizing the roots of terrorism and with objective of reducing its impact on the peace and security of the region, IGAD has been working on democratizing its member states. This is particularly important because, domestic terrorism in the region emanates mainly from acts of marginalization, exclusion and bad governance. This is particularly true in Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan where several aspects of conflict have led to armed insurgency and outbreaks of domestic terrorism (Glenshaw, 1994).

Moreover, IGAD has been working hard by designing policies that prevents drought from turning into famine and strengthening interconnectedness among its members through trade and infrastructure. To realize this, IGAD delegated its member states to play a leading role in the implementations of its projects. Accordingly, Ethiopia is delegated to lead the construction of trans-boundary infrastructure; Kenya on drought resilience and resource management; Uganda on peace and security issue; Djibouti on maritime security and Sudan on trade harmonization (Chatham House, 2014). No doubt, if properly implemented, these projects will have a significant contribution to minimizing acts of terrorism in the region.

To prevent state collapse and insecurity, IGAD has been working on conflict prevention, mediation and capacity building between member states. In this regard, IGAD was highly involved in the Sudan peace process that culminated in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and later in the process of holding South Sudan's referendum. IGAD has also held a long-lasting role in the reestablishment of sovereign government in Somalia (Ibid).

Provision of training to the security sector

Since 2006, training projects and seminars were designed by the ICPAT to enhance the knowledge and skills of officials working in the security sectors of IGAD member states (defense force, police force, border guards, and intelligence service and justice institutions) and to enhance their familiarity with working together to solve shared problems. Accordingly, the following training and/or seminars were conducted.

In 2008, the ICPAT, in collaboration with the EAPCCO, has delivered Training on "Counter-Terrorism" for selected Ethiopian law enforcement officials. The same training was given in Uganda, Somalia and Sudan for similar officials (IGAD, 2008). On May 13 and 14, 2009, IGAD, in collaboration with United Nations Counter Terrorism Executive Directorate (UNCED), organized a seminar on "border security", in Kampala, Uganda. IGAD member states were represented by "officials from ministries of foreign affairs, law enforcement and counter terrorism agencies, and customs authorities" (ICPAT, 2009). The seminar was focusing on enhancing border security (including the introduction of community policing) and the coordination of counter-terrorism (Ibid).

Furthermore, from 18-21st October 2011, ISSP organized a 4 days training seminar on "Advanced Interrogation Skills in Counter Terrorism" in Kampala, Uganda. According to the ISSP, the training was "a follow up of the series of trainings provided by ICPAT and CGCC that focused on the implementation of the IGAD Extradition and Mutual Legal Assistance

Conventions and the strengthening of cross-border cooperation networks amongst law enforcement officials in IGAD states”(ISSP, 2011). In this training, officials from member states were “drawn from the National Security Services, Police, National Counter Terrorism Centres and Magistrate” (Ibid). Moreover, in the same year, the following trainings were given to counter terrorism practitioners of IGAD member states: “Lessons Learned From Investigating Terrorism Incidents,” Nairobi, 18–20 May 2011; “Open Source Analysis and Information Sharing,” Nairobi, 14–16 June 2011; “Community Engagement to Counter Terrorism,” Addis Ababa, 14–16 July 2011; and “Advanced Interrogation Skills in Counter-Terrorism,” Kampala, 18–21 October 2011 (CGCC and ISSP, 2012).

From May 22-23, 2012, the ISSP, in collaboration with CGCC, organized annual convention for counter terrorism practitioners who came from the IGAD member states, Tanzania, Yemen and other stakeholders involved in counter-terrorism. Here participants discussed on “trends and outlook of the threat of terrorism in Eastern Africa, strengthening the legal cooperation and building partnership against terrorism, strengthening regional financial infrastructure, new approaches of tackling terrorism in Somalia, and the human rights as a necessary condition for effective counter terrorism” (Ibid: 2012:1).

From 27-28 March 2013, ISSP in collaboration with the Global Counter Terrorism Forum (GCTF) organized a training that brought together senior prosecutors and police officers from IGAD countries in Uganda. The training was mainly designed to enhance the knowledge of the trainees from good practices and case studies on effective counter terrorism in the criminal justice sector. Witness and victim protection, interagency cooperation, incentives to terrorist suspects to cooperate and investigating and prosecuting preparatory offences were the principle topics of the training (ISSP and GCTF, 2013).

Finally, the ISSP, on April 14, 2014 and March 20, 2014, organized a one day workshop “International Instruments to Counter-terrorism” for Kenyan and Ethiopia senior counter-terrorism officials respectively (ISSP, 2014). So far, more than 300 law enforcing personnel from IGAD member states were trained (Ibid).

Facilitating and backing (unilateral or collective) interventions against terrorists in Somalia.

On March 2006, IGAD mandated Ethiopia and Uganda to deploy a peacekeeping force in Somalia to fight the Union of Islamic Court (Rosand, et al, 2012). IGAD deployed the Peace and support mission in Somalia (IGASOM) which was the precursor to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in 2007. It played a major role in facilitating and persuading the UN and AU to intervene in Somalia. Although AMISOM is AU’s peacekeeping mission in Somalia, IGAD member states are the chief contributors and AMISOM operates in close collaboration with IGAD (Chatham House, 2014). Moreover, IGAD backed the unilateral intervention of Ethiopia in 2006 and Kenya in 2011. For example, in its 19th extra-ordinary meeting the IGAD Assembly of Head of States and Governments welcomed the unilateral intervention of Kenya to fight Al-shabbab jointly with Somali’s Transitional Federal Government troops. According to the communiqué released from the meeting, IGAD “understands, appreciates and supports” the joint operation and Kenya’s move against Al-shabbab and sees it as “unique opportunity” to “restore stability and security” in Somalia (IGAD, 2011). Commentators argue that IGAD has been resorting to hard power in its fight against terrorism. Thus, IGAD has been very active in attracting the attention of the international community concerning the crisis of Somalia in general and the situation of terrorism in the IGAD region in particular. It has also been involved in mobilizing financial, material and human resources in fighting international terrorist in Somalia.

Sanctions, Travel and Financial Bans and Extradition

As a fighting strategy against terrorism in the region, IGAD has been introducing sanctions, including travel and financial bans on suspected terrorists and individuals or organizations suspected of supporting terrorists. IGAD has also been calling up on the AU and the UN to take similar actions. In this regard, in June 2006, IGAD Council of Ministers (IGAD-CM) ratified a Kenya-led travel ban on Somali warlords. Furthermore, in its 33rd extraordinary session held on May 29, 2009, IGAD-CM passed the following resolution.

Recognizing the fact that Al-Shabbab and other international terrorists have used the porous borders of Somali specially the airports at KM 50 and KM 90 to receive supplies of arms and ammunitions, and personnel from their foreign backers, IGAD calls upon United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to impose a non-fly zone, except for humanitarian purposes authorized by the Somalia government, on the airport of Kismayo, baidoa, KM 50, Balidoogle, Waajid, Hudur, all airports in Gedo, Isaley and Johwar. On the same session, IGAD-CM also called up the UNSC to impose blockage on sea ports, particularly on Kismayo and Merka, to prevent the further in-flow of arms and foreign fighters, and urges the UNSC to reach out to the international naval forces present in the region to enforce the blockade.

The council also reiterated to take the necessary action to impose targeted sanctions, including travel bans, freezing of assets among others, against all those in and outside of Somalia and calls up the AU and the UNSC to do the same (IGAD, 2009). In the spirit of the IGAD-CM resolution 2009, the National Bank of Ethiopia has blocked individual bank accounts, detected at the Harar branch of Dashen Bank and the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, linked with the Barakat International Companies (BICO), which is known to be involved in the financing of terrorist activities in 2011 (IGAD, 2013).

Due to the initiatives developed by IGAD concerning extradition and Multi-Legal Assistance, there have been formal and informal extraditions of terrorist suspects. For example, suspects from Kenya were moved informally to Uganda following the July 2010 terrorist bombings in Kampala; there was a formal extradition process for suspects from Kenya to Uganda. There was also an informal extradition of suspects from Kenya to Ethiopia (CGCC and ISSP, 2012:13).

Rebuilding the Somali State

Somalia has been the epi-center of terrorism and source of international terrorism in the IGAD region. This is because Somalia has been unable to ensure its internal security and to control its borders as well as protect its territory from local and international terrorist. Thus, rebuilding Somalia's security apparatus and reinstating a sovereign legitimate government in Somalia has been one of the major priorities of IGAD in fighting terrorism in the region. Accordingly, via its member states, IGAD has been providing various trainings to Somali security forces. Until the end of 2013, "between 14,700 and 15,000 troops had already been trained by IGAD countries" (Mahaboub Maalim, executive secretary of IGAD, quoted in Rift Valley Institute (RVI), 2013). It also supported Somalia to develop about five major policy frameworks expected to contribute to uprooting terrorism and ensuring lasting peace in Somalia.

One of the major policy document developed with support of IGAD is "the Somali government's 2016 Vision for Somalia, which outlines the process for creating a Somali federal system, removing Al-Shabbab, and holding elections in 2016" (Ibid, 2013:1). However, IGAD's involvement in Somalia is criticized for not doing enough due to lack of capacity and competitive national interest of member states and weak collaboration with civil society organizations (Farah and Halima quoted in RVI, 2013:2).

Finally, it should be acknowledge that the US, EU and several European states (unilaterally) have been funding the various trainings given to Somalia security forces by IGAD member states under the auspices of IGAD. In some cases European, U.S and Turkish security personnel were directly involved in the provision of the training (Amnesty International, 2010). Moreover, the US played its own role in fighting terrorists in Somalia by conducting air raids in different areas, particularly since 2007.

Challenges

IGAD has been facing several challenges in its attempt fighting against terrorism. The first major challenge is lack of trust among member states due to the legacy of inter-state and intra-state conflict. The IGAD region is characterized by endemic inter-state and intra-state conflict. Some IGAD member state were and (still are) supporting or hosting each other's rebel groups (including those classified as terrorist groups) fighting a neighboring member state. Such acts happened between Ethiopia and Sudan, Ethiopia and Eritrea (still happening) Sudan and Eritrea, Uganda and Sudan (Kidist, 2009). IGAD states have been showing competing national interest over the Somalia civil war and towards the Al-Qaeda liked terrorist and other Islamists in Somalia. For example, in 2006, "IGAD warned particularly Ethiopia and Eritrea from taking unilateral actions that undermine the powerless but internationally recognized TFG" (The East African, 2006, cited in Nazau, 2010:6). All such experiences might have made it difficult for IGAD states to fight domestic and international terrorists effectively.

The second major challenge comes from the difference on the definition of terrorist organization and lack of cooperation among member states in fighting domestic terrorism. Due to the dynamic nature of terrorism, member states do not have common definition on what constitutes terrorism and who is a terrorist. Moreover, while majority of terrorism in the IGAD region do not constitute international terrorism, as a regional body, IGAD has been focusing on terrorist acts emanating from Islamic fundamentalist and Al-Qaeda linked terrorists operating in Somalia. However, the vast terrorist acts in the IGAD region has been committed by groups labelled as domestic "terrorist" in the respective countries, where IGAD had no significant role in abating it. Such terrorist acts were committed by the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda, the Janjaweed in Sudan, and Al-shebab in Somalia and [the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) in Ethiopia] (Ibid).

The third challenge is attributed to overreliance on hard power and extrajudicial options in dealing with terrorism. However, the presence of *Al-Qaeda* linked *Al-shabbab* and other Islamic fundamentalists in Somalia indicate that hard power may not succeed in uprooting both domestic and international terrorism in the region.

The fourth challenge is related to external intervention in Somalia both from IGAD member states and from outside the region. The unilateral intervention of Ethiopia in 2006 and Kenya in 2011, which were implicitly supported by the West has been perceived as a fight on clash of civilization instead of a combat against terrorist threat in Somalia. Moreover, the fact that the U.S has been carrying out air-rids in Somalia and the fact that the U.S, E.U and several European states have been behind the trainings given to Somalia's Transitional Government security forces as well as other State rebuilding process have been giving an impetus to local and international terrorists in Somalia to commit more terrorist acts in the IGAD region including by recruiting new personnel (Shinn, 2013).

Other challenges include, weak integration of broader legal and policy frameworks, lack of financial capacity, coordinated intelligence analysis and policy making capabilities, the withdrawal of Eritrea from IGAD and the nature of the Eritrean government as well as the

modern digital communication has also made terrorism and other transnational crimes vastly easier to coordinate on a worldwide scale (Sims, 2007).

Conclusion

IGADD was established in 1986 to combat the spread of drought and desertification in the Horn of Africa. But, it transformed itself into a full-fledged regional political, economic and security authority (IGAD) in 1996 recognizing the need to maintain peace and security for sustainable economic development and regional integration. However, terrorism has still remained as a challenging and destabilizing factor for the peace and security networks of the region. Although IGAD has been fighting terrorism by introducing various conventions and institutional mechanisms, it remained as major security threats of the region.

IGAD has been overlaying on hard power and external assistance in its fight against terrorism. Therefore, the authority must direct resources to combat TTC by galvanizing its member states. Moreover, it should focus on issues of political marginalization and polarization, social and economic inequality, endemic poverty, pervasive corruption, bad governance, lack of tolerance and extremist ideologies, which Shinn (2008:1) argues are “all greater threats than terrorism to the political stability and economic progress in the Horn of Africa”.

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