



## International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC)

### Amani Lecture Report

Creating an Enabling Environment for Peace and Security in Eastern Africa:  
*Addressing Terrorism in African Peace Support Operations (PSO) Theatre*



15<sup>th</sup> April, 2016

Karen

Nairobi, Kenya

Compiled by  
**IPSTC Peace and Security Research Department**

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**Acknowledgement**

The International Peace support Training Centre (IPSTC) thanks you for your attendance and participation in the recent IPSTC Amani Lecture which was held on 15<sup>th</sup> April, 2016 at IPSTC, Karen.

The comments gleaned from your presentation, participation and plenary sessions during the lecture are summarized in this document. Your contribution led to a better understanding of the current challenges of peace support operations in Africa. The lecture was extremely helpful and informative and we received invaluable feedback on the topic. This lecture has laid the foundation for improvement of our future Amani lecture series. I hope you will be able to join us in future sessions. Thank you once again for being our partners in the Amani Lecture series.

**Foreword**

The IPSTC Amani Lecture 2016 report has been enormously enriched by the event held on the 15th, April, 2016. The report captures a key features of contemporary terrorism. The Amani Lecture series is meant to collect information that will inform security policy makers in regional and national institutions. The workshop was attended by about 27 participants.

Three papers were presented by keynote speakers:

- 1) Amb. Dr. Martin Kimani
- 2) Richard Tuta Ochieng
- 3) COL William Kodjo Bleboo
- 4) COL-Major Adrahamane Baby

The overall theme of the lecture was, *'Creating an Enabling Environment for Peace and Security in Eastern Africa.'* The lecture topic is informed by survey of most conspicuous peace and security issues in the region and discussions among stakeholders. The lecture content was also enriched by subject matter experts from different organizations during the lecture.

I would like to thank the Government of Japan and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for supporting this successful Amani Lecture. I would also like to thank distinguished guests, speakers and participants who made their valuable contributions to enrich this report during the lecture.

**Brigadier Patrick Nderitu**

**Director**

**IPSTC**

**Acronyms**

AFISMA	African-led International Support Mission to Mali
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
APSA	Africa Peace and Security Architecture
AS	Al Shabaab
ASF	Africa Standby Force
AQIM	Al Qaeda in the Maghreb
AU	African Union
CVE	Counter Violent Extremism
CT	Counter Terrorism
EAC	East African Community
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
HISS	Heads of Intelligence and Security Services
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IPSTC	International Peace Support Training Centre
ISSP	IGAD Security Sector Programme
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
USA	United States of America
MINUSMA	United Nations Multi-dimensional Integrated Mission in Mali
MUJAO	Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAG	Organized Armed Groups
PSO	Peace Support Operations
ROE	Rules of Engagement
SAIA	South African Institute of International Affairs
SNSF	Somali National Security Forces
T	Terrorism
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
VE	Violent Extremism

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## 1. Executive Summary

The International Peace Support Training Centre held Amani lecture titled: *'Addressing Terrorism in African Peace Support Operations Theatre'*, on the 15<sup>th</sup>, April, 2016. The lecture focused on the current trends of terrorism and counter terrorism in the Peace Support Operations (PSO) context. The topic reflected the overall research theme of 2016, namely; *'Creating an Enabling Environment for Peace and Security in Eastern Africa'*.

The goal of the Amani lecture series is to stimulate intellectual discussion on topics of relevance to regional peace and security initiatives. AMANI lecture series provide an opportunity for Peace Support Operations (PSO) stakeholders and experts to share current knowledge and trends on contemporary topical subjects/issues and inform regional policies and practice on PSO. In our 2015 series we addressed the *'Changing Trends of Conflicts and Response Strategies in Eastern Africa: Interrogating SALW Control.'* The reports are available in the IPSTC Library and website.

The Amani Lecture Series is an initiative of the Peace and Research Department at IPSTC. Lectures are conducted approximately once every six months and invitations are extended to all national and regional peace and security community. The mission of IPSTC is to be an independent Research, Training and Education centre in Eastern Africa that is responsive to peace operations training and education needs of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). IPSTC seeks to conduct applied research, training and education of military, police and civilian personnel in all aspects of peace operations in order to help improve the effectiveness of the international response to complex emergencies.

This report documents the AMANI lecture held on the 15th of April 2016. It briefly outlines the presentations made by the distinguished speakers whose focus was on different aspects of terrorism in African PSO. It also incorporates outcome of deliberations made during the plenary session.

The Amani lecture brought together an audience comprised of: IPSTC staff, Academia, Civil society/practitioners, Students from various universities and Staff from other agencies involved in peace, security and humanitarian work. The lecture was opened by Brig. Patrick Nderitu, who welcomed participants and speakers. Prof. Timothy Gatara, Senior Researcher IPSTC, introduced the theme of the lecture noting the different forms of terrorism that have evolved over time.

After the three presentations, Prof. Gatara invited the participants to join a plenary discussion. From the questions and comments raised by the different discussants, it was clear that Terrorism (T)/Violent Extremism (VE) is a complex issue that require comprehensive approach. The Director promised that IPSTC will organize similar events in the near future.

**AMANI Lecture Series Concept**

AMANI lecture series provide an opportunity for regional stakeholders and experts to share current knowledge and trends on contemporary peace and security issues that inform regional policies and practice.

**Objectives**

The overall aim of this Amani lecture is to foster synergies and strengthen co-operation among selected stakeholders active in the field of peace and security within Eastern Africa and based in Nairobi. More specifically, the forum will give the audience the opportunity to:

- Share experiences and challenges facing PSOs in Africa.
- Discuss current state of Terrorism/Violent extremism threats to PSOs in Africa
- Explore options for sustainable counter terrorism/counter violent extremism interventions in PSOs



### 1.1. Background to the Lecture

Terrorism and violent extremism are increasingly becoming a threat on the African continent and adversely impacting PSO. PSO in Mali and Somalia have particularly faced this threat. According to a report by UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon, terrorist attacks have forced the Mali mission to direct two-thirds of its infantry capacity to protecting itself, seriously hindering its ability to carry out tasks meant to bolster the peace process.

The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and United Nations (UN) agencies working in Somalia have had to contend with terrorist activity in the country. Since 2007 AMISOM has battled Al Shabaab, forcing the terrorist group out of the capital and other strategic towns like Kismayu and Baidoa. However, Al Shabaab still has suicide bombers willing to use explosives to fight back. All forces serving in the mission have suffered great losses in these attacks, the most recent being the attack on Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) troops in El Adde. UN staff and installations have not been spared either.

Thirdly, effective 'protection of civilians' becomes a challenge as it requires robust military action against terrorist groups. The question as to whether Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs) have the capacity for peace enforcement (especially African TCCs) is often raised. The Brahimi Report (2000) advised that UN operations must be prepared to deal effectively with spoilers: they must have bigger and better equipped forces; *'able to pose a credible deterrent threat in contrast to the non-threatening presence that characterizes traditional peacekeeping.'*

Fourthly, Africa remains a complicated theatre for peace operations. More often than not PSOs are faced with situations where no state infrastructure exists at all which compromises the centrality of political processes to effective peace making. In an address to the African Union Peace and Security Council on 9th January 2016, the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, raised concern about terrorism, saying it requires urgent attention at the continental-level and from the wider international community.

This Amani Lecture series aims to examine the challenges faced by African PSOs in terrorist ridden theatres and explore ways of addressing these threats.

#### Expected Outcome

The symposium was intended to have three major outcomes:

- a.) To provide critical input to the research and discussion on Addressing Terrorism in African Peace Support Operations (PSO)
- b.) To strengthen networks of collaborations with different organizations, institutions and Partners in peace and security; and
- c.) To serve as a platform for sharing lessons learnt in the discussion on Addressing Terrorism in African Peace Support Operations (PSO)

**Participants**

The lecture series brought together distinguished representatives from State agencies, diplomats, different institutions of Higher learning, Regional Economic Mechanisms, Regional Think Tanks, and Non-Governmental Organisations.

**Venue and Date**

The Lecture took place at the International Peace Support Training Centre along Westwood Park Road in Karen, Nairobi, Kenya on the 15<sup>th</sup>, April, 2016.

**Methodology**

During the lecture series the key topical areas were addressed by keynote speakers followed by plenary discussions.

**Areas of Discussion**

The thematic areas formed the central topics of discussion based on:

- a) *Conceptualizing Terrorism and Counter- Terrorism Theory and Practice* by Mr. Richard Tuta Ochieng;
- b) *Assessment and Evaluation of terrorism as a threat to PSO, A case of AMISOM* by COL Wisdom Kodjo Bleboo;
- c) *Assessment and Evaluation of Terrorism as a Threat to PSO, A case of MINUSMA* by Colonel-major Adrahamane BABY.

## 2. Directors Opening Address

### Brigadier Patrick Nderitu



The Director recognized presence of the chief Guest Ambassador Dr Martin Kimani, Director of the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC), Deputy Chief Joint Operations, African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), COL. Wisdom Kodjo Bleboo, Defence and Security Coordinator in the National Committee for the implementation of the peace Accord in Mali, Colonel-Major Adrahamane BABY, Mr. Richard Tuta and other participants.

He said that the Amani lecture series is a biannual forum organised by the centre to Provide an opportunity for PSO stakeholders and experts to share current knowledge and trends on contemporary topical subjects/issues and inform regional policies and practice on PSO.

He informed participants that the last Amani Lecture was held on 16 July 2015 where participant

Interrogated Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) control while this year's first Amani Lecture is focused on *Terrorism in Peace Support Operations Environment*. He noted that the overall aim of this Amani lecture is to foster synergies and strengthen co-operation among selected stakeholders active in the field of peace and security within Eastern Africa.

*“More specifically, this forum is intended to give you the opportunity to not only share experiences of peacekeeping and counter terrorism in the current African context but to also discuss the current dynamics of Terrorism so that we can jointly explore options for effective and sustainable Counter Terrorism (CT) and Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) approaches.”*

He also mentioned that IPSTC as a Regional Centre of Excellence in peace support operations training and research, has great interests in interrogating the issue of Terrorism, noting that recent UN and AU peace operations are operating in environments where terrorists are present. As such, they are increasingly becoming targets of terrorist activity.

*“The challenge of countering violent extremism and terrorism is therefore very real to forces in these missions. For instance, AMISOM has lost over 3,000 personnel in its struggle to stabilize Somalia while in Mali, Islamist insurgents have waged a guerrilla campaign against troops serving with the UN. These concerns were brought to the fore by the UN special committee on peacekeeping operations in their 216<sup>th</sup> and 247<sup>th</sup> meetings where the committee emphasized the need to ensure the safety and security of peacekeepers, particularly given the increasing complexity of implementing mission mandates.”*

The Director expressed hope that these challenges will be addressed and that we will examine the responses to the ongoing concerns surrounding terrorism in PSOs as indicated by the distinguished panel of speakers focus on Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Africa and Theory and Practice of terrorism and give insights of terrorism as a threat to PSO from the experiences of AMISOM and MINUSMA.

He affirmed that the outcome of the deliberations will help us contextualize the subject under inquiry and provide policy options for effective management of peace and security in the region.

He expressed appreciation to all participants for honouring IPSTC invitation to participate in the lecture.

### 3. Key Note Speakers Amb.

There were three main speakers whose profiles are presented below;

#### 3.1 Dr. Martin Kimani, Designation: Director, National Counter Terrorism Centre

**Area of discussion:** *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Africa: Understanding Threats and Responses*



Ambassador Martin Kimani, PhD is the Director of Kenya's National Counter Terrorism Centre. Prior to this role, he was Kenya's Permanent Representative and Head of Mission to the UN at Nairobi and the UN Environment Programme (UNEP).

In the past fifteen years, he has worked in currency and bond trading, political risk analysis, academia, and multilateral diplomacy and counter terrorism. Ambassador Kimani holds an MA and PhD in War Studies from King's College of the University of London, and took a degree in philosophy from the University of New Hampshire in the United States.

He is a Fellow of the African Leadership Initiative and the Aspen Global Leadership Program. He was also the 2013 Distinguished African Visiting Fellow at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIA).

#### 3.1. Mr Richard Tutah Ochieng

**Area of Discussion:** *Conceptualizing Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Theory and Practice*



Mr Tutah holds an Masters degree in Homeland Security & Counter Terrorism from the Interdisciplinary Center (Herzliya, Israel) and is currently working on another MA in Public Administration at the University of Nairobi (Kenya School of Government). He also holds a Diploma in Strategic Security Management from the Israel College of Security & Investigation (Israel); a Bachelors degree in Political

Science & Sociology from

University of Nairobi, (Kenya) and a diploma in Community Development from Kenya Institute of Development.

He has held various government appointments including Secretary, Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (Naivasha Constituency) from 2002 -2005, Personal Assistant, Kenya National Assembly from 2008-2013 and Member, Nakuru County Public Service Board 2013-to the present. Mr Tutah has wide experience in

Homeland Security and Counter Terrorism, development studies, Public Administration and Governance issues.

### 3.2. Col. Wisdom Kodjo Bleboo

**Designation:** Deputy, Chief Joint Operation, African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM)

**Area of discussion:** *Assessment and Evaluation of Terrorism as a Threat to PSO, A case of AMISOM*



Colonel Bleboo is a senior officer of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF). He joined military service in 1983 and has since had a distinguished career where he has held positions of responsibility in high command, staff and Training.

Command positions have included Company Commander, Commander Rear, 3rd Infantry Battalion and Commander Rear, 4th Infantry Battalion. Staff and training appointments have included Deputy Director- Training, Ghana Armed Forces General HQ (Training), Director-Discipline, Ghana Armed Force General HQ (Personnel

Admin) and Deputy Director General, Ghana Armed Forces General HQ (Training) just to mention a few.

Col Belboo has vast experience in Peace Support Operations through participation in over ten peacekeeping missions namely the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in 1985, 1986/87, 1991/92 and 2009/2010, The ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), Liberia in 1990/91, UNTAC, Cambodia in 1993, UNAMIR, Rwanda in 1994/95, UNAMSIL, Sierra Leone in 2000/2001 and 2002/2003, AMIS, Darfur in 2005 – 2007 and currently AMISOM, Somalia.

### 3.4 Colonel Major. Adrahamane BABY

**Designation:** Defence and Security Coordinator in the National Committee for the implementation of the peace Accord, Former Operations Officer of the Malian Armed Forces

**Area of discussion:** *Assessment and Evaluation of Terrorism as a Threat to PSO, A case of MINUSMA*



Colonel-major Adrahamane BABY is the Defence and Security Coordinator in the National Committee for the implementation of the peace Accord in Mali. He was the Assistant Operations Officer of the Malian Chief of Defence Staff and left that office in February this year. Colonel-major BABY joined the Malian Armed Forces on 1st September 1990 and received his commission from the French officers' Academy Saint-Cyr in 1995. He is an infantry, airborne and commando

officer. He served as instructor at the Malian officers' Academy, company commander and staff officer in the

33 Airborne and Commando Battalion. During his career Colonel-major BABY participated in operation AMIS in Darfur/Sudan and Operation MALIBA in Mali.

He attended the Armed Forces Command and Staff College, Jaji, Kaduna, Nigeria and the Defence Course in Yaoundé, Cameroun. During his career Colonel-major BABY worked with the UN Stabilisation mission in Mali (MINUSMA) in his capacity as Deputy Force Commander of the Malian troops operating in the northern part of the country and as Assistant Operations commander of the Malian Armed Forces interacting with MINUSMA military officials on a regular basis.

Colonel-major BABY was a member of the Malian government negotiation team for both the Ouagadougou peace Accord of 18 June 2013 and Malian Peace and Reconciliation Accord of 15 May, 2015.

#### 4. Presentations

The session was moderated by Prof. Gatara. He noted that terrorism is a great challenge of our time and mentioned major past terrorist attacks such as Carlos the Jackal, bombing of Pan Am Airlines, Entebbe raid in Uganda, attack on American base in Beirut. He noted that terrorism is a learned experience, process of radicalization and has its own nature and dynamics which researchers should seek to understand. Terrorism as an escalating phenomena with serious consequences for peace, security and development.

##### 4.1 Terrorism and Counter Terrorism in Africa: *Understanding Threats and Responses*

###### Amb. Dr. Martin Kimani



Dr. Kimani recognized and honoured the sacrifice of KDF soldiers working in AMISOM as well as those who have lost their lives on duty. He explained how terrorism has affected Kenya as it stands in the frontline of struggle with terrorism and the threat of recruitment of its citizens into terror groups. He stated that this was all happening in the context of Kenya's deepening democratization while fighting an enemy which seeks to use these freedoms to their advantage. Dr. Kimani affirmed that Kenya is at the frontlines of counter terrorism and

democratization noting that the new constitution entrenched fundamental freedoms and liberties. He emphasized that the war on terrorism is conducted without infringement on civil liberties and forces have an

integrated approach – to share intelligence, foster deterrence, enhance coordination and adapt new tools and approaches.

Amb. Dr. Martin Kimani briefly highlighted the roles of the National Counter-terrorism Centre (NCTC), stating that it is evolving as it seeks closer integration in detecting and deterring terrorist activities, counter-terrorism and engaging the public, both government and civil society, to do more preventive work especially countering radicalisation. He then revealed the centre has also developed a working document providing guidelines on countering radicalisation.

The Director also noted that countries cannot fight terrorism alone without connecting with the inherent global politics. He indicated that an ideology is something that has taken a long time to take root. It is fuelled by extremist ideas deeply opposed to democratic way of life in Kenya and Africa at large, hiding under religion. Stressing that Africa is a continent of deep diversity and not homogenous. He also described what extremist ideologies are all about and what they seek to achieve.

The speaker further mentioned the Salafi-jihadist ideology – maintaining that Africa remains opposed to this agenda, noting that it is bound to fail due to cultural and religious diversities in the continent. He stressed that governments have a role to play in ensuring that this ideology doesn't take root. Therefore the issue of prevention in counter terrorism is extremely important.

He raised three questions: firstly what does prevention look like in the global level? Secondly what is the state of global politics and to what extent do they contribute to this? And lastly what is the nature of the future that we believe would bring peace to the globe?

In his view, Kenya should share its democratic track record to guide fellow countries in implementing it in response to autocracies prevailing in those countries. The peacekeepers have an important role in this democratization and peacebuilding route. Terrorists use terror in furthering ideological ideals and have a particular appetite for genocide and politics of purity similar to the ones pursued by the Nazis. These movements share same appetite to govern states in their own perceptions - cleanse them and change them. He also noted that the use of terror in pursuit of the aims of purity is part and parcel of our modern manifestations of politics. He observed that liberal democracy in Africa is a fragile experiment that must be protected from the politics of purity.

Therefore he urged governments and international community to reform their interventions and adapt more sophisticated approaches as well as seek to promote state stability. Moreover he recommended that Africa needs to embrace different forms of government appropriate for different societies at different stages of development



and democratization. Saying that our aim should be to support stability while assessing whether that stability is meeting some certain principles of democratic governance – case in point – Libya and Gaddafi. When African Union (AU) opposed NATO intervention in 2011, they were referred to as dictators seeking to protect another dictator.

He noted that Libya has become a breeding ground for terrorism, due to political crisis, increased flow of weapons, which has further destabilized the Sahel and Maghreb regions. Interventionist approach is therefore not the best way, in as much it is fashionable today. He opined that liberal democracy should not undermine states stability but should be a long term goal of peace and security.

### Highlights of the presentation

- The international community is facing an unprecedented and sophisticated challenge in the upsurge of terrorism and violent extremism.
- The global war on terrorism has mutated to the war on global terrorism.
- The spread of violent extremism can be seen from Al-Qaeda and its global franchises, Islamic State (IS/Daesh), Boko Haram in West Africa to Al-Shabaab an Al-Qaeda affiliate in the Horn and Eastern Africa.
- Recent terrorist attacks include the Zergham Airport and Malbeek railway station attacks in Belgium last month, the recent Dallo Airlines attack in Mogadishu in February 2016 which caused fear of copy-cat attacks in the sub region and the Sharm el Sheikh attack of a Russian plane carrying tourists from Egypt.
- In Kenya, we have just marked the first anniversary since the Garissa University attack in April 2015.
- In the Horn and Eastern Africa sub region, terrorism and violent extremism is one of the most prominent threats to peace and security.
- The prolonged crisis and conflict situation in Somalia resulting from the collapse of the state of Somalia in 1991, has progressively mutated into a myriad of threats, more so violent extremism not only to the Somali population but to the neighbouring countries and the international community.
  
- The region is also faced with challenges of development, high levels of poverty and, perceived and real marginalization, leaving disconnected and disaffected segments of society, especially unemployed youth, vulnerable to radicalization and recruitment into extremist groups.
- Inter-connected to the threat of terrorism in the sub region are other security challenges, including the huge refugee burden, proliferation of small arms & light weapons (SALW), human trafficking, organized crime and narcotics trafficking, poaching and piracy, proceeds of which find their way into financing terrorism.

**Implications**

- The terrorist threats in Kenya and the sub region undermine economic progress. The tourism industry has particularly taken a major hit with volumes of visitors reducing, this is worsened by travel advisories often issued by Western Governments whenever there is an attack.
- The economic effects are also felt in the realm of Foreign Direct Investments and Infrastructural projects, with concern raised over insecurity in the frontier counties.
- The other negative impact of the rise of violent extremism is the threat to national cohesion and regional integration, as one of the aims of extremist groups is to ignite inter-faith animosity and conflict especially between Christians and Muslims.

**Measures to Counter-Terrorism in the sub region:**

- KDF continues to pursue AS within and outside Kenya convinced that our national security was inextricably linked to the stability of our neighbours in Somalia, the larger Horn of Africa and the greater African region.
- Confronted by the evolving threat, regional states are exploring ways to strengthen their common response to Al-Shabaab and other extremist groups operating in the region.
- AMISOM whose forces are drawn mainly from IGAD countries, continues to support the efforts of the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) and emerging federal member states to confront the extremist militarily and helping to build the capacity of the Somali National Security Forces (SNSF).
- Outside Somalia, IGAD Member States have devoted greater efforts to monitoring and disrupting Al-Shabaab activities within their borders. The Heads of Intelligence and Security Services (HISS) of the IGAD States and the East African Community (EAC) met twice in 2015 to deepen security cooperation and harmonize efforts to fight terrorism and violent extremism within the sub region.
- Efforts are also underway under the auspices of IGAD to establish a Centre of Excellence and Messaging Hub to Counter Violent Extremism. In addition, the IGAD Security Sector Program (ISSP) launched a new Transnational Security Threats (TST) initiative to promote cooperation between member states.
- In terms of international conventions, the UN Global Strategy to Counter Terrorism and the Secretary General's Plan of action on CT/CVE are being implemented through resolutions 1373(2001) 1624(2005), and 2178(2014).

## 4.2 Conceptualizing Terrorism and Counter Terrorism Theory and Practice

### Mr. Richard Tuta Ochieng



The speaker defined terrorism as the intentional use of, or threat to use violence against civilians or against civilian targets, in order to attain political aims. His conception rests on the use of violence or a threat of violence for political goals and targeting of civilians. Terrorism is thus distinguished from other types of political violence (guerrilla warfare, civil insurrection, etc.).

Mr. Tuta added that a correct and objective definition of terrorism can be based upon accepted International laws and principles. The aims of terrorism and guerrilla warfare may well be identical; but they are distinguished from each other by the means used – or more precisely, by the targets of their operations. The guerrilla fighter's targets are military ones, while the terrorist deliberately targets civilians.

He further mentioned the characteristics of contemporary terrorism, stating that they are usually inherently political, fear inducing, premeditated, aimed at influencing larger audience and targets non-combatants or civilian. He followed this statement by giving the strategies of contemporary terrorism. He defined the term strategy with regards to terrorism as the best optimum correlation between ends, ways and means bearing in mind the moves of the enemy. He used chess to illustrate his point; stating that in playing chess it is always wise to consider the strategy being followed by your opponent and not just only your own plans, however deeply laid.

Mr. Tuta then gave five principal logics at work in contemporary terrorist campaign. First factor was attrition; this is a process that seeks to persuade the enemy that they are strong enough to impose considerable costs if enemy continue particular policy. Secondly the act of intimidation; to convince the population that they are strong enough to punish disobedience and government is weak to stop them. Thirdly, the act of provocation; to induce the enemy to respond to terrorism with indiscriminate violence, which radicalizes the population and makes them to support the terrorist. Fourthly, Spoilers; to persuade the enemy that moderate on the terrorist side are weak and un-trustworthy and thus undermine attempt to reach peace settlement, such as the work of

Hamas. Lastly, the act of outbidding – use violence to convince the public that the terrorist have greater resolve to fight the enemy than rural groups and therefore worth support.

The speaker stated that a national critical infrastructure for Counter Terrorism (CT), incorporating different strategies is required. One critical component is deterrence. Defining deterrence as; ‘persuading a potential enemy that he should in his own interest avoid certain courses of activity’. He affirmed that deterrence has been sub-divided into causal logics and processes. Most importantly for counterterrorism is the distinction between deterrence by threat of punishment and deterrence by denial. The act of deterrence by punishment relies on threatening to harm something an adversary values. Example, during the Cold War, Washington threatened to attack Moscow, and Moscow, Washington. Both were deterred because of the costs associated with initiating an attack and prospects of devastating response from enemy. And that deterrence by denial, functions by reducing the perceived benefits an action is expected to provide.

The presenter stated that media is terrorists oxygen. The emergence of new media/social media to influence public has created more platforms for terrorist operations.

In order to curb terrorism, Mr. Tuta suggested that states who sponsor terrorist organizations may be threatened with military intervention and other punishments such as sanctions. This is a form of indirect deterrence, where punishment is threatened against a state in order to compel it to refrain from facilitating terrorism. Assuring the audience that State-based punishments will work well in instances where terrorists are highly dependent on patron support. Adding that when coercing states becomes impractical, threatening other elements of the terrorist organization can provide deterrent results. To that end, individual terrorists can be threatened with death, sanctions, capture, and other punishments.

Targeted killings are another form of coercion, claiming that can be directed against individual terrorist leaders and facilitators. Targeted killings are the ‘intentional slaying’ of individuals ‘undertaken with explicit governmental approval’.

De-legitimization of ideology by using Muslims is also an effective strategy. By targeting what terrorists believe could be a strategy of curbing terrorism. Mr. Tuta stated that the logic of deterrence can be used to manipulate the political, ideological, and religious rationale that informs terrorist behavior. The objective is to reduce the challenger’s probability of achieving his goals by attacking the legitimacy of the beliefs that inform his behavior. He insisted that delegitimizing mechanisms raise the costs of participating in terrorism by challenging the normative, religious, and socio-political rationales individuals rely upon when participating in violence.

The presenter provide some characteristics of contemporary terrorism – inherently political, fear inducing, premeditated, aimed at influencing larger audiences through the media, targets non-combatants/civilians. Adding that if terrorists perceive their war as just, moral, and defensive; promoting and communicating views that contend otherwise will influence the behavior of would-be supporters.

He concluded his presentation by emphasizing that success in counter terrorism involves undermining the motivation that informs an organizations' willingness to employ violence and its community's enthusiasm to facilitate it. Adding that doing so therefore requires a better understanding of the religious, cultural, social factors and 'local conditions' that foster terrorism. He called for multi-faceted strategy using hard and soft power.

### 4.3 Assessment and Evaluation of Terrorism as a Threat to PSO:

#### A case of AMISOM

##### *COL Wisdom Kodjo Bleboo*



*'Terrorism is prepared deliberately to stop at nothing in creating human victims. An end must be put to this. As never before, it is vital to unite forces of the entire world against terror.'*

Vladimir Putin – President of Russia

Col Bleboo provided a brief background of Somalia's historical struggles. Bleboo stated that since emerging from an era of colonialism, Somalia had been grappling with problems of military dictatorship, famine, civil war and fragmentation. He recalled loss of military personnel following attempts by the international community to secure stability and order in the country in a UN backed intervention effort. Lately, the hijacking of ships by pirates operating from the Somalia's coastline attracted considerable attention globally.

The speaker holds that the biggest regional threat emanating from Somalia comes from the fragmentation and lack of internal order that gave birth to hard line extremist groups, of which the latest is Al Shabaab (The Youth). Al Shabaab gained notoriety between 2007 and 2013 after the Westgate Mall attack that claimed tens of lives in the Kenyan capital, Nairobi. Riding on this success, the group braced itself to, squarely, face the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and hoped to see to its demise sooner than later as happened to AMISOM's predecessor UN forces and US missions in Somalia. AMISOM understands the leadership structure of Al Shabaab, the fighting squad and their use of improvised devices/type of armaments and their sources of funding. They are currently engaged in several activities: indoctrination of youth in mosques, recruitment and training, fundraising, assassinations/suicide attacks on soft targets, hostage taking and trading among others. Col Bleboo pointed out that a few years have passed by and AMISOM is still in Somalia battling the Al Shabaab terrorists group with the support of Somali National Security Forces (SNSF) and international partners. He

further clarified that the mission of AMISOM is, by and large, neither a Chapter 6 nor 7 mission but a warfighting mission in support of the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS).

He highlighted a few of AMISOM'S mandate. These included taking all necessary measures, in accordance with FGS Defense Forces and Safety Institutions to reduce the threat posed by Al Shabaab and Organized Armed Groups (OAG); assist in consolidating and expanding the control of the FGS over its national territory; assist the FGS in establishing conditions for effective and legitimate governance across Somalia.; provide, within capabilities and as appropriate, technical and other support for enhancement of the capacity of Somali State Institutions, particularly the National Defense, Public Safety and Public Services Institutions; support FGS in establishing the required institutions and conducive conditions for the conduct of free, fair and transparent elections by 2016 in accordance with the Provisional Constitution; Liaise with humanitarian actors and facilitate, as may be required and within its capabilities, humanitarian assistance in Somalia, as well as the resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and return of refugees; facilitate coordinated support by relevant AU institutions and structures towards the stabilization and reconstruction of Somalia and lastly provide protection to AU and UN personnel, installations and equipment, including the right of self-defense.

Col Bleboo pointed out AMISOM'S achievements such as securing of FGS key institutions and installations in Mogadishu. They have managed to secure the key airports and seaports. Additionally, AMISOM has liberated and stabilized some of key towns from Al Shabaab control (Mogadishu, Caddale, Baidoa, Belet Weyn, Kismayo, Baraawe, Marka, Jowahar, Bardheere, Dinsoor etc.) as well as providing humanitarian interventions, degrading AS capability and reduced sources of supplies and funding for AS.

He referred to the Deputy of Chief Joint Operations in AMISOM's words on addressing the challenges of AMISOM where the latter stated that AS alliance with other international terror groups such as Al Qaeda, Boko Haram and linkage with Islamic States in the Levant (ISIL), making the situation at hand for AMISOM more complex. Another liability AMISOM faces is their weak environment for collecting intelligence as well as the limited Counter Improvised Electronic Devices (IED) capability.

He recommended various ways in which AMISOM could improve their mission in Somalia. He proposed it invests in the state building processes; strengthen AMISOM with force multipliers and enablers to sustain current military operations to deny AS space; support for FGS forces with funding and logistics; support for FGS for rapid stabilization and economic growth to deny AS grounds to recruit and radicalize the numerous unemployed and particularly the youth. He urged AMISOM to increase resources in terms of financial and technical support to gather and share intelligence among regional actors and partners. Finally he stressed on the need for new strategic approach towards the problem of AS removal of clan dynamics from the society.

The speaker further emphasized that AS remains a major security concern for the region. Its commitment to global jihadism, linking with Al Qaida, ISIL and other terrorist groups are likely to make it a formidable security

threat for Africa and the world if not contained. He also said that there is a desperate need to support SNSF with funding and logistics to enable them operate more effectively alongside AMISOM. Claiming that AS are likely to increase attacks on Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs) for their participation in the AU Mission in Somalia therefore a sustained regional and continental counter terrorism strategy against this menace is paramount. Terrorism seems to be immune to diplomacy but highly vulnerable to the might of the masses united against it in support of regional, continental and world organizations' collaborative interventions.



*Participants listening to presentation*

### 4.3 Assessment and Evaluation of Terrorism as a Threat to PSO: A case of United Nations Multi dimensional Integrated Mission in Mali (MINUSMA)

#### Colonel-major Adrahamane BABY



Colonel-major Adrahamane outlined the aims of his presentation as to assess and evaluate how terrorism poses a threat to PSO, particularly in the case of MINUSMA with a view to suggesting options for the way forward in Counter-Terrorism strategies in African PSO theatre. He outlined the missions various mandates such as the UNSCR 2100 of 2013: assist transitional authorities to carry out free and fair elections and help restore state authority. UNSCR 2164 of 2014 further grants authority to: assist the

Government of Mali in the peace process while UNSCR 2227 of 2015 provides responsibility to: assist the Government of Mali in the implementation of the Accord pour la Paix et la Reconciliation au Mali signed on 15 May and 20 June 2016. He added that these mandated UN Resolutions also task the French troops operating in Mali to assist MINUSMA in case of imminent threat during their presence in the country.

MINUSMA is regarded as the UN most deadly mission. MINUSMA also faces challenges of coordination among partners.

The presenter discussed the evolution of peacekeeping, noting that from 1948 to date the environment in which peacekeeping missions operate has evolved because of the changing nature of conflict and the complexity of actors and other factors. He added that this important change made the UN to constantly adapt the whole concept of peacekeeping moving from first generation missions to the current fourth generation that are complex multidimensional missions.

Colonel Adrahamane stated that the Malian operational environment is complex – a vast territory with various several active terrorist groups. The speaker mentioned that unlike AMISOM, MINUSMA is a peacekeeping mission, not a terrorist-fighting mission, deployed mainly in northern Mali. He spoke on the terrorist attack of 11 September 2001 against the United States as a major event in the evolution of recent terrorist threats which had affected the African continent before and continues to be a serious threat in its PSO theatre as well. He also spoke of the day when AMISOM was deployed in Somalia in 2007 and was confronted with the terrorist group Al Shabaab which it has been fighting since.

He discussed the rebellion in Mali, where a coup d'état took place on 22 March 2012 and led to the occupation of the northern part of Mali by terrorist groups: Al Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM), Ansar Al Eddine and Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO). He further indicated that On 20<sup>th</sup>, of December



2012 UNSC Resolution 2085 authorized the African-led international Support Mission in Mali AFISMA in order to contribute to the rebuilding of the capacity of the Malian Defence and Security Forces, in close coordination with other international partners involved in this process; support the Malian authorities in recovering the areas in the north of its territory under the control of terrorist, extremist and armed groups; transition to stabilization activities to support the Malian authorities in maintaining security and consolidate State authority through strengthening appropriate capacities.

Meanwhile on 11 January 2013 the French operation *SERVAL* was launched to stop the terrorist attack against the Malian forces defence lines. *SERVAL* disorganised the terrorist groups and gained control over the northern cities but did not destroy all the terrorist.

The deployment of MINUSMA after signing of the Peace Accord in a high terrorist environment posed a serious threat to the UN mission for many reasons; these include the very reason that terrorism does act in accordance of consent; terrorism can use extreme force and need appropriate response; terrorism uses the civilians but does not care about protecting them and lastly terrorism does not work towards peace but it creates terror to achieve its goals.

He stated that the mission suffers from challenges such as the inappropriate use of all its' counter IED assets and drones for convoys; Rules of Engagements (ROEs) that do not allow appropriate use of some assets; the inadequate training and equipment of some TCCs and Police Contributing Countries (PCCs) and finally the leadership to move things forward instead of bureaucracy and poor coordination between the mission components.

He further mentioned the challenges faced during the peace process. These included absence of the Malian Defence Security Forces in some of the remote northern locations; no clear delineation between armed groups that signed the Peace Accord and the terrorists keeping in mind that some of them have always been in connection and the principle of impartiality: It is difficult to carry out the peace process particularly the Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) aspect and not be seen by the former armed groups as partial.

In conclusion he stated that terrorism constitutes a threat to MINUSMA and it has made it the current UN's most deadly mission thereby reducing its ability to carry out its mandate which focuses on the implementation of the Accord pour la Paix et la Reconciliation au Mali among other tasks.

He advised that appropriate response is needed to deal with the terrorist activities that affect the mission. In this regard, options of providing MINUSMA with adequate ROEs, giving roles and responsibilities to the parties as stated in the Peace Accord or dedicating a more focused counter-terrorism force to support the mission among others could be envisaged as effective strategies in PSO. It is hoped that the new mandate in June 2016 will take care of these concerns.

Lastly, the opinion of the High Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO) report about UN troops and counter-terrorism operations which states in essence that UN should not engage in counter terrorism; and the need to have a clear division of labour and distinction of roles where a parallel force is engaged in offensive combat operations, which should be exceptional; narrows down the possible options within the current context of terrorism which goes beyond PSO and affects its effectiveness in state stabilization and peacebuilding.

He listed some of the challenges facing MINUSMA as; suicide bombers, too many incidents of IEDs, coordination problems, difficult to enforce the peace process and poorly equipped forces. He also mentioned that operation BARKHAN – Operate in other countries other than Mali, therefore it is not adequate.

For the way forward he proposed deployment of Mali forces alongside MINUSMA, better equipment of forces and establishment of AU CT Force independent of MINUSMA.

## 5. Plenary Discussions

### *Participants listening to Discussion*



### Questions

- 1) What role does the legal dispensation in Kenya play in tackling terrorism? Is it a positive or negative role?
- 2) What are the implications of divergence in definition of terrorism?
- 3) Human rights issue in relation to security - What are we willing to sacrifice? Which aspect of human rights can one country let go to acquire security?
- 4) As we address terrorism in Kenya, as a young environment, do we have capacity to address terrorism within our democratic space?
- 5) Salafism - are you referring to the whole or a faction?
- 6) Is establishing the Caliphate a goal of Al Shabaab?
- 7) Who is Al Shabaab – Who are you fighting in Al Shabaab, Which group?
- 8) Highlight more about the use of soft power and hard power

- 9) What is the role of politics in the terrorism feature in Mali and how does the crisis in Libya affect the conflict in Mali?
- 10) What is the role of Tuaregs and the effect of terrorism on neighbouring countries?
- 11) Does Kenya have capital to remain stable while democratically fighting terrorism?
- 12) What is the future of engagement in AMISOM and Somalia?
- 13) Some of the groups like Al Shabaab, and the rest want to form a caliphate. Are there other groups?
- 14) What is the future of engagement with terrorists in both Somalia and Mali?
- 15) The only power a terrorist understands is hard power? How do we merge this with soft power?
- 16) What is the state of national politics and how does it address the root causes of terrorism? We can't go global without looking at the real issues at stake in the specific countries.

### 5.1. Responses and comments

- 1) Civic education is necessary for CT/CVE and there is a need to involve more Islamic priests/Imams/Sheikhs
- 2) Smart Power is the most current and comprehensive reference of hard and soft power. We cannot use hard power alone, we must consider other incentives. Hard power involves among others decapitation strategy. There is need to empower the people with information and tools to help them get out of a cult system. Our intervention efforts are integrated - linked with soft power approaches in Kenya. It is also necessary to avoid generalisation. Way forward is a collaborative approach.
- 3) Cosmopolitan approach/statist/military/hard power approach is one way of CT but not adequate
- 4) It is necessary to understand root causes of terrorism, regional and international typologies/differences/dynamics
- 5) Salafist jihadists is our main focus because of their extremist ideology and terrorism
- 6) AMISOM is fighting terrorism rather than traditional peacekeeping
- 7) The Al Shabaab we refer to is the off shoot of Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) youth wing. The war in Somalia has changed from warlords fighting to terrorists. Sometimes anyone rejecting outside intervention in Somalia is perceived as Al-shabaab
- 8) AMISOM is fighting with limited resources.
- 9) Some Malians opted to return to Mali after the Libyan crisis, but they were not disarmed
- 10) Maintaining CT within legal framework - There may be low capacity in prosecuting terrorists cases and strengthening rule of law
- 11) El Adde attack was an act of terrorism judging by strategic ideology and political mission - because it was connected to Garissa University attack, as well as other attacks Kenya has experienced

- 12) Caliphate – Not necessarily the aim of Al Shabaab but it may be used as a tool of deriving advantages such as recruitment. We should see global caliphate in a heterogeneous role not a homogenous one
- 13) Use appropriate tools for CT specific to the country
- 14) AMISOM has reduced land controlled by Al Shabaab, reduced financial resources and their numbers has also reduced
- 15) Terrorists are heavily armed so there is need for more capacity for CT/CVE
- 16) Practical solutions to terrorism are more based on current situation/nature and dynamics rather than revisiting root causes
- 17) Solutions to T/VE are best when they are specific rather than general
- 18) Definitions of terrorism is too expansive and presents divergent views. The statement that attacking of non-combatants constitute terrorism is not very accurate from a Geneva Convention perspective
- 19) The future of AMISOM – not gloomy, almost getting there. If AMISOM didn't intervene the whole of Africa would probably be on fire.
- 20) Tuareg communities are spread all over the neighbouring countries. There are different sub groups of Tuaregs in the whole Sahel region with different political agendas. Some Tuareg moved to Libya in the early 1960s but after the Libyan crisis they moved back. There are connections between the Tuaregs and some of the terrorists
- 21) Terrorism is the major threat in Mali, need to adopt a holistic strategy. Unless they have a strong force, they won't reduce the threat
- 22) Use of terrorism is part of modern political system but not legitimate
- 23) Role of Kenya's legal dispensation on terrorism – there is need to appeal to the rule of law to ensure our democratic system is protected. This means we have to work a lot harder because we are following certain rules unlike others. We still have to make the rule of law stronger. Appropriate laws have been passed by the Kenyan people so those in security sector have no choice but to obey
- 24) Africa should be proud of AMISON contribution. AMISOM success in Kenya is a critical issue of national security. Root causes of terrorism are diverse and well understood now but research needs to move beyond this.
- 25) There is need to incorporate radicalisation for effective prevention of terrorism.



*Participants in a Question and Answer Session*

## 6. Director's Closing Remarks

The Director's remarks were as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen, I take the podium again to express my appreciation and that of the entire Centre for your attendance to this Amani Lecture, and for participating in the deliberations with enthusiasm.

This lecture is has not only been a learning experience but an enjoyable one. We have gained insight on so many things related to terrorism in PSO environments.

We, as a Peace Support Operations research and training Centre, are committed to organize the Lecture twice a year and we look forward to seeing as many of you as possible again in future. We thank you for your commitment to peace initiatives in Africa and wish you well in all your endeavours in this vital area of our development as a continent.

I thank and congratulate our speakers for leading us so ably in our discussions and hope to continue working with you in advancing the course of peace in Africa.

I wish you all a safe journey to your destinations and hope to see you again.

I now welcome you to interact outside as you have tea and snacks we have prepared for you.

THANK YOU.

## 7. ANNEXES

### 7.1. ANNEX 1 Amani Lecture Programme

#### Creating an Enabling Environment for Peace and Security in Eastern Africa: Addressing Terrorism in African Peace Support Operations (PSO) Theatre

15 April, 2016, IPSTC, Karen

TIME	ACTIVITY	ACTION
13:00 -14:00	Arrival	<b>Watson Karuma</b> <b>Naeema Yussuf</b>
14:00- 14:30	Welcome Address Key Note Speaker	<b>Brig Patrick Nderitu</b> Director IPSTC <b>Dr Martin Kimani</b> Director National Counter Terrorism Centre <i>Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Africa: Understanding Threats and Responses</i>
14:30-14:40	Group Photo	Photographer
14:40-14:45	Introduction of discussion topic and guest Speakers	<b>Prof. Timothy Gatara</b> Senior Researcher Moderator
14:45- 15:15	Conceptual analysis	<b>Mr. Richard Tuta</b> <i>Conceptualizing Terrorism and Counter- Terrorism Theory and Practice</i>
15.15 -15:35		<b>COL Wisdom Kodjo Bleboo</b> Deputy, Chief Joint Operation. African Union Mission in Somalia(AMISOM) <i>Assessment and Evaluation of terrorism as a threat to PSO, A case of AMISOM</i>
15:35 – 15:55		<b>Colonel-major Adrahamane BABY,</b> Defence and Security Coordinator in the National Committee for the implementation of the peace Accord, Former Operations Officer of the Malian Armed Forces <i>Assessment and Evaluation of Terrorism as a Threat to PSO, A case of MINUSMA</i>
15:55- 16:15	Plenary Discussion <i>Operationalizing Counter-Terrorism in PSO</i>	<b>Prof. Timothy Gatara</b> Senior Researcher Moderator
16:15 – 16:25	Closing address	<b>Brig Patrick Nderitu</b> Director IPSTC
16:25	High Tea	<b>Joan Kaittany</b>

## 7.2. ANNEX 2 List of Participants

S/ No.	Rank	Name of participant	Organization	Nationality	Contact Address (Email Address)
1.	Mr	Hillary kiboro	ICRC	Kenyan	hmuchiri@icrc.org
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5.	Lt. Col	J.O Oigara	KMA	Kenyan	oigaranyamoko@yahoo.com
6.	Dr	Connie Mumma-Martinon	UON	Kenyan	connie_martinon@yahoo.com
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8.	Col	Soren Knodsen	RPE	Denmark	SORKNU@UM.DK
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20.	Mr	Jim Haggery			
21.	Mrs	Florena Towett	AC	Kenyan	florencetowett@gmail.com



22.	Lt. Col	A.M. Mwacawau	DHQ TPCA	Kenyan	DHQ TRA
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