

Sahel Security Complex

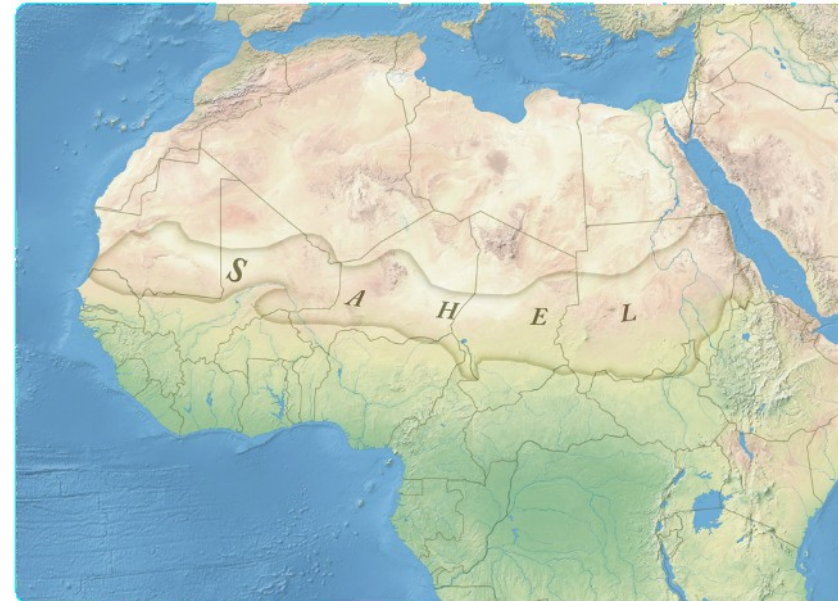
Regional Security Complexes
Josef Kraus Ph.D.



How To Define Regional Complex?



- The ecoclimatic and biogeographic zone
- Usually between the Sahara to the north and the Savanna
- Between Atlantic Ocean and the Red Sea
- Arabic word *sáhil*
– shore, coast



How To Define Regional Complex?

- **Senegal and Mauritania, Mali, northern Burkina Faso, Niger, northern Nigeria, Chad, Sudan and Eritrea**
- **Sometimes includes southern Algeria, southern Libya, Cameroon, Central African Republic, and northern Ethiopia**



How To Define Regional Complex?

- Geography – mainly flat, grassland and savanna
 - Dry, tropical or steppe climate, high temperature contrasts
 - Desertification and soil loss
 - Over-farming, over-grazing, over-population
 - Natural soil erosion
 - Massive dust storms
- > resources conflict potential, malnutrition, famine, lack of fresh water, diseases



How To Define Regional Complex?

- Traditionally inhabited by semi-nomads

- Borders are not so important here – no respect to ethnic deployment

-> high conflict potential, conflict spill-over...

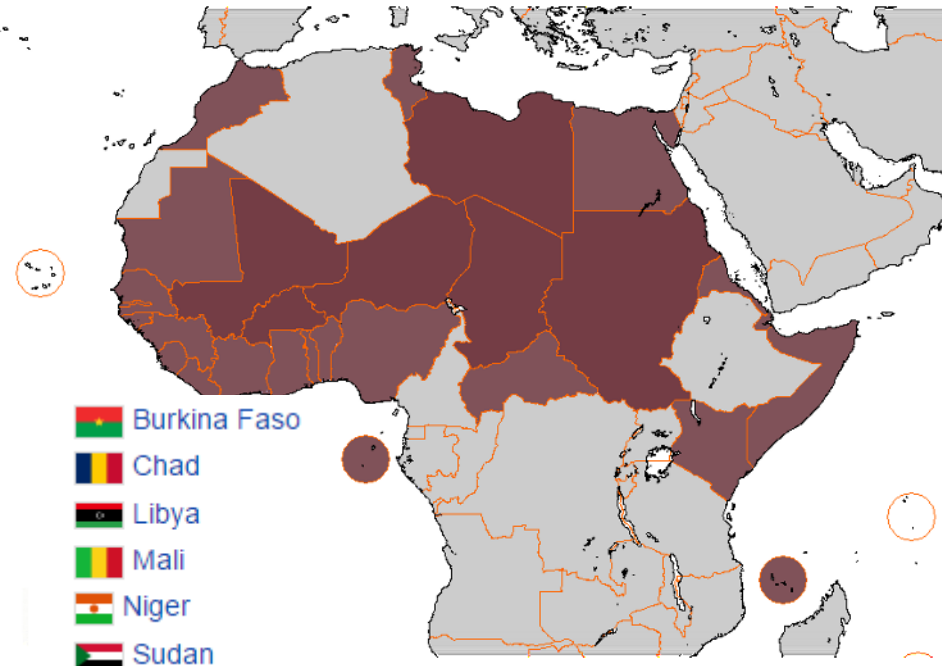
- West collonized by French, East (Egypt, Sudan) by British



How To Define Regional Complex?

■ Political / economical perspective

- Community of Sahel-Saharan States
- Established 1998
- Aims to create a free trade area
- Platform for Chad-Sudan talks about Darfur
- Common sport and cultural festival



Main historical events – security dynamics

■ Decolonization from GB and France

- Sahel after WWII
- 50s – Libya and Sudan
- 60s – others
- Mainly peaceful independence gain (except Cameroon)
- Soon internal power struggles



Levels of conflict in modern history

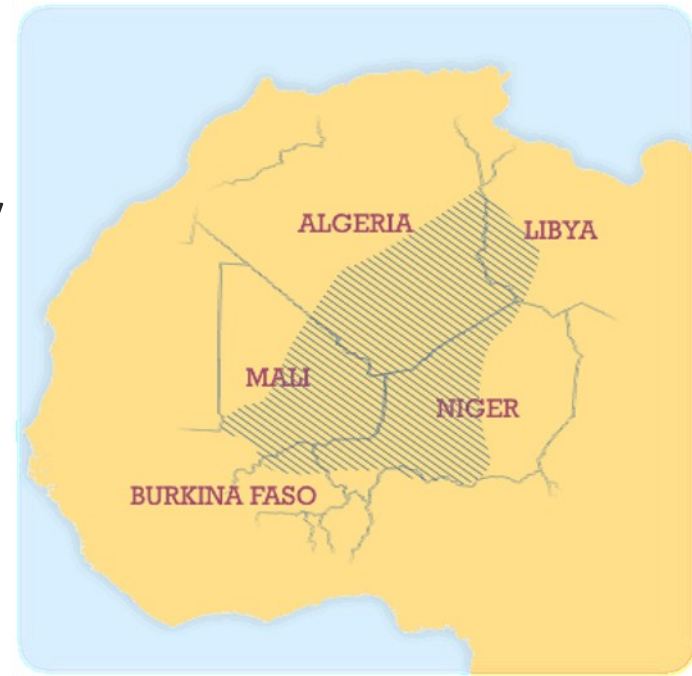
■ Internal conflict – civil wars

- (?) Mali, Niger – 4 x Tuareg Rebellions
- Civil war in Chad (1965–82, 98-02, 05-10)
- Nigeria and Republic of Biafra (1967 – 1970)
- Nigeria Boko Haram insurgency (2009 – present)
- First (1955-72) and Second (1983-05) Sudanese civil war + War in Darfur (2003 – present)
- South Sudanese Civil War (2013 – present)

Tuareg Rebellion

- First (1962–64) – insurgency after Mali independence
- Joined by tribes from north Niger and south Algeria
- The goal of independent Tuareg state to be formed

- About 1,500 anti-government fighters suppressed by Malian army
-> refugees to French Algeria



Tuareg people



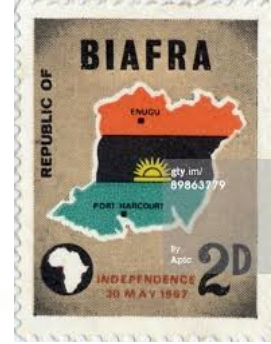
Tuareg Rebellion

- Second (1990–95)
- Autonomy goal by Tuaregs from Mali and Niger
- After insurgency a period of famine and refugee crisis
- 1990 Attack on Malian governmental building
- 1992 New self-governing region created
- 1994 Tuaregs trained in Libya -> suppressed
+ activating of Nigerian Tuaregs
- 1995 Moderates negotiated peace in Mali
+ followed by negotiation in Nigeria - successful

Tuareg Rebellion

- Third (2007–09)
- Tuareg guerilla attacks, army counterattacks in both states -> no-go zones for state officials at Tuareg country
- 2008 Mali crushed rebellion
- 2009 Nigerien peace due to Libyan backing
- Fourth (2012) - early stage of the Northern Mali conflict
- Fought by skilled Tuaregs from Libyan civil war
- Coup d'état + Islamist Ansar Dine terrorist activity
- EUTM for training Malian armed forces

Nigeria – Republic of Biafra



- Ethnical tensions, bad redistribution of national wealth
- 1967 – declaration of independent Republic of Biafra
- Ethnoreligious and resources war
- Involvement of external actors by backing
 - Biafra – France, Israel, Spain, Portugal, Rhodesia, SAR
 - Nigerian unity – Great Britain
- Genocide, famine, epidemic in Biafra
- 1970 the end of war, Nigerian unity won



Sudanese civil war

- British control of Egypt and Sudan territory
- 1955 – Declaration of independence and (first) civil war
 - North – Arabic, Islamic
 - South – Black, Christian and traditional religion
 - Effort of the North to dominate the South
- Mainly guerilla war
- 1972 – peace agreement with the South autonomy
- 1983 – the effort of application of Sharia towards the South
- -> Second Sudanese civil war



Sudanese civil war

- The creation of Sudan People's Liberation Army (John Garang)
- Fighting mainly at southern territory
- War, famine and disease -> 2 million deaths, 4 million displaced
- 1989 power seized by Umar Bashir - close cooperation to Hassan Turabi (National Islamic Front)
- Islamic radicalization of Sudan
- 2005 peace talks in Nairobi, referenda promise
- 2011 South Sudan independence
- 2019 Coup d'état, Bashir toppled

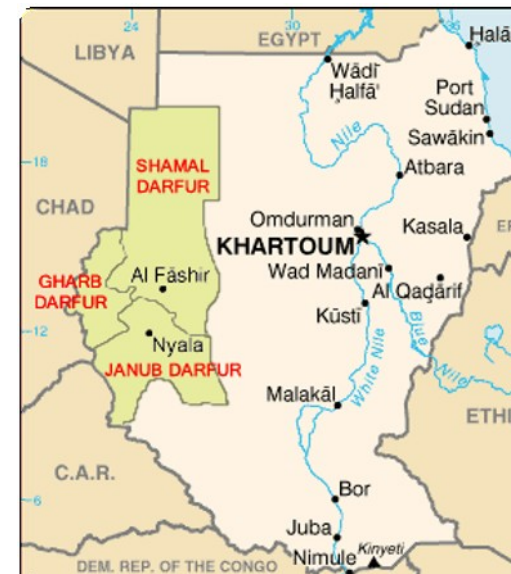


Levels of conflict in modern history

- State X State conflicts
 - Chadian-Libyan conflict (1978-87)
 - Eritrean–Ethiopian War (1998-00)
 - Chad-Sudan conflict (2005-10)
 - Sudan X South Sudan conflict (2011 – present)

Chad-Sudan conflict and Darfur

- Darfur - since 70s ethnic, economic and resource conflict in Sudan
- Civil war in Chad – ethnic, religious
- Sudanese pro-governmental militia Janjaweed - ethnic cleansing
-> refugees to neighboring Chad in 00s (spill-over)
- Sudanese government supported rebels in Chad
- Chad reacted same way
- 2005 Sudan-Chad proxy war
- 2008 The effort of overthrow of Chad's government -> suppressed with help of French
- 2010 peace agreement Chad - Sudan



Sudan-Sudan Conflict

- Right after South Sudan independence (2011) war with the North
- Boundary disputes (Abyei + Heglig), shooting incidences
- Transport fees disputes, common and shared oil production
- 2012 – regular war
- 2013 – civil war in SS (oil, ethnic violence...)
- Weakening of the South, dominance of the North



Current threats to Sahel security

- Wars
 - Internal
 - Interstate
- Religious extremism and terrorism
 - <https://youtu.be/ZNHTCTD29T8>
- Crime
- Malnutrition
 - <https://youtu.be/qQ9IKAodknA>
- Drug and human trafficking
 - <https://youtu.be/FEYSdF17Jo8>

Conclusion

- Problematic to label Sahel as a regional complex
 - ...but, similar climate
- Religious tensions – Islam X Christianity border line
- Weak states – civil wars,
state-non X state actor conflicts
- Weak border control + nations without own states
-> conflict spill-over
- The only common political project
- Community of Sahel-Saharan States

[Thank you for your attention!]

- Time for Q&A

if it works in
africa
it will work
anywhere