

Committee: Disarmament and International Security Committee, (GA1)

Topic: Combating the rise of terrorist activity in Sub-Saharan Africa

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Position: Co-Chair

Personal Introduction

My name is Marina-Anastasia Drosou, I am seventeen years old and I attend the twelfth grade at Platon School. It is a huge honor of mine to be a part of this year's Campion School Model United Nations conference, serving as a Co-Chair, for the Disarmament and International Security Committee. Looking back to my previous conferences, I can say with certainty that the MUN world is an extremely compelling one. Via MUN, one has the opportunity to cultivate skills of major importance, while socializing and having a great time as well.

The Militarization of the Arctic Region, and Combating the rise of terrorist activity in Sub-Saharan Africa, are the problems that you are called to debate upon, on this year's agenda of the Disarmament and International Security Committee. As an expert chair on the topic of "Combating the rise of terrorist activity in Sub-Saharan Africa", it is my responsibility to introduce you to the topic, guide you through your research and strengthen your knowledge with this study guide. With that being said, the situation in the Sub-Saharan African region is a complicated one, with contradicting aspects, thus you should conduct an extensive research and not just rely on this study guide. Should you have any inquiries regarding this issue, do not hesitate to contact me at my email address, at marinadrosou13@gmail.com.

Kind Regards,

Marina-Anastasia Drosou



Topic Introduction

Before addressing the rise of terrorist activity in the Sub-Saharan region of Africa, it is important to clarify which countries it consists of, and what is hidden behind the general term of “Sub-Saharan Africa”.

Nine thousand years ago, the Sahara desert was a prosperous grassland, and for a millennium before the 16th century, trade flourished across the dunes, until Moroccan invasions and Atlantic Shipping drove it into decline. Yet today Sahara is more often seen as a barrier, cutting Africa in two. At the same time, the Sub-Saharan region is plagued by poverty, unstable regimes, and ever-evolving, powerful extremist groups and insurgencies.

It is of vital importance to note that it is not just a question of physical geography; Sub-Saharan Africa doesn't consist of countries located specifically south of the Sahara desert. Countries like Mauritania, Somalia and Eritrea prove that the categorization doesn't only rely on their geographical position. This is mainly due to external factors and the privilege that this categorization possesses. For example, the World Bank used to include both Somalia and Djibouti in sub-Saharan Africa, before moving Djibouti to the Middle East and Somalia North Africa in 2000. Meanwhile Eritrea, to the north of both of them, is considered sub-Saharan. And whereas the World Bank includes the Arabic-speaking states of Mauritania and Sudan in sub-Saharan Africa, the IMF (International Monetary Fund) does not.

This is the reason why research on all of the countries is significant. Since they are impossible to explicitly note without getting off topic, references are going to be made on the most deeply afflicted ones.

Some of these include Mali, in which terrorist attacks took place as recently as the 14th of June 2020. Nigeria is another example, which suffers not only from extremist groups, but from insurgents, who go as far as to kidnap, torture, abuse and ultimately kill unarmed



and innocent civilians. Moreover, due to the existence of British interests in Somalia, it is not rare that British diplomats and peacekeepers get kidnapped, because of their role in combating the numerous attacks carried out by various groups (i.e. Al-Shabaab). Note, that these are only a small percentage of the many terrorist attacks carried out daily in the Sub-Saharan region of Africa. It is also important to have the existence of insurgents in mind, since they affect all countries involved, and possible solutions might be hindered by their existence.

Another point worth mentioning is the ever-changing nature of this issue, since it is heavily impacted by the outburst of COVID-19. This will be analyzed further in this study guide, since the majority of troops stationed in affected countries are being withdrawn, and extremist groups are taking advantage of the governments' inability to provide for their citizens, by offering healthcare, food supplies and medicine to desperate civilians.

Concluding, it is of significance to highlight that despite the fact that Sub-Saharan Africa is not as integrated into internationally radical Islamic extremist terrorist activity as the North, it is not immune. In fact, terrorists capitalize from developing infrastructures in developing countries, with unstable regimes and legislation. This is the main reason why both higher-rank extremist groups and resurfacing insurgencies are flourishing in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Definition of key terms

Sub-Saharan Africa

The region of Africa to the south of the Sahara desert.



Terrorism

The U.S. Code of Federal Regulations defines terrorism as: "the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social¹ objectives".

- State-Sponsored terrorism, which consists of terrorist acts on a state or government by a state or government
- Dissent terrorism, which are terrorist groups which have rebelled against their government
- Religious terrorism, which consists of terrorist groups that are extremely religiously motivated
- Criminal Terrorism, which are terrorists acts used to aid in crime and criminal profit.

Boko-Haram

Boko Haram, also known as Islamic State in West Africa (ISWA) or Islamic State's West African Province (ISWAP), is an Islamic sectarian movement, founded in 2002 by Muhammed Yusuf in northeastern Nigeria. Since 2009 it has carried out assassinations and large-scale acts of violence in that country. The group claimed that its purpose was to uproot

¹ "Terrorism 2002/2005." FBI, FBI, 21 May 2010, www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/terrorism-2002-2005.



the corruption and injustice in Nigeria. It blamed them on Western influences. Another goal was to impose Sharī‘ah, or Islamic law. It is classified as a terrorist group.

Al-Qaeda

Al-Qaeda, Arabic al-Qā‘idah (“the Base”), is a broad-based militant Islamist organization founded by Osama bin Laden in the late 1980s. On its rise to become one of the deadliest extremist groups, Al-Qaeda merged with a number of other militant Islamist organizations. Some of which were Egypt's Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Group. On several occasions its leaders declared holy war against the United States.

Al-Shabaab

Al-Shabaab, (Somali: “the Youth”, also spelled al-Shabab), is a Somali-based Islamist militant group with links to al-Qaeda. Originating from 2006, the group waged an insurgency against Somalia’s Transitional Federal Government (TFG).

Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA)

Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA), was a militant group led by Joseph Kony that waged a war of attrition against the government and people of Uganda and nearby countries in the late 1980s. Different than most anti state terrorist groups, the LRA had been largely devoid of any national vision. There weren’t any unifying social objectives either, other than speaking in general terms of deposing Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, who seized power in 1986, and establishing a new government that would be aligned with the Ten Commandments. With large scale crimes committed, it could still pose a threat, since



insurgencies inspired by extremists groups such as the LRA; pose a significant threat when combating the rise of terrorism.

United States Africa Command (AFRICOM)

U.S. Africa Command's main purpose is to counter transnational threats and malign actors, strengthen security forces and respond to crises in order to advance U.S. national interests and promote regional security, stability and prosperity. Their work is guided by the U.S. National Security Strategy, the National Military Strategy, and others such as the Presidential Policy Directive for Sub-Saharan Africa and the U.S. Defense Strategic Guidance. As part of a comprehensive approach to complex security challenges in Africa, AFRICOM works closely with African, U.S. interagency, and international partners to develop capabilities necessary to ensure Africans are best able to address regional security challenges.²

African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM)

As per the UN Security Council Resolution 2372(2017) AMISOM is mandated to pursue (among others) the following strategic objectives:

1. Enable the gradual handing over of security responsibilities from AMISOM to the Somali security forces contingent on abilities of the Somali security forces and political and security progress in Somalia;
2. Reduce the threat posed by Al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups;
3. Assist the Somali security forces to provide security for the political process at all levels as well as stabilization, reconciliation and peace building in Somalia.

² "What We Do." United States Africa Command, www.africom.mil/what-we-do.



Background Information

The extensive citation of all Sub-Saharan countries' background information would be impossible, because they are so many in number, and terrorist attacks are being carried out daily. Combined with many uprising insurgent groups in rural areas, categorizing each attack and combating future ones should be classified chaotic. However it should be underlined that in developing African countries, terrorism and overthrowing of governments' political influence have always been present. With the most recent international attacks (i.e. 9/11, attacks carried out by Islamic extremist militia groups in Paris and the UK), more international efforts are being made, since now more than ever before the urgency of this matter has been made apparent. Since the 1990s, the deadliness of armed conflict and other violence seems to have decreased in sub-Saharan Africa and throughout the world. There are signs, however, that this might be changing. Religious violence has become a widespread phenomenon in sub-Saharan Africa, while terrorist attacks have killed many civilians in Burkina Faso, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, and Somalia. In Mali, Nigeria, and Somalia jihadist organizations have staged rebellions and managed to at least temporarily control large parts of the territory of these states.

Somalia is considered to be one of the ten countries that suffer the most due to terrorism, according to Forbes Magazine.⁴ Despite the large fall in the number of 4 terrorist-

³ "AMISOM Mandate." AMISOM, amisom-au.org/amisom-mandate/.

⁴ Dudley, Dominic. "Terrorist Targets: The Ten Countries Which Suffer Most From Terrorism." Forbes, Forbes Magazine, 19 Nov. 2019, www.forbes.com/sites/dominicdudley/2019/11/20/ten-countries-terrorism/.



related deaths in Somalia, as many as 646 people were killed and 638 injured in the 286 incidents over the course of 2019. The vast majority of those deaths (91%) were caused by Al-Shabaab, which is the main target of the US forces. Although terrorism-related deaths were in fact the lowest in Somalia, since 2013, an incident that marked the population and drew attention to the rise of power of such extremist groups was a double suicide mission, targeting the Sahafi hotel in Mogadishu. As a result 106 were left injured, and 65 people were killed. Nigeria, accounted for 13% of all terrorist-related deaths globally in 2018, with a steep rise of 33% in the number of fatalities compared to the year before. To comprehend the magnitude of this rise, it accounts for 2,040 deaths and 772 injuries from the 562 terrorist incidents conducted. Despite the rise, it is important to note that the total number of deaths was still below the peak in 2014. One of the deadliest groups, Boko Haram, continues to be put under pressure by international efforts. However, the danger from other groups is indeed rising. As a final reference to one of the many countries in the Sub-Saharan region that suffer from extremist groups, the situation in Burkina Faso is one that should be addressed. On the 18th of September 2018, armed masked men purporting to be members of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb posted an online video announcing their presence in Burkina Faso. Following their statement, many attacks were carried out in every sector and aspect of life, particularly near the borders with Mali and Niger. Security mitigation is limited outside of the capital, thus there have been regular attacks on police, military personnel and civilians. The urgency of the matter is made apparent, since the unstable regime in a relatively small country like Burkina Faso is unable to contain indiscriminate attacks, affecting security forces as well as religious sites, restaurants and schools.

Major countries and organizations involved

United States of America

The United States of America, are involved in general in African affairs, but have also maintained their presence in the Sub-Saharan region and contributed to counter terrorism



efforts. In recent years, sub-Saharan Africa has generally received a fourth of total U.S. bilateral aid administered by the State Department and USAID. Countries that received the most (in descending order) were Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Somalia, and DRC. Many countries receive additional globally or functionally allocated funding (such as humanitarian or counterterrorism aid), and/or other executive branch agency aid, which is not included in the bilateral aid. The United States also allocates substantial aid to Africa as a whole through multilateral bodies, such as the World Bank.

United State's security assistance in Africa comprises a range of activities, including programs to train and provide equipment to foreign security forces, professionalization and education initiatives, and law enforcement assistance. A large portion of such assistance seeks to help counter terrorism; the largest cumulative share in the past decade (over \$2 billion) has supported African forces fighting Al Shabaab and pursuing stabilization in Somalia. An October 2017 attack that killed four U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF) soldiers in Niger, followed by a June 2018 attack on SOF personnel in Somalia that killed one U.S. soldier and injured four others, have drawn attention to the expanding U.S. military presence in Africa. In November 2018, DOD announced plans to reduce and "realign" the U.S. military presence in Africa in the coming years. This announcement was forcibly sped up, due to the coronavirus outburst, which led to the withdrawal of troops and personnel, so as to avoid contamination.

France

Made apparent in the wake of decolonization to help maintain close ties with newly independent “young nations,” development cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa has been a pillar of French international policy for 50 years. Nonetheless, development cooperation has always been controversial, due to previous events. Despite this, France condemns terrorist attacks carried out in the region, proving its point by killing one of Al-Qaeda’s longest serving commanders, in Mali, Africa. The killing of Mr. Droukdal, a self-proclaimed leader



of Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb since January 2007, and leader of the terror network for more than a decade, has been confirmed by the U.S. Africa Command as a setback for Al-Qaeda's operations in Northwestern Africa.

Germany

Germany is very much interested in seeing Africa resolve its problems independently, using its own capacities. The region is, moreover, an important partner in tackling global challenges. Without the collaboration of strong African states it will not be possible to secure peace and reduce global poverty, tackle the challenges posed by climate change or resolve energy and raw materials problems.

AFRICOM

The United States Africa Command is an American initiative, which aims to counter transnational threats and malign actors, strengthen security forces and respond to crises in order to advance U.S. national interests and promote regional security, stability and prosperity. They work closely with many U.S. bodies, and African forces, to exchange intelligence and cooperate and work towards their mutual goal.

African Union

The United Nations have made warnings that terror attacks are becoming more frequent and spreading southwards. It is known that there have been 28 attacks in Cabo Delgado since the beginning of 2020. At least 100.000 people have been dispatched and up to 400 killed since the beginning of local insurgencies⁵. The African Union's Multinational Joint Task Force against Boko Haram, created after much discussion at an AU summit in 2014, has also been unable to reduce terrorism in the Lake Chad Basin. Moreover, the

⁵ ISSAfrica.org. "Can the African Union Help Mozambique Combat Terrorism?" *ISS Africa*, 13 Feb. 2020, issafrica.org/iss-today/can-the-african-union-help-mozambique-combat-terrorism.



African Union Mission in Somalia hasn't managed to sustain its initial gains in driving out al-Shabaab. None of these responses would have been possible without the financial support and capacity from the UN, the European Union and others, something which needs to be addressed since their constant support on the matter is of importance.



Timeline of events

December 2007	Al Qaeda appeared in the Islamic Maghreb, and took credit for bombing the UN headquarters in Algiers, an act that claimed the lives of 17 UN personnel.
November 2015	Terrorists attacked the Radisson Hotel in Bamako, killing a number of hostages including foreign nationals.
2015	In his speech, General Donald Bolduc, head of Special Operations Command Africa (SOCAFRICA), emphasized threats posed by the Islamic State, al-Shabab, the Lord's Resistance Army, Boko Haram, and al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), as well as the danger posed by “43 other illicit groups”.
2016	In an internal military report, Bolduc additionally asserted: “Africa’s challenges could create a threat that surpasses the threat that the United States currently faces from conflict in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria.”
March 2016	Gunmen attacked the headquarters of the European Union Training Mission in the centre of Bamako.
March 2017	AQ-M Sahel, Ansar al-Dine and al-Murabitun merged into the new group ‘Jamaat Nusrat al-Islam wal Muslimeen’, demonstrating their



	continued intent to conduct attacks and kidnaps across the region. There is a good chance that AQ-affiliate JNIM will continue to target foreign nationals.
March 2018	An attack took place on the French Embassy and the Army Headquarters. 16 people were killed, including 8 attackers, and 80 people injured.
18 September 2018	Armed, masked men purporting to be members of AQ-M posted an online video announcing their presence in Burkina Faso.
June 2019	Burkina Faso passed a law criminalizing the dissemination of information about terrorist attacks and security forces that could undermine public order or the conduct of security operations.
24 December 2019	42 people were killed following a terrorist attack at a military outpost, including 35 civilians of whom 31 were women. The attack took place in Arabinda in northern Soum province, close to the border with Mali.

Previous attempts to solve the issue

United Nations and United States

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In the early 90s, the United Nations and the United States established consequential peacekeeping missions to address the conflict, which however were never organized. This shows that early on, religiously driven extremist groups did not pose an immediate nor urgent threat. Bilateral and multilateral support for counter-terrorism efforts in Sub-Saharan Africa by the wider international community has received an increase, most notably by the USA, for which there will be in depth analysis of the expansion of devices and operating and security bases.

United States

An array of smaller, temporary installations have been made by the US, including basic cooperative security locations in Gabon, Ghana, and Senegal; drone installations in Cameroon, Chad, Kenya, and Somalia; and a new \$100 million facility in Agadez, Niger. Many of these installations have only been established in the past several years. In part, they reflect the United States' evolving counterterrorism strategy, which has moved away from large-scale conventional warfare (such as in Iraq and Afghanistan) to a "light-footprint model" that emphasizes special operations and drone strikes, used as their way to deal with terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa. The above-mentioned depict great potential, as technological advancements can only be of help when combating such a challenging issue.

France

On June 5, it was announced that French forces managed to eliminate Abdelmalek Droukdel and many in his trusted circle. Droukdel was the "emir" or leader of al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). The attack took place on June 3. France also announced the capture of Mohamed Mrabat, the group commander in Mali of the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara. France has said that the operations were carried out with intelligence and surveillance and were in fact premeditated. This is likely to reduce the terror that this group used to inflict and its ability to conduct attacks for the immediate future, due to the lack of coordination



Relevant UN Resolutions, Events, Treaties and Legislation

Convention on the prevention of Terrorism, by the council of Europe,

Its goal is to increase the effectiveness of existing international texts on the fight against terrorism. It aims to strengthen member States' efforts to prevent terrorism in two different ways:

1. Establishing as criminal offences certain acts that may lead to the commission of terrorist offences, namely: public provocation, recruitment and training;
2. Reinforcing co-operation on prevention both internally (national prevention policies) and internationally (modification of existing extradition and mutual assistance arrangements and additional means).

The Convention contains a provision on the protection and compensation of victims of terrorism. A consultation process is planned to ensure effective implementation and follow up.



The Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft

It was adopted in Tokyo in 1963, and is considered to be the first international treaty against terrorism. The Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, commonly named the Tokyo Convention, is an international treaty, concluded specifically at Tokyo on 14 September 1963. It entered into force on 4 December 1969, and as of 2015 has been ratified by 186 parties. The Convention is applicable to offences that go against penal law and to any acts jeopardizing the safety of persons or property on board civilian aircraft while in-flight and engaged in international air navigation. Coverage includes the commission of or the intention to commit offences and certain other acts on board aircraft registered in a Contracting State in-flight over the high seas and any other areas beyond the territory of any State in addition to the airspace belonging to any Contracting State.

The Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation

This Convention was adopted by the International Conference on Air Law at Montreal on 23 September 1971. It came into force on 26 January 1973 after it had been ratified by 10 states. As of 2013, the Convention has 188 state parties. It is important to note that it does not apply to customs, law enforcement or military aircraft, thus it applies exclusively to civilian aircrafts, and concerns civil aviation.

International Convention for the Suppression of Financing of Terrorism

Another notable convention is the International Convention for the Suppression of Financing of Terrorism signed in 1999. This United Nations treaty is designed to criminalize acts of financing acts of terrorism. The convention also seeks to promote police and judicial co-operation to prevent, investigate and punish the financing of such acts. As of October



2018, the treaty has been ratified by 188 states; in terms of universality, it is one of the most successful anti-terrorism treaties in history.

International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism

Concluding, the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, adopted by the UN General Assembly on 13 April 2005, is designed to criminalize acts of nuclear terrorism and to promote police and judicial cooperation. Moreover, to prevent, investigate and punish those acts. As of September 2018, the convention has 115 signatories and 114 state parties, including the nuclear powers China, France, India, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The Convention covers a broad range of acts and possible targets, it also covers threats and attempts to commit such crimes or to participate in them, as an accomplice; stipulates that offenders shall be either extradited or prosecuted; encourages States to cooperate in preventing terrorist attacks by sharing information and assisting each other in connection with criminal investigations and extradition proceedings; and, deals with both crisis situations, assisting States to solve the situations and post-crisis situations by rendering nuclear material safe through the International Atomic Energy Agency. Though nuclear threats in the Sub-Saharan region of Africa haven't yet concerned the world, with the ever evolving ways of extremist groups, it is best to take proactive measures and ensure that such tragedies are prevented.

Possible solutions

It is of vital importance to not neglect the prominent issues that Sub-Saharan Countries face. A combination of environmental struggles (i.e. droughts), underperforming economies and extreme poverty, are the main obstacles that delay counterterrorism efforts. Arguably the concept of effective governance is too extreme to be of practical use, given the fact that many African countries have never had a detailed definition of what effective



governance constitutes of. However performance must be compared to objective criteria and these are nonexistent. Thus in a first step it would be deemed necessary to initiate the drawing up of such criteria. For example, governance should not be influenced by said extremist groups; and it should oversee that the legislative, executive and judicial branches are running accordingly while maintaining objective stances. Of course all of the above mentioned facts aim to create an environment in which necessary cooperation between various agencies and ministries at national and international level becomes possible. As this is aimed at the public sector, it is definitely not an easy solution.

Parallel to this it should be possible to organize meetings and workshops at a national level at-first, involving the armed forces and security organizations with the aim of practicing cooperation. Such meetings would undoubtedly result in small but significant progress, thus further encouraging future cooperation in the public sector. This is of vital importance, since a well working public sector, allows for prosperity and the codependency between the state and the civilians.

Foreign experts could play a role as well, by mediating and providing expert advice. It must be realized that such a radical departure from the manner in which counter terrorist activities are being conducted thus far will be a complicated and long drawn out process. It therefore needs to be mentored by a neutral agency such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development rather than the African Union, in the form of the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism.

In addition to that it also needs to be backed by legitimate national interests with sufficient power to counteract turf wars and insurgencies. The role model at a national level is the UK's COBRA (Cabinet Office Briefing Room) which is highly effective and able to take the necessary decisions to mitigate terrorist threats. Essentially, it is a specialized government committee, designed to undertake and tackle emergency situations. It is backed by a well functioning domestic and international Intelligence Service, a respected Diplomatic Service, experienced Police and well trained Special Forces on standby at all times. Emulating this



will require resources, time and a great deal of effort, but it is for certain that the combination of good national governance and the ability to bring the power of the state to confront the terrorist threat is the only solution left for Sub-Saharan countries to defend its fundamental values and history, and counteract the imposing threat of terrorism.

Additionally, it is of major importance to note the building of local resilience against terrorism as a possible solution as well. Arguably, military, diplomatic and political action is deemed more than necessary when combating terrorism. However, strong, resilient individuals and communities are undoubtedly a great defense against extremism and terrorist ideologies, which if not dealt with appropriately, will enhance possible new insurgencies in rural areas. Formulating such societies can be achieved through measures like raising public awareness, adjusting educational systems and initiating UN action form bodies like UNHCR and UNICEF.

Consequently, the relief of victims of terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa needs to be addressed. A possible solution could be the enhancement and strengthening of both national and international legal instruments in order to provide victims a legal status and protection of their rights. Moreover, financial and moral support for victims could be achieved, through raising funds from global campaigns and improving media coverage of the victims and their stories. For more possible victim relief solutions, research in UNODC examination of Good Practices in Supporting Victims of Terrorism within the Criminal Justice Framework would be recommended.

While the relief of victims is important, the persecution of people linked to terrorist groups needs to be addressed. While extradition may find many opposing parties, establishing a way to tackle transnational terrorism is a priority. This could be achieved through state enforced measures (i.e. border checks), and conversations regarding the exchange of intelligence concerning wanted terrorist group members.



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