

**SECURITY AND STABILITY  
IN NORTHERN AFRICA**

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## Foreword

In May 2015, the government asked the Advisory Council on International Affairs (AIV) to produce an advisory report analysing what Dutch interests are at stake in Africa, what opportunities and threats have arisen in the new security context and what responses make the most sense.<sup>1</sup> In the autumn of 2015, in response to current developments, the original questions to be addressed in the advisory report were given a more specific geographical and thematic definition and focus, in consultation with the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence. This resulted in a geographical focus on North Africa, the Sahel countries, West Africa and the Horn of Africa. Special attention is also devoted to the security perspective, with a focus on terrorism/religious extremism, cross-border crime and the problem of migration flows. Consequently, a number of other important issues relating to developments in Africa as a whole have received relatively less attention within the scope of this report.

The principal question addressed in this advisory report is:

- What Dutch policy tools, deployed independently or as part of a multilateral effort, are best suited to solving immediate security problems (fast security) and to supporting a more structural approach to the underlying causes of insecurity (slow security) in these regions? In this connection, the government asked the AIV to devote attention to security-related issues (such as terrorism/religious extremism and cross-border crime) and problems relating to migration (including people smuggling), as well as the extent to which these problems are likely to affect Europe and the Netherlands both now and in the near future.

The government also asked the following subsidiary questions:

- What is the role of international missions/operations (by the European Union, United Nations and others) in these regions in addressing these issues, and how can cooperation between these organisations be optimised?
- What role can regional organisations (like the Economic Community of West African States and the African Union) and countries in the regions themselves play, and how can the Netherlands best help strengthen the role of these local security actors?
- What niches could the Netherlands fill in this respect?
- What deployment options should the armed forces be prepared for?

The first chapter provides a sketch of political and socioeconomic developments in Northern Africa. Chapter II examines security problems, chapter III looks at international and regional instruments, and chapter IV at the consequences for the Netherlands and the deployment options for the armed forces. Chapter V presents the conclusions and recommendations.

This report was prepared by a joint committee consisting of the following persons: Professor J.J.C. Voorhoeve (AIV/Peace and Security Committee, chair), Professor M.E.H. van Reisen (AIV/Development Cooperation Committee, vice-chair), F.A.J. Baneke (Development Cooperation Committee), L.F.F. Casteleijn (Peace and Security Committee), Professor I. Duyvesteyn (Peace and Security Committee), Ms M. Schouten

1 See annexe I.

MSc (Development Cooperation Committee), Dr M. Sie Dhian Ho (European Integration Committee), Ms E.N. van der Steenhoven (Development Cooperation Committee) and Lieutenant General (ret) M.L.M. Urlings (AIV/Peace and Security Committee). The executive secretary was Ms M.E. Kwast-van Duursen, assisted by trainees M. Lommers and Ms A. Herderschee. The civil service liaison officers were Ms S. van der Meer (Ministry of Defence), S. van der Sluis (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and R.J. Scheer (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

In preparing this report, the committee spoke to various external experts. It also visited the European Union and the Netherlands' Permanent Representation to the EU. Annex IV presents a list of persons consulted. The AIV greatly appreciates the information and insights they provided.

The report was adopted on 13 May 2016.

# I Sketch of Northern Africa

The relationship between Northern Africa and Europe is complex. Africa is far away yet close by, strange yet familiar. The close ties born of the colonial past survive to the present day but since the independence of African countries in the middle of the last century that shared history has inevitably led to persistent antagonism towards countries in Europe. Trade and migration across the Mediterranean Sea are extensive and taken for granted, but there are significant political and cultural differences. Partly as a consequence of shifting power relations in the Middle East, more and more Arab countries – including the Gulf States, Saudi Arabia and Qatar – are showing an interest in Northern Africa and are trying to extend their influence in the region.

Africa's image has changed repeatedly in recent decades. During the Cold War, it was a pawn in the conflict between East and West. After that, it was seen as a 'lost continent', partly because of the bloody conflicts that erupted in many countries. This seemed to come to an end in the late 1990s and there was growing optimism about Africa's prospects for a successful and prosperous future. As part of its European Neighbourhood Policy, the European Union considered North Africa part of its 'ring of friends'. During the Arab Spring in 2011, there were high hopes for a possible democratic transition in the region.

These expectations have largely not materialised. Democracy has started to emerge only in Tunisia. An authoritarian regime is once again in power in Egypt, Libya is disintegrating and the authoritarian governments in Morocco and Algeria have de facto preserved their positions of power. In the region as a whole, what was once a more or less stable situation – a buffer zone for Europe – has now become a source of instability. The consequences are being felt in neighbouring regions, such as the Sahel, West Africa and the Horn of Africa, where there are many fragile states. In this report, the AIV refers to these regions, including North Africa, as 'Northern Africa'.

This advisory report explores how the security problems in Northern Africa affect stability on the European continent and European and Dutch interests in these regions. It also examines to what extent the instruments developed so far by the EU, other international organisations and the Netherlands are adequate to the task of addressing issues of fast and slow security. This report focuses specifically on the role of the armed forces. Given the scope of this report, the AIV has only briefly touched on development cooperation with countries in the region, but observes that investments in employment and support for refugees in the region are indispensable if more serious problems are to be avoided.

## *Future prospects*

Prospects for Northern Africa are sombre and the security and stability of Europe, and therefore of the Netherlands, are under direct threat from the security risks in this part of Africa, including religious extremism, drugs and people smuggling, weapons proliferation and large-scale migration flows. This has a destabilising effect and increases the chances of terrorist attacks not only in Africa, but also in Europe. The AIV assumes that these security risks will persist in the short and medium term and that the long-term outlook is also unfavourable. Climate change and high population growth in Africa – prognoses suggest an increase of 1.2 billion people to a total of 4.4 billion by 2100 – are structural factors that exacerbate the situation and overburden already failing administrative capacity. Climate change is leading to desertification and water scarcity, with results including falling food production, increasing refugee flows and rising tensions.

### *Fragile states*

Many countries in Northern Africa suffer from weak governance and high levels of instability. The absence of strong governmental authority makes them vulnerable to a wide range of security problems,<sup>2</sup> including fragile state institutions, extremist movements, rapid urbanisation, a rapidly growing youth population, a shifting religious landscape and the spread of Salafism.<sup>3</sup> However, not all countries in Northern Africa have weak governments. Morocco and Tunisia, for example, are exceptions.

It is not always easy to differentiate between state and non-state actors in conflicts in the region. 'Most African governments are of a mixed regime type (so-called anocracies), displaying both democratic and autocratic characteristics.'<sup>4</sup> Such regimes are less stable than autocracies or multi-party democracies. The absence of effective central organs of authority creates space for other forms of governance and alternative power structures, such as traditional authorities, local community structures, religious movements and criminal networks.

There are considerable differences between the various regions in Northern Africa. The northernmost countries have close ties with European countries and have greater economic potential than the more southerly countries. It is not possible within the scope of this report to provide an exhaustive analysis of the individual countries in North Africa, the Sahel region, the Horn of Africa and West Africa. Consequently, a brief description is given of each region, with the exception of Libya and Mali, which are examined in greater detail because of the specific developments in these countries.

Libya has no central authority and the country effectively has two competing governments, in Tripoli and Tobruk. There is a 'unity government' in Tripoli, but the best that can be hoped for is that it will eventually acquire the necessary governmental authority.<sup>5</sup> The country is still very divided but the international community hopes that it can work with the unity government to achieve security and stability, particularly by supporting the security sector. Oil production and the Libyan economy as a whole are suffering heavily from the internal conflict.<sup>6</sup> While exports totalled \$61 billion in 2012, they had fallen to only \$11 billion in 2015. As a consequence of the chaotic situation

2 As the AIV observed in an earlier advisory report, 'Failing states help generate and fuel a variety of serious problems: terrorism, international crime and drug mafias, uncontrolled arms trafficking and the spread of the technology to produce weapons of mass destruction, and chaotic flows of refugees (sometimes in combination with ethnic conflict). These problems in turn can all help to precipitate state failure'. AIV advisory report no. 35, 'Failing States: A Global Responsibility'. The Hague, May 2004, p. 95.

3 The 2015 annual report of the General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD) defines Salafism as 'a collective term for a spectrum of fundamentalist currents within Sunni Islam, all pursuing what they regard as the "pure" version of the faith'. AIVD Annual Report 2015, p. 29.

4 Jakkie Cilliers, 'Future (Im)perfect? Mapping Conflict, Violence and Extremism in Africa', ISS Paper 287, October 2015, p. 12.

5 Floor El Kamouni-Janssen & Iba Abdo, 'Addressing Libya's Multiple Crises: When Violent Politics, Extremism and Crime Meet', CRU Policy Brief, July 2015, pp. 3-4.

6 Daveed Gartenstein-Ross et al. 'The Crisis in North Africa: Implications for Europe and Options for EU Policymakers', Clingendael Report, April 2015, p. 18.



in the country, Libya has increasingly become a centre for arms, drugs and people smuggling to the Horn of Africa, West Africa, the Sahel region and the Middle East. Criminal networks that extend across the whole region and make use of, for example, the transit route between Mali and Libya have greater room for manoeuvre. The south of the country has become a haven for criminals and is known as a 'big supermarket' for weapons. Large groups of migrants and refugees (over 150,000 in 2015) make the crossing to Europe from Libya.<sup>7</sup> These numbers are expected to increase further this year as a consequence of the agreement between the EU and Turkey to control refugee flows to Greece. Libya has become the main springboard for migration from Africa.

The Tuareg uprising in Mali in 2012 was directly related to the chaos in Libya, as many Tuareg who had been working in Libya had returned to Mali. The uprising once again highlighted the conflict between the north and south of the country.<sup>8</sup> The government in Bamako has applied a strategy of divide and rule to retain power in the north, where it is mainly fighting the Azawad National Liberation Movement (*Mouvement National de Libération de l'Azawad*, MNLA). The government, under the leadership of President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta, is weak and unable to improve the living conditions of the Malian people, partly because of patronage and nepotism. More than three million Malians suffer from chronic hunger and 140,000 have fled to neighbouring countries. Religious leaders, including the Wahabi imam Mahmoud Dicko, president of the High Islamic Council, are gaining in influence.<sup>9</sup> When the situation in the north considerably worsened in early 2013, France sent a large military force to the country. This was followed a short time later by the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA). In 2014, France launched Operation Brakhande from N'Djamena, the capital of Chad, to combat terrorist groups in the Sahel and support MINUSMA in cooperation with the countries in the region. In June 2015, a peace agreement was concluded which did not give the North autonomous status but did take an important step towards decentralisation. The security situation remains fragile, and UN forces and the Malian army are regularly attacked.

#### *Economic potential*

The countries of Northern Africa also vary widely in terms of socioeconomic development.<sup>10</sup> Due to oil and gas production North African countries like Algeria and Libya are – actually or potentially – relatively wealthy, while those to the south, like Mali and Ethiopia, are exceptionally poor. Where there is economic growth in Africa, it is usually closely linked to the export of natural resources. Little progress has been made in agriculture or manufacturing. Nevertheless, all countries in Northern Africa

7 See: <<http://reliefweb.int/report/greece/europemediterranean-migration-response-situation-report-17-december-2015>>.

8 The French colonial regime favoured the people from south of the country when allocating administrative positions. 'By establishing an independent centralised state, based on the political and economic subordination of the north, the post-colonial elites laid the foundations for northern rebellions and future state failure'. See Grégory Chauzal & Thibault van Damme, 'The Roots of Mali's Conflict', CRU report March 2015, p. 17.

9 Grégory Chauzal, 'A Snapshot of Mali Three Years after the 2012 Crisis', see: <<http://www.clingendael.nl/publication/snapshot-mali-three-years-after-2012-crisis>>.

10 See annexe III.

face one undeniable strategic challenge: to find useful work for increasing numbers of young people (according to demographic forecasts). The African continent is rich in natural resources, and Northern Africa has large reserves of oil and gas.<sup>11</sup> The oil-producing countries are, however, currently suffering from the low price of oil. In Algeria, for example, 60% of the state's income comes from oil and gas production. Egypt is struggling with high unemployment and a high budget deficit.

The Sahel is one of the poorest regions in the world and has faced a series of food crises in recent years. Besides poverty and climate change, demographic developments like rapid urbanisation and a rapidly growing youth population are having far-reaching consequences for the region. The situation of the Fulani tribe in Mali clearly illustrates the precarious living conditions that these developments can bring. The income of the Fulani, a nomadic people that lives from herding livestock, is falling as a consequence of climate change. Increasingly, the Fulani elite is engaging with the central authorities in the Malian capital and disengaging from the nomadic community. There are serious conflicts with other communities, and young people with no future prospects are joining militias, rebel groups or jihadist movements. Many have joined the jihadist group Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), which occupied Fulani lands in 2012.<sup>12</sup> As a rule, the Malian government prosecutes young Fulani men for alleged membership of jihadist movements, which only serves to promote radicalisation.<sup>13</sup> Mali has a one-sided economy and is sensitive to fluctuations in resource prices and the effects of climate change. In combination with a high birth rate, this leads to food shortages, poverty and instability. In 2010, 51% of Malians were living below the poverty line.

#### *Potential external drivers of growth*

The time when countries could take a 'forced march' to high growth and employment based on low wages seems to be over. Rapid and far-reaching technological innovations in the production process and the transport and communication sectors have reduced labour costs as a proportion of the total costs of most transportable products, so that labour costs are no longer a decisive factor in the choice of production locations. China, Vietnam, Bangladesh and Mexico seem to be the last countries to have developed their economies in this way. Most African countries can no longer rely exclusively on low-wage, export-driven growth. In some sectors, North African countries can still benefit from their proximity to the European market (in the same way that Mexico benefits from its proximity to the US).

For most countries in Northern Africa, the export of natural resources and fossil fuels accounts for the greatest proportion of their export earnings. This is, however, a mixed blessing for local economies and employment and is, in some cases, even counterproductive: it leads to environmental damage and social and human rights problems, and often increases inequality while only having a very limited impact on employment. The AIV believes that this kind of export is only beneficial to sustainable economic growth and employment if, besides the greatest possible safeguards for

11 KPMG Sector Report, 'Oil and Gas in Africa', see: <<https://www.kpmg.com/Africa/en/IssuesAndInsights/Articles-Publications/General-Industries-Publications/Documents/Oil%20and%20Gas%20sector%20report%202015.pdf>>, pp. 2-3.

12 Interview with Professor M. de Bruijn, The Hague, 22 February 2016.

13 Idem.

all aspects of sustainability, a large part of the income it generates is used to raise the productive capacity of the economies concerned, especially through investment in infrastructure and knowledge. That will not happen automatically in the market sector, making well-functioning and accountable authorities at various levels indispensable.

All of the countries in Northern Africa have a warm, sunny climate. There is an abundance of land but, because of water scarcity, the majority of the people live in concentrated pockets, as in the Nile Delta. Rapid technological developments can solve the problem of water scarcity (e.g. through desalinisation and more efficient water use) and reduce the costs of solar energy and the transport of energy over great distances, especially to Europe. The AIV sees that Northern Africa's natural advantages offer long-term opportunities that should be promoted and could make a substantial contribution to economic growth and employment. It is crucial that the EU should abolish the remaining import restrictions, especially on agricultural products from these regions. The proper allocation of land for these activities requires special attention, including from those who buy the products. The region has important and durable advantages, including its climate, beaches and unique cultural heritage, and the export of high-quality services based on the knowledge economy is also a promising growth sector. This calls for a targeted government policy, investment in knowledge and digital infrastructure, and the freedom that creative entrepreneurs – especially young entrepreneurs – need.

*Potential internal drivers of growth: production for domestic populations*

Government investments in infrastructure (including the digital highway) and knowledge development are indispensable for establishing and growing companies. A thriving small and medium-sized enterprises (SME) sector usually generates many jobs. A sound financial infrastructure, including effective but not constrictive supervision, is of great importance. To make productive investments, a government can incur deficits and debts up to a certain level. These can be financed through local savings and/or with foreign credit. The advantages of local debts are that they are not affected by currency risks and that they are owed to a government's own people. Foreign credit can be beneficial when it is in the form of long-term and preferably concessional loans from international development banks. These loans are accompanied by advice (which should be sensible) and supervision. European funding, generally through the European Investment Bank (EIB) or the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), can also be an important source of credit.

The economies of most countries in Northern Africa are relatively small. Methods of enlarging their domestic markets for consumer products and services (and therefore creating more jobs at suppliers) are a good way of using the revenues from the export of natural resources for public investments, direct poverty reduction and efforts to combat corruption and inequality. To better benefit from the economies of scale made possible by technology, smaller economies in particular should strive for free trade relations and good transport and communication channels with neighbouring countries and regions, so that they can specialise and scale up in specific areas. There are five free trade blocs in Africa, and yet intraregional imports and exports account for only a little over 10% of African countries' total foreign trade, compared to almost 70% in Europe and 50% in Asia. A cynical observation this may be, but the many smugglers in the region show what is possible when borders are ignored. Ideally these countries should over time reduce their relatively high dependence on trade with rich countries in favour of more extensive trade among themselves.

With the current state of technology, most employment is created in cities and urban clusters. Young people are migrating en masse from the countryside to the city. Cities offer opportunities and are fertile ground for knowledge and ideas, and there is less restrictive social control. Not all countries in Northern Africa have urban concentrations, however. There are several large clusters in the region, such as the Nile Delta plus Cairo, Addis Ababa, Khartoum and Bamako. Young people from neighbouring countries may also move to these clusters. The AIV believes that rural-to-urban migration should not be discouraged, but it is important to take timely action to prevent problems, such as the spread of slums.<sup>14</sup>

Although it may be too late to follow Asia's example and achieve rapid economic growth through low-wage mass production of exports, industry continues to be important in creating productive employment in Africa. The most logical industries to focus on are the processing of natural resources and locally grown produce. Local policy should not discourage that, as a Dutch investor recently reported to be the case in Egypt.<sup>15</sup> Another opportunity for industry is to benefit from the proximity to – and free trade agreements with – Europe. Low wages are not the only or primary competitive factor. Europe can stimulate industrial development by opening up its markets. The countries themselves can welcome foreign investors (without compromising good social and other legislation), as these investments are often accompanied by modern technology and trade contacts.<sup>16</sup>

One obstacle is that agrarian productivity is lagging behind in large parts of Africa.<sup>17</sup> An agricultural production surplus is a precondition for rising urbanisation. Partly as a consequence of possible climate changes, countries may become very vulnerable to long periods of drought. It is not certain that there will be a sufficient supply of food on the world market to meet the needs of the substantially expanding population in Africa.

14 'Although Africa is urbanizing rapidly, in the majority of countries, 65-70 percent of the population resides in rural areas (Canning, Raja, and Yazbeck 2015). Across countries rural residents have higher poverty rates (46% in rural areas in 2012 versus 18% in urban areas, using corrected data for all countries). But the gap between the poverty rate in rural and urban areas declined (from 35 percentage points in 1996 to 28 percentage points in 2012.' 'Poverty in a Rising Africa', World Bank, 2015, p. 10.

15 In 2004, a Dutch SME set up a company in Egypt with an Egyptian partner, with the support of an Emerging Markets Cooperation Programme (PSOM) grant, to process local agricultural products. The company now employs 80 people. However, it is experiencing difficulties due to the fact that tax on processed products is higher than on unprocessed raw materials.

16 "'Ethiopia's manufacturing has grown by an average of over 10% a year in 2006-14, albeit from a very low base, partly because it has courted foreign investors. We approached Holland's horticultural firms, China's textile and leather firms and Turkey's garment firms. Now we're bringing in German and Swiss pharmaceuticals", says ... a minister who promotes Ethiopia's industrialisation.' *The Economist*, 7 November 2015. Some 80 Dutch companies are currently active in Ethiopia, most of them SMEs in the agrarian sector (including processing).

17 One of the main conclusions of the large-scale comparative study, sponsored by the Netherlands, of a number of countries in Africa and Asia ('Tracking Development', 2014) is that Africa has skipped the stage of agricultural reform and has started immediately with sometimes prestigious industrialisation. The study concludes that African economies will continue to be held back as long as they do not reform their agrarian sectors.

Agricultural production on the continent seems to have begun catching up, but it is starting from a very weak position. Two-thirds of all farms in Africa are smaller than one hectare. Production per capita has fallen as a consequence of rapid population growth. In 2013, it averaged \$300 in Northern, Southern and West Africa, \$100 in East Africa and only \$50 in Central Africa. So far, the observed growth in production can primarily be attributed to the cultivation of more land, but that option is now becoming exhausted.

Rising productivity in agriculture can be attributed to stability, the abolition of price controls (which were intended to keep city dwellers happy), better seeds, increasing use of artificial fertiliser and irrigation, better information through mobile internet, better access to credit and money transfers, better transport and storage to reduce harvesting losses and better land rights (especially for women).<sup>18</sup> Thanks to modern technology, even small farmers can now make use of modern agricultural methods. However, the thinly populated parts of a number of countries in Northern Africa can only be developed after substantial investments in water supplies, including desalination of seawater. As it is an enormous challenge for small farmers to make such investments collectively, this is a task for government. Countries can become even more vulnerable as a result of possible climate changes leading to, for example, long periods of drought. Ethiopia and Eritrea are under serious threat from drought caused by El Niño. The net effect of all these improvements in agricultural productivity on productive employment is difficult to predict. New technology does not necessarily lead to upscaling. Mechanisation is sometimes unavoidable and can increase emissions. But a more productive agrarian sector also creates more jobs in companies that supply and purchase products (for instance, in IT, transport and processing).

#### *Population growth and public health*

Africa has the fastest growing population in the world and relatively the youngest.<sup>19</sup> The continent will account for more than 50% of world population growth up to 2050.<sup>20</sup> Africa is also urbanising rapidly, with 40% of Africans now living in cities and one in eight living in cities with more than a million inhabitants.<sup>21</sup> By 2050, Nigeria is expected to have more inhabitants than the United States and, by the end of the century, more than the EU.<sup>22</sup>

18 'A Green Evolution', *The Economist*, 12 March 2016.

19 'Together with climate change, demographic changes will be among the greatest challenges facing mankind in the 21st century.' AIV advisory report no. 66, 'Demographic Changes and Development Cooperation', The Hague, July 2009, p. 44.

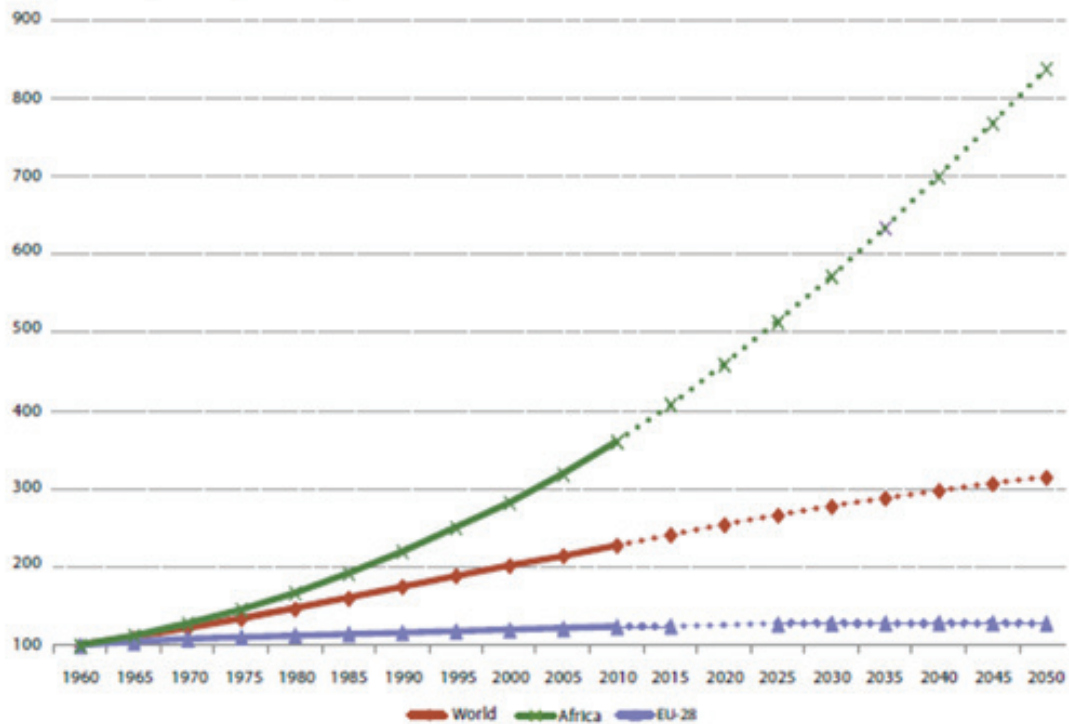
20 'World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision', UN, New York, 2015, see: <[http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/publications/files/key\\_findings\\_wpp\\_2015.pdf](http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/publications/files/key_findings_wpp_2015.pdf)>, p. 1.

21 Ton Dietz, 'En nu: Afrika: zon achter de wolken', *Internationale Spectator*, vol. 65, no. 3, March 2011, p. 148.

22 'World Population Prospects', p. 4.

Prognosis of population growth in the world, Europe and Africa up to 2050<sup>23</sup>

Figure 1.2: Population (1960=100)



Source: United Nations Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs Eurostat (online data code: demo\_pjan and proj\_10c2130p).

The substantial rise in population in Africa is not being paralleled by strong economic development. Table 1 in Annexe II gives an overview of the current population of the countries in Northern Africa, varying from one million inhabitants in Djibouti to 182 million in Nigeria. Approximately 60% of the population is younger than 25. In North Africa, this figure is somewhat lower (around 50%), but in the Sahel it is higher (reaching 67% in Mali). The total population of Northern Africa is expected to double to 1.2 billion by 2050.<sup>24</sup> North Africa has less than 300 million inhabitants, compared to 135 million (2015) in the Sahel. Population growth is caused by a sharp fall in mortality and increased life expectancy, in conjunction with the very high average number of children per woman.<sup>25</sup> The proportion of young people (aged 24 or younger) in the countries of Northern Africa is more than 60%. The most recent figures for all developing countries

23 'The European Union and the African Union: A Statistical Portrait', Luxembourg 2014, see: <<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/3217494/6459808/KS-FQ-14-001-EN-1.pdf/16e05aa1-e9b2-4315-b0b5-aae26ba9ef33>>, p. 12.

24 UN Population Division, medium scenario: for Africa as a whole, the UN predicts a population of 4.4 billion in 2100, out of a global population of 11.2 billion; the greatest share of population growth from now on will take place in Africa.

25 Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*, London 1991, p. 334, on the 1930s: '....decline in the death rate, because of control of epidemics and better medical care, which was responsible for the growth of population. This was true of all parts of society, but particularly significant in the cities, where for the first time epidemics did not play their historic role of devastating the urban masses from time to time.'

show that between 215 and 225 million women have no access to contraception.<sup>26</sup> Besides a rapidly growing population, public health problems can also harm Africa's economic growth, as the recent Ebola epidemic showed. Increasing urbanisation is a major catalyst in the spread of diseases. Fragile economic development and the absence of adequate healthcare make countries in West Africa and the Sahel vulnerable to pandemics.<sup>27</sup>

26 See the websites of the Population Reference Bureau (Washington DC, US), the Guttmacher Institute (New York, US) and UNFPA.

27 Michael Edelstein, Chatham House, 7 October 2014, see: <<https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/15955>>, and the United Nations Development Group, 'Socio-Economic Impact of Ebola Virus: Disease in West African Countries', February 2015.

## II Security problems

Terrorism, cross-border crime and large-scale migration are not new in Northern Africa, but the current period of instability has led to them increasing sharply in scale and severity. The security situation in the various countries is complex and conflicts are therefore increasingly diffuse in nature. There are of course considerable differences between the regions, but they share a number of common features. Armed conflict not only arises from political disagreement, but is also driven by criminal motives and agitation by extremist ideological movements and violent militias. The number of rebel movements, militias and terrorist organisations is growing.<sup>28</sup>

A thorough analysis of the security problems requires an examination of the situation in the individual states but also of transnational, regional, local and non-state actors. People from all layers of society, including government, are involved in criminal networks. The composition of criminal and terrorist groups changes continually; the groups are highly fragmented and individual, which makes it difficult to combat them.<sup>29</sup> Armed groups change composition regularly, disintegrating, regrouping or forming ties with other groups or local leaders. They also have clear links with both ideological groups and criminal networks outside the region. All this means that there are no simple solutions to promote stability. Supporting national governments is often not enough and attempts at centrally organised nation-building are inadequate.

### II.1 Terrorism/religious extremism

Terrorism and religious extremism are not new phenomena – al Qa’ida, for example, has been active in East Africa since the 1990s – but Islamic extremism is spreading in Northern Africa. A shift is occurring in Islamic movements from traditional Sufism to the stricter Salafism and jihadism.<sup>30</sup> The presence of weak states is a major cause of the advance of jihadism in Africa.<sup>31</sup> Since the fall of Gaddafi and the collapse of state authority in Libya, there has been an increase in the activity of jihadist groups in North Africa, the Sahara and the Sahel.<sup>32</sup>

Jihadist movements are gaining footholds mainly where central government does not control the whole country and people in peripheral areas lack security and public

28 Jakkie Cilliers, ‘Future (Im)perfect? Mapping Conflict, Violence and Extremism in Africa’, ISS paper 287, October 2015, p. 2.

29 Interview with Ivan Briscoe, The Hague, 11 January 2016.

30 Seth G. Jones, ‘A Persistent Threat: The Evolution of al Qa’ida and Other Salafi Jihadists’, RAND, Washington, 2014, pp. 26-28. See also Yaroslav Trofimov, ‘Jihad Comes to Africa’, *The Wall Street Journal*, 5 February 2016, see: <<http://www.wsj.com/articles/jihad-comes-to-africa-1454693025>>.

31 Guido Steinberg and Annette Weber, ‘Jihadism in Africa: An Introduction’, in Guido Steinberg and Annette Weber (eds.), *Jihadism in Africa: Local Causes, Regional Expansion, International Alliances*, SWP research paper, Berlin, June 2015, p. 7.

32 *Jihadism in Africa*, p. 12.



services. The state and state control are focused mainly in the capital where the political elite is located. Partly through this lack of control from the capital, local and regional conflicts are fertile breeding grounds for extremist movements. For many Africans – and certainly for the people of the Sahel – centuries-old tribal ties are stronger than national ones and people living on the other side of the border are often more important than the inhabitants of the capital. This has its roots in the fact that the old colonial borders were artificial. The Tuareg in Algeria, for example, feel more closely related to the Tuareg in Mali than to the political elite in Algiers.<sup>33</sup> Where states fall short, ethnic groups, tribes, clans, rebel movements, smuggling networks or jihadist movements take over.<sup>34</sup>

Jihadist movements have a strong attraction for young people who are politically, socially and economically marginalised and are wrestling with their identities. The collapse of society makes it easier for these movements to recruit young people. The disintegration of social networks and the lack of jobs and prospects make young people susceptible to the messages of jihadist groups.<sup>35</sup> These groups are very violent and undermine the foundations of clan elders' power. Weak states enable these groups to make big money smuggling people, drugs and other goods, often by working with criminal networks.

For many militant Islamic groups in Africa, their aim is not to take over the state – they lack the military power to do so – but rather to undermine it in order to reduce confidence in central government. They rely largely on mobile telephones, internet and social media to disseminate information. And they focus on local circumstances and recruit minorities within the Muslim community,<sup>36</sup> often interpreting Islam selectively to suit the situation.<sup>37</sup> There is no distinctly pan-African jihadist ideology.<sup>38</sup> Despite shared networks and mutual support between groups, there is as yet no overarching organisation within or outside the continent, not even as a framework for their cooperation with al Qa'ida or Islamic State (IS).<sup>39</sup>

The influence of radical Islamic groups in Africa makes the continent vulnerable to the influence of IS, as can be seen from the current situation in Libya. There is a possibility that jihadist movements will seek to work with IS and be inspired by its tactics and methods, i.e. occupying territory and supplying 'public services' to under-privileged

33 *Jihadism in Africa*, p. 7.

34 See also the description of the Fulani people on page 7 of this report.

35 'Jihadist organisations offer them an attractive alternative that addresses historical and personal traumas such as colonialism, repression and displacement and permits the fighting "mujahid" to perceive himself as a hero.' *Jihadism in Africa*, pp. 8-9.

36 'More generally, Islamic militancy in Africa today represents the intersection of broader trends in contemporary Islam and local circumstances.' Terje Østebo, 'Islamic Militancy in Africa', Africa Security Brief no. 23, November 2012, p. 1.

37 *Ibid*, p. 2.

38 Guido Steinberg and Annette Weber, 'Conclusions and Recommendations', in *Jihadism in Africa*, p. 99.

39 *Ibid*.

citizens in combination with the IS narrative.<sup>40</sup> The idea of the caliphate seems to imply the creation of a transnational community, in which groups are encouraged to occupy territory. This is a threat to national sovereignty, as Islamic State's activities around Benghazi have shown.<sup>41</sup> Jihadist groups are increasingly gaining a foothold in various countries. Returning jihad fighters have gained extensive combat experience in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan and present a substantial threat to Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia.<sup>42</sup> For radical jihadist movements in Africa, IS is an alternative to al-Qa'ida.<sup>43</sup> The rise of IS could exacerbate existing tensions and conflict.<sup>44</sup> In August 2014, for example, Boko Haram declared the cities it had conquered in the north of Nigeria part of the Islamic caliphate.<sup>45</sup>

### *The Sahel*

Since the 1990s, Muslim organisations have played an increasingly prominent role in public life in the Sahel. Supported by funding from the Gulf States, they have opened mosques and madrasas that offer an alternative to state schools and oppose traditional African Sufi Islam. The current increase in fundamentalist movements and Islamic groups takes many forms. The spread of religious extremism poses a threat to regional stability. Various militias are active in the Sahara-Sahel region, and have links with each other.

### *Libya*

Since the fall of Gaddafi, Libyan fighters have been active in Syria. Syrian-Libyan networks have brought the IS variant of jihadism to Libya.<sup>46</sup> Libyan jihadists also play a key role in contacts between IS and jihadist groups in North Africa and the Sahara.<sup>47</sup> It will be difficult to restrict these groups while the current conflicts in Libya continue

40 'If the Islamic State does spread into Africa, it will be by cooperating with or co-opting these groups. This vulnerability is not just about the possibility of more and more serious terrorist attacks, but extends to fears that the Islamic State might recreate its model of occupying territory and providing government-like services to under-privileged citizens. In addition, the influence of the Islamic State's global jihadist narrative, the success of its operations in Iraq and Syria and its sharing of experiences and tactics online may inspire African groups to copy its approach.' Simon Allison, 'The Islamic State: Why Africa Should Be Worried', ISS Policy Brief, September 2014, pp. 3-4.

41 Simon Allison, 'The Islamic State', p. 8.

42 (...) 'research indicates that the Islamic State ordered home its fighters of Libyan origin to assist Ansar al-Sharia Libya, and it was shortly after they returned that the group was able to take Benghazi'. Ibid, p. 6.

43 'The rise of the Islamic State is changing the internal structure of the international jihadist movement. In providing a viable alternative to al-Qaeda, the Islamic State has split the movement and is forcing radical Islamist groups to take sides. Radical Islamist groups in Africa are not immune to this development and are carefully weighing up their options.' Ibid, p. 9.

44 Ibid, p. 9.

45 Ibid, p. 6.

46 Ibid.

47 Wolfram Lacher, 'Libya: A Jihadist Growth Market', in *Jihadism in Africa*, p. 49.

and an effective unity government is not in place.<sup>48</sup> There are hundreds of armed groups in the country, each of which controls a specific area. Terrorist organisations are increasingly gaining a foothold in Libya.<sup>49</sup> IS is taking advantage of the situation and has established itself in and around Sirte. It also has control of a coastal strip some 300 kilometres long. There are an estimated 4,000 IS fighters in the country, but exact figures are not available.<sup>50</sup>

### *Tunisia*

Tunisia is believed to be the largest supplier of foreign terrorist fighters going to Iraq and Syria to join extremist groups, especially IS. A study by the Soufan Group of the motivation and background of these fighters found that, in October 2015, 7,000 Tunisians – mainly from the cities of Bizerte and Ben Gardane – had left for Iraq and Syria. The areas along the borders of Tunisia, which are relatively isolated and not fully under government control, are excellent for recruitment and smuggling. Fighters returning from Syria and Iraq support the conflict in Libya.<sup>51</sup> Foreign terrorist fighters also come back from Algeria and Morocco. The return of these fighters to Tunisia presents a considerable risk, and several terrorist attacks have taken place with disastrous effects, not least on the country's tourism sector. To make it more difficult for foreign terrorist fighters to enter the country from Libya, the Tunisian government decided at the end of 2015 to close the border.<sup>52</sup>

## **II.2 Cross-border crime**

The Sahel has traditionally been an important transit region for transnational crime in Africa. The old transport route between the Mediterranean and West Africa was the lifeline for the Sahel but fell into disuse with the arrival of national borders and access to West Africa through its ports. The route is, however, now once again very active. Long-running conflicts and the fall of Gaddafi, who exercised control over a large proportion of the criminal networks in the region, have helped lead to an enormous increase in illegal trade through the Sahel.<sup>53</sup> Porous borders and weak governance provide ample opportunity for it to thrive.

There are few ways to make a living in the Sahel region. Besides kidnapping, a great deal of money is made trading in Moroccan cannabis and smuggling cocaine and arms. Legal and illegal trade go hand in hand. Caravans crisscross the area, often using the same vehicle to carry legal goods (cigarettes, oil, food and car parts) and traffic arms,

48 Wolfram Lacher, 'Libya: A Jihadist Growth Market', in *Jihadism in Africa*, p. 49.

49 Letter to parliament on the government's perspective on Libya, p. 6.

50 See: <<http://www.defense.gov/News-Article-View/Article/715911/africa-command-faces-challenges-across-continent-commander-says>>.

51 See: <[http://soufangroup.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/TSG\\_ForeignFightersUpdate4.pdf](http://soufangroup.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/TSG_ForeignFightersUpdate4.pdf)>, p. 10.

52 Ibid, p. 16.

53 Guido Steinberg and Annette Weber, 'Jihadism in Africa: An Introduction', in *Jihadism in Africa*, p. 9.

drugs and people, all with the knowledge of Malian or Nigerian officials.<sup>54</sup> From the 1990s, smuggling irregular migrants to Europe was added to the list. Gao in northern Mali and Agadez in Niger became hubs for the transshipment of cigarettes and people to Morocco or Libya.<sup>55</sup> The cocaine-smuggling routes from South America to Europe pass through West Africa, Libya and Egypt. Moroccan cannabis passes through Libya, Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula en route to Europe. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has calculated that 14% of all cocaine consumed in Europe in 2008, with a street value of a billion dollars, has passed through West Africa.<sup>56</sup> Control over these routes is a source of conflict between the various militias in southern Libya. The smugglers often have local expertise and engage simultaneously in legal and illegal trade. There are indications of close ties between criminal and terrorist groups, which benefit enormously from illegal trade. Within the Sahel, Niger is the main transit country. Southern Niger is a major transit region for goods from Nigeria, Benin and elsewhere.

There has been a great deal of interest in the rise of extremism in the Sahel in the past ten years; the increase in organised crime – and the role played in it by government and political leaders – has received less attention, however. Illegal trade is a threat to regional security because of the involvement of armed groups in ‘escorting’ convoys and the presence of competing terrorist movements. Organised crime has significantly helped strengthen the political and military position of al Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

In northern Mali, state institutions have had strong links with organised crime. Government officials derived their power from allowing local allies to engage in criminal activities.<sup>57</sup> The Malian government lost its credibility because it worked together with AQIM and criminal organisations. This led to the rebellion of Tuareg fighters returning from Libya in January 2012.<sup>58</sup> Although tensions between criminal networks are not the cause of the conflict in Mali, leading figures in these networks have genuine political and military influence.

The chaos in Libya and the lack of border controls has made the country the perfect hub for transnational criminal networks.<sup>59</sup> Existing smuggling routes are used intensively and the south of the country in particular is a haven for smugglers of arms, drugs and migrants. Drugs are transported from Libya to Egypt, Europe and elsewhere. Arms smuggling, which was very active even before the fall of Gaddafi, is a highly lucrative business. Arms from Libya find their way to the Sinai region, the Gaza Strip, Syria and other conflict zones, and to European criminals. Oil is smuggled to countries like Malta,

54 Wolfram Lacher, ‘Organized Crime and Conflict in the Sahel-Sahara Region’, Carnegie Paper, September 2012, p. 6.

55 Wolfram Lacher, ‘Organized Crime’, pp. 5-6. See also Bram Vermeulen, ‘De veermannen van de Sahara’, NRC, 20/21 February 2016.

56 Wolfram Larcher, ‘Organized Crime’, p. 6.

57 Ibid, p. 11.

58 Guido Steinberg and Annette Weber, ‘Jihadism in Africa’, p. 70.

59 ‘Libya: A Growing Hub for Criminal Economies and Terrorist Financing in the Trans-Sahara’, Policy Brief, The Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime, 11 May 2015, p. 1.

Italy and Tunisia. Drugs, arms and medicines from Europe also pass through Libya to the rest of Africa.<sup>60</sup> Various militias in Libya benefit from this trade. AQIM is based in Mali and South Algeria, but has major operational bases in Libya and generates income from smuggling and kidnapping. Western governments have been devoting too little attention to the links between criminal networks and extremist groups.<sup>61</sup>

Smuggling of oil, drugs, food and clothing from Tunisia has also increased substantially since the Arab Spring, especially along the border with Algeria. In recent years, there has been growing cooperation between jihadist groups and criminal networks. Jihadist groups control the areas along the Algerian border and smugglers pay them for access to these areas. Large volumes of drugs from North and West Africa and Asia pass through Egypt to Europe. Algeria is also plagued by partnerships between jihadist groups and drugs smugglers in the south of the country. Morocco is one of the main producers of cannabis.

### **II.3 Migration flows and people smuggling**

#### *Origin*

Refugees and migrants from Africa come from conflict areas like Eritrea, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia, and others – including Nigeria, Senegal and Gambia – which they are more likely to leave for economic reasons.<sup>62</sup> In 2015, it was mainly people from West and East Africa and the Horn of Africa who left from Egypt and Libya, rather than Syrians.<sup>63</sup> War, conflict, bad governance and human rights violations are the main causes of the high numbers of refugees. Other major reasons are weak regional economies and chronic poverty. Europe is also attractive for well-educated young people because it offers better prospects for the future.<sup>64</sup> In view of the situation in Northern Africa, a continuing and substantial flow of migrants from the region to Europe must be anticipated.

60 Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, 'The Crisis in North Africa', p. 48. For more detailed figures, see 'Libya: A Growing Hub', pp. 3-4. 'Libya serves as a safe haven for several terrorist and/or jihadist groups in the Sahel. There are two main reasons for this. First, the rapid fall of the Gaddafi regime left a power vacuum throughout the Libyan state, and provided minorities such as the Touaregs, who had been the victims of persecution under Gaddafi, with what they saw as an opportunity to take revenge and assert their power. Second, the French Operation Serval in northern Mali from 2012-2014 was quite successful at driving armed groups and terrorists out of that country, many of whom found safety in Libya.' 'Libya: A Growing Hub', p. 6.

61 'Libya: A Growing Hub', p. 7.

62 Tuesday Reitano and Peter Tinti, 'Survive and Advance: The Economics of Smuggling Refugees and Migrants to Europe', ISS Paper 289, November 2015.

63 Ibid, p. 3.

64 'The prospect of employment and good life in Europe has seen a huge number of young and highly educated Africans pay human traffickers to traverse the sub-region and onto Europe. This factor has been further accentuated by globalization and information technology. The ubiquity of media images of Western culture and lifestyles, due to the denser and expanding reach of information communication technology, has been a critical "pull" factor and incentive pushing youth to migrate from the region.' See: <<http://life-peace.org/hab/migration-and-asylum-in-the-horn-of-africa-causes-factors-and-possible-solutions/>>, 28 August, 2015.

Routes for migration, people smuggling and human trafficking have passed through Africa for centuries. The number of people being transported along these routes has risen sharply in recent years because of the growing instability in North Africa and the links with criminal and terrorist networks. For the sake of clarity, it is important to distinguish between human trafficking and people smuggling.<sup>65</sup> The UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC) defines human trafficking (trafficking in persons) as ‘the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means or threat or use or force or other forms or coercion, abduction, or fraud or deception’. The UNTOC defines people smuggling (the smuggling of migrants) as ‘the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry or a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident’.<sup>66</sup> The legal distinction is crucial but, because of the increasing involvement of criminal networks in human trafficking and people smuggling, it is more and more difficult in practice to distinguish between the two, and smuggling and trafficking often overlap.<sup>67</sup> Refugees and migrants flee a variety of life-threatening situations, or circumstances that may not be life-threatening but offer them few prospects, in the hope of finding a better future. The scale of these flows is caused by climate change, failing states, conflict and instability, and endemic poverty. Contact with the diaspora through internet and mobile telephones, together with social media, adds to people’s mobility. Migration is also on the rise from countries where levels of prosperity and education are increasing.<sup>68</sup>

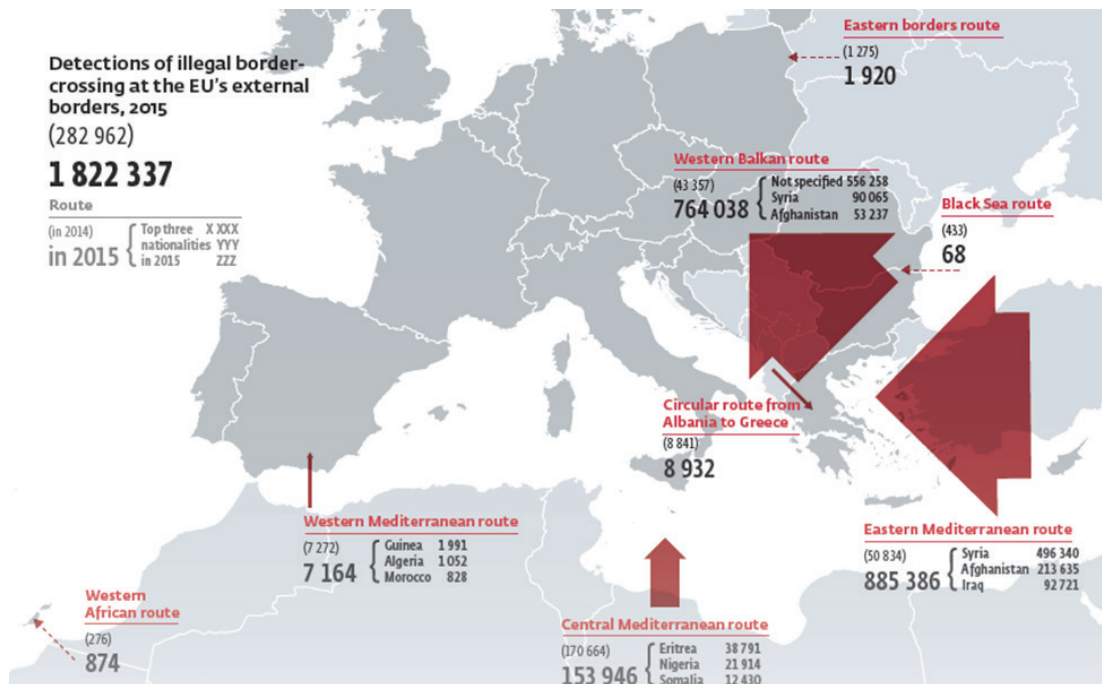
65 The International Organization for Migration (IOM) describes migration as the ‘movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification’. Forced migration is defined as a ‘migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g. movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects)’. See: <<http://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>>.

66 Reitano and Tinti, p. 5.

67 Mirjam van Reizen and Conny Rijken (2015), ‘Sinai Trafficking: Origin and Definition of a New Form of People Smuggling’, *Social Inclusion*, vol. 3, no. 1, see: <<http://www.cogitatiopress.com/ojs/index.php/socialinclusion/article/view/180>>.

68 Christopher Horwood, ‘Irregular Migration Threatens Asylum in Europe’, *IRIN*, July 2015, see: <<http://www.irinnews.org/analysis/2015/07/14>>.

## Migration routes



Frontex, 'Risk Analysis for 2016'

People from Sub-Saharan Africa take various routes to reach Europe. Refugees from Eritrea, Somalia and other countries in the Horn of Africa use the routes via Sudan, the Sinai and the Red Sea. Those from West Africa often follow the old trade routes through the Sahel, from Mali to Libya via southern Algeria or Niger, or via Agadez and southern Libya to the coast.<sup>69</sup> These routes are not controlled by any one group. Professional criminal groups, militias, jihadists and 'ordinary' people like hotel owners and taxi and truck drivers are involved in people smuggling. Militias in Libya, including both Dawn and Dignity, are also complicit.<sup>70</sup> Smuggling people is a lucrative activity for militias, which migrants and refugees are sometimes forced to join.<sup>71</sup> The Tuareg and Tebu are active in smuggling people to Libya via the Sahara.<sup>72</sup> In the Horn of Africa, many well organised criminal networks are active in people smuggling.<sup>73</sup>

69 'Libya: A Growing Hub', p. 5.

70 Floor El Kamouni-Janssen, 'Libië's chaos: vervlochten crises and conflicterende belangen', *Internationale Spectator* 10, 2015 (vol. 69).

71 Ibid.

72 'The instability in Libya has offered an unprecedented opportunity for these largely economic migrants to reach Europe. This lucrative business has caused a dramatic increase in the number of groups involved in trafficking, from the old-school trans-Saharan nomadic tribes, such as the Tuareg and the Tebu, currently facilitating the transit of anywhere between 5-20,000 migrants a year through the trans-Saharan towards Libya.' 'Libya: A Growing Hub', p. 5.

73 See: Mirjam van Reisen et al., 'The Human-Trafficking Cycle: Sinai and Beyond', on the inhumane treatment of Eritrean refugees in the Sinai, Brussels, May 2014.

The UN Security Council has passed a series of resolutions addressing Eritrea's destabilising role in Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Yemen, and in 2009 imposed an arms embargo on the country which is still in force. In July 2015, the UN Human Rights Council decided to extend the mandate of the UN Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in Eritrea by a year to investigate whether the Eritrean regime is guilty of crimes against humanity. The UNHRC noted that 'arbitrary arrest is a common occurrence, often ordered by anyone with de facto authority. Tens of thousands of Eritreans have been imprisoned, often without charge and for indeterminate periods and ill-treatment and torture of detainees are used routinely.' The authors of the Commission's report noted that 'all sectors of the economy rely on forced labour, and most Eritreans are likely to be subject to it at some point in their lives.'<sup>74</sup> The European Parliament also called in a resolution (2016/2568) for aid to Eritrea to be suspended and addressed the pressure Eritrea is placing on refugees. A new form of human trafficking has emerged in the Sinai desert, in which refugees are subject to extortion. Some 25,000-30,000 Eritrean refugees have fallen victim to these practices, and thousands have lost their lives.

In Eritrea, there is a national system of forced labour. The UN refers to it as 'slavery' and is investigating whether it can be seen as a crime against humanity. As a result of this repression, the country's economy has collapsed. The formal legal economy has been undermined by criminal activities, human trafficking and people smuggling, drug trafficking and arms trading. Eritrean embassies are also clearly exerting unacceptable pressure on Eritrean refugees, forcing them to make payments and possibly facilitating illegal activities.

Frontex, the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union, distinguishes the following major routes for migrants and refugees:

- a. the Central Mediterranean route: between January and December 2015, 153,946 people (mainly from Eritrea, Nigeria and Somalia) crossed the EU's external borders illegally via this route.<sup>75</sup> Libya is the main point of departure. In earlier years it had served as a major port for illegal access to Europe (40,000 crossings in 2008), mainly via Malta or Lampedusa, but this came to a stop in 2009 when the country signed an agreement with Italy. After the fall of Gaddafi, numbers of illegal crossings rose again, reaching 170,000 in 2014, when most of the refugees came from Syria, Eritrea and Sub-Saharan Africa. According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 3,500 people drowned at sea in 2014, but the real figure could be much higher. Many Syrians used to travel to Libya by way of Egypt, but since President al-Sisi took office Egypt has imposed many more restrictions on Syrians passing through the country. The route was then relocated to the Sinai, with the consequence that IS has also become involved.<sup>76</sup>
- b. the Western Mediterranean route: between January and December 2015, there were 7,164 illegal crossings (mainly from Guinea, Algeria and Morocco).<sup>77</sup> This route has traditionally been used by Algerians and Moroccans, but in the past year mainly by

74 See: <<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16732&LangID=E>>.

75 Frontex, 'Risk Analysis for 2016', p. 16.

76 See: <<http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/migratory-routes-map/>>.

77 Frontex, 'Risk Analysis for 2016', p. 16.



people from Sub-Saharan Africa. For West Africans in particular, this route is shorter than the one through Libya. Starting in 2014, a striking number of economic migrants took this route to Europe.<sup>78</sup>

- c. the West African route: in 2015, 874 people used this route, which connects Senegal, Mauritania and Morocco to the Spanish Canary Islands. This is significantly fewer than used the first two routes because of an agreement between Spain and several African countries (including Morocco) that provides for effective border controls, temporary labour migration and support for local economies.

The Sahel is also the centre for human trafficking and mass migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to North Africa and Europe, both as a point of departure and as a transit route. This involves the illegal migration of displaced people and refugees. The city of Agadez in Niger is one of the main centres in the Sahel for migrants from West African countries en route to Libya to make the crossing to Europe. People smuggling in Libya allegedly generates revenues of \$255-323 million a year.<sup>79</sup> Attempts to stop migration from Eritrea via Sudan have so far had no effect. The involvement of the authorities in human trafficking in the region is a cause for concern. Attempts to stop mass migration and human trafficking from Niger have also failed because of the involvement of the authorities in this lucrative business.<sup>80</sup> Europol estimates that smuggling people to Europe generated between \$3 and \$6 billion in 2015, most of it paid by relatives of refugees and migrants from around the world.<sup>81</sup>

Human trafficking is a source of income for criminal organisations, which extort money from diaspora communities under threat of abduction, torture or even murder. Traffickers lure children with 'no fee' deals, after which they become completely dependent. Criminal money flows undermine the legal economy in the countries of origin.

78 See: <<http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/migratory-routes-map/>>.

79 'Libya: A Growing Hub', p. 1.

80 Selam Gebrekidan and Allison Martell, 'Where the Dead Don't Count', in 'The Migration Machine: Millions of People, Billions of Dollars – and Europe's Struggle to Cope'. Reuters, 24 February 2016, see: <[http://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/migration/?utm\\_source=twitter/#story/30](http://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/migration/?utm_source=twitter/#story/30)>.

81 See: <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-human-traffickers-netted-up-to-4bn-last-year-a6816861.html>>.

### **III International organisations and Northern Africa**

Many international organisations, including the UN, the EU, the Arab League and, to a lesser extent, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as individual countries, concern themselves with peace and security in Africa. Africa also has a number of organisations active in this area, including the African Union (AU) and the regional economic communities SADC, ECCAS, ECOWAS and IGAD.<sup>82</sup> All in all, they constitute a wide range of organisations that partly work together and partly duplicate each other's efforts.

#### **III.1 European Union**

Europe has traditionally had close ties with the countries of Northern Africa, both through the EU as a whole and through bilateral relations between individual states in the two regions. Europe's relative influence on developments in Northern Africa can be expected to decline further in the decades to come, as other international actors like Saudi Arabia, Turkey and China gain in importance. Political developments in Northern Africa since the Arab Spring, the rise of religious extremism, growing instability in several countries in the region and increasing migration flows are having a direct impact on security and stability on the European continent. Other security risks are posed by arms, drugs and human trafficking and the heightened risk of terrorist attacks, for example by foreign terrorist fighters travelling with migrants and refugees. The presence of large groups of refugees and migrants from Northern Africa in the EU and their ties with relatives and the diaspora in their countries of origin are also factors that play a role in the political debate.

The EU and Africa, and Northern Africa in particular, have been working together for many years on policy, economic development and security. This partnership has been formalised in, for example, the Cotonou Agreement, the Joint Africa-EU Strategy, the revised European Neighbourhood Policy and the Valletta Summit on Migration on 11-12 November 2015. The EU possesses an extensive range of instruments involving the European External Action Service (EEAS), the European Commission and the member states. In theory, these offer ample opportunity for an integrated approach, but this has proved difficult to achieve in practice. The EU has various financial rules that can sometimes obstruct the flexible deployment of European financial resources. Alternative funding through the EU's Development Cooperation Instrument, the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace or the European Development Fund can offer a solution under certain conditions.<sup>83</sup>

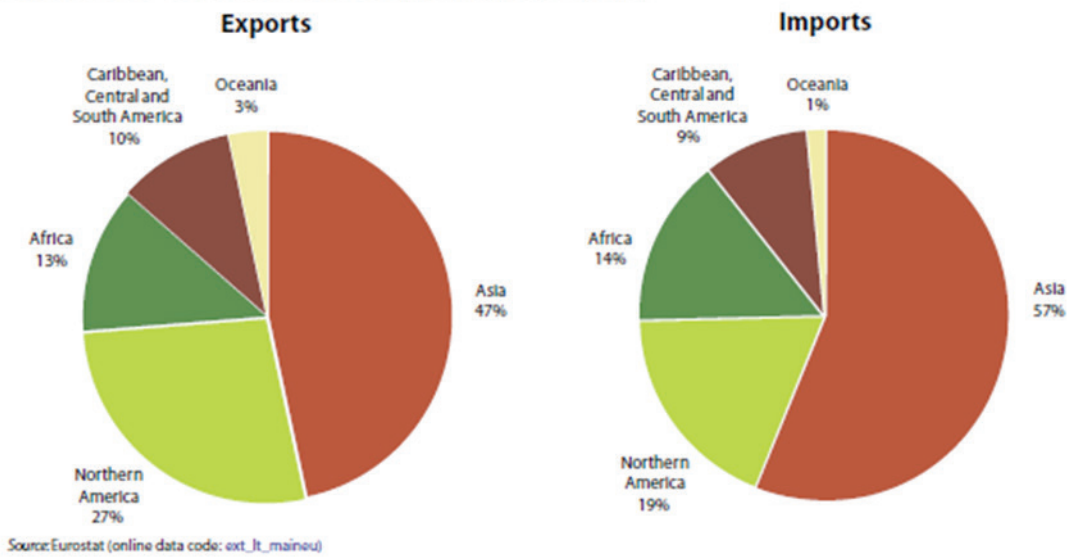
Dependence on the region's oil and gas reserves and other natural resources like phosphate is an important factor in Europe's economic relations with Northern Africa.

82 SADC: Southern African Development Community; ECCAS: Economic Community of Central African States; ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States; IGAD: Intergovernmental Authority on Development (East Africa).

83 Dick Zandee (ed.), *'De EU als veiligheidsactor in Afrika'*, Clingendael 2016, p. 28.

Africa is not the EU's main trading partner, however, as the figure below shows.<sup>84</sup> Trade with Asia and to a lesser extent North America is much more extensive.

Figure 1.8: EU-28 international trade by partner, value 2013 (%)



Algeria, Nigeria, Libya, Morocco and Egypt are important trading partners for the EU as a whole.

Figure 1.10: EU-28 imports of goods from Africa by main partners, 2013 (%)

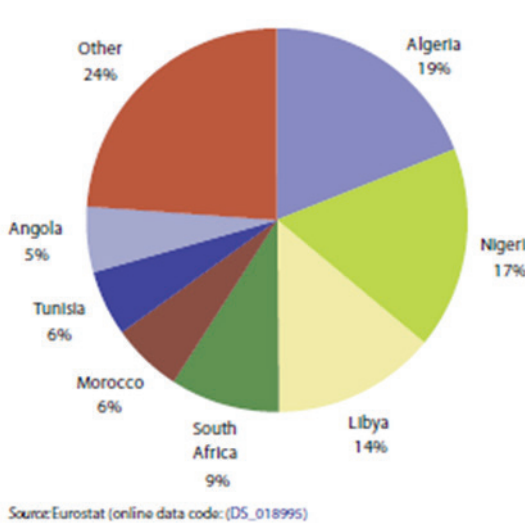
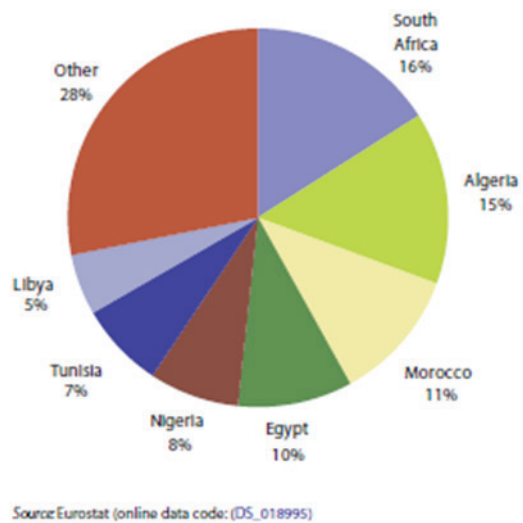


Figure 1.11: EU-28 exports of goods to Africa by main partners, 2013 (%)



### European Neighbourhood Policy

The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), which dates from 2004 and relates to both the EU's eastern and southern flanks, is one of the principal forms of cooperation with

84 'The European Union and the African Union: A Statistical Portrait', Luxembourg 2014, see: <<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/3217494/6459808/KS-FQ-14-001-EN-1.pdf/16e05aa1-e9b2-4315-b0b5-aae26ba9ef33>>, p. 18.

North African countries. Nevertheless, during and after the Arab Spring, the EU was largely a bystander and was unable to significantly influence developments.<sup>85</sup> In November 2015, the EU revised its policy in response to the radical changes in its neighbouring countries.<sup>86</sup> It now focuses on political priorities, is adapted to the situation in each partner country and aims to be more flexible in allocating funds. One of the ENP's main priorities is generating jobs for young people. It also provides for cooperation in the security sector (conflict prevention, counterterrorism and combating radicalisation) and includes efforts to tackle irregular migration, human trafficking and people smuggling. Compared to the first version of the ENP, the new policy is more realistic and less idealistic, expectations are not as high, it no longer has a one-size-fits-all approach, it places greater emphasis on involving neighbouring countries, and it is less stringent in enforcing conditionality.

#### *EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy*

The new EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy currently being drawn up under the leadership of High Representative Federica Mogherini will probably be issued in June 2016 and will undoubtedly devote attention to Northern Africa.<sup>87</sup> In her preparatory assessment report, Mogherini says about North Africa: 'The EU needs to tackle the immediate challenges in its South by sharpening its tools in the internal-external security nexus and addressing immediate humanitarian crises. We also need to respond to old and new conflicts and help address the root causes of resentment through tailor-made responses.'<sup>88</sup>

#### *Cotonou Agreement*

The Cotonou Agreement contains arrangements between the EU and the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP countries) on development cooperation, political cooperation, economic and trade cooperation, regional integration and security.<sup>89</sup>

#### *Joint Africa-EU Strategy*

The Joint Strategy dates from 2007 and aims to establish a partnership between the EU and Africa. In 2014, it was decided to draw up a Roadmap for EU-Africa Relations for 2014-2017 in areas including peace and security, good governance and human rights,

85 'Against the backdrop of the Middle East and North Africa descending into ever greater levels of chaos and violence, the EU and its member states have been largely reduced to being bystanders, dealing with the symptoms of crises rather than impacting – let alone shaping – the path of developments.' Muriel Asseburg, 'The EU in the Middle East and North Africa', *SWP Comments*, November 2014, p. 1. See also AIV advisory report no. 91, 'The Netherlands and the Arab Region: A Principled and Pragmatic Approach', The Hague, 6 March 2015.

86 Joint Communication to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Brussels, 18 November 2015.

87 See: <<https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/en/rethinking-eu%E2%80%99s-approach-towards-north-africa-and-middle-east>> and <<https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/en/redefining-our-relationship-africa>>.

88 'The European Union in a Changing Global Environment: A More Connected and Complex World'. European External Action Service, 2015, p. 2.

89 See: <[http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/acp/overview/cotonou-agreement/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/acp/overview/cotonou-agreement/index_en.htm)>.

democratisation, sustainable and inclusive growth and migration.<sup>90</sup> Besides this strategy, the EU has drawn up separate strategies for the various regions in Northern Africa. The Sahel Regional Action Plan for 2015-2020 was launched in 2015 with the following main priorities: preventing and combating radicalisation, greater opportunities for young people, migration and border controls, and combating illegal trade and cross-border crime.<sup>91</sup>

#### *Cooperation between the EU and Africa on migration*

The EU and Africa have been working together for a long time on migration, at continental, regional and bilateral level.<sup>92</sup> In 2007, the EU and Africa entered into a partnership on migration, mobility and employment. A joint strategy was agreed and, in the intervening years, a series of action plans have been drawn up on issues like human trafficking, mobility, labour migration and irregular migration. Young people are a specific focus here as well. In addition, regional programmes have been set up for development and protection in the vicinity of conflict areas. The EU supports activities by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) to combat illegal trade and people smuggling in border areas, and there is an EU action plan for voluntary return to countries of origin. The EU has concluded bilateral mobility partnerships with a number of countries to promote policy dialogue and operational cooperation on asylum and migration issues.

In November 2015, in response to the acute migration crisis, European and African heads of state and government came together at a summit in Valletta, Malta, and agreed an action plan to address root causes of irregular migration and forced displacement, reinforce cooperation on legal migration and mobility, improve the protection of migrants and asylum seekers, prevent and combat irregular migration, migrant smuggling and human trafficking, and step up cooperation on return, readmission and reintegration. The action plan is funded from a newly established EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa, which receives financial resources from the European Development Fund, the EU budget and member states. In April 2016, the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs signed agreements on behalf of the EU with Mali, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire on migration, return and development.<sup>93</sup>

#### *The Union for the Mediterranean*

In 1995, the Barcelona Declaration outlined a framework for political consultations between the EU and a number of Mediterranean countries. Besides trade, the economy and social and cultural issues, the consultations also address security. On the basis of the Barcelona Process, Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreements have been concluded with several countries, including Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. This partnership – now known as the Union for the Mediterranean – has, however, yielded few definite practical results.

90 See: <[http://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/sites/default/files/documents/eas2007\\_joint\\_strategy\\_en.pdf](http://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/sites/default/files/documents/eas2007_joint_strategy_en.pdf)>.

91 Council Conclusions on the Sahel Regional Action Plan 2015-2020, Brussels, 20 April 2015.

92 See: <[http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-15-6026\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-6026_en.htm)> and <[https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/eu-policy/communication-global-approach-migration-and-mobility-gamm\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/eu-policy/communication-global-approach-migration-and-mobility-gamm_en)>.

93 See: <<http://magazines.government.nl/fa/eu2016-ezine/2016/04/agreements-on-migration-with-mali-ghana-and-cote-d%E2%80%99ivoire>>.

### *EU missions*

The EU has conducted several missions in Africa in recent years as part of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), focusing on security sector reform (SSR), policing and border control. They include EUMAM CAR (Central African Republic), EUCAP Nestor (Horn of Africa), EUSEC DRC (Democratic Republic of the Congo), EUBAM (Libya), EUTM Mali (Mali), EUCAP Sahel (Mali and Niger), EUNAVFOR Med/Sophia (Mediterranean), EUTM Somalia (Somalia) and Operation ATALANTA (off the coast of Somalia). In the coming years the EU is expected to contribute mainly to capacity building, for example in the form of training missions. Although the EU Battlegroups could play an important role as an initial entry force for UN or AU operations, the political threshold for their actual deployment can be expected to remain high, especially while there is still no satisfactory solution for funding it. The European Union Naval Force (EUNAVFOR Med /Operation Sophia) is currently active in the Mediterranean, focusing on identifying and examining criminal networks and trafficking patterns. The mission is also permitted to search and confiscate smugglers' boats. The anti-piracy ATALANTA mission is being conducted off the coast of Somalia.

### *The EU Conflict Early Warning System*

Besides tackling acute crises and investing in country-level developments, the EU also aims to identify challenges before they (re)appear or escalate.<sup>94</sup> The need for preventive measures arose in the 1990s. When the international community failed to intervene in a series of conflicts on time, the need for early warning was placed on the agenda.<sup>95</sup> The EU Conflict Early Warning System is designed to identify structural security risks within countries at an early stage by systematically gathering and analysing information on the situation inside countries and developing strategic instruments to contain potential conflicts.

### *Frontex*

The European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (Frontex) has been in existence since 1 May 2005. Its main task is to support EU member states – which are themselves primarily responsible for controlling their borders – in guarding the outer borders of the Schengen area. To achieve that aim, Frontex conducts a wide variety of activities, including operations on land, sea and air borders. It also provides training to ensure consistent European border controls, and supports repatriation by member states. Frontex is actively involved in Operation Triton in the Mediterranean in response to the drowning of many refugees and migrants, and its experts are being deployed in Italian hotspots.

### *EUROGENDFOR*

The European Gendarmerie Force (EUROGENDFOR, EGF) is a multinational initiative by seven EU member states (France, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania and Spain). The EGF can be seen as an integrated instrument designed to carry out a variety of police tasks in support of the EU, the UN, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), NATO and possible ad hoc coalitions. It is currently participating in the EUMAM RCA mission in the Central African Republic, helping to

94 See: <[http://eeas.europa.eu/cfsp/conflict\\_prevention/docs/201409\\_factsheet\\_conflict\\_earth\\_warning\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/cfsp/conflict_prevention/docs/201409_factsheet_conflict_earth_warning_en.pdf)>.

95 See: <[http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20100300\\_lfp-EW\\_report.pdf](http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20100300_lfp-EW_report.pdf)>, p. 7.

strengthen the rule of law, preserve public order and combat impunity. The EGF is also taking part in the EUCAP Sahel mission in Mali, where it mainly helps with training members of the Malian Gendarmerie and National Guard.

As the above (not exhaustive) summary shows, the EU possesses a broad range of civil, military and Community instruments alongside the activities of individual member states. This places the EU in a good position to take an approach to security and stability problems in Northern Africa.<sup>96</sup> At the same time, the multitude of programmes, bodies and activities makes a coordinated approach a complex matter from the outset and detracts from the EU's effectiveness. There is much room for improvement, despite the introduction of coordination mechanisms, consultation processes and other efforts to improve coordination between the CSDP and Europe's development policy.<sup>97</sup>

### **III.2 North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

Northern Africa is not a priority for NATO. Since 1994 there has been a NATO Mediterranean Dialogue with Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia, based on common security interests, including building the capacity of the security sector in the region through, for example, train-the-trainer programmes.<sup>98</sup> Contacts between NATO and the AU are limited. There is only one NATO Senior Military Liaison Officer at the headquarters of the African Standby Force (ASF) in Addis Ababa. At the AU's request, NATO has been supporting AU missions and strengthening their capacity since 2005, supplying air transport and technical support for the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) I and II (2005-2007), strategic airlift, sealift and expertise for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and technical assistance for the ASF. Through Operation Ocean Shield, NATO is also active in combating piracy. In 2011, NATO provided assistance in enforcing a no-fly zone and the arms embargo in Libya. The lack of consultation with African leaders at the time and the negative aftereffects of this operation did little to improve NATO's image in the AU.<sup>99</sup>

In its declaration at the Wales summit in September 2014, NATO expressed its willingness for the first time to help tackle security problems in the Sahel-Sahara region,

96 Hans Merket, *'De geïntegreerde EU-benadering'*, in Dick Zandee (ed.), *'De EU als veiligheidsactor'*, p. 1.

97 Dick Zandee (ed.), *'De EU als veiligheidsactor'*, pp. 42-44.

98 See: <[http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_60021.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_60021.htm)>.

99 Allan Pepper, 'Africa: A Region for Enhanced NATO-EU Cooperation', Research Paper, NATO Defence College, Rome, no. 114, May 2015, p. 4. See also Mehari Taddele Mar, 'Resetting AU-NATO Relations: From Ad Hoc Military-Technical Cooperation to Strategic Partnership', Research Paper, NATO Defence College, Rome, no. 102, June 2014, pp. 3-4.

but mainly as a complement to activities of the UN, AU and EU.<sup>100</sup> In August 2015, NATO and the AU held their first military-to military consultations on Africa, and NATO delivered training modules at the AU's request.<sup>101</sup> Options for expanding NATO support include practical help in the form of military materiel, capacity building in the regions in cooperation with the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) – especially the North Africa Regional Capability (NARC), which is responsible for the development of the ASF's Northern Brigade – and expansion of the political dialogue.<sup>102</sup>

### III.3 United Nations

The UN is active on the African continent through a large number of its organisations and programmes,<sup>103</sup> working closely in all these activities with the RECs. At this moment, of the 16 UN missions currently under way, nine are in Africa.<sup>104</sup> Almost 50% of UN military personnel come from Africa and 78% are deployed on the African continent. This is in itself logical, given that most UN operations are conducted in Africa. Other – Western – countries prefer to provide training and materiel ('train and equip'). The US is one of the main donors in this respect, providing \$228 million in support for crisis management operations in 2014.<sup>105</sup> In 2003, the UN appointed a Special Adviser on Africa to promote international support for development and security in Africa and coordinate the various UN efforts on the continent. In addition, the UN has Special Representatives for the AU, Libya, Mali, the Sahel, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, West Africa and the Western Sahara.<sup>106</sup>

100 'While Mali has re-established a constitutional order, we recognise that terrorist acts and the trafficking of arms, drugs, and people across the Sahel-Sahara region threaten regional and our own security. We welcome the efforts of the UN and underscore the importance of a strong commitment by the international community to address the complex security and political challenges in this region. In this respect, we welcome the comprehensive Sahel strategies of the African Union and the EU. We also welcome the robust and credible military commitment of Allies in the Sahel-Sahara region, which contributes to the reaffirmation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the African countries concerned, and to the security of the Alliance. NATO is prepared to explore, upon request by the countries concerned, where it can contribute to address[ing] these challenges, in full coordination with UN, EU, regional and bilateral efforts.' See: <[http://www.nato.int/cps/ic/natohq/official\\_texts\\_112964.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/ic/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm)>, par. 39.

101 Secretary-General's Annual Report for 2015, Brussels, January 2016, p. 58.

102 Markus Kaim, 'Prospects for AU-NATO Cooperation', in Brooke A. Smith-Windsor (ed.) 'AU-NATO Collaboration: Implications and Prospects', pp. 85-87.

103 See: <<http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/africa/index.shtml>>.

104 MINUSCA (CAR, 11,644 personnel), MONUSCO (DRC, 23,438 personnel), UNOCI (Côte d'Ivoire, 8,031 personnel), UNMIL (Liberia, 6,541 personnel), MINUSMA (Mali, 12,893 personnel), UNAMID (Sudan (Darfur), 21,357 personnel), MINURSO (Western Sahara, 482 personnel), UNMISS (South Sudan, 15,106 personnel) and UNISFA (South Sudan (Abyei), 4,721 personnel).

105 Daniel Hampton, 'Creating Sustainable Peacekeeping Capability in Africa', Africa Security Brief, no. 27, April 2014, p. 2.

106 See: <<http://www.un.org/sg/srsg/africa.shtml>>.



### III.4 African Union

The AU is currently conducting four missions.<sup>107</sup> It attaches great importance to African ownership and to the 'Africanisation' of solutions to security problems on the continent. In 2001, in response to the failure of the international community to respond effectively to the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, the AU set up an African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) in cooperation with the RECs. The aim of the APSA is to seek 'African solutions to African problems'. It consists of a Peace and Security Council, a Panel of the Wise, a Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the African Standby Force (ASF), the AU Peace Fund and, since 2013, the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis.<sup>108</sup> Under its Constitutive Act, in 'grave circumstances' (genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes), the AU is authorised to intervene in the internal affairs of a member state.<sup>109</sup>

The African Standby Force consists of military, police and civil units. Its headquarters are in Addis Ababa. It was aimed to achieve full operational capability by 2010, with a force of 15,000 military personnel. The ASF was intended to be able to conduct a maximum of two operations simultaneously. It is made up of five regional brigades. Each REC has its own brigade with, in time, its own regional headquarters. These are the North African Regional Standby Brigade, the East Africa Standby Brigade, the Multinational Force of Central Africa, the Southern Africa Standby Brigade and the ECOWAS Standby Brigade. So far, the ASF is not the effective peace force that AU had in mind when it was established. It does not have an efficient command and control structure, common training standards or standing operating procedures, and cooperation between the various levels within the AU is poor. Moreover, it is mainly the same countries that provide troops, deployment is mainly in neighbouring countries and there is a lack of materiel.<sup>110</sup> African units often have insufficient supporting 'enablers', like transport helicopters and the resources to deploy units rapidly, and have difficulty sustaining operations for a long period.<sup>111</sup> The countries themselves provide few financial resources for AU crisis management operations: only 2%

107 Nigeria: Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF): 7,500-10,000 troops (regional mission under AU mandate); Somalia: African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM); Sudan (Darfur): United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID); Uganda: African Union-led Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (AU-led RCI-LRA). Besides these missions the AU has a number of rapid deployment standby forces: the ECOWAS standby force, the ECCAS standby force, the Eastern Africa standby force and the SADC standby brigade. The development of a North African standby force (NARC) has experienced delays.

108 See: <<http://www.au.int/en/organs/recs>> and 'The African Peace and Security Architecture: Still Under Construction'. Briefing, Directorate-General for External Policies, March 2014, pp. 4-7.

109 Marina Caparini and Ann Livingstone, 'African Perspectives on Challenges of Police Command in Peace Support Operations', ISS Paper 276, November 2014.

110 Dick Zandee (ed.), *'De EU als veiligheidsactor'*, p. 13.

111 Interview with Major General (ret) P. Cammaert, The Hague, 14 March 2016.

of the budget, with the rest coming from donors.<sup>112</sup>

Standby forces are better integrated in West and Southern Africa than in North and East Africa. For that reason, the AU was totally unable to play a role during the crisis in Libya in 2011. The ECOWAS mission in Mali was illustrative of the problems facing African units and why it is often necessary for the UN to take over. The mission's problems included an unclear division of tasks between ECOWAS, the AU and the UN and insufficient military capability.<sup>113</sup> While the AU Peace and Security Protocol opted for a multidimensional approach – including restoring the rule of law, establishing and supporting democratic institutions, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration – the emphasis in the ASF is often more on the military than on the civil component.<sup>114</sup> Deploying police units in a peace operation is complicated and requires specific skills and capacities.<sup>115</sup>

Counterterrorism has long been a focus for the AU. In 2002 it adopted the Algiers Plan of Action on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in Africa, and in 2004 it set up the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism and drew up the African Model Anti-Terrorism Law.<sup>116</sup> Cooperation in this area has proved somewhat challenging. Not all African countries are faced with terrorism in the same way, and some do not want the AU intervening in their internal affairs. In addition, most countries lack the resources to take counterterrorist measures.

The EU provides the AU with more support than NATO does. Its Political and Security Committee (PSC) holds regular consultations, it supplies military advisers, and it finances the CEWS, the Panel of the Wise and ASF training. To date, NATO has provided limited support for the ASF (evaluation, limited training and workshops). The EU has been supporting AU peace missions financially since 2004 through the EU African Peace Facility, with a budget of €750 million for 2014-2016. It has also reserved €100 million to strengthen the capacity and effective functioning of the APSA.

#### *G5 Sahel*

The G5 Sahel was established in February 2015 on the initiative of the heads of state of Burkina Faso, Chad, Niger, Mali and Mauritania to strengthen regional cooperation on security and development.<sup>117</sup> More than ten joint patrols have been carried out and the group works closely with French operations in the area.<sup>118</sup> The EU sees the G5 Sahel

112 'Towards a New Pax Africana: Making, Keeping, Building Peace in Post-Cold War Africa', Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, March 2014, p. 3.

113 Xenia Avezov, 'The New Geopolitics of Peace Operations II: A Dialogue with Sahel-Saharan Africa'. SIPRI Workshop Report, Bamako, 16-18 November 2015, p. 4.

114 Judith Vorrath, 'Imbalances in the Africa Peace and Security Architecture', SWP Comments 29, September 2012.

115 Marina Caparini and Ann Livingstone, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

116 Simon Allison, 'Good Talk, Not Enough Action: The AU's Counter-Terrorism Architecture and Why It Matters', ISS Policy Brief 66, March 2015, p. 5.

117 See: <<http://www.g5sahel.org/index.php/qui-sommes-nous/le-g5-sahel>>.

118 See: <<http://malisnews.com/en/g5-sahel-cooperation-is-progressing-but-the-road-is-long/>>.

as a promising partnership and aims to cooperate with the group to combat terrorism, goods and people smuggling, and cross-border crime. A number of EU member states, including France and Spain, also see good prospects for cooperation with the G5 Sahel.

### **III.5 AFRICOM**

The United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) focuses on building the capacity of the armed forces of African partner countries through joint manoeuvres, training and materiel projects. The Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) programme is specifically aimed at instruction, training and material support for units deployed in UN or AU peace missions, such as the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The US has a shortage of instructors due to its many other obligations. Besides the ACOTA programme, AFRICOM has set up the African Partnership Station (APS) and African Partnership Flight (APF). As part of APS a navy ship visits ports on Africa's west and east coasts to help build coastguard capabilities. One country supplies the ship, while other countries provide the instructors and the training. APF was created because lack of strategic and tactical air transport is the main obstacle in the deployment of African troops for peace operations on the continent. The largest AFRICOM presence in Africa is the Djibouti-based Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa (CJTF-HoA), whose mandate includes counterterrorism.

# IV Options for the Netherlands

## IV.1 Effects, interests and policy

### IV.1.1 Effects

*'The instability in Europe's immediate vicinity forces us to face the facts. We cannot close our eyes to our neighbours' problems. In a world with open borders and human freedoms, neighbours have a duty to help each other. Stability is in our common interest. And so many other themes are tied to it: peace and security, radicalisation and migration, rippling outward in ever-greater concentric circles. We can plainly see how the problems in the Maghreb connect with those in the Sahel, and how those in the Horn tie in with those in Yemen, especially since the disintegration of Libya. So we are asking Africa to act!'*<sup>119</sup>

Foreign minister Bert Koenders spoke these words at the annual Africa Day on 7 November 2015. Given the insecurity and instability in Northern Africa, it is striking that the government has not yet produced a new comprehensive policy vision on Africa since the publication of the memorandum 'Strong People, Weak States' in 2003. After all, like the EU as a whole, the Netherlands is directly affected by developments on the African continent. Given the unfavourable prospects in the longer term for terrorism/religious extremism, crime and migration flows, this impact on the Netherlands will only increase.

There are no exact data on the effects of these security risks for the Netherlands. The threat of terrorism and religious extremism in the Netherlands has been 'substantial' for some time.<sup>120</sup> According to the March 2016 Terrorist Threat Assessment for the Netherlands, the jihadist threat to Western countries 'stems partly from the presence of a jihadist movement in Western countries themselves and partly from developments further afield, especially in the Middle East and North Africa'.<sup>121</sup> In its 2014 Annual Report, the General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD) notes that 'there are some long-established jihadist networks active in Europe. They maintain relationships with like-minded groups in the Middle East and North Africa'.<sup>122</sup> For the moment, the threat from the Middle East seems to be by far the most serious; in the words of the National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism (NCTV), 'despite the increased interest in Libya among Dutch jihadists, Syria remains their destination of choice'.<sup>123</sup>

The 2012 Organised Crime Threat Assessment reports with regard to crime and Africa that Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and Belgium are major points of entry for

119 Speech by foreign minister Bert Koenders opening Africa Day, 7 November 2015, see: <<https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/toespraken/2015/11/07/toespraak-minister-koenders-opening-afrikadag-in-amsterdam>>.

120 Summary of the 41st Terrorist Threat Assessment for the Netherlands, March 2016, p. 1.

121 Ibid, p. 3.

122 AIVD Annual Report 2014, p. 18.

123 Terrorist Threat Assessment for the Netherlands 40, November 2015.

cocaine being transported from Colombia, Peru and Bolivia by way of Mauritania and West African countries.<sup>124</sup> The report says that cocaine smuggling via Africa can be expected to increase, stating that the African economy 'is growing and with it, the flow of goods through African ports. That creates new opportunities for smugglers.'<sup>125</sup> It also notes that, with traditional routes coming under more and more pressure, Africa will increasingly become a transit continent for heroin as smugglers take advantage of its corruption, poverty and limited police capacity.<sup>126</sup> West African networks are expected to play a prominent role in this traffic. Exploitation of African labour is expected to rise, as demographic changes lead to a growing supply of especially young people seeking work. West African networks are involved in human trafficking in the Netherlands,<sup>127</sup> and around 24% of trafficking victims come from Africa.<sup>128</sup>

In terms of numbers of applications for asylum in the Netherlands, Eritreans have long been second on the list. Many refugees and migrants from other African countries, however, prefer France or the UK. Between March 2015 and February 2016, more than 60,000 people applied for asylum in the Netherlands, 46% of whom came from Syria and 14% from Eritrea. The next African country on the list is Somalia, accounting for only 1% of asylum seekers. The 'Other' category (21%) includes people from Africa but they are not recorded as such.<sup>129</sup> Highly skilled migrants do not come from Northern Africa.<sup>130</sup>

#### **IV.1.2 Interests and policy**

The Netherlands is comfortable with the recently revised EU Neighbourhood Policy, but does not see it as a gateway to EU membership.<sup>131</sup> It sees many benefits in linking, for example, economic cooperation and efforts to promote the rule of law, and believes that supporting security sector reform can present an opportunity to increase democratic control.

Migration is a major focus of Dutch foreign policy, to which both the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation devote considerable attention. 'Security has always been part of our 3D approach: defence, development and diplomacy,' said Mr Koenders on Africa Day. 'The issues of refugees and migration have now been added too. The migration agenda urgently requires

124 Organised Crime Threat Assessment 2012, p. 34.

125 Ibid, p. 37.

126 Ibid, p. 40.

127 See: <<https://www.dutchrapporteur.nl/current/news/RapporteurgeneratetoonnetwerkenfacilitatorsandmoneyNewquantitativerapporttonhumantrafficking.aspx>>.

128 'Mensenhandel in and uit beeld II: Cijfermatige rapportage 2008-2012', The Hague, 13 May 2014, p. 37.

129 IND, 'Asylum Trends: Monthly Report on Asylum Applications in the Netherlands and Europe', February 2016, p. 4.

130 'Monitor Kennismigranten: Kwantitatieve analyse', IND, The Hague, July 2013, p. 32.

131 Government assessment of revised European Neighbourhood Policy, 18 November 2015, p. 1.

cooperation with Africa (...) and a new international partnership for stability.<sup>132</sup> The Netherlands would like to see the European Council provide stronger political leadership, with a single EU strategy being developed for each African country so that the EU's trade, development cooperation, security and diplomacy instruments are deployed coherently. The Netherlands is also in favour of active involvement of African countries and the AU, and advocates a regional approach.<sup>133</sup> The government would like to see greater attention paid to the reception of refugees in the region. Substantial regular migration is not as high on the agenda: 'The government will critically assess new EU initiatives for regular migration to ensure that they do not conflict with the Netherlands' labour migration policy.'<sup>134</sup>

The Netherlands contributes to both bilateral and multilateral migration initiatives. It has pledged €15 million to the EU Trust Fund and has set up an NGO fund to address the root causes of instability, conflict and forced migration. In cooperation with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the Netherlands is helping the Somali government to manage its borders. In northern Ethiopia, it is supporting a project to improve facilities for Eritrean refugees. In addition, the Netherlands will for the next several years be leading the EU's Regional Development and Protection Programme in the Horn of Africa. For the Sahel region, it has allocated €1.5 million to support UN and other efforts to fight crime. €3 million was made available earlier to combat the root causes of migration and prevent radicalisation, besides the Dutch contribution to water, food security and entrepreneurship programmes in the region. The Netherlands considers it important to invest heavily in employment for young people and has released various funds for this.<sup>135</sup> In addition, it is financing a Small Arms Survey research project to map smuggling routes in North Africa.<sup>136</sup> If a new mission is sent to Libya, the Netherlands will advocate including border control training and combating people smuggling in its mandate.<sup>137</sup>

The Netherlands supports stepping up cooperation with African countries to establish an effective legal and institutional framework and effective border controls. In the government's view, African capacities can also be strengthened through the various CSDP missions and cooperation in Frontex. In addition, the Netherlands seeks to strengthen operational cooperation with transit countries in the Horn of Africa, the Sahel region and North African countries like Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria.<sup>138</sup> It will also explore the options for linking visa facilitation with return and transfer agreements and returning migrants to potential employers in their countries of origin.<sup>139</sup>

132 Speech by foreign minister Bert Koenders on Africa Day 2015.

133 Government objectives for Valletta summit, 3 November 2015, p. 2.

134 Government assessment of the revised European Neighbourhood Policy, p. 4.

135 Government objectives for Valletta summit, p. 3.

136 Letter on Libya from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the President of the House of Representatives, The Hague, 8 March 2016, p. 8.

137 Ibid, pp. 8-9.

138 Government objectives for Valletta summit, p. 2.

139 Government objectives for Valletta summit, p. 3.

## **IV.2 Deployment of the armed forces in Northern Africa**

### ***IV.2.1 Deployment framework***

The preceding chapters show that, in light of both geopolitical, security and trade interests and the humanitarian situation in this part of Africa, the Dutch armed forces will need to continue to participate in international missions in Northern Africa in the coming period. It is almost unavoidable that this will require making more geographical choices. Direct security interests mean that, for the Netherlands, the focus should lie more on Northern Africa.<sup>140</sup> In short-term interventions promoting fast security, the emphasis must primarily lie on reducing the direct security threat to Europe and the Netherlands. In promoting slow (long-term) security, the deployment of the armed forces will have to be more clearly part of an integrated approach.

Dutch armed forces will always be deployed in Northern Africa as part of an international effort, primarily through the UN, EU and NATO. Actual troop deployment on AU or ECOWAS missions is unlikely, with the exception of materiel support and joint manoeuvres combined with instruction and training of military units. Deployment is possible in a bilateral framework, as in AFRICOM's ACOTA programme, and Dutch forces may also participate in missions by other individual countries, for example France's Operation Barkhane in the Sahel. Of course, military contributions to ad hoc coalitions are another possibility. Lastly, Dutch forces may be deployed as part of the European Gendarmerie Force (EGF).

### ***IV.2.2 Current deployment of Dutch armed forces in Africa***

Dutch military personnel are currently active in Mali (MINUSMA), in EU training missions in Somalia, the Central African Republic and Mali (limited contributions involving only officers and NCOs), in anti-piracy operations in Somali waters (ATALANTA and Vessel Protection Detachments) and in South Sudan (UNMISS, officers and NCOs only). The Netherlands has also supplied a military planner to the EU's Liaison and Planning Cell in Tunisia to support its efforts to combat refugee transport networks operating from Libya. In addition, the Netherlands is taking part in the ACOTA programme, which aims to increase the capacities of 25 African countries to conduct peacekeeping missions in Africa (with a mandate from the UN and/or the AU). ACOTA trains three battalion task groups in succession each year, with up to 3,500 soldiers in each group.

Within ACOTA, Dutch Special Forces (SF) – the Commando Corps and the SF component of the Royal Netherlands Marine Corps – and personnel from 1 Civil and Military Interaction Command take part in Flintlock, an annual exercise which focuses on building the capabilities of African partner countries. In 2016, Flintlock mainly took place in Senegal and Mauritania. The training aims to make the participating countries more resilient to regional threats, such as violent extremism and smuggling of people, arms and drugs. It is based on an integrated approach with other government bodies, including gendarmerie and border control units, taking part in the training.

Last year, the Netherlands supplied a coastguard aircraft for two periods of a month for the Frontex Operation Triton. In 2016, an aircraft will again be made available for two month-long periods. It will conduct patrol flights over the Mediterranean between Italy and Libya to chart illegal migration flows from North Africa to Europe. A navy ship will also be deployed in the summer. The operation is coordinated by Frontex in accordance

140 See also AIV advisory report no. 94, 'Instability around Europe: Confrontation with a New Reality', The Hague, 30 April 2015.

with instructions from the Italian authorities. The Dutch contribution to Triton is led by the Royal Military and Border Police, under the auspices of the Ministry of Security and Justice. The crew of the aircraft are air force and navy personnel, observers from the Military and Border Police, the Customs and Rijkswaterstaat (the Dutch public works department) and an Italian liaison officer.

#### ***IV.2.3 Future deployment of Dutch armed forces in Northern Africa***

Given the security threat to Europe and the Netherlands, in addition to the armed forces' current deployment in the Horn of Africa and West Africa, their deployment in North Africa and the Sahel is becoming increasingly important. This priority should also be acknowledged by posting Dutch defence attachés to Northern Africa. Any involvement should continue to be based as much as possible on both an integrated approach and the principle of strengthening African ownership by stressing the responsibility of African governments and organisations. In the coming period, the armed forces will continue to be deployed mainly through the EU, the UN and NATO, with the role of the EU expected to increase. Greater priority will be given to supporting the AU's regional security organisations. Given the often large number of initiatives by actors such as the EU, the UN and the AU, the absorption capacity of African countries is an important factor in providing military and other forms of support to those countries. The countries involved should also be open to support and use it effectively. Some do not welcome large-scale military intervention, despite the problems they face. The Dutch armed forces have the highly trained personnel and materiel capabilities to contribute to security sector reform (SSR) and help strengthen regional crisis management capacity aimed at, for example, counterterrorism and border control. In the coming period, the Dutch armed forces will most probably be more active in Northern Africa, in order to prepare Dutch units for deployment through training and exercises and to engage in operational cooperation with partner countries. Coordination between the various actors involved will have to improve substantially to ensure that this deployment is effective. In Somalia, for example, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the East African Community, the Arab League, the AU, the UN, the EU, individual countries in the region and bilateral donors are all active, each with their own approach. This leads to situations like checkpoints with Somali troops dressed in five different uniforms, trained by different countries with different doctrines.

Dutch involvement in unilateral operations (for example, the French operation Barkhane) can be a problem if the people of the country see the operation as only serving the interests of the country conducting it. Armed forces in African countries are often formed along ethnic lines and loyalty is based on ethnic origin. As military cooperation aims to stabilise and promote the rule of law in these often fragile countries, it can clearly be a problem if the regime is manifestly heinous and uses the country's armed forces mainly to secure its own interests.

#### *Possible military deployment in the Horn of Africa, West Africa, North Africa and the Sahel*

The Netherlands will need to continue to contribute proportionately to NATO and/or EU anti-piracy missions in Somali waters. African states can be encouraged to take their responsibility by including countries like Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique in the Ocean Shield and ATALANTA missions. As the root causes of piracy have by no means been removed, the Netherlands' participation in the civil EUCAP Nestor mission aimed at maritime capacity building is useful. In addition, with al-Shabaab a formidable adversary for AU and Somali troops in the country, it is important to continue the EU military training mission in Somalia (EUTM Somalia). With a view to combating piracy and extremism and to building capacity, the posting of a liaison officer to CJTF HoA in Djibouti



should also be considered.<sup>141</sup>

Given the increasing importance of North Africa (the Maghreb countries and Egypt) and the Sahel, close military cooperation with the countries in the region is a logical step. The Dutch armed forces can make an important contribution not only to EU and NATO training programmes but also to those of AFRICOM. This of course calls for thorough preparation of the participating units, given local cultural differences and the many complex ethnic, tribal, religious and criminal networks. Training will have to focus on themes like counterterrorism and serious cross-border crime and where possible help to mitigate the migration problem (making the armed forces more sensitive to the migration issue). This could take the form of gathering information on and combating people smuggling and training security bodies in better border control in line with international legal principles. Future cooperation with Frontex also seems a logical step.

The substantial deployment of the armed forces in Mali (MINUSMA) with enablers (such as intelligence capacity, special forces, and combat and transport helicopters) cannot be sustained on its current scale for much longer without affecting the instruction and training of units in the Netherlands. The deployment of spare helicopter capacity in Africa, for example, has affected the readiness of the Air Assault Brigade. Each time, therefore, it will be necessary to weigh up whether and for how long a contribution, usually with niche capabilities, is a responsible course of action. Terminating Dutch involvement in MINUSMA would mean that increasing the Netherlands' contribution to the EUTM Mali – currently just one soldier – would need to be considered. The Netherlands could also consider contributing in the coming period to the AFRICOM/APS programme, which builds local coastguard capacities.

#### *Specific capabilities and priority concerns*

##### *Security sector reform*

Security sector reform (SSR) will become increasingly important in the coming years. SSR missions fit in perfectly with an integrated approach. They often have a high proportion of officers and NCOs, meaning that a relatively large impact can be achieved with a small footprint. Because experienced officers and NCOs are scarce in the armed forces, however, demand for them for these missions regularly leads to problems. Deploying key officers in units engaged in readiness programmes on SSR missions places their units under heavy pressure. One option worth considering is setting up (and financing) a separate armed forces-wide unit with a rotating pool of experienced officers and NCOs with sufficient command of French or other required languages to be deployed for SSR. This would mean adapting the Ministry of Defence staff establishment accordingly.

Instructing and training African armed forces requires extensive knowledge of the culture. A 'Western' command structure, for example, is not always customary in Africa. African ownership means taking account of that culture. To be sustainable, military instruction and training in Africa requires above all a train-the-trainer approach. Ultimately, African troops have to be trained by their own instructors. That calls for close supervision over a long period. Because many African troops participate in UN and AU missions, it is also important to harmonise different doctrines.

141 'The New Geopolitics of Peace Operations II: A Dialogue With The Greater Horn Of Africa', SIPRI Workshop Report, September 2015.

### *Deployment of Special Forces*

Dutch Special Forces (commandos and the SF component of the Royal Netherlands Marine Corps) can also play an important role in the international fight against terrorism in Northern Africa in the coming years, both through direct action and special reconnaissance and in training and mentoring local security troops (military assistance). Special Forces may also have to be deployed to evacuate Dutch nationals from Northern Africa (non-combatant evacuation operations).

### *Countering improvised explosive devices*

The Netherlands built up extensive counter-IED expertise during the Dutch mission in Afghanistan. This expertise can be transferred to partners involved in counterterrorism in Northern Africa.

### *Gender*

In conflict areas in Africa, women are a significant, if not the largest, group of victims of violence. Instruction and training programmes for African troops can include briefings and courses to raise gender awareness. Apart from safeguarding the rights of women and girls in conflicts, these courses should also devote attention to sexual violence against men.<sup>142</sup> Gender issues can also be addressed in exercises. To optimise contact with women in the local population, it is important to include female personnel in Dutch units where they are deployed. Investing in women in these regions can also be important for intelligence gathering.

### *Building coastguard capabilities*

Africa's coast and territorial waters are hardly secured and protected, if at all, allowing greater freedom for piracy. The situation can be improved by building up coastguard and naval capabilities in North African coastal regions. The Dutch armed forces could, for example, train African vessel protection detachments and boarding teams. Coastguard cooperation should take account of the fact that the Dutch coastguard model is unique and that there are significant differences between coastal North African countries, with each having its own way of operating.

### *Border control*

Migration and cross-border crime could be tackled better with improved border control capabilities. Specialists of the Royal Military and Border Police could give training to supplement Frontex and other EU efforts to improve inadequate border control capacity in Africa.<sup>143</sup> Special attention should be given to training African border control officers and coastguards on acting within the bounds of international law and respecting human rights.

### *Intelligence*

The importance of good intelligence cannot be overestimated. This applies not only to support for the Netherlands' own activities in Northern Africa but also to the African armed forces that receive Dutch support. Strengthening the intelligence organisations of African countries is also important in making operations more migration-sensitive.

142 Sandesh Sivakumaran, 'Sexual Violence against Men in Armed Conflict', *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 18 no. 2 (2007), see: <<http://ejil.oxfordjournals.org/content/18/2/253.full>>.

143 See also the letter from the Minister of Defence to the House of Representatives on implementing the Teeven/Knops motion on the armed forces' contribution to border control, 23 February 2016.

Threats to European security are making all the main tasks of the Dutch armed forces more important.<sup>144</sup> The recently published NATO Defence Planning Capability Review 2015/16 for the Netherlands underscores the shortcomings of the Dutch armed forces.<sup>145</sup> In the coming years, as a consequence of these shortcomings, the deployment of Dutch military units in Northern Africa will continually have to compete with the deployment of units elsewhere and with instruction and training programmes. The deployment of enablers like logistical and engineering support, transport helicopters and intelligence capacity – for which there is great demand on the African continent – particularly jeopardises the armed forces' readiness to perform all their main tasks. Another concern is financing the deployment of the armed forces for European border control to tackle the migration/refugee problem.

144 AIV advisory report no. 94, 'Instability around Europe: Confrontation with a New Reality', The Hague, 30 April 2015.

145 Letter from the Minister of Defence to the President of the House of Representatives, 24 March 2016.

# V Summary, conclusions and recommendations

## V.1 Summary and conclusions

Today the fate of Europe is tied to that of Africa more than ever before. In this report, the AIV focuses on the countries of North Africa, the Sahel, West Africa and the Horn of Africa, and especially on Mali and Libya. It uses the term 'Northern Africa' to refer to this region. Joint solutions have to be found for the enormous problems the region faces.

The prospects for Northern Africa are sombre and the security and stability of Europe – and therefore of the Netherlands – are directly threatened by the security risks prevalent in this part of Africa. These include terrorism and religious extremism, drugs and people smuggling, weapons proliferation and large-scale migration flows. The AIV assumes that these security risks will persist in the short and medium term and that the prospects for the long term are also unfavourable. Climate change and high population growth in Africa – prognoses suggest an increase of 1.2 billion people to a total of 4.4 billion by 2100 – are structural factors that help exacerbate the situation. Climate change is leading to desertification and water scarcity, with results including falling food production, increasing refugee flows and rising tensions. The substantial rise in population in Africa is not being paralleled by strong economic development, making migration from Africa to Europe not a temporary phenomenon but an issue that Europe will have to address permanently and to an increasing extent.

Where North Africa was formerly a buffer zone for the European continent, since 2011 it has become a source of instability. The chain of authoritarian states in the region has disappeared, and the situation is now highly differentiated, with a new authoritarian regime in Egypt, moderately authoritarian regimes in Algeria and Morocco, chaos in Libya, and a moderately positive situation in Tunisia. In addition, the problems of terrorism, uncontrolled migration and organised transnational crime have become much more severe. Partly as a consequence of shifting power relations in the Middle East, more and more Arab countries – including the Gulf States, Saudi Arabia and Qatar – as well as Turkey are showing an interest in Northern Africa and are trying to extend their influence in the region. The consequences of the Arab Spring are being felt in the adjoining regions of the Sahel, West Africa and the Horn of Africa, where there are many fragile states.

Europe finds itself in a new constellation. In recent decades, the EU's political position and influence in Africa have weakened considerably. The EU needs Northern Africa at least as much as Northern Africa needs Europe, and that calls for new, more equal relations. Furthermore, the EU has never been and is still not the only significant actor there. The UN plays a crucial role, alongside the AU and regional organisations like ECOWAS and the recently established G5 Sahel. Individual countries like the Arab states, the US, France, the UK, Italy and China are also active in the region.

### *Security problems*

Terrorism, cross-border crime and migration are not new phenomena in Northern Africa but, as a result of the current instability in the region, they have grown explosively and are causing serious problems. The security situation in the various countries is complex and conflicts are therefore increasingly diffuse in nature. There are of course considerable differences between the different countries and regions, but they share a number of common features. Armed conflict not only arises from political disagreement, but is also driven by criminal motives, extremist ideologies and violent militias. The

number of rebel movements, militias and terrorist organisations is increasing. There is a clear link between the security problems in North Africa and the Sahel and it is therefore important to consider them together in a cross-regional approach.

Islamic extremism is spreading in Northern Africa, and the presence of weak states is an important reason for the advance of jihadism in Africa as a whole. Jihadist movements are gaining footholds mainly where central government does not control the whole country and people in peripheral areas lack security and public services. Local and regional conflicts create a fertile breeding ground for the emergence of extremist movements, and these movements in turn are a cause of conflict. Jihadist movements are highly appealing to young people who are politically, socially and economically marginalised and are wrestling with their identities. The influence of radical Islamic groups in Africa makes the continent vulnerable to the influence of IS, as can be seen from the current situation in Libya.

Most countries in Northern Africa are having to deal with organised crime, people smuggling and trafficking in humans, arms and drugs. The Sahel has traditionally been a major transit region. Long-running conflicts and the fall of Gaddafi, who exercised control over a large proportion of the criminal networks in the region, have led to an enormous increase in illegal trade through the Sahel. There are close ties between criminal and terrorist groups. The chaos in Libya and the lack of border controls has made the country the perfect hub for transnational criminal networks. Existing smuggling routes are used intensively and the south of the country in particular is a haven for smugglers of arms, drugs and migrants. Refugees and migrants from Africa come from conflict areas like Eritrea, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia, and others – including Nigeria, Senegal and Gambia – which they are more likely to leave for economic reasons.

War, conflict, poor governance, environmental degradation and declining prospects for local food production, as well as systematic violations of human rights, are the main causes of the high numbers of refugees. Other major reasons are weak regional economies and chronic poverty. Europe is also attractive to well-educated young people because it offers better prospects for the future. Routes for migration, people smuggling and human trafficking have passed through Africa for centuries. The number of people being transported along these routes has risen considerably in recent years because of the increasing instability in North Africa. The region has developed close ties with criminal and terrorist networks. Libya and Egypt are the main points of departure for refugees and migrants. In 2015, 150,000 people made the crossing to Europe. Along the way, they are exposed to robbery and forced labour. Thousands drown in the Mediterranean Sea. These are shameful conditions to which the international community cannot close its eyes.

#### *International actors*

Many international organisations, including the UN, the EU, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Arab League and, to a lesser extent, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as individual countries, concern themselves with peace and security in Africa. Africa also has a number of organisations active in this area, including the African Union (AU) and the regional economic communities (SADC, ECCAS, ECOWAS and IGAD). It is a patchwork of organisations that sometimes work together and sometimes work at cross purposes. The AIV attaches the greatest importance to better coordination and more effective cooperation between the various international organisations. In Somalia, for example, IGAD, the East African Community,

the Arab League, the AU, the UN, the EU, individual countries in the region and bilateral donors are all active, each with their own approach. This leads to situations like checkpoints with Somali troops dressed in five different uniforms, trained by different countries with different doctrines – an exceptionally undesirable situation.

The international community has a tendency to respond when a crisis erupts and then withdraw again once the worst is over. The intervention in Libya in 2011 is a good example. The current situation in the country shows the disastrous consequences of such short-sighted policy. It is therefore important to identify crises at a much earlier stage and take prompt action. The EU Conflict Early Warning System is a useful instrument for this purpose.<sup>146</sup> Knowledge and information from NGOs are also indispensable. It is easier for the EU to take action than the UN, where there is always the risk of a stalemate in the Security Council. There is a close link between fast security (political and/or military intervention) and slow security (structural measures to promote stability, such as stimulating economic growth). There are situations in which fast security is required, but ideally it should be preceded and followed by slow security measures. In the AIV's opinion, when designing missions, it is especially important to bear in mind the long term: the mission's political aim, its various phases, capacity building in the long term ('train the trainers') and the desired end state. An early civil assessment, including a very thorough analysis of social and cultural factors, is particularly essential. Because of the cross-border nature of security problems, it may be necessary to give a mission a regional basis. The availability of military materiel and enablers like strategic transport and medical support often proves to be an obstacle. That calls for specific investments. For a sustainable result, it may be necessary to persist with a mission for a longer period.

The countries of Northern Africa are Europe's close neighbours. The two regions have close ties as a result of their shared colonial past. The EU has a wide range of instruments at its disposal, ranging from trade to crisis management missions, and would be well advised to transform its largely defensive approach into a constructive agenda of dialogue, aid and cooperation. Security, development and political reform (governance) should be integral parts of such an agenda. Given the rising tensions in the region, the AIV believes that the EU should make the promotion of security and stability in Northern Africa a main priority of its policy, with a special focus on the Sahel countries, because of the region's key position. This focus on stability must, however, not lead to other issues being removed from the agenda. The EU could place its relations with Northern Africa within the general framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Union for the Mediterranean, which emerged from the Barcelona Process. The existing individual Mediterranean Partnerships also offer the scope to take account of countries' diverse characteristics and ambitions. The AIV does, however, have a critical comment on the way in which the EU deploys its wide range of civil, military and Community instruments, alongside the activities of individual EU member states. There are so many programmes, bodies and activities that a coordinated approach is impossible from the outset, which undermines the EU's effectiveness. The effectiveness of some of the instruments can also be questioned. The AIV considers it crucial for EU institutions and individual member states to make a greater effort to increase the effectiveness of European programmes in Northern Africa.

146 See: <[http://eeas.europa.eu/cfsp/conflict\\_prevention/docs/201409\\_factsheet\\_conflict\\_earth\\_warning\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/cfsp/conflict_prevention/docs/201409_factsheet_conflict_earth_warning_en.pdf)>.

The security risks on Europe's eastern flank require attention too, of course, but these are in the first instance NATO's responsibility. On the southern flank, it is up to the EU to play a leading role. That calls for structural improvements in coordination between EU bodies and between these bodies and member states. There are benefits to be gained in Brussels from better streamlining and coordination of EU instruments. EU bodies and Delegations, member states' embassies and NGOs could work more closely together in the field. Given the instruments at its disposal, the EU is best equipped to contribute to slow security, while the member states are better placed to focus on fast security because they have the necessary resources, including intelligence and military materiel. For that reason, the AIV feels that the EU should focus more on training missions, leaving more classical crisis management operations to be led by member states, especially the larger ones, in coalitions of the willing. The AIV expects NATO to continue to play a limited role in North Africa in the future.

The refugee and migration issue has a prominent place in the EU's internal and external policies. The EU has taken measures, including through the Frontex Operation Triton and EUNAVFOR Med/Sophia, to improve security on its external borders, combat people smuggling and save people from drowning. In the AIV's opinion, establishing a European border and coastguard and a European asylum system (including a humane refugee policy and the possibility of legal migration) are necessary measures. The agreements made at the Valletta Summit and the establishment of the EU Trust Fund, which explicitly focus on preventing large-scale migration flows, are a good starting point for a sustainable partnership between the EU and the countries of the region. The amount set aside for the EU Trust Fund, €1.3 billion for 23 countries, is however on the low side, certainly compared to the €6 billion for Turkey. One major concern is the way in which countries like Eritrea, which is suspected of being involved in human trafficking, comply with the EU's agreements with African governments to limit migration. The question is whether the financial support pledged by the EU will genuinely lead to a reduction in migration and refugee flows.

The EU has concluded mobility partnerships with a number of countries, including Morocco and Tunisia, which aim to prevent illegal migration and facilitate legal migration. Similar partnerships could be agreed with other countries in Northern Africa. Lessons could also be learned from the recent agreements between Spain and Morocco and between the US and Mexico. After a history of unilateral border controls and closure, these countries have made more wide-ranging agreements to manage their shared borders better and more humanely. The core of these agreements is that closing strategic parts of the borders is not enough and that there should be regulated routes for asylum seekers and migrants. People seeking asylum in Spain, for example, can apply in the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla and there are legal migration channels for, for example, seasonal workers and students.<sup>147</sup>

147 The same idea underlies the current talks between the US, the UN and a number of Latin American countries on building refugee centres in countries like El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, where UN officials will decide which asylum seekers qualify for refugee status. The US would then be willing to resettle 9,000 of these people per year. For lessons to be learned from the management of American borders, see Cyrille Fijnaut, *'Pleidooi voor de vorming van een Schengen II: Versterking van de controle aan de buitengrenzen and van de politieële and justitiële samenwerking binnen de Europese Unie'*, in Frans Bieckmann and Monika Sie Dhian Ho, *De belofte van een ander Europa*, Amsterdam: Van Gennep, forthcoming in 2016.

The UN and its crisis management operations play an indispensable role in Northern Africa. The AIV supports the AU's ambition to take responsibility for security and stability on the continent in the long term, but that is not yet possible as the AU still needs to overcome serious shortages of materiel and trained troops. The AIV considers it important for European countries to continue to contribute to UN operations so as to raise them to a qualitatively higher level. Dutch participation in MINUSMA since 2014 marks the end of a period in which the Netherlands did not take part in large-scale UN operations in Africa. In the AIV's opinion, the Netherlands should continue to invest in UN operations in the region, partly because the AU cannot yet play its desired prominent role. If an international mission is to be sent to Libya, the Netherlands should consider taking part.

#### *The Netherlands*

In light of the serious and complex problems in Northern Africa, the AIV advises the Dutch government to focus its policy on promoting stable, peaceful development in the region. It is important to acknowledge that furthering electoral democratisation, economic progress, peace and security, the rule of law and other desirable policy goals simultaneously is often not feasible in practice. So many problems need to be addressed at the same time, mostly with modest resources, that it is better to focus on achieving feasible results one step at a time and in pragmatic order.<sup>148</sup>

In making these pragmatic choices, Dutch policy could be guided by the principle that it should contribute as concretely as possible to improving the mostly very difficult daily lives of the people of these countries. That means prioritising a policy that strengthens their security, fosters a stable society, promotes employment, gradually reinforces the rule of law, and helps make progress on the position of women and gender issues in general. A one-sided focus on electoral democratisation has had disappointing results in a number of countries. Democratic, participatory governance requires much more, including the development of a middle class, independent trade unions, education, free media, a balanced system of political parties, institutions that can safeguard constitutional rights and a pluriform system of checks and balances to curb the tendency of social elites to abuse their power. Because of the cultural and ethnic composition of African societies, this will have to take a different form than in Western Europe. The fact that electoral democratisation is not a precondition for cooperation does not mean that we can continue to be involved in a country if its government pursues a policy of severe and widespread repression and lawlessness.

A results-oriented policy must not be based on general goals and policy formulas that apply to all countries. The reality of the country itself, its history, its political, cultural and economic situation and other factors that differ in each country also affect the feasibility of policy. This means that the Dutch government must consider the nature of its partnership with each country individually. Similarly, it has to strike a balance between measures that help improve security in the short term (fast security) and policy aimed at addressing structural issues in the long term (slow security). It will also have to decide which bodies in each country it can or cannot work with. This inevitably requires a certain degree of pragmatism, as well as awareness that the central government is not always necessarily the first or only choice of cooperation partner in a country. A policy that tries to achieve a little of everything and can be applied consistently to all societies may seem attractive in

148 See: AIV advisory report no. 91, 'The Netherlands and the Arab Region: A Principled and Pragmatic Approach', The Hague, November 2014.



an abstract sense for policy discussions in the donor country but there is a serious risk of achieving little improvement on balance or even being counterproductive due to a lack of focus and prioritisation.

In addition, Dutch policy is only a small part of a wide range of policies pursued by many other actors. This means that the best results will be achieved by concentrating on areas where the Netherlands is relatively strong, such as the agrarian sector (including water management) and sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), including gender issues and gender-related healthcare. It is also advisable to support efforts to promote the gradual development of the rule of law (including support for police and military security organisations) in countries with governments that are amenable to such support.

The direct and immediate effects of insecurity and instability in Northern Africa for the Netherlands seem foreseeable for the time being. As yet, there are no indications of foreign terrorist fighters returning to the country from the region. Nor is there a large influx of refugees or migrants from Africa (with the exception of Eritrea). The Netherlands is, however, a major destination for drugs smuggled from Africa. Northern Africa is currently not a priority area in Dutch foreign, security and development policy, with the exception of the Horn of Africa and Mali. Dutch economic interests in the region are relatively small. This situation can change, however, so that the consequences for the EU and thus also for the Netherlands can increase in the longer term. As an EU member state, the Netherlands must take account of the risks for the EU in Northern Africa and cannot neglect its responsibilities.

The Dutch government has not published a policy document on Africa since 2003. The AIV believes it is important for a new integrated strategy on Northern Africa to be developed. Given its comparative advantages, it is logical for the Netherlands to focus on slow security. Migration has become an important focus area in Dutch foreign policy and receives a great deal of attention from both the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation. The Netherlands contributes to both bilateral and multilateral initiatives on migration. Within these initiatives, it strives to work with African countries and invest in employment for young people. The AIV encourages the government to tackle underlying causes. Africa's rapid population growth requires paying attention to the complete range of human rights described in the Vienna Declaration. Serious deficits in the observance of fundamental rights to education, healthcare and economic development severely exacerbate the problems described in this report, and it is essential to address these negative developments in the preventive approach that the AIV considers necessary in Northern Africa.

Because of the importance of sharing risks, even smaller countries like the Netherlands must be prepared to make a proportional contribution to fast security. The AIV has observed a striking tendency in the Netherlands to view French military activities in Africa with suspicion, as though France were acting purely in its own interests. The AIV believes that this is a misconception given that France's military operations in Africa, as shown by its crucial intervention in Mali, are of great value to the EU and Northern Africa and therefore deserve appreciation and support.

Any deployment of the armed forces in Northern Africa must depend on reasonable chances of success. Military support for countries with a manifestly heinous regime that uses its armed forces only to safeguard its own interests is counterproductive. Dutch involvement in a unilateral operation can also be a problem if the people of the country see it as only serving the interests of the country conducting it.

The Dutch armed forces have the highly trained personnel and materiel capabilities to contribute to security sector reform (SSR) and strengthen regional crisis management capacity to undertake, for example, counterterrorist, anti-piracy and border control activities. In the coming period, they will most probably be more active in Northern Africa, in order to prepare Dutch units for deployment through training and exercises and engage in operational cooperation with partner countries. Besides the broad terrain of SSR, specific focuses in deploying Dutch armed forces are the use of special forces, counter-IED, gender, coastguard capacity building, border control and intelligence.

Given the increasing importance of all three of the main tasks of the Dutch armed forces and these forces' considerable shortcomings, the deployment of Dutch military units in Northern Africa in the coming period will continually have to compete with the deployment of units elsewhere and with readiness instruction and training programmes. The deployment of enablers like logistical end engineering support, transport helicopters and intelligence capacity – for which there is great demand on the African continent – jeopardises the Dutch armed forces' readiness, in as much as joint training and exercises with African armed forces does not itself bolster that readiness.

The focus in deploying the Dutch armed forces will have to lie on participation in UN and EU missions and support for the AU's regional security organisations. In providing this support, the absorption capacity of the countries and/or security organisations should be taken into account. In addition, these countries and security organisations should be amenable to support. Some countries do not welcome large-scale military intervention, despite the problems they face.

The AIV expects the armed forces to be called upon more in coming decades to address the security threats from Northern Africa. This will substantially increase the pressure on a defence budget that is already far too low. The armed forces are already performing tasks for which no adequate funding has been provided, at the expense of investment and other necessary budget items. Additional financial resources need to be allocated to enhance the Netherlands' focus on its integrated security and stability policy on Northern Africa. Partly in light of this urgent need for funds, the AIV repeats its earlier plea for the defence budget to be substantially increased.<sup>149</sup>

## **V.2 Recommendations**

The AIV is of the opinion that many necessary programmes and activities aimed at Northern Africa can best be conducted by or through the EU. For that reason, before presenting its recommendations for the Netherlands, it will make a number of recommendations relating to the EU and the Netherlands' role within it.

### *European Union*

1. The EU member states should make promoting stability and security – and human security in particular – in Northern Africa one of the main aims of European foreign and security policy in the coming period, together with responsible economic development, political reform and respect for universal human rights.

149 See also AIV advisory report no. 94 'Instability around Europe: Confrontation with a new reality', The Hague, April 2015.

2. The AIV considers it necessary that, when cooperating with groups and governments in Northern Africa, the EU bear in mind the specific situation in the various countries and be guided by pragmatism, exploring where there is room for improvement and what contribution it can make in each individual situation. This does not change the fact that financial and other support for regimes that violate human rights on a large scale should only be provided under strict conditions.

3. The AIV believes that EU member states and institutions should make every effort to optimise coordination and cooperation on Northern Africa. To that end, member states should coordinate and channel their programmes and financial contributions to Northern Africa as much as possible through the EU. The EU itself should take steps to remove the barriers between the various categories of expenditure – especially between the EEAS and the European Commission. It will also have to be more flexible in implementing programmes so that resources are allocated in the most effective way. In addition, cooperation between the various EU institutions and Delegations, member states' embassies and EU experts can be improved.

4. The AIV considers it necessary that greater attention be paid prior to the start of a CSDP mission to the setup of the mission, including a timely and thorough civil assessment, study of the units the Netherlands will be working with, a follow-up programme ('train the trainers') and a clear idea of the desired end state. Given the cross-border nature of the security problems in Northern Africa, regionalising CSDP missions is advisable.

5. The EU should invest in training and instructing AU military units in the future, so that in the long term they can take responsibility for security and stability themselves. It should also provide basic training in the norms of international law and respect for human rights. This could include AU units attending and participating in EU Battlegroup training activities and exercises.

6. EU member states should step up their police and intelligence cooperation on combating terrorism and crime. The EU should also be given greater counterterrorism powers so that it can be more effective both internally and externally. The possibilities should be explored for improved police and justice cooperation between the EU and African countries, so as to better combat international crime, including human trafficking and people smuggling.

7. In the AIV's opinion, EU member states should explore the possibility of joint acquisition of enablers such as strategic transport and medical support, which are in great demand in crisis management operations and in the affected countries. They should also investigate how the EU could finance such investments.

8. The AIV believes that, if a government of national unity in Libya appeals for help from the international community, the Netherlands should consider contributing to a civil or military mission. In cooperation with foreign oil companies, a start could be made on resuming oil production, as long as supporters of the former Gaddafi regime and terrorist groups do not benefit. Unfreezing financial assets could also be considered, under the same conditions. This would enable Libya's economic development to recover. In addition, if the situation in Libya allowed it, the EU could provide assistance in reconstructing the country's armed forces.

9. The EU should develop a humane and fully harmonised European asylum and migration policy.<sup>150</sup> Together with the UN, it could fund the building and management of efficient refugee centres in the regions, from where the member states could set up routes for asylum and migration to the EU, regulated in close consultation. The instruments for joint European border control and migration regulation need to be energetically improved. Member states should provide sufficient resources, people and funds and be prepared to exercise their sovereignty jointly.

10. The EU will have to make a robust contribution to the sustainable protection of refugees in countries in the region. It must not only ensure their physical safety – protecting them from persecution and violence – but also to offer them future prospects in the host country through work and education. Seaports, airports and other locations will have to be designated on the EU's external borders with adequate provision for receiving and screening refugees and migrants. European support for the member states concerned, through the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) and Frontex, will be required to ensure these hot spots operate effectively. European information campaigns in third countries must make it clear that people who want to migrate to the European Union without prior permission from a member state will have to report to one of these specially designated transit ports.<sup>151</sup>

#### *The Netherlands*

1. The AIV advises the government to draw up a strategy document on Northern Africa, with an enhanced policy focus on counterterrorism, religious extremism, cross-border crime, uncontrolled migration and promoting employment. These issues are a part of both internal and external policy and therefore require a government-wide, integrated approach for the short, medium and long terms. The role of preventive measures should be given a prominent role in the strategy document. The AIV advises the government to devote considerably more financial resources to Northern Africa, both for the enhanced policy focus on integrated security and stability policy and for development cooperation, specifically in the areas of education, healthcare and economic development. In addition, the number of embassies and military attachés in Northern Africa should be increased, and their staff expanded.

2. Because of the scale and complexity of the problems in Northern Africa, Dutch development policy needs to be modified. The emphasis should lie even more on the region, and the Sahel in particular, with special attention to regional cooperation, capacity building, structural economic development and employment for young people. The AIV considers it advisable to develop a multi-year strategic plan for future Dutch programmes in the Sahel.

3. In discussions on Association Agreements, the Netherlands should press in the EU for further lowering of all European trade barriers to the import of agricultural and industrial products and services from Northern Africa.

4. The AIV advises the government to continue to contribute to improving infrastructure in Northern Africa. Large multilateral development banks and the European Investment Bank can play a prominent role in this respect. In addition, the Netherlands should

<sup>150</sup> See also AIV advisory letter no. 28, 'The Future of Schengen', The Hague, March 2016.

<sup>151</sup> See also Cyrille Fijnaut, 'Pleidooi voor de vorming van een Schengen II'.

continue to work on developing new technologies for agriculture, horticulture and efficient water use.

5. To promote balanced demographic development and increase women's autonomy, the AIV considers it necessary for the government to continue to give priority to promoting SRHR, especially in Chad, Egypt, Ethiopia, Mali, Niger and Nigeria.<sup>152</sup>

6. The AIV recommends that Dutch military interventions in Africa, alongside defence activities elsewhere on the continent, should focus more than previously on Northern Africa. That includes posting defence attachés and gathering intelligence. Because of the armed forces' limited , this will require extra investments that are part of the substantial increase in the defence budget that the AIV has called for earlier.

7. The AIV believes that the Dutch armed forces have the highly trained personnel and materiel capabilities to contribute to security sector reform (SSR) and strengthen regional crisis management capacity to undertake, for example, counterterrorist, anti-piracy and border control activities. In the years ahead, they could also be more active in Northern Africa in preparing Dutch units for deployment through training and exercises and engaging in operational cooperation with partner countries. Besides the broad terrain of SSR, focuses in deploying Dutch armed forces are the use of special forces, counter-IED, gender, coastguard capacity building, border control and intelligence.

8. Because of the increased importance of SSR missions and the great demand this generates for experienced officers and NCOs of operational units involved in readiness programmes, the AIV recommends setting up (and financing) a separate armed forces-wide unit with a rotating pool of experienced officers and NCOs to be deployed for SSR. This would mean creating more room in the Ministry of Defence staff establishment. It is also important to ensure that the officers have sufficient command of the relevant languages (besides English, also French in particular) and knowledge of the local culture.

9. Although the AIV believes that there is great demand for enablers like transport helicopters, engineering support and intelligence capabilities on the African continent, these are also indispensable in readiness programmes for all the main tasks of the Dutch armed forces. Given actual and potential commitments elsewhere, it will always be necessary to consider whether a contribution with such niche capabilities is responsible and for how long.

10. In the case of new missions in countries of origin or transit, it is advisable to include migration as a focus area in the mission's mandate. The Netherlands could contribute to such missions by supplying migration experts from Border Security Teams or elsewhere. In the case of current missions, it is important to consider carefully whether the mandate can be modified and when, and whether more attention can be paid to migration issues.

152 SRHR is one of the four priority themes of Dutch development policy (together with security and the rule of law, water and food security). The policy devotes attention to the following topics: sex education and services relating to sexuality for young people; better access to contraception, anti-retroviral drugs for AIDS and other medicines; SRHR as part of accessible and affordable basic healthcare; more respect for the sexual health and rights of victims of discrimination and vulnerable groups, including gay men, drug users, prostitutes and child brides.

## Request for advice

Professor Jaap de Hoop Scheffer  
Chairman of the Advisory Council  
on International Affairs  
P.O. Box 20061  
2500 EB The Hague

Date 26 May 2015

Re Request for advice on security and Africa

Dear Professor De Hoop Scheffer,

Africa's position on the world stage has changed dramatically. The increased standard of living in and growing self-confidence of many African countries create prospects of an expanded relationship with the continent. Of course, there are still countries and regions which confirm traditional stereotypes of poverty, poor governance and violent conflict. In many other places, though, impressive economic growth figures are giving rise to new prospects, which can contribute to stability, sustainable development and human dignity, and which must therefore be consolidated wherever possible.

The variety of relationships with Africa is increasing dramatically, and this calls for a comprehensive approach. The Netherlands is interested in working with Africa where we have common interests, such as regional stability, trade, migration, climate change and security.

The security situation remains troubling in many areas. The policy letter 'Turbulent Times in Unstable Surroundings' describes North Africa and parts of Sub-Saharan and West Africa as elements of an arc of growing instability and conflict around Europe. More specifically, the letter notes a deterioration in the security situation in northern Mali and Libya. This also applies to South Sudan. Although Somalia is becoming politically more stable, violence still flares up there on a regular basis. In addition, the Ebola epidemic in Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone shows how shortcomings in states' ability to respond swiftly and adequately can have economic, political and social repercussions. Finally, migrant flows from the continent are only expected to further increase, partly as a result of demographic developments. Many young people in African countries see no hope for the future and instead choose to make the perilous crossing to Europe.

At the same time Africa offers opportunities. The availability of natural resources, cheap young labour and targeted foreign investment have led to progress. Over the past 10 years many African countries have developed into fully fledged economic and political actors with the confidence to make their own choices and the willingness to take responsibility for promoting security and stability in their own regions. Global economic and political power relations are in flux, leading to a different dynamic on the continent. The Netherlands and other European countries have to respond to this new reality, one of significant sub-regional differences, with clusters of instability and fragility interspersed with growth centres.

The government believes that any choices made by the Netherlands in its dealings with Africa, whether unilaterally or multilaterally, should be informed by certain principles. First of all, these choices should be the outcome of a clear assessment of the various interests at play. In this way the government seeks to foster public support for Dutch foreign and security policy. Africa's relevance to the Netherlands' security is obvious, but our exact level of engagement in terms of policy merits closer examination.

Secondly, in the policy letter mentioned above, the government concluded that the nature of conflicts in North and Sub-Saharan Africa demand an integrated and targeted approach in the framework of either the EU or UN. The Netherlands is already active in a number of missions in Africa: it provides a substantial contribution to the UN mission in Mali, participates in the UN mission in South Sudan, supplies both military capabilities and expertise for the training and instruction of African armed forces in multilateral and bilateral settings, and also makes port visits in order to cement relationships. These examples are indicative of an integrated approach whereby analyses and assessments are informed by development interests and efforts. A military operation is not carried out in isolation, but in tandem with other foreign policy instruments. This approach has been described at length in previous policy documents and parliamentary papers, and it remains our point of departure in such situations.

Within these frameworks the government feels a need for a more detailed analysis of what Dutch interests are at stake in Africa, what opportunities and threats have arisen in the new security context, and what responses make the most sense. A detailed overview of this multifaceted continent will enable the government to make more informed choices with regard to Africa. The advisory report should shed light on the role of and deployment opportunities for the armed forces in relation to other Dutch policy tools (development cooperation, diplomacy, and economic missions). The government asks the AIV to draw up an advisory report that addresses the following questions:

- What Dutch security and other interests are being affected by developments on the African continent?
- The policy letter 'Turbulent Times' makes the point that 'fast security' should be coupled with 'slow security', aimed at finding an enduring solution to a crisis. With a view to the various interests at stake, what parts of Africa are suitable for a multi-year, structural approach to the underlying causes of instability?
- What changes does the AIV see in EU member states' willingness and ability to promote security, stability and development on the African continent in an EU or UN framework (or in some other framework), including through the commitment of military capabilities?
- What developments does the AIV see in regional organisations like the African Union and ECOWAS with respect to security issues, and what opportunities for cooperation does this create for the Netherlands?
- The Dutch armed forces must be able to respond swiftly and carry out and sustain a range of missions in different areas simultaneously on a sufficient scale. What role should the armed forces play in protecting the various interests at stake on the African continent? What factors are most relevant when assessing the possibility of a military commitment?

This request for advice is provided for in the work programme for 2014. We look forward to receiving the AIV's recommendations.

Yours sincerely,

Bert Koenders  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Lilianne Ploumen  
Minister for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation

Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert  
Minister of Defence



## Demographic and socioeconomic indicators

Table 1 AIV advisory report on security and Africa – core figures 2: Demographic Indicators

	Population in 2015		Future population medium scenario		Annual birth rate Per 1,000 inhabitants		Net migration in 2010-2015	UN-recognised refugees in this country	UN-recognised internal refugees	Urban population
	Mil-lion	% ≤ 24 years old	2025 million	2050 million	Measured in	No. of births	Thousand	Thousand in 2014	Thousand in 2014	% of total population 2014
<b>North Africa</b>										
<b>Morocco</b>	34	44%			2005	18	- 311			60
<b>Algeria</b>	39		46	56	2010	25	-143			70
<b>Tunisia</b>	11				2008	18	- 33			67
<b>Libya</b>	6				2002	20	-502			78
<b>Egypt</b>	92	50%	109	151	2010	28	-216			43
<b>Horn of Africa</b>										
<b>Ethiopia</b>	99	61%	125	188	2009	35	-60			19
<b>Eritrea</b>	5		7	10	2000	32	-160	286		22
<b>Somalia</b>	11		14	27	2003	47	-400	1,080	1,107	39
<b>Djibouti</b>	1		1	1	2001	20	-16			77
<b>Sahel and West Africa</b>										
<b>Sudan</b>	40	60%	51	80	2008	29	-800	658	3,100	34
<b>South Sudan</b>	12		16	26	2008	28	+865	508		19
<b>Chad</b>	14		19	35	2003	47	+100			22
<b>Niger</b>	20	64%	30	72	2004	46	-28			18
<b>Mali</b>	18	67%	24	45	2009	46	-302	148	62	39
<b>Mauritania</b>	4		5	8	2000	29	-20	34		59
<b>Burkina Faso</b>	18		24	43	2009	41	-125			29
<b>Nigeria</b>	182	63%	234	399	2007	41	-300		1,075	47
<b>Compared to Netherlands</b>	17		17	18	2011	11				90
Source	UN Population Division							UNDP Human Dev. Report		World Bank

Table 2 AIV advisory report on security and Africa – key figures 1: Socioeconomic Indicators

	Human Development Index		Gross National Income per capita 2014	WB classification, Low, Lower Middle, Upper Middle	Gender Inequality Index 2014		Severe multi-dimensional poverty	Literacy population ≥ 15 years old	Internet access 2013
	Ranking	Score	Current US\$	L, LM, UM	Ranking	Score	% of population	% 2005-2013	% of population
<b>North Africa</b>									
<b>Morocco</b>	126	0.628	2,980	LM	117	0.525	5	67	57
<b>Algeria</b>	83	0.736	5,480	UM	85	0.413	n.a.	73	18
<b>Tunisia</b>	96	0.721	4,230	UM	48	0.240	0	80	46
<b>Libya</b>	94	0.724	7,910	UM	27	0.134	0	90	18
<b>Egypt</b>	108	0.690	3,050	LM	131	0.573	0	74	32
<b>Horn of Africa</b>									
<b>Ethiopia</b>	174	0.442	550	L	129	0.558	67	39	3
<b>Eritrea</b>	186	0.391	680	L	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1
<b>Somalia</b>	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	L	n.a.	n.a.	64	n.a.	n.a.
<b>Djibouti</b>	168	0.470	n.a.	LM	n.a.	n.a.	11	n.a.	11
<b>Sahel and West Africa</b>									
<b>Sudan</b>	167	0.479	1,710	LM	135	0.591	32	73	25
<b>South Sudan</b>	169	0.467	940	L	n.a.	n.a.	70	n.a.	16
<b>Chad</b>	185	0.392	980	L	153	0.706	68	37	3
<b>Niger</b>	188	0.348	420	L	154	0.713	74	16	2
<b>Mali</b>	179	0.419	660	L	150	0.677	56	34	7
<b>Mauritania</b>	156	0.506	1,270	LM	139	0.610	30	46	11
<b>Burkina Faso</b>	183	0.690	710	L	144	0.573	64	29	9
<b>Nigeria</b>	152	0.514	2,970	LM	n.a.	n.a.	30	51	43
<b>Compared to Netherlands</b>	5	0.922	51,210	(High)					98
Source	UNDP HDR 2015		World Bank Database		UNDP HDR 2015				

Table 3 AIV advisory report on security and Africa – key figures 3: Relation to global economy

	Export of goods and services	Value of exports to the Netherlands	Value of imports from the Netherlands	foreign direct investment	Ease of doing business	Corruption Perception Index 2014		Remittance inflow	ODA received	ODA per capita
	% GDP in 2014	€ million 2014	€ million 2014	Net inflow in 2013, US\$ millions	Ranking 2015 (1 = best)	Score (100 = clean)	ranking	% GNI 2013	% GNI 2013	US\$ 2013
<b>North Africa</b>										
<b>Morocco</b>	34	353	807	3,360	75	32	115	7	2	60
<b>Algeria</b>	31	2,344	1,001	1,689	163	36	100	0	0	5
<b>Tunisia</b>	45	279	268	1,059	74	40	79	5	2	66
<b>Libya</b>	47	1,147	248	702	188	18	166	n.a.	0	21
<b>Egypt</b>	15	233	1,465	4,192	131	37	94	7	2	67
<b>Horn of Africa</b>										
<b>Ethiopia</b>	12	58	85	953	146	33	110	1	8	41
<b>Eritrea</b>	n.a.	6	3	43	189	18	166	n.a.	3	13
<b>Somalia</b>	14	n.a.	7	107	n.a.	8	174	n.a.	n.a.	95
<b>Djibouti</b>	n.a.	3	27	286	171	n.a.	n.a.	3	n.a.	175
<b>Sahel and West Africa</b>										
<b>Sudan</b>	6	24	89	1,688	159	11	173	1	2	31
<b>South Sudan</b>	20	n.a.	14	n.a.	187	11	173	n.a.	13	128
<b>Chad</b>	34	n.a.	38	538	183	22	154	n.a.	3	31
<b>Niger</b>	18	n.a.	31	631	160	35	103	2	10	43
<b>Mali</b>	24	4	62	308	143	32	115	7	13	91
<b>Mauritania</b>	48	2	267	1,126	168	30	124	n.a.	6	75
<b>Burkina Faso</b>	29	6	54	374	143	38	85	1	9	61
<b>Nigeria</b>	18	3,972	2,635	5,609	169	27	136	5	1	15
<b>Compared to Netherlands</b>	83			525,450 (!)	28					
Source	World Bank	Statistics NL	Statistics NL	World Bank	WB	Transparency Int.		UNDP		World Bank

## Economic and development cooperation relations between the Netherlands and countries in Northern Africa

### A. Development aid

- Mali is a partner country, with a budget of €137 million (2014); 3 themes: SRHR (45% of budget), water and food security, and security and the rule of law. Seven Dutch NGO consortia are active in Mali.
- Ethiopia is a 'transition country', with a budget of €68 million (2014); themes: SRHR, food security, security and the rule of law, and improving the business climate.
- South Sudan receives approximately €50 million a year for security and the rule of law, food security and water management.
- Sudan has been phased out as a partner country.
- A number of Arab countries (Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Jordan) fall under the Matra South programme. They receive grants for investments (from the Dutch Good Growth Fund/DGGF), local social initiatives, capacity building of political organisations, government-to-government cooperation and civil servant training.
- Most of the countries covered by this advisory report, except Sudan and Chad, are eligible for support through the DGGF.
- Most of the countries are also eligible for support from the emergency aid fund.

### B. Economic relations

#### North Africa

##### *Morocco*

Value of exports to the Netherlands: €353 million (2014)

Value of imports from the Netherlands: €807 million (2014)

##### *Algeria*

Value of exports to the Netherlands: €2,344 million (2014), primarily oil and gas

Value of imports from the Netherlands: €1,001 million (2014)

##### *Tunisia*

Value of exports to the Netherlands: €279 million (2014)

Value of imports from the Netherlands: €268 million (2014)

##### *Libya*

Value of exports to the Netherlands: €1,147 million (2014), especially oil

Value of imports from the Netherlands: €248 million (2014)

##### *Egypt*

Value of exports to the Netherlands: €233 million (2014)

Value of imports from the Netherlands: €1,465 million (2014)

## Horn of Africa

### *Ethiopia*

Value of exports to the Netherlands: €58 million (2014)

Value of imports from the Netherlands: €85 million (2014)

### *Eritrea*

Trade and investment negligible

### *Somalia*

Trade and investment negligible

### *Djibouti*

Economic relations very limited in scale. However, the Netherlands is interested in Djibouti's logistical potential as a gateway to Africa and a bridge to Iran.

### *Nigeria*

By far the Netherlands' largest economic partner in this region, but that mainly applies to the economically active south of the country.

Value of exports to the Netherlands: €3,972 million (2014), primarily oil

Value of imports from the Netherlands: €2,635 million (2014)

### *Sudan*

Trade relations negligible, and very few Dutch commercial investments

*South Sudan* — Idem.

*Chad* — Idem.

*Niger* — Idem.

*Mali* — Idem.

*Burkina Faso* — Idem.

### *Mauritania*

Trade relations negligible

**List of persons consulted**

I. Briscoe MA	Senior researcher at the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) of the Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme (CSCP)
Professor M. de Bruijn	Professor of Contemporary History and Anthropology of Africa (African Studies Centre, Leiden)
Lt Gen J. Broeks	Director-General, International Military Staff; Dutch Military Representative to the Military Committees of NATO and the EU
Major General (ret) P. Cammaert	Consultant on international peace and security
A. Charlton	Deputy Head, Integrated Strategy Planning Division (CMPD), EEAS
Dr E de Feijter	Deputy Representative to the EU Political and Security Committee (PSC)
Ms C.B. Hagenaars	Head, International Cooperation and Trade Section, Permanent Representation to the EU
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Ms S.L. van Heijningen	Policy officer for Africa, Eastern Partnership, Russia and Central Asia, Permanent Representation to the EU
Dr K.D. Hosabay	Former Vice-Minister of Finance, Eritrea
Dr H.E.F. van Houwelingen	Conflict Prevention, Peace Building and Mediation Instruments Division (EEAS)
Ms N. Kellij MA	Coordinating policy officer, Visa, Migrant Smuggling, False Documents (FauxDoc), Return and Readmission, Permanent Representation to the EU
Dr L. Kluzer	Desk officer for Libya (EEAS)
Ms E.P.I.M. Merks-Schaapveld	Chef de cabinet of the EU Special Representative for the Sahel
H.J. Mijnaerends	Head, Middle East, Gulf and North Africa Section, Permanent Representation to the EU
Ms C.A. van Rijnsoever	Ambassador, Political and Security Committee, Permanent Representation to the EU
Dr P. Spoor	Adviser to the EU Counter-Terrorism Coordinator

Dr M. Varenholz

Country expert on Somalia, CMPD/EEAS

M. Wasilewska

Head, Conflict Prevention, Peace Building and  
Mediation Instruments Division (EEAS)

## List of abbreviations

<b>ACOTA</b>	African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance
<b>AFRICOM</b>	United States Africa Command
<b>AIV</b>	Advisory Council on International Affairs
<b>AIVD</b>	General Intelligence and Security Service
<b>AMIS</b>	African Union Mission in Sudan
<b>AMISOM</b>	African Union Mission in Somalia
<b>APF</b>	African Peace Facility
<b>APSA</b>	African Peace and Security Architecture
<b>AQIM</b>	Al Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb
<b>ASF</b>	African Standby Force
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>CEWS</b>	Continental Early Warning System
<b>CJTF-HoA</b>	Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa
<b>CSDP</b>	Common Security and Defence Policy
<b>DGGF</b>	Dutch Good Growth Fund
<b>ECCAS</b>	Economic Community of Central African States
<b>ECOWAS</b>	Economic Community of West African States
<b>EEAS</b>	European External Action Service
<b>EGF</b>	European Gendarmerie Force
<b>ENP</b>	European Neighbourhood Policy
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>EUNAVFOR</b>	European Union Naval Force Mediterranean/Operation Sophia
<b>Med/Sophia</b>	
<b>EUTM Mali</b>	EU Training Mission Mali
<b>EUTM Somalia</b>	EU Training Mission Somalia
<b>IGAD</b>	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
<b>IS</b>	Islamic State
<b>MINUSMA</b>	UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
<b>MUJAO</b>	Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa
<b>NARC</b>	North Africa Regional Capability
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NCTV</b>	National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental Organisation
<b>OSCE</b>	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe



<b>PSC</b>	EU Peace and Security Committee
<b>REC</b>	Regional Economic Community
<b>SADC</b>	Southern African Development Community
<b>SF</b>	Special Forces
<b>SRHR</b>	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
<b>SSR</b>	Security Sector Reform
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNMISS</b>	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
<b>UNODC</b>	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
<b>UNTOC</b>	United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime
<b>US</b>	United States

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