

Africa Development and the Reinforcement of European Security*

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Resumo

O Desenvolvimento de África e o Reforço da Segurança Europeia

Atualmente, as ameaças aos países africanos estão a ser, cada vez mais, materializadas menos pela in-tranquilidade civil do que por atividades criminosas e por organizações que esmagam as estruturas políticas, as instituições democráticas, a economia e o equilíbrio social das sociedades pós-coloniais, portanto negando-lhes condições de desenvolvimento.

Este artigo argumenta que as atuais atividades transnacionais que têm lugar em África, para além de sufocarem os processos de desenvolvimento do continente, também afetam profundamente a segurança, tanto no continente como na Europa e ainda mais além. Fatores de insegurança, como as redes criminosas, encontram nesses países, mal e pobremente governados, as condições ideais para os seus quartéis-generais, pelo que o combate a essas ameaças, reforçando o ambiente de segurança, também apoiará os esforços para incrementar o desenvolvimento africano.

Abstract

Nowadays, the threats to the African countries are beginning increasingly to be materialized less in civil unrest than in criminal activities and are originated from organizations that smash the political structures, the democratic institutions, the economy and the social equilibrium of post-colonial societies, therefore denying the basic conditions they need for development.

This paper argues that present transnational criminal activities taking place in Africa go beyond the suffocation of the processes of development and also deeply affect security in this continent, in Europe and globally. Factors of insecurity, like criminal networks which normally base their headquarters in poor and badly governed countries, need to be fought through the reinforcement of the security environment will help the supporting efforts to increment the African development.

* This paper is the result of a research project developed during the Course EPASS 10-10 (Executive Program in Advanced Security Studies nr. 10/2010) that took place at the Marshall Center in Garmish-Partenkirchen, Germany, from September to December 2010, under the tutorship of U.S. Ambassador Janet Garvey.

Introduction

When it comes to security, “new threats” and not the conventional war seems to be the paradigm of the post Cold War Era. The world is now starting to see transnational organized crime and terrorism as the new foes. In what concerns Europe, geographically speaking, those threats seem coming from East and South. On one hand, to the East, the big earthquake that was the fall of the soviet Empire is still delivering its effects. On the other hand, the South is living in the aftermath of the termination of the bipolar equilibrium. Since the beginning of the liberation from colonialism until the present moment the African nations have passed through a restless process of germination of new stabilization, new rulers and new challenges. The implementation of democracies in Africa has been a hard process. It is not yet clearly established that it will lead to success. Nowadays, the threats to the African countries are beginning step by step to be materialized less in civil unrest than in criminal activities and organizations that smashes the political organization, the democratic institutions, the economy and the social equilibrium of post-colonial societies.

But which are those threats? Some can be easily identified. Drug trafficking is considered one of the most dangerous threats to the International Community. It is dangerous, firstly, because it is a direct attack to the new generations. Likewise it takes enormous amounts of money from the families and from society, affecting the economy and providing the “dark side” with substantial economic resources that can be used to sabotage those societies. Finally, it uses agricultural land that could be better used in providing food.

Secondly, mass migration and new forms of slavery are grave attempts against the human rights and also contribute to the weakening of societies. The criminal nets that promote these trades take advantage of new conditions that impoverish States, namely the climate change, but also of other conditions related to poor governance and the lack of the rule of law. People, being deprived of all their money (or of the family), their home and land, are sent to Europe, or elsewhere, where they are simply dumped in the shores (if they are lucky and not become castaways).

And thirdly, there is also terrorism. The sense of security of every common people deeply changed sine September 11, 2001. Where do the terrorists get the financial resources to live and acquire what they need to prepare their attacks? Probably they get it from some States, seemingly, but also, and presumably in large amounts, from the criminal activities like the ones described before.

This research argues that those transnational criminal activities taking place in Africa deeply affects security, in Europe and globally, and that these factors of

insecurity, like the criminal networks, normally base their headquarters in poor and badly governed countries. Therefore, a way to help diminishing those threats to Europe coming from South will be through supporting efforts to increment the African development.

In the first section the ideas behind the words are explained and discussed, recurring to the revision of the works published about the subject. Section 2 develops some concepts and arguments about the validity of the conceptual nexus between security and development and its operational implementation. Section 3 uses cases-studies to illustrate the degree of threat coming from organized crime in general, in Africa, which can have security relevance for Europe and the International Community and proposes some approaches to have those problems solved. Section 4 is about the phenomenon of the increasing importance of non-military personnel in facing international security threats through development approaches, thus arguing that security is achieved more and more by the intervention on the development arena. This paper ends with some final considerations about the relevance of, not only the whole-of-government approach but also the need for shifting to a new security paradigm.

When Security Meets Development

The definitions of security and development only recently have been referred together. Some evolution of the concepts had to happen, mainly after the end of the Cold War, for new approaches to be accepted. In this section the concepts of security, human security, development, and also of key issues relating to these concepts, like the problems of transnational crime and the causes of fragility of States, are discussed, with emphasis on the relation between security and development.

What is Security?

Security has been understood as the condition of a Nation-state that is not under any kind of threat, especially military attack. But this classical view has been challenged more and more in the modern days and it might have been losing its importance in our days.

There is not a security concept universally accepted that can be applicable in all types of situations. But some meanings have been more and more adopted extending the concept of security further to the idea of armed security and the security between States. These new meanings make the armed forces rethinking the actions that they do in order to increase peace in the world. The concept to be adopted

must go beyond the absence of war. Nevertheless, the politicians and the policy makers face a relevant challenge trying to understand the impact of such extension and how to work to achieve it, and, at the same time, avoiding the contradictions that will show up (Tschirgi, Lund, Mancini, 2009: 3).

In recent History, the idea of security had different interpretations. During many years this idea materialized, at least in the perspective of the western world, as a state, or a condition, whose continuity was granted at the external borders of the Atlantic Alliance, with military forces and strategic deterrent assets. After the fall of USSR everything would have changed. Since the end of the Cold War and for more than a decade we were living in a unipolar world where so many conflicts, internal or regional, popped up, like humanitarian interventions or large scale and programs of social reconstruction, which raised new challenges and put in question old dogmas (Duffield, 2001: 1).

In March 2005, the Secretary-General of UN issued a report entitled *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for all* that clearly constitutes a landmark of the transition from the unipolar world to the multipolar, because it recognizes that it is an obligation of all the actors of the International System, be they great powers, developing countries, or international and regional organizations, to contribute to the efforts of developing the societies, towards the creation of better security conditions, and to recognize and defend the human rights as a prerogative of all human beings. The concerns with security are presently not only oriented by the dangers of conventional war between States. The threat of an excluded South fomenting the international instability through conflicts, through criminal activities and terrorism is now part of a new security framework, as stated by Mark Duffield (2001: 2). Within this framework, as underlined by this author, underdevelopment has become one of the main threats to security.

Today, security goes through a series of measures to be implemented by the great international organizations, or under its authority, including all those measures that are gaining an important dimension within the concept of human security, like the rights of women and children, minorities, etc., relating all with the rights of the peoples to security, welfare and development. "In practical terms it is evident from experience in the major peace building and reconstruction programmes that security, and with it the legitimate monopoly of force, is a crucial prerequisite to progress" (Bryden, Caparini, 2006: 89).

Consequently, and as underlined by some authors, the security paradigm is shifting from state security to human security. Indeed this seems to be the evolutionary path that the concept of security is following. Westphalian structures and concepts are still valid and applicable today, but recently the stress is more and more put on human security rather than in the State security, or national security. The idea of human security came lately in order that priority be given to the

protection of the human being, rather than of the State-nation. As Roland Paris states: "Human security is the latest in a series of neologisms - including common security, global security, cooperative security, and comprehensive security - that encourage policy makers and scholars to think about international security as something more than the military defence of State interests and territory" (Paris, 2004: 249-264). But the utility of this new concept is not entirely clear yet, in accordance with this author. He notes that "It remains unclear whether the concept of human security can serve as a practical guide for academic research or governmental policy making." (2004: 250). Also, states Paris, the new definition lacks precision. Referring to the definition of the 1994 Human Development Report he notes that this new idea has two faces. On the one hand, it relates to "chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression". On the other hand, "it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions of the patterns of daily life - whether in homes, in jobs or in communities" (2004: 251). Paris does not see the concept of human security as a new clear idea that brings added value to security. In fact, "human security is so vague that it verges on meaninglessness - and consequently offers little practical guidance to academics who might be interested in applying the concept, or to policy makers who must prioritize among competing policy goals" (2004: 264).

Bearing in mind what was been said, the efforts to bring to light a new, more adequate concept of security that would give priority to the needs of the human being, are still of no great value, and the traditional overview about what security stands for is still a more practical and reliable approach.

The Commission of Human Security of the UN analyzed, in a report of 2003, six spheres relating to conflict and poverty, considering that the manifestations of the human insecurity were relevant and generalized, namely: (1) protection of people in situations of violent conflict; (2) protection and autonomy of persons "in movement"; (3) protection and autonomy of persons in situations of post-conflict; (4) economic insecurity - the power to choose between opportunities; (5) health as an element of human security; (6) know-how, competences and values as elements of human security.

Based in this six perspectives, the Commission proposed a set of concrete recommendations relating to the reinforcement of human security: protect people exposed to violent conflict and to arms proliferation, support the security of persons "in transit", creation of funds destined to human security in situations of post-conflict, support the just commerce and market, benefiting the extreme poor, helping to provide minimum standards of life, giving priority to granting access to healthcare to everyone, assuring universal basic teaching, etc. (Commission on Human Security, 2003).

Anyway, the vision that human security could overlap the respect for sovereignty would have not been confirmed yet, because the examples that could be

used to its validation, as the movement of refugees and internal displaced of Sudan (mainly from the province of Darfur) since 2001 until now, the violent expels (with dead and wounded people) of immigrants and refugees in South Africa during 2009 or the presence of the Lord's Resistance Army, of the Uganda's rebel general Laurent Nkunda in the East of the Democratic Republic of Congo since 2006, have not been dealt with recourse to the need to consecrate human security, because the State's sovereignty (or the *Realpolitik*) continues to be the most validated concept.

What we may conclude, when trying to identify the nature of the concept of security, is that, although human security is gradually getting more attention, still national security is the paradigm that is to be duly challenged.

Development

How can development be defined? Approaching this subject in the 2005 report "In Larger Freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all", the UN Secretary-General underlines the idea of promoting *social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom* (2005: 5), as the definition of development better applicable to the efforts of the International Community to guarantee prosperity to all mankind.

The word development can be understood with different meanings and in accordance with the context. So a clear definition of the limits of the concept is to be defined. For instances, international (or global) development is a concept that is used in a generic, interdisciplinary context, although it doesn't have, yet, a universally accepted definition. Human development, on the other hand, refers to the increase in the quality of life for the human being and therefore it encompasses not only external aid but also good governance, healthcare, education, gender equality, the capacity to face catastrophes, the infrastructures, the human rights, the environment, etc. The international development is different from the single understanding of "development", at least in what concerns the institutions and politics that appeared after the Second World War. Those institutions focus their efforts in the poverty alleviation and in increasing the quality of life of the Southern decolonized countries.

The report on Human Development entitled *Overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development*¹, stresses new perspectives, beyond economic growth, asserting that human mobility can be a factor of development.

1 Disponível em <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2009/chapters/>, December, 2010.

There are other expressions concerning the concept of development, in accordance with the scientific, political or social framework. Sustainable development is a pattern of utilization of resources that aims to meet the human needs and, at the same time, preserving the environment, in order that those needs may be met not only by the present but also by the future generations. The Economic development is the increment of the quality of life of the people inside the population of a country with sustainable growth, from a simple economy up to a modern economy, of large benefits. Its objective includes the processes and politics that a country needs to improve the economic, political and social welfare of the people.

For many years the actors of development have been implementing measures in accordance with the idea that to be able to achieve happiness and welfare, peoples needed to receive a boost in their development capacities, so they could approach the more developed societies. What is being witnessed is that there is a “curse of aid” that seems to perpetuate the status of “underdevelopment” (Deneulin, Shahani, 2009).

Nevertheless, the society has speed up in the economics, mainly in the developed world, leaving behind those that were not able to follow the economic revolution. And their numbers are increasing. In his book *The Bottom Billion*, written in 2007, Paul Collier, Professor of Economics at the University of Oxford, defends that there are a group of countries, counting about one billion people, that are imprisoned in a spiral of underdevelopment and even loosing pace compared to the 5 billion people in the “developing world” that are getting richer. He states that the programs of assistance to development should focus heavily on those. He also refers that the problems of those one billion reside in three types of “development traps”: the conflict trap, mainly civil wars and coups; the natural resources trap, when the country bases its economy exclusively on the natural resources; and the situation of a landlocked country, when it does not have access to the seas and is surrounded by “bad” neighbours. Also, another trap, very common is the small underdeveloped countries, is bad governance (Collier, 2007).

The main problem that those left behind face relates to education, welfare, equality of gender, i.e., in general all those attributes that characterize a developed society. When at the beginning of the new millennium the nations with a seat at the UN established the Millennium Goals the future seemed bright and full of hope. But then, some threats, real grave menaces overcame all the pink coloured future. Therefore, it can be said will plausible certainty that the Millennium development goals will not be achieved as planned in 2015, although they were supposed to increase the development in the most poor countries by improving their social and economic conditions. Most probably, almost none of the goals will be achieved. One of the conditions that perpetuate this status is the problem of the transnational crime. An extra effort has to be made, extending the given deadline, to try to include all those left behind in the developed world.

Threats to Security and Development

In fact, the global security is threatened by new menaces, not new in essence, but new in their impacts in development and security. How is transnational crime changing the global security paradigm? Kimberley L. Thachuck (2007: 8) affirms that the global threats:

“range from terrorism, to widespread international crime, to the rapid transfer of privately held armaments technologies, to international narcotics trafficking, to money laundering and corruption, to cyber war and cybercrimes, to mass migration and human trafficking, to the movement of infectious diseases, to environmental degradation, to the dissemination of ethnic and religious hatred. Indeed, citizens are facing broader and more interrelated series of security challenges than in any previous era.”

According to the author, such “threats have an understated profile in global security considerations when compared with big-power politics, regional wars, and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) proliferation”, also, “some transnational issues are not viewed as direct threats to national security but rather as threats to the economy and quality of life of citizens.” (Thachuck, 2007: 8).

In fact, as the author states, a “new and a broader view of global security is needed, along with a ‘new security packaging’, that will allow the United States, other nations, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and the private sector to formulate effective long term strategies, rather than remaining in a reactive posture” (Thachuck, 2007: 9).

Another author, Richard Jackson, affirms that the insecurity dilemma exists in a weak State and consists on the following: “The more elites try to establish effective state rules, the more they provoke challenges to their authority from powerful groups in society” (Jackson, 2010: 187). Apart from this dilemma, Seth D. Kaplan (2008: 35-48) notes that “the divided natures of fragile states have left them with no unifying identities, no unifying institutions, and no unifying governance systems with which to bind their peoples together”. States like Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad and Central African Republic, are clear examples of how a fragile State looks like, and suffer from “terrorism, gun crime, illegal migration, the drugs trade, and environmental damage” that “are all spill over effects of persistent insecurity in the developing world.”, as noted by Richard Jackson (2010: 186). Jackson also argues that the security threats that the weak States face primarily “are potentially catastrophic and originate primarily from internal, domestic sources.” According to this author, they include “the threat of violent transfers of power, insurgency, secession, rebellion, genocide, *warlordism*, and, ultimately, State collapse and anarchy” (Jackson, 2010: 187).

Another insecurity condition is gaining drastic importance in the developing world. Around the big metropolis, like Rio de Janeiro, Mumbai, Lagos, the most poor segment of the societies are been gathering in ghettos, very poor isolated city districts, constituting what Castells (1998:164) characterized as “the Fourth World”. Does this constitute new forms of failed “societies”, comparable to the failed States? The case is that these are mainly excluded citizens, not having access to the benefices of the great metropolis, although living “around” it. This can constitute a severe problem of security, as demonstrated by the police-military operations in Rio de Janeiro, still going on.

The Debate on the Nexus Security-Development

Francis Stewart (2004), in a paper named “Development and Security”, argues that the process of implementing security and also those needed to create development are intimately interconnected. Also, other authors, like Mark Duffield (2001: 1) affirm that “once a specialized discipline within international and security studies, war and its effects are now an important part of development discourse”. But is there really a link between the two concepts?

In fact, what is happening more and more clearly is that, “one of the characteristics of today’s world is the improbability of a military confrontation among the major global players”, says Alvaro de Vasconcelos (2009: 15-26) “This is an enormous opportunity to foster an international agenda not dominated by security concerns, but by human development including the protection of the individual against violence of any kind”.

Can in fact development decrease the risk of insecurity? Or, as asked by Per Egil Wan (2010: 86-91), “Can poverty reduction strategies stem violence and build peace?”. “Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS), introduced by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in 1999, are now the most common type of development strategies, currently implemented in some 65 poor countries.” (...) “About 20 of the countries that have developed their PRSs experienced major violent conflict within 10 years of beginning the planning process. Other PRS countries are considered fragile and at risk of violent conflict” (Wan, 2010: 86). “In most poor countries, the development and implementation of PRSs are hindered by weak organizational capacity in governance and the private sector and by dependence on donors for finance and expertise” (Wan, 2010: 86). This seems to bring major doubt s to the thesis that development attracts security.

In 2001, Mark Duffield brings light to the relation between security and development, when publishing its already referred work *Global Governance and the New Wars*. Duffield clearly demonstrated that presently one cannot talk about develop-

ment without referring the issues of crisis (or “wars”, the term the author prefers). In fact he clearly demonstrates that any aid to development will find an environment where a war had had place, or still goes on, or where it is going to happen at any moment. This means that, in accordance with this perspective, an intervention to help development cannot be planned without considering the plans to face a hostile environment, of war, or where violent action is present. According to the author, “it is now generally accepted that international organizations should be aware of conflict and its effects and, where possible, gear their work towards conflict resolution and helping to rebuild war-torn societies in a way that will avert future violence” (Duffield, 2001: 1).

In this measure the global governance, i.e., the initiatives of the actors of the international system, major international organizations, States or elements of the civil society, in order to be able to tackle crisis in certain scenarios, must always have in mind not only the plans to the intervention in the aid to development arena and the alleviation of the conditions of life, but also the projects for security building. Furthermore, other capacities have to be considered: the planning for the use of synergies that are outcomes of the nexus between security and development. When he published his book, he underlined that “the new development-security terrain remains under researched and its study has yet to establish its own conceptual language” (Duffield, 2001: 9).

Since then and until now, however, these concepts have evolved because of the attention they have been receiving from the major actors of the international scenario, and mainly since the UN Secretary-General declared that “not only development, security and human rights are all imperative; they also reinforce each other. This relationship has only been strengthened in our era of rapid technological advances, increasing economic interdependence, globalization and dramatic geopolitical change” (United Nations Secretary-General, 2005: 5).

The cohabitation between the actors of development and those of security will not be so difficult as it may look at a first glance. This relates to three factors, governance, security sector and the rule of law (Horwitz, Peake, 2004: i), that are considered essentials for the build up of a sustainable peace, having lead to the development of an extensive international program. Concerning governance, on one hand, the reconstruction of the State institutions and the reinforcement of their administrative capacity based in the principles of good governance is now a critical priority for many international actors. On the other hand, a capable, credible and accountable security sector is also crucial for conflict management.

In many crises, however, the existence of the security sector means a potential opportunity for generalization of the conflict. The reform of the security institutions (SSR) becomes then is a critical element of conflict prevention and of strategies for peace building, giving the opportunity to cut with the repressive traditions

and so delivering a safe and secure environment to develop public institutions and the economic space (Horwitz, Peake, 2004: 5).

Finally, the establishment of the rule of law materialized through judicial and legal reforms, including the restructuring of the jail system, the efficient guard and monitoring of the State borders, the adequate training of the judges, public attorneys and criminal police is also seen as a necessary pre-requisite for development of stable and pacific societies.

These three factors – governance, security sector and rule of law – imply, in principle, three different approaches of the problems of a country, which demand also three different type of presence in the intervention ground. Furthermore, it is also to be expected the presence of humanitarian agencies and different types of NGOs and media.

While traditionally the military control of an area of intervention would limit the access and the work of everybody except the military, the new approaches, when alleviating the military component of the exclusive responsibility on the ground, demonstrate the need for an integrated planning and for mechanisms of coordination of efforts, as the only viable paths of achieving success in the new scenarios. This whole-of-government approach, characterized for the amalgamation of the synergies of the several departments in the governance of a State in a coherent unique effort, is now becoming part of a new culture for the establishment of security.

But, is the military culture prepared for the new challenges, namely ready to integrate in its planning process – apart from other aspects, like the issue of gender, the protection of women and children and the care with the environment –, operational aspects concerning the area of development? In the future, the interventions with a military bias, or with a heavy military component, will integrate normally all the instruments necessary for the recover from the crisis, for the reconstruction and the economic restarting, in order to make more remote the possibility of another crisis in the future. The military will have therefore the task of carrying training that, along with integrating all issues relating to human security make the interventions an instrument of developing.

Although, in 2007, David Chandler, professor of the University of Westminster and specialist in the new forms of intervention and international regulation, defied the sweet harmony of the maturing of the policies that apply the nexus Security-development. In an article named “The security-development nexus and the rise of ‘anti-foreign’ policy” he challenges the thesis that the growing importance of the politics involving that relation also reflect the growing concerns that the Southern countries constitute to the Western policy-makers. By the contrary, Chandler affirms that the nexus reflect a turn back of the political building up at the strategic level and a look “more to the inside” of the external relations, i.e., more worried

with its auto-image than with the political consequences of the areas concerned. This is the core idea of the debate that the defenders and the detractors of the nexus have having in the last decade. The article tries to suggest that “critical theorists could be in danger of taking the rhetoric of ambitious agendas and coherent policy perspectives of international security/development actors for good coin” (...)” (Chandler, 2007: 363). The article tries to fill gaps and to apply a new critical perspective to the problems when coincide the rhetoric with the reality in this area. The author attacks the security-development nexus along three fronts.

Firstly, the article affirms that the nexus is not oriented by any process of lessons learned, in what concerns to the political international intervention, nor by any political consensus or proof of the success of its functioning. The second claim is institutional. It argues that in response to the lost of strategic thought and of policy making there has been a reorganization of the mechanism of political construction, both at the level of the States and between the States. Finally, it presents an argument in the field of the ideas: the security-development nexus, far from being an instrument of long range, tries to underline the limits of what can be achieved by the construction of external relations” (Chandler, 2007: 364-365).

Nevertheless, this criticism did not annulated the potential value of concept. The conceptual production of the major international organizations and other relevant actors is an example of this logic. The security-development nexus has been calling the attention of the United Nations, for example, who see this conception of external relations as a valid instrument, although without any visible evolution.

Since the Millennium Declaration in 2000, also the EU started to work in the sense of a deeper integration between the development projects, of the first pillar (the Commission) and those of security, of the second pillar (the Council). However, only during the second semester of 2007 some procedures were implemented with a view of production of doctrine that could in fact put together security and development. In this sense, in November that year, the EU Council adopted conclusions where the EU institutions and Member-States were invited to develop work on security and development. The issued report records the preoccupations of the Member-States with the necessity of better coordination of the activities of the first and the second pillars and it refers not only to the planning but also to the conduct of ESDP missions, which need to be better integrated in long term programs of assistance to development, in order to the global EU intervention be more efficient.²

² Disponível em http://ec.europa.eu/development/policies/9interventionareas/peace-and-security/security-and-development_en.cfm.

The work of Mahbub ul Haq *Reflections on Human Development* (1995), offers a new vision of human security for the XXI Century, where the real security is compared to security of the persons in their homes, in their jobs, in their communities and their environments. In accordance with the author, "The human dimension of development is not just another addition to the development dialogue. It is an entirely new perspective, a revolutionary way to recast our conventional approach to development. With this transition in thinking, human civilization and democracy may reach yet another milestone. Rather than the residual of development, human beings could finally become its principal object and subject." (Haq, 1995: 11).

Opportunities and Challenges between Africa and Europe

Europe and Africa were always linked by History. Thou, it can be said that in the European point-of-view, Africa was never a forgotten continent. After all the major changes that the relations between the two continents have seen, it is pertinent to put a question: Should Europe, from now on, be preoccupied with the African security problems? The answer seems very clear because the African insecurity has direct reflections in Europe. Firstly, because it is clear that are threats to Europe coming from South. These sources of insecurity will be referred further in this paper, and also their connection with the issues of the African underdevelopment. The first is the terrorism. After the disaster of September 11, 2001, the evocations of the attacks in Madrid and in the London transportation system are still traumatic. However, beyond that threat, the concrete and permanent phenomena of drug trafficking and the criminal nets of illegal migration and human trafficking constitute also object of concern both for the EU and for the African community.

What is more grave, in accordance with Audra K. Grant (2007: 111), is that "the end of the Cold War saw the beginning of ethnic and local conflicts in Africa that have been previously subsumed under larger U.S. – soviet rivalries". This created new opportunities and ground for the flourishing of transnational criminal activities with regional and global impact. Therefore, what is seen now in certain regions in Africa, writes that author, is that "the economic vacuum and stagnation created by weak states permit a thriving environment for illicit trade networks, as local actors seek to exploit whatever opportunities will provide maximum economic gain or as they attempt to sustain a minimal level of subsistence in the absence of other alternatives" (Grant, 2007: 115). This calls the attention to a clue as to what to do to solve the problem of African insecurity, as we will see below.

Drug Trafficking

One of the most grave problems of security in Africa is the drug trafficking. In the West Coast it achieves dramatic levels. Thachuck (2007: 13) notes that “the obscene profits that flow from the illicit drug trade rival the gross national product of many countries.” Another researcher on these issues, Audra K. Grant (2007: 113) notes that “trafficking in Africa is a complex phenomenon shaped by overlapping and interrelated dimensions, as illicit trade in commodities, weapons, narcotics, and humans and other items, cross numerous countries within and beyond the region, causing civil strife, the use of military force and other forms of violence, and ultimately human suffering”. Also Thachuck (2007: 13) remarks that “the illegal narcotics business is estimated to be the second largest industry in the world meeting the demands of between 3 and 4 percent of the world’s population”.

The USA has been alerting the European police authorities for the major deviation of the cocaine flux that, from central and South America, started to be done through the Western Coast of Africa to reach Europe and also, later, the USA (Lewis, 2008). The establishment of these new traffic routes reached a major significance since 2003, when the first alarming information was released: UN, by then, alerted for the seriousness of the situation. In 2007, the Bush Administration considered the region of West Africa as a sanctuary for the cocaine dealers.

To tackle the problem of the traffic to Europe, EU created a specialized agency, the Maritime Analysis and Operations Centre – Narcotics (MAOC-N), which intends to help national authorities to intercept cargo arriving by sea (Bugge, 2007). The decision to establish this mechanism was, partially, a reaction to the growing utilization of the shores of West Africa as a transit platform towards Europe. Nigeria and Guinea-Bissau have been referred by European authorities as the cocaine transit countries between America and Europe. Recent arrests of Colombians in Guinea-Bissau raised suspicions that the traffic that passes through this country could have connections with the FARC of Colombia, and even the possibility that it could be a source of financing their activities. The United Nations expressed their concern that these indications could point to a potential disaster in Guinea-Bissau, due to the collapse of the State, if the International Community didn’t help to stop the control that the traffickers have on the country.

Antonio L. Mazitelli (2007: 1072) notes that the fragilities of the region attract unscrupulous economic operators, facilitate the establishment and development of local and transnational criminal nets and deliver a cultural model under which the money can buy everything, including impunity, political power, social status and respect (Mazitelli, 2007: 1073). Therefore, the transnational organized crime represents not only a serious challenge to a balanced and sustained development

of the countries of the region, but it is also a threat to the general stability of those countries and the neighbouring regions.

In accordance with data recovered from UNODC, in a report issued in 2007, important apprehensions were done in Benin, in Cape Verde, in Republic of Guinea, in Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania and Senegal. And those data show that there was a big increase that year, comparing to previous years. Also, Mazzitelli (2007: 1075) notes that the intensive use of Western Africa as a local for major storage of cocaine has been confirmed by apprehensions made later by European or Latin-American law enforcing agents concerning cocaine cargo from and to Africa.

Another point of view is a bit more optimist. Audra Grant (2007: 117), writing about smuggling and trafficking in Africa, notes that:

“In global terms, narcotic trafficking in Africa is not the regional’s largest transnational problem, but cultivation, processing, trafficking, and drug abuse are all on the rise and are a hindrance to development efforts. Marijuana, cocaine, heroin, and synthetic drugs are the most commonly trafficked narcotics, with the majority of drugs passing through Africa destined to Europe and North America” .

The author also underlines that “A significant feature of drug trafficking in Africa is *warlordism* [...] the status of the drug warlord strengthened as the authority of the states weakened. Using tools of corruption, coercion, and intimidations, drug warlords permitted an environment that led to the expansion of drug cartel activity. As their activities broadened, the economic, political, and military capabilities of the state weakened” (Grant, 2007: 118-119). The drug trafficking environment transforms the societies and destroys the political structures of the weak States, and thus “corrupted state structures and actors became both complicit and casualties of illicit activities, and it is in this environment that illicit sub-state actors and trade activities proliferate, gaining political and economic power. Fragile law enforcement and monitoring infrastructure are challenged by the substantial task of suppressing illicit trafficking through more rigorous border control and enforcement in international regulations” (Grant, 2007: 114). This situation illustrates the case of Guinea-Bissau, which is still waiting to achieve a desired state of stability and development.

Illegal Migration and Human Trafficking

“Human trafficking, which often means slavery, has long been considered as legally banished centuries ago. However, today both of these anachronisms have managed to reappear and flourish” (Tachuck, 2007: 13). The existence of illegal

nets of migration and human traffic coming from South and East occupies also a relevant place in the European problematic of security. Although not a new phenomenon, the flux of clandestine people coming from Africa had achieved lately alarming proportions in EU. Of course the users of these nets look forward for a job and better conditions of life, but these movements are organized by who has diverse objectives (one of those is to regulate the excess of population, through the departure of nationals or refugees that are temporarily in their territory). They can even use the illegal mass migration to infiltrate terrorists, weapons and explosives, drugs, etc. In the end, through these measures, and intentionally or not, these nets can give rise to social or political instability through the creation of ghettos in the countries of destination and even changes to the employment structures (the clandestine worker, without rights and getting low salaries is a small burden to dishonest employers).

The analysis of the databases on immigration and emigration between Africa and Europe shows that there is a constant flux, although there an increase in the measures for border control. Taking into account that one quarter of the registered western Africans live in the United Kingdom and also considering the smallest communities living in other countries, it is possible that the global annual increment may be about 100 000 persons per year (Haas, 2008: 46).

To decrease the numbers of these fluxes to Europe it is necessary that live conditions be created (jobs, health, and security) in the territories or countries of origin. This is why the European security is directly related to the welfare in Africa. Another indicator, the development index of the African countries confirms that the less developed countries are also those where the most significant percentage of the population tries to leave their countries.

In what concerns migration, as noted by Augusto José Trindade, the negative interdependencies can fall down on Europe, due to the migration fluxes coming from South, and also due to epidemics, conflicts and the African economic crisis in general (Trindade, 2006: 95). A research about the issue of African migrations was produced by the UNODC in July 2006, showing the connection between the demand of clandestine manpower and the organized crime. Furthermore, in accordance with a report by Hein de Haas, made for International Organization for Migration (IOM), there are still major gaps in what concerns knowledge of regular and irregular migration from Western Africa to North Africa and Europe (Haas, 2008: 49). In general report are drafted with the objective of finding solutions – as noted in the IOM report – i.e., stop the irregular migration instead really trying to understand the migration process and the experiences, motivations and the concrete means of subsistence of the migrants themselves (Haas, 2008: 49).

The countries that are final destination of the Western African migrants, apart from those going to other parts of the globe, are located in Europe (14.7%), Central

Africa (8.1%) or North America (6.0%). The analyses of the OIM report confirm that the migration from Western Africa to Europe is relatively modest if compared with the migration coming from North Africa. The migrants of Western Africa go mainly, in accordance with data from OECD used by OIM, to the USA (29.8%), France (25.3%), United Kingdom (15.0%), Italy (7.0%) and Portugal (5.8%) and other countries, in a total of more than 1,177 million immigrants (Haas, 2008: 29). Nevertheless, these data, as referred by Haas, make the recent dynamics be forgotten, namely that Italy and Spain are the most demanded destinies of new migrants to Europe (Haas, 2008: 29).

Although Western Africa is the most important region of origin of the sub-Saharan migrants in Europe, data confirm that the migration coming from that region is relatively modest if compared with the migration from North Africa and, recently, the immigration from East Europe (towards Western Europe as a whole) and from Latin-America (to Portugal and Spain, mainly), in accordance to Haas (Haas, 2008: 30).

The research study of OIM underlines that it is important to make the distinction between the Mediterranean and sub-Saharan migration fluxes. Relatively to the last, only estimates can be done, due to its irregular character. It is estimated that between 60,000 and 80,000 migrants follow those routes every year (Simon, 2008: 33). In accordance with data from the European Commission the Libyan authorities informed that every year between 75,000 and 100,000 foreigners enter the country. In what concerns the attempts to cross the Mediterranean, the UN High Commissariat for Refugees (UNHCR) refers that in 2004 the estimates were about 120,000 migrants, including 35,000 from sub-Saharan origin. This number could be raised if the Atlantic routes through Canaries were taken into account. So, it probable that migration from West Africa to Maghreb and Europe continues, unless exceptional circumstances occur. As a summary, it can be stated that "trafficking in human life, not only is increasing in frequency but also continues to exact a terrible toll on its victims, stripping them of liberty and visiting upon them humiliation, suffering, torture, and other outrageous violations of human rights" (Tachuck, 2007: 13).

Human trafficking often means a new type of slavery. As Francis T. Mik (2007: 43) states, "Africa is a source region of women, especially for individuals trafficked to Western Europe and the Middle East. Western Africa is also believed to be a major destination region. Victims are trafficked to Nigeria, Gabon, Ghana, and South Africa. Principal source countries are believed to include Nigeria, Benin, Ghana, and Morocco".

Nigeria is an example of an African country where several types of criminal nets exist, namely those that organize illegal migration to Europe or even human trafficking to every part in the globe.

Terrorism

Finally, there several indications confirming the presence, in several African countries, of elements connected with terrorist activities, even if only passing by. In Somalia, in Sudan, In the East of Democratic Republic of Congo and in the most remote and out of control areas of Sahara desert, including countries like Algeria, Mali and Mauritania, and also in other fragile States like Guinea-Bissau, conditions exist for the permanence of dormant cells and also for recruitment and training for terrorist nets.

Robert G. Berschinski (2007: 5) notes that “foremost in many American minds is Africa’s potential as a haven for international terrorist organizations. Extreme poverty, ethno-religious divisions, corrupt and weak governance, failed States, and large tracts of “ungoverned space” combine to offer what many experts believe to be fertile breeding grounds for transnational Islamic terror”.

But what is the threat? It comes from every Islamic movement apologist of violence, independently of the form and indoctrination that leads to, and incites to, its violent practice, as Manuel da Silva underlines (2005: 411). It seems obvious that the dormant terrorist cells (and sometime also the State terrorism) can easily find a refuge in fragile States, which constitute one of the most important problems of international order, and, as that author again states:

Since then the radical activities of Al-Qaeda and its associates where not limited to act against the USA and the Russian Federation, having extended their activities to several countries in all continents. There they established both dormant and active cells with different objectives, like indoctrination, terrorist attacks, etc. In the Muslim countries where they obtained more supporters or more support conditions (or even in the weak countries), they installed training fields, most of them unknown but fitted with important logistic structures. In other countries, they try to install also support facilities dedicated towards recruitment and mobilization of masses and also logistic support (Silva, 2005: 412).³

3 Author’s translation. In the original: “A partir de então, as actividades radicais da Al-Qaeda e seus associados não se limitaram à actuação contra os EUA e a Federação Russa, tendo-se estendido a muitos países em todos os continentes. Aí estabeleceram células adormecidas e activas com fins diversos, como a doutrinação, o terrorismo, etc. Nos países muçulmanos em que tiveram mais apoiantes ou condições de apoio (ou que se constituíram em Estados fracos), montaram campos de treino, muitos deles secretos e dotados de importantes instalações logísticas. Nos restantes países, tentam instalar estruturas de apoio no âmbito do recrutamento, da mobilização das massas e de logística.”

The most fragile States will not have the institutional capacity to implement and enforce the application of strategies that can annihilate those activities. The terrorist cells could even dominate the governmental structures. This is a real threat that is arising in the near future of African countries. Furthermore, when those countries come under the attention of the terrorists, and still without the security conditions strong enough to accommodate the organizations, those could provoke the changing in the situation, fomenting drug and weapons trafficking and human trafficking, seducing important persons of the government or introducing their own people in the national governmental structures, lately making the country adequate for their safe installation.

All of these type of actions happening in West Africa have been followed by the USA with increasing concern, having the American Ambassador in Dakar, Senegal, expressed this concern during a meeting she had with Carlos Gomes Junior, the Prime-Minister of Guinea-Bissau, in 2010. "We are preoccupied with these two transnational crimes, because they are grave threats and it is proved that the drug dealers in the sub-region are helping the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda in Maghreb"⁴, she had said, in accordance with a news release from the Angola Press agency. Furthermore she considered the situation very dangerous for the region.

Due to the adaptation of Algerian forces to this threat, "Algeria's neighbours to the South are now exposed to AQLIM as never before" referred the American Ambassador. "The jihad is waged by Islamist groups in separate theatres around the world, connected through a variety of religious, cultural, ideological, linguistic, familial, financial, and historical links", notes Berschinski (2007: 13).

"In actual fact, based on the experiences of other countries with large Muslim populations in North Africa and the Middle East, the current political, economic, and social conditions in Northern Nigeria suggest that the region is ripe for infiltration by radical Islamic groups." (Hill, 2010: 3).

Impact of these Threats in Europe

We have seen that the threats under study are important and constitute a very serious problem in Africa. But what is the impact in Europe? In principle the evidences point to the existence of interconnections of these criminal activities. The interconnection exists at certain levels, at least, but is terrorism that gets more attention from the international community and from the West in particular. The

⁴ Interview, Angola Press, in www.portalangop.co.ao, January 28, 2010.

narcotrafficking, the illegal migrations and the human trafficking that feeds prostitution or *quasi* slave manpower, are very serious phenomena, but they are seen as minor issues compared to the problems of security. Lets then analyze the impact in Europe of terrorist activities originated in Africa.

In what concerns terrorism, there are indications in some European countries of existence of radical Islamic movements, beyond moderated Islamism (Hill, 2010: 371). The strategy of Al-Qaeda has been to infiltrate in certain movements inside European countries with specific objectives. However, the organization have been growing also due to its propagation in the form of franchising, where some movements, by their own initiative, are transvestite as Al-Qaeda and, in the name of it, carry their own terrorist actions (Silva, 2005: 374).

Manuel da Silva writes that the multiple terrorist actions that took place in several European capitals by elements of the local communities, with or without origin in immigration, reveal the existence of radical elements belonging to transnational Islamic nets. The author notes that the biggest concentration of radicals seems to be in Spain, France, Italy, Great Britain, Holland and Belgium (Silva, 2005: 372). Europe is he underlines, more often than the USA the target of high intensity terrorist actions.

In the United Kingdom, the Islamic radicals exploited the liberties given by the legal system to pursue some of their objectives (Silva, 2005: 376). In this country, some Islamic organizations, working under the facade of charity initiatives, would have had raised funds destined for illegal activities, against both the moderated Islamic countries and the West, says Manuel da Silva (2005: 376).

On April 12, 1985, Spain suffered a major terrorist attack in a restaurant in the vicinity of Madrid, normally frequented by American soldiers from a nearby air base (Silva, 2005: 380). On March 24, 2004, a series of explosions in 4 trains in Madrid caused several deaths and injured. On April 7, 2004, seven radicals implicated in the March 11 attacks were located. It was not possible to capture them because they exploded themselves. In Italy the situation seems to be also very volatile. Italy seems to be a small sanctuary in logistics and finance that the Islamic radicals used before going to Balkans and Caucasus. Following the development of the situation in Iraq Italy would have been serving as a transit station for the radicals to and from Iraq (Silva, 2005: 385). Also Germany may in the near future become a source of problems with Islamic radicalism. Holland, per se, with its half million of Muslims, is a positive ground for radical activities and the radicalization process has been observed since 2000. The murder of cinema director Theo van Gogh, on November 2, 2004, was a warning that the Dutch radicals are ready to eliminate by any means who dares to oppose them.

The impact of drug trafficking in Europe, at least in what concerns the threats to security, deserves also the attention. Drug trafficking is one of the most profit-

able business and serves, most probably, for financing guerrilla and terrorist activities. On one hand, at the end of the distribution chain destroys an important percentage of the young population, the consumers, incapacitating them and turning the heavy care with them an additional burden to the working people. On the other hand, in the origin, at the production, the resources, including manpower, are distracted from the production of alimentary items. The agricultures are forced to cultivate coca, poppies or cannabis and cease to contribute for the food production. In between these limits, this business corrupts police officers, border guards, judges and politicians and can also corrode every State structure, mainly in the weaker States, seemingly being the main factor for the collapse of a State in a fragile situation.

In accordance with the last INTERPOL report on the organized crime (Interpol, 2010), in fact heroine, cocaine and cannabis play the major roles in the illicit market. The heroine traffic continues to be fed by the large scale cultivation in Afghanistan. The opium and derivates arrive in Europe through the routes of Balkans and Northern part of the Black Sea, passing through Central Asia and Russia. Cocaine is produced in the Andean region and, before getting to Europe, makes it route mainly through Western Africa, where its storage is gaining increasing importance and the rerouting to Europe uses subnets of distribution. The geographical position of this part of Africa, combined with the economic vulnerabilities of its countries, the existing criminal nets and the generalized corruption are decisive factors for the international traffickers (OCTA, 2009: 19). The South-American organized criminal groups dominate the totality of the international cocaine traffic.

In what concerns the illegal migrations and other forms of human trafficking it is adequate to underline that these movements are disturbers, in what concerns the security of the States in two folds. Firstly, there is the problem of the clandestine mass migrations. The States do not appreciate clandestine groups inside their societies, that do not pay taxes, do not try to socially integrate and do not contribute in any way to the welfare of the nation. They are also, as observed in the analysis of terrorism, possible sources of recruitment for activities against the State itself. Secondly, the State faces problems trying to deal with the traffic of persons displaced against their will, in a modern version of the slaves' flux that shadowed the European colonial Empires until the XIX Century.

The report referred above in the context of drug trafficking also deals with organized crime in general and so it dedicates the attention to the human trafficking and clandestine migrations. Concerning crimes against persons the report underlines the need to a distinction be made between human beings movements and promotion of illegal immigration. While the designation of *people smuggling* refers to the facilitation of the illegal entrance in EU of migrants that have the will to do

so, the traffic of human beings is defined by its finality of exploration and forced labour of the victims (OCTA, 2009: 19-20).

How serious it is for Europe the existence of criminal nets that from Nigeria smuggles people into Europe? In January 15, 2008 the United Kingdom TV Channel Sky News called the attention of the public to the following news:

Italian and Dutch authorities say they have cracked a major people-smuggling ring which trafficked children from Africa into Europe to work as prostitutes and drug dealers. Nigerian children were targeted by smugglers. Dozens of Nigerians living in Italy and the Netherlands have been arrested in a swoop code-named 'Operation Viola'. Police say they also uncovered what were described as "serious adoption irregularities" in which Nigerian women living in Italy were able to take infants from Nigerian orphanages and then sell them abroad. (...) Smugglers in the Netherlands played an important role in getting Nigerian minors into the country to then be sent elsewhere to work as prostitutes or in the drug trafficking industry, a police statement said. The suspects in Italy are accused of mafia association, criminal association aimed at human trafficking, slavery, kidnapping and international drug trafficking. The first phase of the operation ended last October with 23 arrests in the Netherlands, Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, United States and Nigeria.⁵

This news seems to illustrate the degree of involvement of nets based in Nigeria in the trafficking and abuse of human beings.

As a conclusion it can be said that these three types of threats to Europe are increasing, although the fighting that the information services and the agencies of law enforcement of the EU member-States are carrying. The European Security Strategy, defined in 2003 and confirmed in 2008 by the Solana Report states that today there is no single country that alone can successfully solve with success complex security problems. This approach is useful mainly, in that context, to reaffirm the security solidarity of the EU member-States. The document ends with the idea that the world today is a place of new dangers and also of new opportunities, but the EU will have the potential to contribute to a multilateral system that will lead to a more just, more safe and more united world. That will be achieved also with the increment of the development in Africa.

The vulnerability of some more fragile African countries is reflected in its inability to tackle the drug trafficking nets, in the scarce naval means necessary to face the human trafficking nets and to protect its rich waters and also in the difficulties

5 12:02pm UK, Tuesday January 15, 2008: Sky News, <http://news.sky.com/skynews/Home/Sky-News-Archive/Article/20080641300724>

in adjusting its laws and systems to follow and combat the terrorist phenomenon, therefore negating them the possibility of cooperating in the combat effort of the International Community. In fact, what happens is that the possibility of those countries be utilized as sanctuaries for terrorists could become a revelation of the African incapacity to decrease the vulnerability of its most fragile States.

Achieving Security in the Development Arena

If it is true indeed that security can be achieved through development, what are the changes needed in the global institutions of security? What are the processes to be incremented and supported that will bring added value to the nexus security-development? This section raises the subject of the phenomenon of the increasing importance of non-military personnel in facing international security threats, thus arguing that security is achieved more and more by the intervention on the "development arena".

The solution to the increasing insecurity that the above considered threats may pose to Europe may be found in the build up of security and development in Africa. But what is the sensibility of the major international actors to this approach?

In the case of the USA, Andre D. Hollis tells us that for years the department of Defense of the U.S. "resisted any involvement in activity, whether foreign or domestic, that countered transnational threats, such as narcoterrorism. This cultural and institutional resistance is based on legitimate concerns and on ignorance on these threats to international, as well as U.S. national and domestic security" (Hollis, 2007: 31). Also he states that "again, some of the resistance within DOD to address counter narcoterrorism and other transnational threats is valid. In a democratic society the military should not have a significant role in domestic issues such as illegal drug use, domestic terrorism, and immigration control." (Hollis, 2007: 31). The author also says that "this attitude changed and now the U.S. DOD policy "expressly recognizes the links between drug trafficking and terrorism, and recognition that activities traditionally separated from military missions should cross jurisdictions when appropriate." (Hollis, 2007: 32).

Concerning EU, the resurgence of the danger that underdevelopment may constitute to security added urgency and justified a new agenda for development. This justifies the emergency of a new idea of security in which now stability is seen as impossible to reach without development, and also that development is not sustainable without stability. In this sense, in the meeting of EU council in 19 and 20 November 2007, the EU dedicated special attention to the questions about Security and Defence and also Development, bringing to light questions about Africa, during all the agenda of the meeting (Council General Secretariat, 2007). The

conclusions of that Council meeting dedicated to the pair Security –Development indeed reflect the EU concern with those matters, namely on how to achieve coherence between security and development, both in the politics to be implemented and in concrete measures. While a global actor, EU possesses a panoply of instruments applicable in the development at a long range and in the eradication of poverty, in the prevention and management of violent conflicts and in the peace building in developing countries. During that Council meeting, EU assumed the compromise of doing efforts to improve coherence, efficiency and visibility of its external policies and on building the synergies between them. Also, the role of UN in the reinforcement of the ties between security, development and human rights, has been very relevant, not forgetting the role of other actors in these areas and the need to have coherence between the EU activities and those of those organizations.

It is important to stress the work of UN, namely the DPKO and the UNDP that have been developing common projects intended to reinforce the links between security and development, recognizing that both initiatives reinforce each other projects. In a Conference in 2003, the UNDP Administrator Mark Malloch Brown acknowledged the increasing nexus between security and development, and emphasized the need to develop a conceptual framework that captures the complexity of the relationship between conflict and development.⁶ Since then the process in the UN had have major evolutions and it can be said know that the logic of the nexus security-development is now part of the UN strategy.

Security Sector Reform as a Process Potentiating Development

One way of helping to dually clarify what is necessary to operate an EU program of SSR in a coherent and professional way could be a form of clearing the minds about most of the questions still to be tackled in the context of ESDP, noted David Spence and Phillipp Fluri (2008: xxi) in *The European Union and Security Sector Reform*.

Nowadays there is a net of interactions that relates every international actor, since the major international organizations, going through the major powers and trusts down to the States in situations of fragility. The negative issues affecting these States are pernicious to the various actors. The reconstruction of the security structures does not guarantee, by itself the reinforcement of the State in a situation of extreme weakness and disarticulated. It will be necessary to recreate the propitious environment for the development.

⁶ Disponível em http://www.un.org/esa/peacebuilding/Library/Strengthening_SecDev_Nexus_IPA.pdf

Some of the UN missions were followed by reconstruction activities in the country, sometimes under UN flag, like in Lebanon presently, with the UNIFIL. These post-peace mission tasks do not presented, however, normative characteristics of the concept of SSR. That is mainly because the concept of SSR is very new. For example, the idea of SSR was introduced in EU only a decade ago (Law, Myshlovska, 2008: 8). In accordance with David Law and Oksana Myshlovska (2008: 2), the concept of SSR was born in the 1990's due to the concerns of the donor countries with the incapacity of developing countries in achieving sustainable development, normally due to conflicts and insecurity. The EU was leader in the effort of introducing elements of SSR in the post-communist countries of Eastern Europe (Law, Myshlovska, 2008: 10), having had additionally a main role in the efforts of OSCE, NATO, OCDE and Council of Europe to develop standards and good practices of democratic governance of the security sector. OSCE, by that time, developed a well elaborated security concept, which combined the political, military, economic, environmental and human dimensions (Law, Myshlovska, 2008: 10). The EU also played an important role when adopting the OSCE code of conduct for the political-military relations, in 1994. This code appeals to the democratic control of all security forces, not only the military vector, and establishes a certain number of other basic principles that are fundamental for the democratic governance of the security sector (Law, Myshlovska, 2008: 10).

Apart from EU, other organizations, like NATO, OSCE and African Union have been carrying missions that intend not only to assure the security within the State but also to create the conditions for the raising of their destroyed security and defence structures (like in Afghanistan, Iraq or Lebanon).

Inside EU major efforts have been made to improve the dialogue between the communities of security and development, namely in the context of the Civilian Crisis Management and in what concerns the action of the Civilian Crisis Management Committee (CIVCOM), created by the EU Council in 2000, with competences in this area. The tasks of CIVCOM have been mainly related with the development and reinforcement of the civilian capacities in the preparation of civilian missions for crisis management, whose have a triple characteristic, *monitoring, mentoring e advising*. The civilian crisis management within ESDP assumes thus a determinative role in the establishment of a bridge between security and development.

A good SSR program needs a combination of military, political and financial competences and also of equipments and development aid that, presently, are disperse in a variety of different staffs and organizations, in Brussels, not to speak of the capitals of the members-states, as underlined by Alyson Bayles in her introduction to *The European Union and Security Sector Reform* (Bayles, 2008: xxi).

The processes of SSR seem to be on the good path to become an efficient method to solving the security problem raised by the States in situation of fragility. Still

one of the weaknesses of the project of European conceptualization of the SSR is the dispersion of efforts, not only in Brussels but also in the capitals and even in the beneficiary country. But the issue may be solved when the full implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon is achieved.

Concluding, there is a group of States that urgently need structures that can be a support to their development and, at the same time, can collaborate in the global security environment. Several solutions have been tested by the International Community. For more than ten years now the EU has been consolidating and training the SSR concept which it develops and uses in concrete cases.

What can be Done?

What can be done to alleviate the pressure of the threat of drug trafficking on Africa? In accordance with a specialist of drug traffic in Africa, Reggie Johansen, support is necessary to help the Western African countries establishing justice and security as crucial factors for the development of the region (Johansen, 2008: 6). Citing the Executive Director of UNODC, Johansen stresses the idea that little initiatives, like the creation of an unit of investigation in the financial area, a anti-corruption agency, a modern jail and better qualified and well paid judges, can have a negative impact in that threat. But, for that to happen, it is necessary that donors make the necessary investments. And for that investment to become available it is necessary that the donors believe that the security environment is in place and so the projects will not be destroyed in the very beginning.

What are the most feasible solutions concerning the illegal migration and human trafficking? In accordance with the Rabat Declaration of 2007, the reinforcement of an environment favourable to development passes through good governance, by human and commercial exchange, by the promotion of peace and stability, and also by the coherence of the international politics⁷. The declaration of Rabat reiterates, in general terms, that only the development of a fast and tangible active solidarity, integrating the imperatives of development and security for all, will be able to bring a sustainable solution for the question of the migration fluxes.

Concerning terrorism the most urgent task in Africa is to fight for the defence of young generations, separating them from the influence of radical thought. As referred by N. C. Hill, "in light of the ongoing threats issued by Al-Qaeda against

⁷ Euro-African Ministerial Conference on Migration and Development, *Déclaration de Rabat de la Conférence Euro-Africaine sur les migrations et le développement*, 11 July 2006 [retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4694d5ad2.html>, in April 25, 2010].

the United States and its allies, the need to prevent the radicalization of young Muslim men and women remains as pressing as ever. Perhaps nowhere is this task more urgent than in the countries of West Africa" (Hill, 2010: V). Augusto Trindade writes that the attention that the USA is dedicating to Africa is conducted not only by the access to the natural resources like oil, but also to the fight against terrorism in the regions of the Horn of Africa, Maghreb, Sahel and the Gulf of Guinea, where increasingly one can feel the terrorist threat growing, with considerable possibilities that of extending to other parts of Africa, due to the delocalization of Al-Qaida members after the campaign of fighting the terrorism in Afghanistan (Trindade, 2006: 108). But another author, J. N. C. Hill, affirms that the U.S. has to change its policy to increase the effects of its campaign against terrorism. He states that the U.S. "policies in Africa have helped to exacerbate, not reduce, the long term transnational terrorist threat emanating from the continent. This outcome can largely be attributed to a U.S. policy of "aggregation", defined as the amalgamation of local and regional African insurgent groups into a monolithic enemy." (Berschinski, 2007: 12). The author proposes as a solution a "strategy of disaggregation". This strategy could reinforce the results of the U.S. efforts "to limit the area of operations of insurgent and terror groups based in Algeria. The most significant of these is Al Qaeda in the Land of the Islamic Maghreb (AQLIM)." (Hill, 2010: 10)

Conclusions

There are threats to global security and to European security coming from the South, namely from Africa. Those threats have existed for centuries, but never had so much impact in global security as now. The existence of very poor underdeveloped pockets in Africa gives opportunity for the establishment and expansion of criminal organizations, dealing with drugs and human trafficking and also providing safe heaven for terrorism.

An exclusively military or civilian approach will not be enough, but a whole-of-government approach seems to be the solution to annihilate those safe heavens and the presence of criminal nets, so a shifting is needed to bring a new security paradigm. Therefore it can be stated that: (1) the cases studied are presently new relevant factors of instability at a global level, namely the terrorism, the narcotrafficking and the mass migrations and other forms of human trafficking; (2) these threats are directed mainly to Europe, which has take measures to combat them. This research, although recognizing that Europe may be threatened from East and from South, dedicated to the case of threats coming from Africa and existing due to fragile States; (3) the new security paradigm should include the wars against those threats. This is no longer an issue to be deal with exclusively by police and

prosecutors but it is a war in new terrains. Also the simple transfer to the military responsibility will not be a solution; (4) those threats can be annihilated through processes that include also the military tool, but that necessarily include other tools, towards the implementation of development processes; (5) the countries where those threats are originated can only initialize processes of development if they are free from those threats. A prosperous South is the best guarantee of security, welfare and stability in the two margins of the Mediterranean.

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