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African Studies, (Russian Academy of Sciences),
Russia

Institute for
Moscow,

Department of Political Studies and Governance, University of the Free State, South Africa
Ezri Center for Iran & Gulf States Research, University of Haifa, Israel

International e-Conference

March 17, 2021

Time: 10:00-13:30 South Africa and Israel / 11:00 – 14:30 Moscow

New Frontiers of Terrorism in Africa

Conference Details

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ABOUT THE ACADEMIC PARTNERS

The Ezri Center for Iran & Gulf States University of Haifa

The main mission of the Ezri Center for Iran & Gulf States, University of Haifa, is to promote research, achieve a better and deeper understanding, and provide crucial insights into the society, economy, politics, religion and culture of Iran and other countries of the Gulf, through the expertise of a sterling team of specialists and the employment of interdisciplinary tools and methods, covering the region's past, present and future. The Ezri Center also aims at becoming a hub of advanced research on the relations between Israel and Iran as well as one on the Jewish communities of the Gulf, and particularly Iran. Through its various activities - which include innovative research, policy analysis, local and international conferences, workshops, symposia, colloquia, occasional lectures, book launches, film presentations, exhibitions, and cultural activities - the Ezri Center wishes to provide a better and deeper understanding of the complexity and the undercurrent processes of Iran and other countries of the Gulf as well as the region as a whole. The Center also draws on the vibrant local Iranian and Arab communities, as well as the cooperation and collaboration of other Institutes and Centers, for events aimed at the dissemination of and familiarity with the Iranian and Arab arts and culture.

The Department of Political Studies and Governance, The University of the Free State

The Department of Political Studies and Governance, University of the Free State, consists of two components: Governance and Political Transformation and Political Science. These two components or divisions have their own distinct institutional roles and functions, but they find common ground in their relation to the study of the state, government, relevant non-governmental institutions, and politics in general. Much of the common scholarly focus, interest, and research relate to the science and art of government; the science dealing with the form, policies, organization, and administration of the state or a part of one; and with the regulation of its relations with other states and non-governmental organizations.

The Department provides an ideal setting for students at all levels of undergraduate and postgraduate study to engage with novel ideas through learning, practicing scholarship, and creative research in various sub-fields of politics and governance, as well as in an array of interdisciplinary areas of inquiry. Its aim is to encourage its students to think broadly, critically, and internationally about the core features of democratic and global citizenship.

The mission of the department is to pursue excellence through quality teaching, research, institutional and community engagement. This it seeks to achieve through offering innovative relevant programs on national, regional, African, and global issues and the creation of opportunities to develop staff in teaching and research. This is with a staff on all three campuses of the University of the Free State.

The Institute for African Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences)

The Institute for African Studies (IAS) of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS) is Russia's leading academic research centre for African Studies. The IAS was founded in October 1959, on the eve of the collapse of the colonial system. The transformation of the political map of the world resulting from the emergence of several dozen independent states and the associated fundamental shift in the international situation demanded a thorough and detailed analysis, the implementation of which was entrusted to the newly created IAS. The IAS comprises 9 research centres, as well as the Centre of Information and International Relations, the Doctoral Studies Department, and the Editing and Publishing Department. The scope of work of the IAS encompasses fundamental, exploratory and applied research and development in the field of societal studies pertaining to the African continent or general problems of developing countries, world politics and economy as they relate to African and Arab issues. Over the past 60 years, the Institute's researchers have published over 1,500 scholarly works, which have reflected the most important processes taking place on the African continent. The IAS also engages in educational, cultural, consultative and analytical activities related to the aforementioned areas of scientific research and facilitates the development of international relations in its field of competence. Fellows of the IAS played a major role in the organization of the 2019 Russia-Africa Summit.

PRESENTER BIO

Professor Irina Abramova is Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS), Member of the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr.Sc. (Econ.), Director of the RAS Institute for African Studies. She is also the head of the Russia-Africa Scientific Council, a member of the Scientific Council under the Security Council of the Russian Federation, member of the Expert Council on International Affairs at the Council of Federation of the Russian Federation, invited speaker at the Cambridge International Symposium on Economic Crimes, member of the “Politics” group of the Petersburg Dialogue Russian-German public forum, expert of the Council of Europe on anti-money laundering and human trafficking. Her research focuses on the exploration of fundamentally new conceptual issues related to the role of developing countries and Africa in shaping the new global economic model and to the problems of developing cooperation between Russia and the African continent. She is the author of over 250 academic works, including 10 monographs, among them *The New Role of Africa in the Global Economy in the 21st Century*, *African Population in the New Global Economy*, *Resource Potential of Africa and Russia’s National Interests in the 21st Century*, *African Migration: an Exercise in the Systems Analysis*. ORCID 0000-0001-8394-0214

Ambassador Ilya Igorevich Rogachev, graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO-University) in 1984 and joined the diplomatic service. He has

served as a Junior officer at the Embassy of the USSR in France, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR / Russian Federation, Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to the United Nations; Deputy Director of the Department on New Challenges and Threats at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation; Deputy Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations and Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN Security Council (New York); Director of the Department on New Challenges and Threats at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. In July 2019 he was appointed Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the Republic of South Africa and the Kingdom of Lesotho.

Ambassador Haim Koren (PhD) was the Israeli ambassador to Egypt (2013-2016). He previously served as the Israeli ambassador to South Sudan (2012-2014) and as the Director of the Middle East Division, Center of Political Research in Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During his tenure with the Ministry, his positions have included serving as Director of the Political Planning Division, Deputy Spokesman of the Press Division, and as Consul for Press and Information. He has also served in various other diplomatic capacities in Chicago, USA; Alexandria, Egypt; and Kathmandu, Nepal. His Ph.D. is on "Local Archives in Dar Fur 1720 - 1916: A source for legal, political and religious aspects of Islamic community of Western Sudan". He is an expert in the Arab World, including the Arabic language, media, and extremism.

Dr. Natalia A. Zherlitsina Ph.D. (History), is Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academic Secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences Research Council for the Problems of Africa and Associate Professor at Peoples' Friendship University of Russia. Her research interests include the study of the history of relations between Russia and the countries of North Africa in the 18th - 20th centuries. In addition to historical studies, Dr. Natalia A. Zherlitsyna studies the modern problems of the Arab countries of the Maghreb, such as the threat of Islamist terrorism and the political consequences of the Arab Spring. Dr. Zherlitsyna has published the book Russian-Tunisian relations from 1780 to 1991 and over 80 research papers in Russian academic journals and anthologies.

Professor Hussein Solomon is Academic Head of the Department of Political Studies and Governance at the University of the Free State, South Africa. He is also a Visiting Professor at the Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University, Japan and a Visiting Professor in the Department of History and Politics at Nelson Mandela University, South Africa. He is also a Senior Research Associate of the Jerusalem-based think tank Research on Islam and Muslims in Africa (RIMA) and a Research Fellow of the Security Institute for Governance and Leadership in Africa (SIGLA) which is based at the South African Military Academy and Stellenbosch University. ORCID ID: 0000-0002-5980-9280

Dr. Tatyana S. Denisova Ph.D (History), is

Leading Research Fellow and Head of the Centre for Tropical Africa Studies at the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Her research interests include the study of social and political problems in countries of Tropical Africa, political leadership, armed conflicts, primarily in West and Central Africa, terrorism and secessionism, relations between Russia and countries of Tropical Africa. Dr. Denisova has published three books, including *Tropical Africa: the Evolution of Political Leadership*, and about 100 research papers in Russian and in English.

Dr Anneli Botha (PhD) is a senior lecturer at the Department Political Studies and Governance at the University of the Free State in South Africa. She also participates independently or led empirical research projects on radicalisation, deradicalisation, reintegration and terrorism throughout Africa, but particularly in Eastern Africa. During the period 2003 till 2016 she worked as a senior researcher on terrorism at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in Pretoria, South Africa. Anneli has travelled extensively throughout Africa where she conducted research on terrorism and delivered specialized training on various aspects of the threat of terrorism, extremism, radicalisation and counterterrorism to law enforcement and criminal justice officials. Prior to her position at the ISS, she served in the South African Police Service (SAPS) for 10 years. She was a founding member of the Religious Extremism and Terrorism Desk at Crime Intelligence Head Office and also served in the Rapid Reaction

Unit and the Special Task Force on Urban Terror in the West Cape. At the end of her police career, she provided strategic support to the Head of South Africa's Crime Intelligence Unit. Anneli holds a Magister Artium degree from Rand Afrikaans University in Political Studies ('98) and Philosophiae Doctor from the Department of Political Studies and Governance at the University of the Free State ('14). ORCID 0000-0002-1949-7833is

Professor Vladimir Shubin, DSc. (Hist.), is Principal Research Fellow at the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and Research Fellow at the Centre for Military Studies at Stellenbosch University (South Africa). He was also awarded the degree of PhD Honoris Causa by the University of the Western Cape. He lectured in 20 countries and authored over 250 publications, including seven books, three of them in English: *The Hot 'Cold War'. Soviet Union and Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa*, *ANC: A View from Moscow* and *Social Democracy and Southern Africa*. He is a member of the Editorial Boards/Councils of the *Asia and Africa Today Journal* (Moscow), *Journal of Globalisation Studies* (Volgograd), *Journal of the Institute for African Studies* (Moscow), *Politikon* (Tshwane), *Scientia Militaria* (Saldanha) and *Brazilian Journal of African Studies* (Porto Alegre). Before joining the academia, he was involved in the political and practical support for the liberation struggle in Africa. In addition to Orders of Friendship and Red Star and other Russian/Soviet state awards, he was bestowed with South Africa's Order of the Companions of O.R. Tambo (in silver) "for excellent contribution to struggle

against apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa”.

Professor Theo Neethling obtained his MA degree in 1989 in South Africa from the Potchefstroom University (currently North-West University) and his DLitt et Phil in 1992 from the University of South Africa, both in the discipline of International Politics. He previously served in the Faculty of Military Science (Military Academy) of Stellenbosch University, where he started his academic career. In 2009 he moved to the University of the Free State where he has held the position of Professor in the Department of Political Studies and Governance. He also served as Head of Department from April 2009 to June 2020 and was elected as a member of the Executive Committee of Senate of the University of the Free State in 2017. Prof. Neethling is the author (and co-author in a few instances) of more than 150 publicised outputs in scientific and popular scientific publications, including more than 60 articles in accredited (listed) academic journals and 20 chapters in scholarly book publications. These publications appeared in South Africa, Australia, Canada, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Kenya, Pakistan, the Russian Federation, Poland, Slovenia, the Czech Republic the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Zimbabwe. Furthermore, he has presented 79 research papers at national and international level. In this regard, his projects have taken him to governmental and academic institutions in all five of Africa’s regions, Asia, Australasia, Europe and North America. He also lectured in a visiting capacity at several foreign institutions. In recent years,

he served on the editorial board of four academic journals and is rated as an 'established researcher' by the South African National Research Foundation (since 2009). His research interests mainly concern Africa's international relations; South Africa's foreign relations; security and politics in the African context; and African futures.

Mr Willem Els is Senior Training Coordinator, Institute of Security Studies Willem Els joined the ISS in 2013 as a senior training coordinator in the Complex Threats in Africa Programme in Pretoria. Willem is responsible for the ISS' Terrorism Prevention Training Programme that facilitates training interventions to specialised police units and the judiciary in West, East and Southern Africa. Before joining the ISS, he was commander of the Pretoria Explosives Unit of the South African Police Service (SAPS). Willem joined the SAPS in 1984 and served in various specialized units. He developed and facilitated various bomb disposal and terrorist prevention courses for the Explosives Unit and other specialized units. While at the SAPS, Willem completed various bomb disposal and investigation courses in South Africa and abroad. Willem holds a BA Hons Degree in Policing Practice and is completing his Masters' degree in Governance and Political Transformation at the University of the Free State, investigating: Poor governance and the emergence of terrorist groups: The case of Cabo Delgado province.

Professor Abel Esterhuyse is the Head of the Department of Strategic Studies in the

Faculty of Military Science, Stellenbosch University @ the South African Military Academy. He is also a research associate of the Centre for Conflict, Rule of Law and Society (CRoLS) at Bournemouth University in the UK. Holding a PhD from the University of Stellenbosch, he is also a graduate of: The Senior Leadership Programme of the African Center for Strategic Studies in Washington DC., The Summer Programme in Military History at the US Military Academy, West Point, The Programme on the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS) of Columbia University's Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies in New York. As academic he - Participated in more than 40 subject-related conferences in more than 15 countries; Published 32 peer-reviewed accredited academic articles; Published 9 book chapters; and Co-edited 3 book publications. Prof Esterhuyse is a rated scientist of the South African National Research Foundation. Between 2010 and 2015, he served as the editor of *Scientia Militaria: The South African Journal of Military Studies* <http://scientiamilitaria.journals.ac.za/pub/index>

Professor Leonid L. Fituni is Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS), DSc. (Econ.), Deputy Director of the RAS Institute for African Studies and Director of the Centre for Strategic and Global Studies. He is one of the leading academic authorities in Russia on countering terrorist financing and money laundering (AML-CFT) and as such has been a long-serving consultant and adviser on AML-CFT issues to international organizations and bodies,

including the Council of Europe, FATF, UNODC, the World Bank and Bank for International Settlements. He also led a number of international AML-CFT training projects. He has published more than 300 scientific articles in accredited journals and more than 30 handbooks and monographs. He has delivered more than 200 peer evaluated papers at academic and political symposia nationally and internationally. He serves as editor as well as on the editorial boards of several accredited scientific journals, both national and international. ORCID 0000-0001-5416-6709

Alta Grobbelaar (Ph.D.) is a lecturer in the department of Political Studies and Governance at the University of the Free State. She obtained her BA and MA degrees cum laude at the University of the Free State in South Africa and specialises in research on terrorism in Africa, the media and political discourse. She currently lectures undergraduate and post-graduate students at the University of the Free State in Political Theory and Ideology, African Politics and Governance. She has presented several papers on terrorism in Africa and the relationship between the media and terrorism in Africa at South African and international conferences. ORCID: 0000-0003-2246-4810

Dr. Glen Segell (DPhil, FRGS) is Research Fellow at the University of the Free State, South Africa, Research Fellow at the Ezri Center for Iran & Gulf States Research, University of Haifa, Israel. He was born in South Africa and educated to a BA and MA at the Hebrew University Jerusalem and to a Doctor of Philosophy (DPhil) at the University

of Oxford. He specializes in intelligence studies, civil-military relations, the nexus between air and sea power and strategic communications where he also consults as an expert for NATO. He has held teaching and research positions in the United Kingdom, Israel and South Africa. These include the Center for Defence Studies King's College London, The University of Reading, The Institute for National Security Studies Tel Aviv and the Ezri Center for Iran and Gulf States Research, University of Haifa. He holds the rank of Brigadier-General (Reserves). He was involved in active intelligence and offense operations in Iraq, Kuwait, Sudan and Libya. He has published a substantial number of peer reviewed articles and books. ORCID 0000-0002-4186-2761

Dr. Sergey V. Kostelyanets, Ph.D. (Political Science), is Leading Research Fellow and Head of the Centre for Sociological and Political Sciences Studies at the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Senior Research Fellow at the International Centre of Anthropology of the National Research University Higher School of Economics, and Associate Professor at Peoples' Friendship University of Russia. His research interests include the study of armed conflicts and conflict resolution in Africa, particularly in North Africa and the Horn of Africa, terrorism, secessionist movements, involvement of African troops outside the continent, and relations between Russia, Turkey, GCC countries and Africa, from the perspectives both of Political Science and Cultural Anthropology. Dr. Kostelyanets has published the book *Darfur: A History of the Conflict* (in Russian) and over 70

research papers in Russian and foreign academic journals and anthologies. Dr. Kostelyanets worked previously at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in the sections for human rights and for combating human trafficking.

Dr. Moshe Terdiman is an expert on Islam in Africa, terrorist organizations in Africa and environmental security. He is a research fellow at the Ezri Center for Gulf Countries Studies at the University of Haifa as well as in the Forum for Regional Thinking. He is the founder and director of the Research for Islam and Muslims in Africa as well as a co-founder and director of the Institute for Environmental Security and Well-being Studies

ABSTRACTS OF THE PAPERS

Session 1: From Ocean to Ocean: Africa's Arch
of Instability

Chair: Dr. Sergey Kostelyanets

Dr. Natalia A. Zherlitsina

*Counter-terrorism policies in North Africa:
Morocco's approach*

The research project is supported by the Russian Science Foundation, grant №19-18-00155 "Islamist extremism in the context of international security: Threats for Russia and opportunities for counteraction" Since 2001, the world has entered a new period of history – the war on international terrorism. This confrontation in the name of security has legitimately expanded the authority of state power in both democratic and authoritarian regimes. Morocco's own "September 11" took place on May 16, 2003: five attacks targeted places often visited by tourists and Moroccan Jews. The measures taken in the kingdom in response to these attacks were both regional and specific Moroccan in nature. Morocco had adopted many elements of counter-terrorism strategies of other states in the region, including anti-terrorism legislation, mass arrests of Islamists and opposition clergy, and rehabilitation programmes for former terrorist prisoners. The uniqueness of the Moroccan approach to combating terrorism lies in the approach to relations with the country's religious institutions. A year after the bombings in Casablanca, the country's leadership began a complete review of religious policy. Morocco's control over the religious sphere stems from the religious identity of the State and the

monarch's unique position as a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed and leader of the Muslim religious community of the kingdom. In order to limit opposition from religious elites, the Moroccan authorities focused on the creation of a religious bureaucracy and institutional control. Existing religious institutions became State institutions and religious educational institutions were monitored. By placing the training of religious scholars under State control and then incorporating these scholars into the State bureaucracy, the Moroccan authorities have largely succeeded in establishing control over a class of persons who have historically been a source of opposition to the regime. As a result, a system has been developed created that provides strong incentives for the participation of religious elites in the state project.

Professor Hussein Solomon

Terrorism in the Sahel: External vs Local Drivers

In many mainstream accounts, the external dimensions of Islamist militancy in the Sahel is stressed. The names of the various jihadist organizations - Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and Islamic State in the Greater Sahara - speak to external terrorist organizations intruding into the vast geographic space which is the Sahel. This paper, however, will be stressing that the roots of the current militancy lay in such factors as identity politics, environmental factors, worsening economic conditions and governments across the displaying careless disregard for the plight of their people. It is these local considerations driving the

insurgency and unless they are addressed jihadist organizations will maintain their popular appeal. The policies of external actors, Washington and Paris, has exacerbated the situation thereby fueling tensions across the region further.

Dr. Tatyana S. Denisova

Islamic Radicalism in Cameroon: Sources and the Prospects of Further Contagion

The rise of Islamic radicalism in Cameroon is rapidly reshaping the country's religious landscape and contributing to the spread of religious intolerance. Unlike, for example, neighbouring Nigeria and the Central African Republic, Cameroon has rarely encountered serious manifestations of sectarian tensions, but in the past 10-15 years traditional Sufi Islam has been increasingly supplanted by the ideology of Wahhabism. Wahhabism is rapidly spreading not only in the north of the country, but also in the south, which until recently was inhabited mainly by Christians and animists. The spread of Wahhabism is actively supported and funded by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar and Egypt. Sufism, followed mainly by Fulani living in the northern regions, is gradually losing its position. The growing influence of radical Islam in Cameroon is largely due to the expansion of the terrorist organization Boko Haram into the country; one of the consequences of this is that more and more Cameroonians, inspired by the calls to "cleanse of Islam" and to introduce Sharia law, join this armed Islamist group. As in other African countries, the radicalization of Islam is accompanied by the intensification of terrorist activities, leading to an exacerbation of the internal political situation, to an increase

in the number of refugees, to a deterioration in the material situation of the population, etc. The inability of the government to contain terrorist activities in the north of the country may in the near future lead to an escalation of military-political conflict on religious grounds in the context of acute political instability, which Cameroon is currently experiencing, including due to the activities of the Anglophone separatist movements in the southwest of the country.

Dr Anneli Botha

Assessing the status of addressing violent extremism in East Africa

The objective of this paper will be to propose and use a framework to assess the impact of initiatives to counter the threat of violent extremism and terrorism in Eastern Africa for the period between 2010 and 2020. This will be done through determining the type and level of security challenges, identifying the predominate type of counterterrorism practices and lastly the capacity and challenges security officials are being confronted with to address the threat in their respective countries. Countries in the region can broadly be divided into high-, medium- and low-risk. Considering limitations to conduct a detailed analysis in this paper, the primary focus will be the last five years (2015-2020). Before conducting this analysis, the threat of violent extremism first need to be evaluated to shed light to the manifestation of the threat in a diverse region. It will equally be important to determine if the threat stayed the same or if it changed over time with reference to geographic location of incidents, the modus operandi and target

selection. Recognising the diverse nature of the region when conducting vulnerability-, risk-, and threat assessments, these realities will be an important component before analysing the impact and success of counter measures. Brining the paper to the last component: identifying and proposing solutions to the situation on the 'ground' and what countries in the region need to take into consideration to have a positive impact countering the threat of violent extremism and terrorism in Eastern Africa. Recognising the strategic and immediate needs, the primary focus will however be on the latter. While previous research already identified the need for a holistic all government approach - with particular reference to enhancing good governance, furthering security sector reform and stimulating broader economic development - this paper will take it one step further to also incorporate strategic planning on a tactical level to secure a positive impact on direct counter measures. In other words, the main audience will be security forces in these countries and not exclusively academic scholars sharing an interest in the study of violent extremism and terrorism.

Session 2: The Cone of Africa: Challenges of Counterterrorism?

Chair: Dr. Glen Segell

Professor Vladimir G. Shubin

National Liberation Movements in Southern Africa and Terrorism

In this report, the issue of the use of violence in the national liberation struggle will be considered on the example of Southern Africa,

primarily South Africa. The African National Congress, the oldest political organization on the continent, during its first half century was firmly committed to the principle of non-violence and was guided by the desire to achieve the elimination of racist orders and the creation of a democratic state by peaceful, political means. However, in the early 1960s, the ANC leadership was forced to turn to the use of violence, albeit limited, and the report will consider the reasons for this. At the same time, choosing the forms of violent action, it firmly rejected terrorism from the very beginning and adhered to such a strategy for thirty years. This line has always found support from our country, which has provided the ANC and other liberation movements with all-round assistance, including in the training of its military personnel. In conclusion, the report will critically examine the positions on the issue of violence taken in the late 1980s by Alexander Yakovlev and Eduard Shevardnadze, the closest partners of Mikhail Gorbachev.

Professor Theo Neethling

Extremism in northern Mozambique: Why be concerned?

Abstract: Since March 2020 a rapidly escalating insurgency in the northern parts of Mozambique has caught the attention of conflict analysts and observers worldwide. Twenty-five years after the conclusion of the brutal Mozambican Civil War (1975-92), the insurgent movement Ansar al-Sunna started to cause havoc in the Cabo Delgado province, which is a stronghold of the ruling party, FRELIMO, but also an impoverished and predominantly Muslim province. This happened

after a group of radicalised young men from the coastal areas of Cabo Delgado gathered in opposition to the local Sufi Islam and the Salafi National Islamic Council in the country. The question is: Why should there be serious regional and international concern over the situation in Mozambique? At least four issues of relevance can be cited and will be examined and discussed in this paper. The first concerns Ansar al-Sunna's links with the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (IS). The second pertains to the presence of multinational energy giants in Mozambique's promising offshore natural gas deposits and the potential developmental spinoffs of these projects for the country. The third concerns the limitations of the Mozambican security forces to deal with the challenges and the assistance rendered by foreign private military companies to the Mozambican government. A last issue of concern is the manifestation of transnational criminal networks in the Cabo Delgado region and the funding of Ansar al-Sunna's terror from illegal and illicit activities.

Mr Willem Els

Mozambique, Cabo Delgado insurgency: Extraordinary mineral resources and liquid natural gas, a blessing that may be a curse or are we missing the point?

The Cabo Delgado Province, , or Cabo Esquecido in Mozambique is often referred to as the Forgotten Cape by locals. The terrorist insurgency which started in 2017 with small scale and low-key attacks escalated to almost daily attacks leading to the displacement of more than 570000 people. Despite the discovery and exploration of rich liquid natural

gas, huge deposits of rubies, gold and graphite amongst others in recent years, the hope of a local economic resurgence quickly disappeared due to the corruption and greed perpetuated by the politically connected officials in the province and from Maputo with their international business partners. Based on rigorous desktop research and analysis, this presentation examines how the dissent and anger of the youth and the general population, which simmered for decades eventually exploded and manifested into the first attacks in October 2017 which would be known as the Cabo Delgado insurgency. It will be argued how grievances by the local population fuelled by the mismanagement and poor governance of natural resources in the province of Cabo Delgado by the government resulted in a resource blessing to curse situation. In conclusion, recommendations on how to mitigate the current conflict and practical post-conflict measures for policy makers will be provided.

Professor Abel Esterhuyse

Terrorism and the South African security predicament: Making sense of the objective realities

Is it possible to explain the South African government's lack of interest in all issues related to terrorism in Africa and South Africa? The paper argues that the objective realities of the South African security predicament provide some understanding in this regard. The objective realities of the security agenda are rooted in the practical reality of experience and are open for public discussion, debate and speculation. It is informed by the threats facing

South Africans on a daily basis. Government provides security with subjective content to the extent that political power demarcates the threat agenda, prioritises the items on the threat agenda, and foots the security bill. Since the creation of the Union in 1910, South Africa had to find a balance between the security realities emanating from three key security domains - irrespective of the ruling entity: security threats from outside Africa, those threats facing the country from within Africa, and security threat from within the borders of South Africa. Using this as a framework, the paper explores some of the most critical, important, and key features of the South African security agenda. On a secondary level, the discussion reflects on the disinterest of government in terror.

Session 3: Terrorist Strategies and International Responses
Chair: Professor Hussein Solomon

Professor Leonid L. Fituni

Terrorist Financing in Africa Under the New Normality of a Post-Pandemic World

At the moment, despite the twin-shock to their economies and political environment caused by the coronavirus pandemic and a global economic downturn, African states are gradually moving away from the frustration of the first year of the crisis and are starting to build models and rules of existence in the "new normalcy". Despite the harsh restrictive measures of national governments and rampant border closures, international terrorism has on the whole survived the pandemic with relative ease in Africa. However, there have emerged

some direct consequences for terrorist financing within the immediate area of activity of concrete terrorist groups. Changes in behaviour as a result of the pandemic have presented terrorists with new opportunities to commit acts of terror and mobilize resources for financing their criminal and extremist activity. On the whole African countries have not yet identified a change in the terrorist financing risks as a result of the pandemic. It was rather FATF, not national authorities, who indicated potential future vulnerabilities, primarily emphasizing the misuse of non-profit organisations and new opportunities in relation to the predicate threat environment. While the lockdowns and restrictions on public gatherings have reduced possibilities for terrorists to collect funds from restaurants, shop-owners etc, additional possibilities appeared for creating new charities and NGOs, instrumental for both gathering funds and transferring them under the legal guise. In some cases, like in Boko Haram controlled areas in Nigeria, and certain territories with strong AQIM presence, the pandemic helped to foster among local population a positive PR image of the terrorist groupings, since those structures took over some social functions, which national authorities failed to deliver, but which were badly needed in the emergency.

Dr. Alta Grobbelaar

Africa Online terror: The increased reliance of African terrorist organizations on Social Media

Within this research paper the author proposes that continuous news coverage of terrorism across the globe has led terrorist

organisations to increasingly rely on their own initiatives to attract international attention. Terrorist organisations in Africa are no exception. Although Africa is by no means leading the race in the field of advanced technology and communications, terrorist organisations are increasingly being operated like trans- and international businesses - with individuals or departments dedicated to media and marketing. What used to be known as "propaganda" or "misinformation", can be published today under the flag of freedom of speech, -beliefs and -association. Social media's user-friendly policies keep making it difficult to keep terrorist organisations from making use of popular sites to reach impressionable audiences. This paper will analyse if and how the reliance of African terrorist organisations on social media sites have increased in Africa. This will be done by not only examining social media sites themselves, but also the public - and by extension the audience's - preferences between news sites and social media sites. This cannot be done without briefly considering connectivity and access in Africa, which can provide valuable insight into how terrorist organisations in Africa structure themselves and their communication- and marketing strategies. The goal of this research paper is to examine and consider ways in which African terrorist organisations usage of social media sites can be anticipated, devalued and deconstructed and to contemplate ways in which public-, private- and possibly government structures can be adapted to lessen the impact of terrorist organisations usage of social media.

Dr. Glen Segell

*Exporting religion from the Middle East:
Importing ideology and terror into Africa*

This paper proposes a hypothesis of four phases that can be identified in the history of Islam in Africa: containment, mixing, reform and radicalization. This is a first step in a research agenda towards examining how religion is exported from the Middle East and how ideology and terror are imported into Africa. The paper will put the hypothesis to case examining a selection of historical examples over centuries of the first three phases of containment, mixing, and reform. It will then focus on the fourth phase, that of radicalization - ideology and terror in Africa. While the phases are for the main part chronological over centuries, they are also iterative as elements of each coexist in the others. The first three phases might be ascribed as evolutionary, but the fourth phase is revolutionary; it is not a logical follow-on to the third phase - radicalization doesn't necessarily follow reform. The data examined alludes to Islamic religion being pushed into Africa from the Middle East over centuries and not quickly or easily accepted. Yet radicalization, and the means of terror, are more willingly and quickly used as this is imported by local African leaders for their own purposes and goals. Like the Soviet Communist ideology and political system during the Cold War they see Islamic radicalization as a means to an end. Islamic radicalization and terror is especially prevalent in African regions and areas of failed governance, ethnic and tribal strife and poverty. The issue of how to address this phenomenon is complex and beyond the scope of this paper. The goal of the paper is to

examine the case to the hypothesis and the data and so highlight the importance of identifying phases in the complexity and multi-dimensionality of belief and faith, in political systems, in ideology and the means to the end.

Dr. Sergey Kostelyanets

Russia's Approaches to Terrorism and Counterinsurgency in Africa: Evaluation and Prospects

In recent years, counterterrorism (CT) cooperation has become an integral part of Russian military-technical collaboration with African countries. It typically involves training, intelligence sharing, conflict mediation, and at times even boots on the ground - and those are often provided by private military companies. CT cooperation is also often accompanied with agreements to combat cross-border crime, cybercrime and maritime piracy, not to speak of countering extremism, which Moscow very much equates with terrorism. Despite Russia's inclination to offer multidimensional, comprehensive security deals, CT stands out as an important instrument of modern Russian security policy in many parts of Africa. It also ranked high on the agenda of the 2019 Russia-Africa Summit in Sochi. The role of CT in Russia's Africa foreign policy has been buttressed by a number of factors. First, it is a highly sensitive issue domestically, which makes it a relatively solid justification for overseas involvement (and ensuing spending). The message that Russia should kill terrorists further from its borders is indeed nothing new. Second, Russia maintains that in CT it is more effective and trustworthy than Africa's traditional Western partners; the ambiguous

rhetoric in Washington and other Western capitals about shifting priorities away from fighting terrorism in Africa toward countering Chinese and Russian influences has in fact served to support Moscow's argument. Third, Russian focus on stability and sovereignty rather than democratization and governance, coupled with its broad definition of terrorism and extremism, seems quite attractive to many African governments, which face political dissent or even armed insurgency. These and other factors may seem to present Russia with opportunities to expand its foothold on the continent as a provider of security, yet there are certain inherent weaknesses in Russia's approach that will greatly limit Moscow's successes in this regard. The paper will aim to explore strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and risks of Russia's CT cooperation with Africa.

Dr. Moshe Terdiman

The Environment as a tool for terrorist organizations in Africa

In the lecture, I will discuss how terrorist organizations in Africa use environmental issues and climate change in order to achieve their goals. For example, Boko Haram and the Al-Qaeda organizations, who are active in the Sahel, Nigeria and Cameroon use the fact that Lake Chad has been shrinking a lot in size in order to recruit people and, in return, promising them and their families food, water and sort of welfare. Terrorist organizations, such as Al-Shabaab in Somalia, use ivory and charocal illegal trade in order to finance their activities while taking part in the deforestation of Somalia. Al-Shabaab is also showing himself

to be with a green agenda and prohibited the uprooting of trees. So, as the environmental awareness grows worldwide, also terrorist organizations are fitting environmental issues into their agenda.

Institute for African Studies, (Russian Academy of Sciences), Moscow, Russia
 Department of Political Studies and Governance, University of the Free State, South Africa
 Ezri Center for Iran & Gulf States Research, University of Haifa, Israel
 International e-Conference

New Frontiers of Terrorism in Africa

March 17, 2021

Time: 10:00-13:30 South Africa and Israel / 11:00 – 14:30 Moscow

Welcome Remarks

Professor Irina Abramova (Director of the Institute for Africa Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences)

Professor Theo Neethling (University of the Free State) *Extremism in northern Mozambique: Why be concerned?*

Mr Willem Els (University of the Free State / Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria) *Mozambique, Cabo Delgado insurgency: Extraordinary mineral resources and liquid natural gas, a blessing that may be a curse or are we missing the point?*

Opening Remarks

Ambassador Ilya Igorevich Rogachev, HE Mr (Ambassador of the Russian Federation to South Africa)

Professor Abel Esterhuyse (South African Military Academy) *Terrorism and the South African security predicament: Making sense of the objective realities*

Ambassador (Retd.) Haim Koren, HE Dr (Former Ambassador of the State of Israel to Egypt and South Sudan)

Session 1: From Ocean to Ocean: Africa's Arch of Instability

Chair: Dr. Sergey Kostelyanets (Institute for African Studies)

Dr. Natalia A. Zherlitsina (Institute for African Studies) *Counter-terrorism policies in North Africa: Morocco's approach*

Professor Hussein Solomon (University of the Free State) *Terrorism in the Sahel: External vs Local Drivers*

Dr. Tatyana S. Denisova (Institute for African Studies) *Islamic Radicalism in Cameroon: Sources and the Prospects of Further Contagion*

Dr Anneli Botha (University of the Free State) *Assessing the status of addressing violent extremism in East Africa*

Session 2: The Cone of Africa: Challenges of Counterterrorism?

Chair: Dr. Glen Segell (University of the Free State)

Professor Vladimir G. Shubin (Institute for African Studies) *National Liberation Movements in Southern Africa and Terrorism*

Session 3: Terrorist Strategies and International Responses

Chair: Professor Hussein Solomon (University of the Free State)

Professor Leonid L. Fituni (Institute for African Studies) *Terrorist Financing in Africa Under the New Normality of a Post-Pandemic World*

Dr. Alta Grobbelaar (University of the Free State) *Africa Online terror: The increased reliance of African terrorist organizations on Social Media*

Dr. Glen Segell (University of the Free State / Ezri Center, University of Haifa) *Exporting religion from the Middle East – Importing ideology and terror into Africa*

Dr. Sergey Kostelyanets (Institute for African Studies) *Russia's Approaches to Terrorism and Counterinsurgency in Africa: Evaluation and Prospects*

Dr. Moshe Terdiman (Research on Islam and Muslims in Africa (RIMA)/ Ezri Center, University of Haifa) *The Environment as a tool for terrorist organizations in Africa*