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ON STRATEGIC
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ANALYSIS



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Commercial Motorbikes :

**A SOCIAL PHENOMENON,
VECTOR OF INSECURITY?**



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FOREWORD



B.G Mohamadou Hamadicko
General Manager of the EIFORCES

The International School for Security Forces (EIFORCES) was created by Decree No. 2008 /179 of 22 May 2008 of the President of the Republic of Cameroon. It is intended to perform two specific missions: provide training to Police and Gendarmes; provide basic research in Homeland Security and Peacekeeping Operations.

The EIFORCES is emerging in the domain of local capacity building. Besides, this institution is preparing to receive the second batch of the Security Forces Staff Diploma (SFSD) and the first batch of the Homeland Security Certificate (HSC). After the organization and hosting of international seminars and conferences, the publication of the first edition of the Strategic and Prospective Analysis Bulletin (SPAB) marks the beginning of a long term research. Through

this tool, the EIFORCES is initiating a reflection on the daily concerns of our Nations. Given that issues pertaining to homeland security can anticipate those of the international; the

school is considering itself as a watch tower. So, does it offer to Security Forces and the Civil Society, a widespread of information in its various fields of operation? This maiden edition of the SPAB serves as a pace setter to other publications, such as the African Journal of International Security whose inaugural version will present a report of the Proceedings of the International Symposium on Homeland Security, under the auspices of the EIFORCES .

Our Research and Documentation Centre is at the disposal of the public, ready to collect comments and suggestions. That said good luck to this first publication!

EDITORIAL REFLECTION

If the status and role of EIFORCES constitute the basis of the research activities undertaken within its Centre for Documentation and Research, her missions have been wisely recalled by the General Manger, namely: training and basic research in the areas of Homeland Security and Peacekeeping Operations; a justification of the initiative taken by the institution, to provide a tool of reflection and monitoring to cater for a better understanding, by working out the structural concerns related to security and insecurity at the national, sub regional, continental and global planes.

The first alternative had to do with giving significant importance to emerging threats, without neglecting the scope of traditional threats. Indeed, the thematic structure which orders the publication of this inaugural issue of the BSPA captures in a dossier dedicated to the "phenomenon of motorcycle taxis," one of the major concerns of the moment in terms of homeland security in Cameroon, as elsewhere in Africa. Through a multivariate approach to this phenomenon, different authors emphasize both on the socio-economic benefit, and its elective affinity with a fluctuating insecurity. The study of the hostage-taking in Kenya and the Syrian crisis, summarizes issues pertaining to terrorism on the one hand, and



Pr. Wullson Mvomo ELA
Head of the Centre for
Research and Documentation
of the EIFORCES

on the other hand, internationalized internal conflicts in a globalized world where insecurity seems to gradually spray as the paradigms of "border" and "territory" are becoming more flexible. This means that the research initiated is therefore committed both on the review of social processes collected in the long term and the understanding of what is at stake in the event, in a strategic and forward-looking perspective.

Then, the target of this maiden edition of the Bulletin also includes the presentation of the EIFORCES to the national and international audiences, as a relevant research pole in the connected areas of Homeland Security and PKO. Indeed, if the BSPA is a support tool for decision makers, in Cameroon, Africa and the world, it also positions itself as a tool for advocacy for a population often in need of strategic culture. This Bulletin, as well as the forthcoming ones, mirrors in summary, the shared security analysis of events and prospects its induced effects, while avoiding patched-up conclusions which could desecrate clear facts.

Finally, we call on your leniency for possible misinterpretations of the subject matter. After all, we rely on you (readers) to improve the quality of this Bulletin through criticisms and proposals.

EIFORCES IN BRIEF



EIFORCES

The EIFORCES is a public institution under Cameroonian law, with legal personality and financial autonomy.

Location

Siège social : Yaoundé/Ngoussou

Organic texts

Decree No. 2008/179 of May 22 2008 laying the basis of the EIFORCES

Decree No. 2012/307 of June 25 2012 on the organization and operational modality.

Missions

Providing **training and facilitating research** in the areas of Security and Peace Support.

Types of Training

Preparation of the Security Forces Staff Diploma (SFSTD)
Preparation of Higher Security Forces Studies Certificates (HSFSC).

Structure

A Board of Directors chaired by the Minister of Defense..

Members: the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of State in charge of the National Gendarmerie, the Delegate General for National Security, the representatives of the Presidency of the Republic, partner countries and international organizations (UN, European Union, African Union, ECCAS, ... UEMOA).

A General Management. Headed by a Director General working with an Assistant Director, Technical Advisors, Directors, and Heads of Divisions...

And Advisory bodies.

EIFORCES, «A tool at the service of peace and security of the african continent»

EIFORCES NEWS



Third session of the board of the EIFORCES

The Minister Delegate at the Presidency of the Republic in charge of Defence, Edgard Alain MEBE NGO'O chaired a special session of the Board of the EIFORCES on September 17, 2013 at the Yaoundé Conference Center.

Seated around him were: the Delegate General for National Security, Martin MBARGA NGUÉLÉ, the Chief of the President of the Republic's particular Staff, the Director General of the EIFORCES, Brigadier General Emmanuel AMOUGOU, Brigadier General MOHAMADOU HAMADICKO, representatives of international organizations, diplomatic corps, other Board members and the different Security Corps members

The working session focused mainly on:

- Report on the recommen-

dations of the Second Council;

- the review and validation of the accounts of the 2012 budget;
- the review and validation of the program budget for 2013-2014;
- Consideration of the single personnel table;
- Review of personnel;
- Consideration of appointment proposals;
- Miscellaneous.

The Board, having considered the report submitted by the General Directorate, approved the positive accounts for the 2012 fiscal year.

EIFORCES NEWS



First Security Forces Staff Diploma Internship (FSSD)

This workshop took place from April 15 to July 31, 2013 in the premises of the EIFORCES. It was attended by 15 participants from the following countries: Cameroon (08 trainees), Ivory Coast (01 trainee), Burkina Faso (01 trainee), Gabon (01 trainees) Congo (01 trainee), Democratic Republic of Congo (01 trainee), Chad (01 trainee), Togo (01 trainee).

The courses were based on the environments of the Army Staff Officer, the General Army Staff officer, Assistant Operational Officer and the interdepartmental and general knowledge. .

The closing ceremony presided over by the Minister of Defense was held at the Yaoundé Conference Center. The latter was accompanied on this occasion by all Senior Officers and Senior Staff Officers of the Cameroonian Forces

of Defence, officials of the EIFORCES and members of the Diplomatic Corps as well as Representatives of International Organizations.

«This address goes to you, winners of the day; I want to tell you that your diploma-in hand graduation is undoubtedly a moment of apotheosis which crowns your individual and joint efforts to strengthen the capacity of Africa and your respective countries in the field of security and peace support operations.

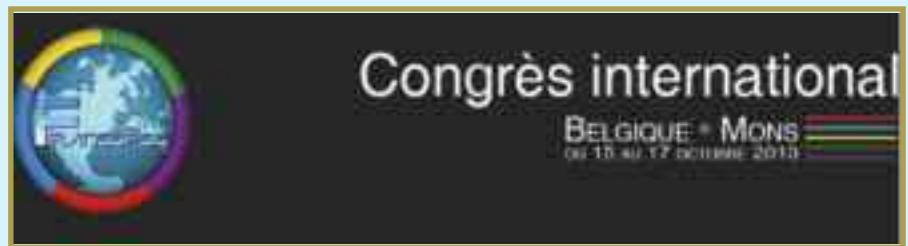
But I will strongly urge you not to sleep on your laurels, instead, to stay vigilant, to capitalize and constantly renew your skills in developing pertinent analyzes towards security and peace actions; this, in a bid to be worthy ambassadors of the EIFORCES in her quest for international influence. "

Excerpt of the speech of the Board Chair of the EIFORCES Edgard Alain Mebe Ngo'o.



EIFORCES at the 3rd FRANCOPOL Congress

The International School of Security Forces (EIFORCES), the General Delegation for National Security (DGNS), the National Advanced Police School Yaoundé (NAPS) and the Mutengene Police Academy (CIAP Mutengene); FRANCOPOL new members at the end of the 3rd International FRANCOPOL Congress held



from November 15 to 17, 2013 in Mons, Belgium.

EIFORCES -COESPU Cooperation

Cooperation between the International School of Security Forces (EIFORCES) Yaounde and the Center of Excellence for Stability of Police Units (COESPU) of vicenza Italy

The group of trainees of the CPM10, around Professor Wullson Mvomo ELA of the EIFORCES at the end of his course on " The



geopolitical analysis and Peace Support Operations; October 25, 2013".

EIFORCES NEWS



Pedagogic preparatory workshop for the pre-EUPST Awaé 2014 training courses

EIFORCES resolutely committed to the arduous task of building african capacities on peace keeping and security initiated by the European Union.

From Monday 04 to Friday, November 8, 2013, was held in the temporal premises of the EIFORCES (INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORCES SCHOOL), located at the Ngouso neighborhood in Yaoundé-Cameroon, the preparatory Workshop on the Pedagogic Content of the training sessions of the " EUPST Awaé 2014 " (European Union Police Services training Project).

This preparatory workshop which received financial and material support from the French Cooperation, brought together trainers approached to supervise two scheduled exercises; the first, from March 24 to April 4, 2014 and the second from 14 to April 25, 2014 in Awaé, village of the Mefou Afamba Division in the Centre Region.

Implicating 30 participants, this workshop was coordinated, under the supervision of the Director General of the EIFORCES MOHAMADOU HAMADICKO, by Colonel Thomas Engolo ELA of the Cameroon Gendarmerie, in his capacity as Director of Exercise (DIREX).They enjoyed the assistance of LT Colonels Maumy and GRANIER as well as Squadron Chief of the French Gendarmerie Tavernier, acting as Technical Advisors to the Director General of the EIFORCES .

Divided into different workshops, participants made up of Sub-Officers and Officers of the Cameroonian Gendarmerie and police officials of the Cameroon National Security brainstormed in Technical Committees on the setting up of Preparatory Training Courses and Exercises in areas concerning:

- Planning and Conduct of Police Missions as part of Peace Support Operation under an international mandate ;
- Judicial Police Investigation;
- Various interventions ;
- Maintenance and Restoration of Order in Degraded Situation ;
- Control, Support and Counseling of a Local Police Force ;
- Human Rights issues related to gender and Vulnerable Groups .

08 Senior Security Officials: Colonel Thomas Engolo ELA, Police commissioners Assiga Thomas and Eric ASSA'A Che, Lieutenants Colonels Maumy Cauvin (France) and Joseph ENOW EYONG, NKOALA MALA Valer, ONANA BENE François and Squadron Chief ONGOLO Auguste brainstormed within the Technical Committees formed to that effect . Their role consisted in the identification of the best practices and the

Pedagogic preparatory workshop for the pre-EUPST Awae 2014 training courses



implementation of operating mechanisms of a suitable CP; their liaison and coordination in the context of planning and conducting Police missions and Peace Support Operations, under international Mandate .

After franc and sincere discussions, the standards of the commitments proposed within the theme of the day, under consideration, were adjusted in the context of achieving the organization and implementation of a realistic exercise, on an imaginary country in Africa, destabilized due to a period of internal crisis suffered for several years.

The Fundamental Courses Division, on its part, worked in the establishment of a FPU (Formed Police Unit) and SPE (Special Police Unit) courses. In the context of the preparation of the EUPST, this combined course brought together traditional FPU specialized in the Maintenance of Order and an SPE consisting of a Projected Team of Experts in Investigation (PTEI), A Nedex team(Explosive Reconnaissance) and a Close Pprotection Team.

After a joint development session, each component met separately. The Maintenance of Order crew under the command of Squadron Chief Tavernier (Technical Advisor Maintenance of Order), assisted by Squadron Chief NDJOYA MOUTAPBEMO, and the SPE team under the supervision of Lieutenant- Colonel GRANIER and Senior superintendent of Police IYA IBRAHIMA .

Each component duly prepared the upcoming training course

according to their specialty in view of the different sessions of the EUPST .

This action has been extended with the introduction of two trainers specialized in computing and computer graphics, Maréchaux de logis Chef Issa Modibo and ETOUKE EKANGO, who set up an experimental computer network and ensured its functioning.

This exchange of police specialized expertise in matters related to intervention in times of crisis, took place in a climate of fair competitive spirit and mutual understanding among participants.

As a reminder, the EUPST project, funded by the Instrument for Stability of the European Union, which aims at strengthening the capacity of Peace Support for African countries through Multinational Trainings Internships. This project which experimentad in Europe and some African countries aims at promoting common standards in Maintenance of Peace.



SC ONGOLO Auguste
Head of the Documentation unit EIFORCES

HOMELAND SECURITY FILE



Commercial motorbikes: social phenomenon, vector of insecurity

After the nineties, commercial motorbikes became an incontestable social phenomenon in many sub-Saharan African countries. They imposed themselves as an indispensable means of transportation in our cities and much more in remote areas.

Positively valued for the facilities it offer, these commercial two-wheel machines have regrettably been accused to convey a certain form of insecurity. Yet, their existence reflects a circumstantial need expressed by the population. Be they "bend skin" in Cameroon, "zémidjan" or "zems" in Benin, "oléyia" in Togo or "KABOUKABOU" in the Niger, motorcycle taxis have become in less than twenty years, a serious pointer of lifestyle, employing a certain class of the population, raising the same questions, and creating the same problems to the public administration.

A motorbike can be defined as any self-propelled two-wheeled trailer vehicle assigned to public passenger transport. Its proliferation

came as a result of many factors: economic crisis, rise in the rate of unemployment, the introduction of quite cheaper motorcycles of Asian origin, the outburst of local motorcycles assembly factories, anarchical flare-up of motorcycles and spare parts stores... Often used as a political and economic propaganda tool by a number of entrepreneurs, motorcycle taxis have deviated from the general trend observed in industrialized countries where the tendency is the promotion of a collective means of transport in urban areas for both economic, environmental and much more security reasons.

Commercial motorbikes: actors of a multifacets insecurity

So far, commercial motorcyclists are considered like actors (be they perpetrators or victims) of insecurity in our country. Two categories of actors can thus be distinguished. The first is made up of learned but vindictive bike riders, prompt to cause disorder and

¹ According to Célestin Kaffo, KAMDEM Pierre, Marie and Louis Basile TATSABONG DIEBO coauthors of the article entitled « L'intégration des "motos-taxis" dans le transport public au Cameroun ou l'informel à la remorque de l'Etat : solution d'avenir au problème de mobilité et de l'emploi urbain en Afrique subsaharienne » "" Bend skin "is a phrase from " pidgin "(local English) and refers to a traditional dance of West Cameroon known

for its frenetic pace and the curved position of the dancers. The first motorcycle brands used by commercial bike riders, with the raised seat, gave to the passenger a similar "bend skin" dancers position. Today, this word refers not only to the raised the bike seat, but to the entire activity. .

² According to Tublu Komi N'kégbé FOGA in the article entitled "The motorcycle taxi: a new mode of urban mobility in Togo to what quality of

life? "" Zemidjan "means" take me fast "in the Fon language of Benin. .

³ "Oléyia" according to the same source means " there you go?"in the "Ewe language of Togo.



easily manipulated by politicians in quest of popularity. They always act in groups and count on mass effect. Rebellious and insensitive to government threats, they nurture a high sense of solidarity. Their strength lies in the existing confusion within their corporation which enables them to evolve with impunity. The second category consists of young illiterate people who for the most, do not enjoy an expansive choice of employment opportunities. This category is often invaded by crooks who willingly solicit their services either for the sake of information or in-filtration. A good number of investigations have highlighted the continuous involvement of motorbike riders as accomplices in armed robbery as well as other heinous crimes. Moreover, statistics show that commercial motorbike riders are involved in a good majority of traffic accidents in urban areas. In terms of health, between 3000 and 5000 losts in human life are registered every year, caused by road accidents involving motorbike riders. To these, can be added the stubbornness of the later who usually refuse to comply to the legislation in force when it comes to presenting ownership document or justify the putting into circulation of their motorbikes. Thereby jeopardizing the lives of passengers and other road users whose requests for damages compensation are often difficult to obtain from insurance companies.

However, this picture is not completely black as this activity remains an opportunity to grab especially for developing countries like Cameroon. This, despite of subsequent effects it has in

the area of security. The President of the Republic, his Excellency Paul BIYA even made it clear by calling on the administrations concerned to organize this profession trough sensitization of the taxi motorcycle stakeholders on the various challenges ahead in the domain. Although measures have been taken in this direction, they must be reinforced and improved. The lack of organization of this corporation, which links to crime seems established, has contributed to tarnish their image. Realizing its importance in terms of job creation and financial benefits, Cameroon is gradually stabilizing the sector, provided that the laws adopted are effectively applied. Whence, the importance of the role played by the trade unionist of the sector in terms of mobilization, monitoring, supervision and education. The latter shall prevail to push their members to respect the regulation. The municipal, working in conjunction with the administrative authorities with the support of the Forces of Law and Order, should - also invest to implement the new legislation in a bid to better control this activity which has become over the years, a serious threat to public order. Everyone would then reap substantial profit, and the Cameroonian experience could be useful to other African countries, facing the same type of threat.

Lieutenant-colonel TCHINDA MBOUZIKEU Henri

Patented Joint Defence Course Superior
(CSID, School of War Cameroon) 4th Promotion 2008/2009

Chief of employment and structures
Service Gendarmerie



⁴ Source : <http://www.kiraworld.com/societe/le-cameroun-cherche-a-maitriser-l-importation-et-l-afflux-des-motos-a-des-fins-de-transport-public>.

HOMELAND SECURITY FILE



The phenomenon of “motor-taxi” in Cameroon

Motor-taxi has become an integral part of the offer in public transportation in many African cities (M. SAHABANA, sd.). Douala, a town with more than 2 million inhabitants, a major city and an economic centre of Cameroon, witnessed the progressive mergence of bend-skins (local appellation of motor-taxis) until they became, in less than a decade, one of the main modes of public transportation. In almost all the cities of Cameroon, the deficit in public transportation gave way to motor-taxis which became an indispensable means of movement towards hardly accessible zones. The problem posed by this mode of transport can be interpreted in various ways. First, it helps in easing the movement of people where the classical mode of transportation in Cameroon (taxi) does not exist. This social reality is also used as amplifier, or as a means of communicating a certain number of joyful events, political propaganda, depending on whether those who need it operate in a political or social framework. As it can be noticed, this mode of transportation is also a source of jobs, or even a source of occupation, for the many unemployed youth.

Considered in another aspect, the phenomenon of motor-taxi is more and more assimilated to a source of insecurity and all sorts of traffics. Consequently, one can ask a double question:

How to regulate and normalize this phenomenon for its insertion in the urban space and make a profession out of it?

How to put an end to the “instrumentalization” of the use of motor-taxis, and

⁵ Le terme est issu de l'association des mots anglais bend et skin et peut se traduire en pidgin (anglais local) par « penches-toi ». Son usage proviendrait de la position surélevée du passager sur les premiers engins exploités, obligeant ainsi le passager à se pencher pour s'accrocher au conducteur.

consequently reduce the insecurity risks this mode of transportation is more and more promoting?

Motor-taxis in Cameroon: necessary evil?

The bend-skin sector is important in terms of jobs it offers to the youth, despite their underlying insecurity. Though there are various arguments in favor or disfavor of this profession, it should all the same be noted that it contributes, in its own way, in reducing unemployment rate in a country where the employment crisis is more and more on the dramatic rise. In 1997, the number of motor-taxi drivers was estimated at 9 000. In 2003, the activity was representing close to 30 000 direct jobs (drivers); that is, twice all the other modes of public transportation brought together (buses, minibuses, taxis, and clandestine transporters). Along side direct jobs, small jobs were created, such as mechanics and small repairers, tire repairers, spare parts and lubricants dealers, petrol attendants... In the city of Douala alone, there are more than 50 000 riders of these motorbikes.

The acquisition of a motorbike necessitates proper capitals, assistance from families, or from informal financial circuits. In Douala and Yaounde, the daily average revenue of a motor-taxi rider varies between Cfa 3 000 and Cfa 4 000 francs. This shows the importance of the economic power of this activity. Though the activity is still to be regulated by legal instruments, people are earning a living out of it. And it helps in cooling a little bit down social unrest with regard to the prevailing material and moral misery.

Asian countries that manufacture motorbikes (China, Japan, and Chorea) have succeeded in reinforcing their commercial relations with Cameroon through the imports of this equipment.

In some major cities of the countries, local companies have specialized in the sale of brand new motorbikes. An assembly plant has been built in Douala.

In a town with a highly deteriorated road network, it is difficult to deny motor-taxis the role of "facilitator" they play on daily basis. This form of mobility can create a sort of proximity with those who use it, and furthermore engender new forms of familiarities that can go beyond simple transportation. Risks are therefore enormous when this flexibility along the way offers the customer an opportunity to be dropped right at home. The daily nature of this proximity does not always go without consequences in the habits, and can result in cases of misbehavior on the part of motorbike riders.



«Bend-skin»: a sector that contributes in urban disorder!

The activity of motor-taxi is an unregulated sector that causes a lot of traffic accidents. Irresponsible driving and lack of a good mastery of the Highway Code are part of the danger in this sector. It is not unusual to see motor-taxi riders who overtake at the left, or who go the contrary way at a roundabouts or who use the express outlet-ways. The majority of motorbike riders have undergone no training at all. In 2012 in Bertoua, there were 3 000 motor-taxi riders with no driving license.

Accidents involving customers are so many. In the city of Douala for instance, the Laquintini Hospital registered much of these cases of motorbike accidents in 2007 so much so that one of its blocks caring for the victims is now christened "Bend-skin Block". This name conveys the gravity of the road insecurity linked to this activity. Still in this hospital, statistics in 2011 indicate that out of 16 000 patients received at the emergency service, 2 311 were involved in accidents caused by motor-taxis. All in all, this description helps in pinpointing two malaises:

The malaise of an « auto-flagellation » of which informed men and women are responsible. It is not unusual to see that the proprietors of these motorbikes are civil servants who are sometimes supposed to ensure public order. Opportunity making the thief, the lack of regulations, and the timid will to restructure the sector, give free way to the "collective irresponsibility" that prevails today.

The second malaise is related to rural exodus. Many youth who have infiltrated this milieu come mostly from villages.

HOMELAND SECURITY FILE



Unemployment, the lack of means to keep these youth in rural areas which are less and less attractive, the poor will of the authorities to reduce the labor strenuousness, have opened a way without end to the confused youth that have only one happy end, probably the easiest one: the pleasure of bragging on a motorbike while gaining their livelihood

A sector assimilated to the development of urban delinquency

B Because the rules of the game are not defined from the outset and because there is no socialization of this phenomenon, the ingenuity of those who are gaining from this all-purpose equipment is put at the service of delinquency. While condemning these criminal acts, one has to admit the proper discrepancies in the urbanization of our cities. Nothing helps in locating or catching a troublesome giver, because alert systems, transportation services and other means of mobility are still undeveloped. The basic problem is not really the final effect of the action, but first the responsibility of the authorities who have so far opted for the sporadic management with the carrot through some remarkable feats here and there.

Embarrassing actors to the authorities and at times subject to political hijack attempts

Motor-taxi has become a social reality through the spread of the social phenomenon it creates. In the urban landscape, the motor-taxi embarrasses the authorities. For that purpose, three types of management can be envisaged:

- Management with the carrot,
- Management through communication,
- Management with the cane.

What type of management will be chosen by the authorities in order to regulate this phenomenon? How to reduce the new wave of delinquency related to this phenomenon, with provision of solid solutions to the problem of unemployment and that of social reintegration of the idle youth? How to combat a social reality that is being protected by the authorities on daily basis through a mixture of genre, by constantly inviting the denounced phenomenon to partake in ideology battles and to take therefore in hostages those ensuring the laws?

This is the dilemma posed today by the phenomenon of motor-taxi in Cameroon.



Dr Robert Marie MBA
Université de Yaoundé I



Clinical epidemiology of road accidents due to motorcycles in the Yaoundé Central Hospital

Road accidents (AR) are a major cause of morbidity and mortality in the world according to reports from the World Health Organization. Recently, studies have been carried on the increasing involvement of motorized two wheelers in the causes of road accidents (RA) in China and sub-Saharan Africa. Hence our study aims to: identify the demographic characteristics of victims of RA by motorcycle taxis; reporting circumstances of such accidents; description of the initial lesions and their severity due to the accidents. The study period takes from 1st July to 31st December 2008. The study location is Yaounde, capital of Cameroon and most especially at the Emergency Centers of the Yaounde Central Hospital

It was based on the collection of data during admission on: the Identity, age and sex of the patient, the date, time, place and circumstances of the occurrence of the accident, and the means of transport to the hospital. Factors such as the helmet, the insurance liability and the number of passengers carried

by the driver at the time of the accident were notified. Then, the initial assessment of the lesions which led to the admission of the injured. The lesions were classified according to different parts of the body that is; Injury Severity Score (ISS). The severity is determined by the Abbreviated Code Injury Scale (ACIS) scores ISS and Glasgow Coma Score (GCS). We included, by consecutive sampling, any victim of a RA involving at least one motorcycle, admitted and treated in one of the Emergency Centres of the Yaounde Central Hospital (ECYCH). Excluded were, the victims of RA involving motorcycles not used for commercial purposes, and victims of RA involving motorcycles initially admitted in other hospitals.

Results of the study

During the study period, on 1260 Victims of RA received, 35.6 % (or 448) were involved in a motorcycle RA, this constitutes our study population. This group consists of 306 men and 142 women, a sex ratio of 2.2. The age of the injured ranged from 4 months to 77 years, with an average age of 24.1 years. The age bracket of 15 to 30 years is the most represented (Fig. 1). The injured (15 to 45 years) constitute is 69.2 % of our sample. Passengers represent 44.2% of injuries; 37.3 % were pedestrians hit by motorcycles, and 18.5% (83) are motorcycle

HOMELAND SECURITY FILE



riders. 41.3% of the injured were students and middle managers. 40.2% are either housewives or unemployed. Drivers and passengers of motor cars are excluded from our study.

Risk factors

None of the 448 victims identified in this study was wearing a helmet at the time of the accident. No motorcycle driver has admitted having civil liability insurance. Only 28.9% (24) had a driver's license. 92.4% (183) of the injured passengers were overweight at the time of the accident. 50.2% were injured in a collision between a motorcycle and another vehicle. 89.2 % of the injured were taken by witnesses to the accident and 2% by nursing aids.

About lesions

394 patients (87.9 %) had S6 lesions (skin surface) . These S6 lesions affected 58.1 % of in the limbs, 22.6 % in the head and in 15.9 % at the front . The S1 region (head and neck) was touched with 218 injured that is: 48.7 % cases, the S2 region (face) had 29 injured, or 6.5 % of cases, the S3 region (thorax) registered 56 injured, 12.5% of cases, the S4 region (abdomen and pelvic contents) with 14 injured or 3.2 %, and the S5 region (members) had 95 injuries, 21.2 % of cases. 62.9% of patients (282) had an ISS less than 16. 25.3% of them had an ISS between 16 and 19 and 11.8% of patients had ISS greater than or equal to 20. 268 patients. 59.9 % had a normal level of consciousness with GCS equal to 15 /15. 77 patients. 17.2 % had a mild head injury with a GCS score between 14 and 13. 60. 13.3 % of them have a moderate head injury with

a GCS between 9 and 12, and finally 43, 9.6% of patients sustained severe head injury with a score of less than or Glasgow equal to 8.

Mortality rate

27 patients died, scoring a mortality rate of 6%. The age of patients who died was between 6 and 65 years, with an average age of 30.2 years. Depending on the occupancy of the motorcycle in the rear, there was among the dead : 16 drivers and 11 passengers . The deceased patients had lesions in S5 28.6 % of cases, lesions of S1 and S6 were found in the same proportion of 23.8 %, S3 lesions were found in 12.7% of cases, the S4 lesions were found in 7.9% of cases and S2 lesions in 3.2 % of cases. All patients who died had a greater than 20 ISS and GCS less than or equal to 8 at admission time.



Comments

Our study shows an incidence of 35.6% of RA due to motorcycles in Yaounde. This incidence is higher than that described in China in 2004 (22.8%) and that reported in Nigeria Solagberu et al. in 2006 (27.20 %). This confirms the growing importance of trauma -related to RA involving motorcycles in African and some emerging countries. Although all ages are represented, the age group between 15 to 45 years is dominant. As in many studies carried in Africa and China, 37.3% of the victims were pedestrians. The latter mechanism of RA seems characteristic of our environment. In the West, RA involving pedestrians result mainly from an automobile - pedestrian collision, the motorcycle - pedestrian collision is rare. No automobile passengers were carried to the hospital in the car - motorcycle collisions. All the victims were either motorcyclists or pedestrians. This confirms the particular vulnerability of this category of road users as

concerns RA. RA involving motorcycle taxis are the causes of less serious injuries rarely life-threatening. They can also cause more serious head injuries. While the effectiveness of helmets in preventing head injuries due to motorcycle accidents is demonstrated, no listed victim was wearing a helmet at the time of accident. However, unprotected road users are most severely affected.

As a whole, the rapid urban development and the difficulties of full access to secured urban transport led to a strong demand for the use of the motorcycles, hence an increase in traffic accidents, caused by this means of transport. The lesions found, mostly affects pedestrians and fatalities are often between cars and motorcycles. Moreover, the high mortality rate in cases of serious head injuries confirms motorcycle taxis business as a dangerous activity which is poorly framed and can quickly become the cause of a road safety crisis with induced effects on public



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HOMELAND SECURITY FILE



Interview with the Director of Public Security at the General Delegation for National Security

David Ewu Ngeme

As Director of Public Security at the General Delegation for National Security, what is your opinion on the phenomenon of commercial motorbikes ?

Commercial motorbikes are a cause for concern in that it generates disorder in the urban area. The actors concerned are regrettably not always so versed with the rules of the profession. This means that some of them do climb the machine without prior notions on the requirements of urban transport. Since 2008, the Prime Minister's decree has effectively not been implemented. Transport by means of Motorcycle is not bad at such. What aches is the fact that it causes as I earlier said, urban muddle.

Can we know more on the hitch with the Prime Minister's decree ?

Commercial bike riders complain that the documents required are so many. If those papers could be limited to two or three, it would, according to them be a good thing. It is necessary that bike riders learn to ensure minimum security for both the passengers and themselves. We need every motorcycle rider to be identified and registered accordingly. In addition, the movements of commercial motorbikes are restricted to areas where taxicabs do not have access . A study is

underway at the level of Prime Ministry to review the 2008 decree. I think that the activity will soon be regulated.

Sir, what about the Ministry of Commerce ?

The Ministry of Commerce would precisely regulate the importation of motorcycles. The driver and owner of the bike are all concerned. Hence, the customer buying a motorcycle is identified at the base. As soon as the customer purchases his insurance he is automatically given a registration number in the store. The Ministry of Commerce also plans to increase custom duties at the time of motorcycles importation.

Sir, can we say those current arrangements are satisfactory ?

No! We are currently working to see that things really change. We realize with time, that it is difficult for motorcyclists to respect the 2008 decree because the documents required are still too many and costly. It is for this reason that a commission was precisely created by the Prime Ministry to examine these conditions.

On the operational level, how are the agents doing to solve this matter on the field?

It is not that difficult for Police officers to manage this issue on the field. Administrative authorities ensure compliance with the regulation. It should be noted that the task of the Police is not easy at all

because of the indiscipline displayed by motorcycles riders. I would also point out that the Minister of Youth and Civic Education recently brought together the various stakeholders and the civil society to raise awareness on this phenomenon. He also reiterated the words of the Head of State who recognized the importance of the activity of commercial motor bikes in our country. But to be franc, the control of this sector by Security Forces is still not really effective.

Does it mean that the phenomenon of commercial motor bike riders is still a threat to our society?

Not a threat as such . But the activity of motorcycle taxis is now seen as a source of crime according to available statistics, especially in our two major cities, it is mostly used to perpetrate criminal acts.

Talking about statistics, Sir, can we have some figures?

It is difficult for me to give you figures . But there are so many cases where commercial motor bikes riders for instance, are found guilty of snatching . The ritual crimes in Mimboman whereby the main perpetrators were commercial motor bike riders are still fresh in our memory.

Sir, to end, what piece of advice can you provide to commercial motor bike riders ?

I would first like to say that the profession of motorcycle taxi riders is indeed a profession like any other . It is just a question of reinforcing the legislation in this sector, because it is a source of income to many families. It also absorbs a good number of graduates from our Universities and advanced learning schools.



Interview conducted by SSP Elie PASSO and IC Auguste ONGOLO

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Regulating motor-taxis in Cameroon: between necessary regulation and social use

As is the case in several African States, the phenomenon of Commercial motor bikes established itself in Cameroon as a social reality that can neither be ignored nor be undervalued but which needs to be controlled by a wise and exhaustive law. The question remains to know how by the legal instruments enacted in the matter public authorities have addressed the issue of commercial motor bikes? Is the current normative framework adapted to the diverse dimensions of the phenomenon? What is the nature of the edited laws? What finally are the challenges of the Cameroonian laws on commercial motor bikes?

What is the normative evolution on the issue ?

The law on commercial motor bikes comprises the rules enacted both at the national level and at the level of the deconcentrated¹ or decentralized² local communities. At the national level, the evolution of the law on motor-taxis can be described in four phases. First, Decree No. 95/650/PM of 16 November 1995 to lay down the conditions and modalities on the commercial operation of motorbikes; then, Decree No. 2004/0607/2004/PM du

17 March to lay down the modalities for someone to use motorbikes as a road transportation operator or an auxiliary road transportation operator; and Decree No. 2008/3447/PM of 31 December 2008 to lay down the conditions and modalities to operate commercial motorbikes. The fourth phase comprises texts from the Inter-ministerial Cleanup and Follow-up Committee on the Operation of Commercial Motorbikes that was created by Order No. 080/CAB/PM of 12 April 2012. This is a set texts: Decree No. 2013/7015/PM of 30 July 2013 amending and completing certain provisions of Decree No. 2008/3447/PM of 31 December 2008; Order No. 00000367/MINCOMMERCE of 5 August 2013 to recommend a technical approval of the importation of motorcycles and spare parts in Cameroon; and an Order signed by the Minister of Transport to lay down the conditions and modalities to obtain the Certificate of Competency in the category of motor-taxis.

This evolution demands some remarks:

► In less than two decades, the regulation-making power intervened four times on the issue of motor-taxis. This can reveal either an insufficiency in prior analysis on the matter to regulate, or a rapid dynamics (evolution) of the matter, or the maladjustment of the regulation norm in relation to the matter regulated.

► Up till 2013, the regulations did not draw on a multifarious analysis of the phenomenon of motor-taxis.

► It should be observed that the reference to the policy regulating the motor-taxis sector is based on two elements: “clean-up” and “follow-up”. The first element, which concerns security and supervises and even represses, if need arises, is both prevention and cure; while the second, which accompanies and facilitates, channels an activity that plays an irrefutable social role

Spatial and material Framework of the regulation

Before the 2013 texts, there was ambiguity in the regulations, between an “activity” and an “occupation”, the proper notion of commercial motor bikes having evolved from a two or three wheeler to a “two wheeler without trailer”. In fact, one deals with “public transportation of passengers”, on the one hand, “occupation of operating commercial motor-taxis” (Section 4 new), “occupation of motor-taxi driver (Section III of the amended Decree of 2008), on the other hand; two occupations that are not absolutely the same but for the fact that they are synonymous. The issue regulated has remained the same, which is public transportation of passengers. If this excludes the transportation of goods and properties, it simply ignores the sociological reality, as motor-taxis play a leading role here. In any case, it excludes the private transportation of people with motorcycles within the family framework or any other, even if that can be difficult to distinguish in practice. The space of activity of this public transportation is determined by what the rules and regulations call “suburban and rural zones” which are defined by competent municipal authorities. The Inter-Ministerial Committee for Clean-up and Follow-up observed, in its report, that “minus the two major cities, the delimitation of zones for motor-taxis remains difficult to implement in most of our towns in the absence of a solution through another public transportation means”. If there no clarification on the



elements to be taken into consideration during the delimitation of these zones, it is to be feared that the regulations in point will come to naught in many localities. In addition, it should be noted that the users of this type of public transportation do not use it for their movement in the suburban and rural zones only, but use this means of transportation towards urban zones where their activities spots are often located.

The Decree of 30 July 2013, a turning point for the activity of commercial motor bikes?

Within the logic of multidimensional framework, the texts of 2013 were elaborated within a framework of collaboration bringing together administrations concerned with the problem of commercial bike riders: Prime Ministers Service, Transport, MINATD, Commerce, Finances, Defense, DGSN, DGRE, Urban Councils, Justice, Youths, Employment and Professional Training. This committee was created with instructions from the Presidency of the Republic, after a security meeting held on 16 March 2012, two months after the 03 January 2012 events of Deido involving commercial motorbikes.

Conditions of carrying out the activity of Commercial Motor bike operator

The Decree of 30 July 2013 clearly defines the conditions to fulfill in order to carry out the activity of commercial motorbike operator (Section 4), the conditions for the first entry into service of motor-taxis,

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the equipment needed before a motor-taxi can be put into use (Section 13). Globally, these conditions got progressively reinforced and hardened with time. The question of the realism of the conditions remains intact. The impression can be that all these complications are the godsend for the traffic police officers well mentioned in Section 20 of the 2008 Decree. While pointing out the emergency of the public security in the regulations of this sector, one cannot fail to consider it less than a facilitating and supervising and restricting regulation which is also a purely fatal regulation for the activity of motor-taxi. If these aspects are added to the initial ones pertaining to the training and fortunately provided for both in Section 11 of the 2008 Decree and the Order signed by the Minister of Transports, then the provisional death of the phenomenon of motor-taxi can be forecasted or, on the contrary, the activity shall be exercised clandestinely on a large scale. In this case, unfortunately, those in charge of the implementation of the regulations shall find survival manna from heaven. Since more taxes kill taxation or (which comes to the same thing) promote organized fraud using the fiscal law, too much regulations can end-up killing the regulations through organized malpractices.

Regulating the phenomenon of motor-taxi involves an important chain of institutional actors with whom commercial motor bikes operators and resourceful "bend-skinners" have to deal;

Administrative authorities, of which the head is the Senior Divisional Officer who

has been discretionarily empowered to put in place, "whenever the need arises", (Section 14-2 of the 2013 Decree), the Divisional Committee for Follow-up of the activities of motor-taxis;
Officials of the Ministry of Transport;
officials of the Ministry of Commerce;
taxation officials;
insurance officials, etc.

Knowing that « the conditions and modalities of the issuing, suspension or withdrawal of identification numbers of commercial motor bikes are defined by the concerned councils », there is here a risk in the course trying to decentralize to get to a situation where national law is applied in various different ways. The idea of unique divisional database for administrative operations for commercial motor bikes could be seriously exploited in this vein. For, as it is described, the law has many obligations which multiply the possibilities of scrupulously respecting it and consequently occasions for repression or negotiations on illegality. Within the framework of repression, the Decree of 2013 talks of "all pertinent offence " is not particularly assuring especially when evoked by an authority acting alone.

Training, a crucial element

There is an important aspect of the 2013 measures concerning motor-taxi: the training provided for in Section 11 of the 2008 Decree, but which remains



undefined as concern its operational modalities. As much as this training is indispensable with regard to the deviant behavior of the majority of the commercial motor bike drivers on our roads, it may also be seen as another social marginalization instrument by the latter who already consider themselves as the victims of a merciless social Darwinism and who thought the motorbike would be an easy instrument for self-affirmation and survival, and for the use of which the vast majority of drivers would receive on-the-job training within the social underground. The first advantage of training is pedagogic: to manage to convince spontaneous drivers on its necessity so that it should not be seen as a brutal and unjust provocation. In this respect, it would have been better to plan a catch-up and regularization training, probably intensive, for existing drivers of which some have no level of education, even at the primary.

The objective of the envisaged training of which the duration has not been determined is threefold, mastering driving; knowing the area of activity; and mastering civic rules. The training should take place in authorized driving schools (which induces training costs). Its content is determined by the administrations of Transports, Youth and Civic Education, Vocational Training, council of the area of activity, as the case may be. The content of the training shall therefore have a national particularity with local variants, with the hope that instructors in driving schools shall display sufficient knowledge of the "area".

What future for the activity of commercial motor bikes?

The question at hand is: "should we continue to tolerate the present situation or simply suspend the activity of riders who don't have the driver's license 'A'". This uncertainty had to be cleared so as not to run the risk of discrediting the new serious measures. While waiting for the training sessions to take place, some elements to assess the proficiencies of these drivers already exist in the rules and regulations: age (18), driving license "A", exams for the issuance of the category "MT" Certificate of Proficiency of which the driving license is but part of application file, issuance of the certificate of proficiency after a good pass in the exams for the certificate of proficiency with a different additional file. This system is interesting, but it is abstract. It depends on the spread of driving school in the country, notably in rural areas where motor-taxis play a great socio-economic role.

Political and strategic Dimensions

The political and strategic dimension of the new regulations is in the Order signed by the Minister of Commerce, to institute an approval for the importation of motorcycles and their spare parts into Cameroon. This was specifically instructed by the Presidency of the Republic; even if it is true that it was intended only for "some categories of motorbikes" (see reference text). Of course, the question is to know whether the problem of



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motor-taxi is a matter of the quantity of this equipment in the country or a matter of the mastery of the equipment of which the usage flexibility renders the control of its usage more complex. If driving a motorbike can be an "occupation", its acquisition should, of course, be regulated. Regulating an activity cannot be limited to its acquisition. What should therefore be the statute of the motor-taxi driver, his rights and obligations? What are the fares to be charged in the sector of transportation by motorbikes? Will motor-taxi drivers have, for instance, the right to get affiliated to the social security system? On the one hand, if the regulations "normalize" the activity of public transportation by motorbikes, cohabitation between the latter and the other transportation by vehicle-taxis should also be organized. Are road traffic rules the same? How to manage commercial competition between the two systems of public transportation? Etc. Regulations should control in order to conduct and facilitate this activity, not to kill it. For, when the resourceful "bendskiners" would have dropped motor-taxis because they cannot comply with the demands of the regulations, when these unemployed will no more be able to easily acquire a motorbike in order to end their idleness and even their despair, to what they be pushed by their survival instincts and their refusal to meet death? To answer these delicate questions, it is not just a matter of regulating legally even if this is very good and coherent formally in order to solve the problem.



Pr. Alain Didier OLINGA,
Maître de Conférences, (IRIC)



The phenomenon of commercial motor bikes at the heart of new security challenges in Cameroon.

The phenomenon of commercial motor bikes is undoubtedly linked to urbanization hence we cannot refute neither its gravity nor its social effects. It is equally situated at the center of current social challenges within the security framework. Mention is usually made in public debates of cases of felonies, misdemeanor or simple offences in which commercial motorbike riders are involved. However, many forms of insecurity existed before the emergence of the phenomenon of commercial motor bikes. The phenomenon of motor-taxis certainly existed a long time ago in the northern regions¹, in the East (Bertoua), in the outskirts of Yaoundé (Obala); but these zones are not necessarily all considered as insecurity risk places. It has spread to other towns especially Douala and can be justified by a world full of sense². At this critical point, the connection between commercial motor bikes and opposition parties leads the constituted authority to allow commercial motor bikes to flourish. Without challenging the importance of the symbolic struggles around this social activity, we will analyze how the definition of commercial motor bike riders as risk is at the heart of new way of conceiving and ensuring security.

The impact of the phenomenon on the security framework

The security framework is made up of techniques and instruments as well as expectations or a result that enhances operational realization of public action in matters of security. Commercial bike riders develop a set of tactics that has an influence on earlier frameworks.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the new wave of insecurity emerged after the activity of commercial motor bikes took over from that of vehicle-taxis. Commercial motor bikes are mostly involved in road accidents, vandalism, robbery or rape. This obliges the security forces to use security frameworks having social components (representing these people as risk) and techniques

⁶Specifically in Maroua, Garoua, Guider and Ngaoundere this activity emerged in the 1980s, and was institutionalized in 1994. Hence, it imposed itself to the populations as a mode of urban transportation to the point of overshadowing commercial motor bikes.

⁷ On this, read, Alphonse Amougou Mbariga, on "Le phénomène des motos-

taxis dans la ville Douala; crise de l'Etat, identité et régulation sociale: une approche par les Cultural Studies", Anthropologie et société, vol. 34, No. 1, 2010, p. 56.

⁸ Concerning the studies on the activity of motorcycle taxi drivers, visit : Mairadji SAHABANA, « Les motos-taxis à Douala et leur perception par les pouvoirs

publics : entre tolérance d'un secteur pourvoyeur d'emplois et de transport et volonté d'éradiquer une activité incontrôlable », Laboratoire d'Economie des Transports, ENTPE – Université Lyon 2 – CNRS ; Abdoukarim SADOU, « Le taxi moto et l'insécurité urbaine dans le nord-Cameroun, le cas de la ville de Ngaoundéré », Département d'Histoire, Faculté des Arts et Sciences Humaines, Université de Ngaoundéré, p.1

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with a dual truth: one is the activity of criminal activity orchestrated by commercial bike riders, and the second is one where the commercial drivers are themselves crime victims. Many commercial bike drivers don't have the intention of carrying out criminal acts. Hence, the construction of a scarlet of a killer attached to any one of them, the moderated thirst for risk on the highway and their very nature (dressing, speaking, etc) leads the population to scorn at them. This can always lead to social mobilization, in which they also contribute to the fight against insecurity

especially the statistical observation of the different forms of insecurity in which the commercial motor bike riders are involved.

Police inquiry on the famous 'ritual crimes' in Cameroon revealed that the perpetrators were essentially commercial bike riders³. These drivers work on hidden identity. Their usual means of operation consists of carrying their victim as a "simple customer". Other accomplices follow the bike carrying the victim following a pre-arranged itinerary. In a bit to neutralize emotions and work on the body, one of the bikes following the bike carrying the victim makes a false and rough overtaking causing the victim and his driver to fall. Upon falling on the ground with shock, the victim is easily put under control, raped and assassinated.

The instrument for the fight against high insecurity gives a certain perception of commercial bike drivers as a problem of security; especially by the evolution from road insecurity to criminality and or by the profiling of the new typical aggressor. The inquiries into the famous "ritual killings" illustrate amply the emergence of multiple micro spaces of insecurity both within and the threshold of main cities such as Yaoundé and Bafoussam. Nonetheless, we are faced

Redeployment of the security system

Internal security does not take us back to totalitarian experience but designs within the framework of the new order of governance instituted above all during the elaboration of the new criminal procedure code a new form of management where it is no longer possible to put in custody either suspects of robbery and assault or to shield the population from being victimized.

In this vein, the obligations of redeployment of the security system at the level of the 'hard core' – high administrative and judicial officials is in accordance with putting away commercial motor bikes from the Central town of Yaoundé and the administrative and residential quarters of Douala. Thus the image attached to the person of the commercial bike driver as a vector of serious banditry clarifies this exclusion and formatting of a new circulation plan for the town applicable to this problematic category, in June 2012 (in the economic capital of the country). As well as administrative authorities have no choice but to regulate access to the urban space especially to avoid tension and conflicts between commercial bike riders and the local population in certain quarters such as Deido in Douala, these restrictions are not only measures of administrative

³ On this issue, consider the press briefing granted by the Minister of Communication on Wednesday, September 18, 2013, ref. Cameroon Tribune of September 19, 2013, p. 4.

police. They participate equally in an original security framework to manage movements for optimal control.

The involvement of the population is required in a security redeployment meant to protect them. It is in this light that security agents' call on the public to keep them informed of all situations susceptible to generate insecurity as since its common knowledge that the robbers on motor bike operate mostly in dark corners or isolated where the presence of a law enforcement officer is not easily envisaged. This idea is reinforced in that it is almost impossible to trace these commercial motor bikes, to control or orientate their behavior. As well as commercial motor bikes incarnate the field of testing the dispositive of internal security, their exclusion does not necessarily make the zone from

which they have been prevented "safe havens". The application of the restriction measure is not perfect. However these zones show significantly the practical effectiveness of a security system aimed at separating the good seeds from the bad ones. We can measure the big gulf to cross between official discourse and social practice in order to understand how the need for redeployment of security has become a modality of politics of life, more general, vast and vague. Hence, it is in the interest of commercial bike riders to seize this opportunity to get their activity re-legitimize since their activity has caught the attention of the public⁴.

In addition, motor-taxi drivers frequently assist the forces of law and order in at least two ways: first, the police officer who is in difficulties has no means to



⁴⁹ Thus, the Head of State of Cameroon has recognized their leading roles in crime, and also in urban transport, during his speech to the nation at the end of 2012.

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catch a delinquent in the run and the immediate and appropriate means is the available motorbike. Then, the security operation is sometimes carried out by motorbike riders of same equipment. What is needed at a certain moment of the day when people start shouting on a suspect. Then a group of commercial bike drivers start chasing the suspect especially in enclosed areas. This can sometimes result in jungle justice. Commercial motorbike drivers are adjusting pragmatically to the new practice and security strategies put in place, especially the strategic repositioning of security forces with respect to their activity.

Conclusion

The obligation for redeployment in the security system is buttressed by the criminalization of commercial motor bike drivers and increasing securing of areas with much motor bikes, permits the security framework to be revised and faced with urgency, the risk is to go round ethical or democratic objections. Commercial motor bikes are a phenomenon of our times: at the Roissy Charles de Gaulle airport in France, the user has for example the choice to take either a motor taxi or an auto taxi. This activity constitutes an integral part of postmodern condition

hence the logic is to help in mobility and the extensions of network.

Given that the existence of a group of commercial bike drivers is relatively autonomous with respect to the state, this justifies the following measures:

- The quest for new security frameworks capable of coordinating the tangled security services in a fragmented environment;
- The strengthening of auto-regulation mechanisms of the commercial bike drivers since the effects of them controlling their activity proofs successful well before being codified.



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¹⁰For a more detailed definition of terrorism, read Gérard Chaland and Amaud Blin (ed.), *Histoire du terrorisme, de l'Antiquité à Al Qaïda*, Paris, Bayard, 2004, p. 10.

DECISION MAKERS FORM

Prospective and strategic analysis of the social phenomenon of commercial motorbikes

Component	Professional statute	Social statute	Problems linked to Motor-bikes activities	Implications in road accidents	Implication in urban disorder	Implication in urban and semi urban criminality
Motor-Bike rider	Profession	Salaried	Lack or absence of training, and civic education	Origin/ victim	Vulnerable and enlisted	Enlisted\organizers
Proprietors	Exploiter	Boss	Lack of national and professional consciousness dishonest	Origin/ victim	Origin/victim\accomplice	Origin/victim\accomplice
Passenger	Customer	Request	Dishonest, lack of civics education	Origin/ victim	Victims	Victims
The State (norms material organs)	Regulator: organisation and control instances	Institution and norms	Lack of control and regulation, corruption, unknown, hard and incomplete laws.	Monitoring and police control, medical and medico-legal care.	Fight against urban disorder through legal incrimination, diverse control and arrest.	Fight through inquiries, arrests, controls and monitoring.

Strategic Exclusions	Strategic choices	Strategic solutions
<p>1. Motor-bikes riders: jobs, salaried</p> <p>2. Owner: Exploiters Boss</p> <p>3. Passenger: client, request</p> <p>4. The State: regulator, organizer and controller, norm and institution</p>	<p>1. Problems linked to the activity of motor-bikes riders:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motor-Bike; lack or no training, no civic education - Owner: lack of national and professional consciousness, dishonest; - Passenger: lack of civic education, dishonest - The State: lack of control and regulation, corruption, unknown, hard and incomplete law, <p>2. Implications in road accidents:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motor-Bike rider; origin\victim - Owner; Origin/Victim - Passenger; victim\origin - The state; monitoring and police control, medical and medico-legal cares. <p>3. implications in urban disorders</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - motor-bikes; vulnerable and enlisted - owners; origin/victim/accomplish; - passenger; victim - the state; fight against urban disorder trough repressive and preventive measures <p>4. Implication in urban and semi urban crimes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motor-bike: enlisted/organizers - Owner: origin/victim/accomplice - passenger; victims - the State; fight through incriminations ; inquiries; arrests; controls and monitoring 	<p>1. Construct bikes assembly companies</p> <p>2. Ensure professional training and citizen sensitization of motorbike riders.</p> <p>3. Strengthening control of the importation of such vehicles, especially at the level of the Customs Administration where private or onerous allocation of the vehicle must be mentioned</p> <p>4. introduce the principle of carriage motor bike;</p> <p>5. disenclaved enclave areas</p> <p>6. instate legal and professional sanctions against corrupted and dishonest state agents</p> <p>7. encourage professional bike riders trade union</p> <p>8. fight against poverty and unemployment</p> <p>9. encourage inclusive dialogue between public and private actors, military and civilian, in the framework of renewed security and put at the disposal social peace and the maintenance of law and order.</p>

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FILE



Source : Google Images

Public national good, security is also necessary and especially as an international public welfare, under the combined effects of the globalization of contemporary insecurity on the one hand, and regionalization or globalization mechanisms of collective security, cooperative and common on the other. Many regions of the world must now face insecurity both on its multidimensional and complex nature, on a phenomenological point of view. From Africa to the Middle East, the Security crisis is expressed at the beginning of the twenty-first century more and more in terms of emerging threats, most often asymmetrical . This basic term yet covers a wide range of security issues: terrorism, maritime insecurity, organized rebellions, transnational crime, insurrection movements etc. . The nature of the stakes related to emerging threats on the sub- regional, regional and international, their accountability in the apprehension of the current and future trends of international relations, as well as their weight on the reconfiguration of global geopolitics, cannot be ignored by those who claim to think, build and maintain Peace, Security and global Stability in the long term. .

On the occasion of this inaugural issue of the BSPA, we focused on two current Africa and global security highlights namely: the Westgate Mall Shopping Centre siege in Nairobi (Kenya), and the Syrian crisis . This is not to say that the other issues related to sub- regional, continental and international events have been less relevant, far from that! However, the interest of such a preferential choice is legitimized both by the scope of such events in terms of political, strategic and media coverage, and in terms of mobilization of domestic and external actors, as well as their prominence, in terms of phenomenology and the geography of current emerging threats in Africa and elsewhere in the world.

Prospective of terrorism and counter-terrorism in sub-Saharan Africa: an analysis of the Westgate attack in Nairobi.

Sub-Saharan Africa faces an outbreak of terrorism, under the combined effects of poverty, instability and conflict. Almost unique weapon of the weak against the strong which impact primarily targets the minds, terrorism is the most violent form of "psychological warfare." Subject to a registered political instability in the long term, and partly due to a Somali «contagion effect" in the sub-region, East Africa in particular, is now facing a spread of Islamo- terrorism . After the terrorist attacks against the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam on August 7, 1998, sea violence in the Gulf of Aden and the attacks in Kampala in July 2011, it was the turn of the " Westgate Mall ", a luxurious shopping centre in the heart of Nairobi, to be the target of an attack claimed by the " Al-Shabaab " Islamist group, from the 21 to september 24, 2013.

Phenomenology of terrorism in sub-Saharan Africa : focus on the Islamist Shebab of East Africa and the attack of the Westgate Mall in Nairobi

- **The Shebab / Chababs** : decryption of actors and target : Militia ceated in 2006 in the stream of the Islamic Courts, the Shebab / Chababs have controlled two-third of Somalia between 2008 and 2011, before being fend off by government forces supported by the African Union peacekeeping force. Initially, the rise of the armed group Harakat Al- Shabab Al- Mujahideen, better known as the Shabab and al-Shabab (" the youth " in Arabic), is closely connected to that of Aden Hashi Farah " Ayro " a Somali fighter trained in the mid- 1990s in the Afghan training camps of Al Qaeda. Since 2009, it is established that the Shebab in Somalia have close links with Al- Qaeda. Officially, the attack against the Nairobi Westgate mall is a reprisal of the Kenyan military intervention in Somalia, and a call to their immediate withdrawal from Somalia. As concerns the choice of the target, the Westgate Mall is a high- level mall found in the heart of the Kenyan capital. Its customers consist of the local bourgeoisie, the middle class, but also many Western expatriates.

Furthermore, the Westgate Mall is believed to partly depend on Israeli capital. Thus a symbol of a Western consumer society, at opposite pole of the values defended by Somali Shebab . It is also the ideal place to inflict maximum human damage, ensure a global advertisement, broadcast terror, and undermine the Kenyan tourism and make the Western powers and their African allies to face their security weaknesses.

- **Scope and procedure of Shebabs** : born on Somali land, but latter on weakened in within since 2011, the movement began to be exported. In effect, on July 11, 2011, they were perpetrators of bloody attacks in the Ugandan capital, Kampala. At that time, 74 people were killed in the explosion of three bombs hidden in two restaurants of the town. In March, November and December 2012, three Al-Shabaab attacks with explosives were conducted respectively against two buses and a restaurant in the Somali neighborhood in Nairobi. Specialized in abductions and murders, the group also uses online social networks to spray messages and publish videos showing executions of hostages. However, the peculiarity of the attack on the Westgate Mall in Nairobi lies on the quality of its execution on a tactical and operational plane . Armed with automatic weapons and grenades, the Shebab managed to challenge the local security forces, imposing a siege of four days in the heart of the Kenyan capital . Because of its size, this attack specifically questions the proactive capabilities of the Kenyan security forces apparently taken by surprise.

Field of political and strategic significance of the Westgate Mall attack.

For some observers, the Westgate attacks particularly evokes the fact that the African continent is crossed by an arc of insecurity going from the Horn of Africa, its eastern end to the western shores of Nigeria, through the immense Sahel . Indeed, with AQIM (Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb) in North Africa, Boko Haram in West Africa, the Shebab and the LRA (Lord 's Resistance Army) in East Africa, the African continent has become a

¹¹ For a more detailed definition of terrorism, read Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (ed.), *Histoire du terrorisme, de l'Antiquité à Al Qaïda*, Paris, Bayard, 2004, p. 10.

¹² In 2009, in effect, its leader Mohammed Abdi Godane aka Abu Zubairra appears in a video in which he explicitly paid tribute to the organization of Osama Bin Laden. This globalization of the movement is associated to the formation of

a praetorian guard of 700 to 800 foreign Islamic fighters, from Arab countries, Pakistan and the United States. Read, Elise Barthet, « Kenya : les Chababs, une milice divisée au pouvoir de nuisance durable », published on www.lemonde.fr, September 24, 2013, consulted on September 26, 2013.

View Christophe Châtelot, "Somali Shabab factor of regional instability", published on www.lemonde.fr, September 23, 2013, accessed on 26 September 2013.

This is the first time that the movement is an operation of this nature outside its borders. View Elise Barthet, "Kenya: Les Somaliens Chababs, facteur d'instabilité régionale" published on www.lemonde.fr September 23, 2013, accessed on September 26, 2013.

¹³ Ibidem

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privileged theater of deportation entrenchment and dissemination of terrorists groups in general, and the Islamo- terrorism in particular. Even the Central Africa - Space (ECCAS), once relatively unscathed despite its encirclement risk zones now knows many alerts: banditry, trans-border criminality between Cameroon - Chad - Central African Republic, hostage and maritime crime in the Cameroon-Nigeria border, etc.

In addition, Kenya is recognized as an important strategic ally of Israel in terms of the fight against terrorism in East Africa. This is what justifies on one hand the strong involvement of the Sayeret Matkal men - a last resort unit of the special Tsahal force (the Israeli army), founded in 1957, in the liberation of the Nairobi Westgate hostages. On the other hand, in the minds of the Somali jihadists, this "alliance" is seen as another manifestation of the strategic Western imperialism in Africa. Combined with what is interpreted as a Somali "contagion" of insecurity in the sub region, strategic empathy between Kenya and the Western powers have become a source of insecurity in East Africa, a problematic situation for Kenyan economy heavily

dependent on tourism revenue.

What scopes for terrorism and counter - terrorism in Africa?

- A potential integration of Islamo - terrorism in Africa : The new danger that weighs now on the continent is to witness a true integration of Islamo - terrorism, through the combined effects of convergence and nesting continental scope of that power nuisance capacity - is so far limited to a sub-regional level (if not local) terrorist networks. Indeed, according to reports published by the British Intelligence Agencies (including MI6), the relationship between the terrorists of the Sahel region and those of East Africa are becoming closer .Similarly, the Boko Haram terrorist troops have been reinforced since the acceleration of the diffusion of Al Qaeda in sub- Saharan Africa. This movement is facilitated by the negligence of States in mobilizing tools and preventive intelligence, gathering relevant information, scattered national strategies, the lack of harmonization of national legislation and the low level of national inefficiency of the sub- regional, regional and international efforts to fight against terrorism. For a long



¹⁶ Notamment une famille d'expatriés français, les Moulin-Fournier, par les hommes de Boko Haram.

¹⁷ Fouâd Harit, « Attaque à Nairobi : les dessous de l'intervention d'Israël », publié sur www.afrik.com, 25 septembre 2013, consulté le 26 septembre 2013.

¹⁸ Read Han Bing, « La tragédie du Kenya reflète l'aggravation de la menace terroriste en Afrique (Commentaire) », publié sur www.french.people.com.cn, septembre 26, 2013, accessed on the 26 of septembre 2013.

time, the emphasis was laid on the application of a repressive military solution supported by a Western-centric understanding of terrorism. This stigmatizing and rigid approach, seem to have its limits. African countries and their security allies are called upon to initiate a new reflection on a global and civil-military optimal approach on the fight against transnational violence.

- **A strengthened continental sub-regional and international cooperation** for the fight against terrorism in Africa: Some measures have been taken at the continental level in the fight against terrorism in Africa. Despite these initiatives, sub- regional and regional cooperation in the fight against emerging threats remains at an unsatisfactory level. However, the fight against terrorism requires close coordination between African countries, Africa and its international partners. It also requires capacity building at the local, sub- regional, continental and international, and especially a better appropriation of African responses to transnational violence.

- **Promote the integration of the peoples:** The strong identity charge of contemporary insecurity in sub-Saharan Africa suggests that the answers are formulated facing a sociological approach to conflict resolution and the fight against emerging threats. Strong ethno- cultural fragmentation of the continent, and especially inadequate management of such cultural and religious fractures, coupled with a system of unequal distribution of national wealth, to a large extent explain the violent eruption of rational identity in Africa. It is important that the idea of a collective security approach focused exclusively on the model of "integration from the top" is surpassed in favor of a formula that puts its relevance to the integration of the peoples for a better social dialogue. The sub-regional and continental integration in Africa should not be limited to summits. It should further mobilize people and civil society as relevant actors in the process. Similarly, the culture of integration should first take root within the states themselves largely subject to deep social divisions in general and in particular identity

- **A comprehensive civil-military approach and the fight against terrorism in Africa:** The 2006 adoption of the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy of the United Nations (UN) is an important step in surpassing the "hard" military approach response to terrorism in favor of a holistic approach that gives all its importance as well as the issues of peace and security as related to development, human rights issues and governance. It is

said that the group of experts met in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) on 3 and June 4, 2009, an initiative of the Director of the Office of Special Counselor of the United Nations for Africa (OSAA), Patrick Hayford . This position was reiterated in the context of the Westgate siege by the Security Council of the United Nations held on September 23, 2013 and chaired by HE Mr. Faure Gnassingbe, the togolese Head of State in a public debate on "Issues pertaining to the fight against terrorism in Africa in the context of maintaining peace and international security . " In other to fight against terrorism, it is important to adopt a comprehensive strategy to promote, in Africa as elsewhere, economic growth, promote good governance, poverty reduction, strengthening the capacity of States, expand social services and fight corruption. Moreover, if a better coordination between African governments is crucial, these efforts require a more significant funding than what is currently available. It is equally essential that States and International Organizations make sure they engage African civil society and community groups in a double-civilo-military renewed public-private-partnership.

Ultimately, the fight against terrorism is a call for concern for every party involved; security being a public international welfare. The twofold - terrorism and counter terrorism is a major strategic and operational challenge for the army and security forces in Africa. This is precisely the reason which led to the creation of a Central Africa Regional Coordination of the UN strategy for the fight against terrorism and (ALPC). It is left over for countries to effectively translate in practice, their political resolve to realize peace, security and development in the continent during major international meetings.



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¹⁹ The OAU Convention on the Prevention and the fight against terrorism, adopted in Algiers in 1999, the Action Plan of the AU on how to prevent and combat terrorism in Africa, 2002, the African Studies and Research Centre on Terrorism-CAERT created in 2004.

²⁰ based on a less Western-centric apprehension.

²¹ Ernest Harsch, « L'Afrique et la guerre contre le terrorisme : recherche de solu-

tions axées sur les droits de l'homme », in Afrique Renouveau, octobre 2009, p. 16.

²² Read article « Stratégie globale de lutte contre le terrorisme en Afrique », disponible sur www.untogo.org, available on www.untogo.org, of septembre 26, 2013, accessed on septembre 26 2013

²³ Lucien Pambou, "Security issues for Africa discussed during the 68th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations", published on

www.geopolitiqueafricaine.com, September 26, 2013, accessed 26 September 2013.

²⁴ For a detailed analysis consult « L'Afrique subsaharienne dans la géostratégie du terrorisme et du contreterrorisme : un défi stratégique et tactique », in Les actes du Colloque international du CSID de Yaoundé sur le thème « 50 ans de défense et de sécurité en Afrique: états et perspectives stratégiques » avril 2011, p.36.

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Syrian crises: geopolitical and strategic stakes

The Syrian revolt took this magnitude because of the brutal repression that followed peaceful protest in the periphery of the country at its beginning in March 2011. This conflict which was radicalized progressively took a dramatic turn with the use of chemical weapons against the Syrian population on August 21, 2013 in Ghouta. In response, the United States and France threatened to use force against a Syrian government judged responsible for such attacks. However, after Chinese and Russian vetoes against the franco-american approach, American-Russian negotiations that were initiated have led, at the end, to an agreement signed on September 26, 2013 relating to the preparation of a plan to dismantle the Syrian military arsenal, within a period of one year, and approved by the OPCW [25]. Considered as a major diplomatic advance, this plan repels the possibility of a military intervention without international mandate. Most significantly is the opportunity provided for by the Security Council to impose sanctions against Syria in the case of non-compliance to the disarmament plan [26]. In addition, this is the first time that China and Russia indicate their good will to possibly vote a binding resolution on Syria. However many questions room the mind. Is the Syrian crisis revealing the beginning of a new geopolitical era? How do we define it? What are the challenges? Finally, what would be the position of Africa on the Syrian crisis?

²⁵Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons .

²⁶ The resolution adopted on September 27, 2013, does not provide for automatic sanctions if Syria does not comply with its obligations and a second resolution would be required to impose sanctions against

Damascus leaving Russia, faithful ally of Damascus, with the flexibility to prevent sanctions due to scrutiny and the power to block endowed to her by the text adopted.

²⁷ Led by the United States supported by the Arab League and Qatar .

²⁸ The ambition of the U.S. conventional military superpower is to nullify the nuclear capabilities of actors like Iran, threatening its superiority. However, neither Russia nor China seems to be part of this game .

Strategic and geopolitical implications of the syrian crisis

The Syrian crisis embodies many aspects of the Cold War conflicts. Behind each faction is located a camp: the western camp [27], on one side, is working for the fall of the Syrian regime, and to the defeat of its major ally in the region, Iran. On the other hand, Russia and China are supporting the Syrian model. Another major player in this theatre is Israel, who criticizes Damascus for its support to the resistant Palestinians (Hamas) and Lebanese (Hezbollah). In such a context, the dismantling of the Syrian threat, that could lead to the weakening of Tehran [28] at the end, would be very timely.

The repercussions of the Syrian crisis are felt throughout the region: migratory pressure and its implications in the humanitarian area on the neighbouring countries; security dilemma at the borders etc. In addition, the extension of the conflict in Lebanon and in Iraq has exacerbated the community tensions in these States which are already facing the problems of instability. Same goes for Turkey whose support for the Syrians rebels has led to the expressions of hostility at the level of its border with Syria [29]. In addition, the possible emergence of a new Kurdish autonomous region (near the Kurdish region of Iraq) is real, with a long term effect of boosting the separatist aspirations of the Kurds in Turkey, and to offer a proper land of safety conducive to the PKK[30]. .

The Syrian crisis has sharply deteriorated the relations between the three non-Arabs nations in the region: Iran, Turkey and Israel. For Iran, the civil war in Syria has had a negative impact on its alliance with Hamas who, by refusing despite the pressures of Iranian to support Al-Assad, has left Damascus for the Doha Round, a serious breach of the aspirations of regional leadership of Iran. Turkey, which is considered as the great winner due to its compatible model between Islam and democracy, economic development and civil control of the army, has suffered the most of the economic consequences and the geopolitical implications of the Syrian crisis [31]. Israel because of the "Arab spring", but also of the Syrian crisis, has seen its isolation at the regional level increase; just as she has been confronted with a neighbourhood strongly destabilized [32]. According to some observers, the Syrian crisis created a more favourable environment than ever to the settlement of the israeli-palestinian conflict.

The Syrian crisis has increased the community polarization already visible in the region after the outbreak of the Iraqi civil war. Consequences: not only a perception well-established of the revolt as a Sunni uprising against an Alaouite dynasty re-

gime, its local support and Shi' allies; but also a geopolitical re-positioning [33] on a community basis which accentuated the Iranian-canadian Saudi rivalry. In this light, the political field of the region since the Iraq war is animated by the so-called pro-Western moderates (Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia), the so-called radical axis of the resistance (Iran, Syria, Hamas, Hezbollah), and finally the moderates (Turkey and Qatar). The position (pro Sunni) anti-Iran and anti-Syria of these countries in the Syrian crisis has compromised their mediating posture.

The Syrian crisis: what do we learn from the game of big powers?

Russia is the power which has gathered more points in the treatment of the Syrian crisis by proposing an acceptable solution by the USA and Syria, and finally endorsed by the Security Council. She has managed to position itself as a major and inescapable player in this part of the world. The alliance between Russia, Syria and Iran, on the basis of massive assistance, reinforces the Russian influence in the Middle East, ensures facilities for the Russian ships in the Syrian ports, and extends the permanent presence of the Russian navy in the Mediterranean Sea. The upholding of a confrontation with the USA allows Russia to give the world the impression of a new episode of the Cold War and, at the same time, diverting the attention of the international community to the disturbing internal situation of the country.

In compliance with the doctrine of Deng Xiaoping in respect of international relations (not to be the first, but should never be far from the first), China has shown an extraordinary tagging with regard to Russia with which it shares the non-interference in the internal affairs of Syria and Iran. For her, the destinies of these two nations are linked. Chinese interests and Russians in this part of the world are convergent. They support the Syrian model of secular and anti-Islamist[34]. Finally, Syria is of vital importance to China which imports close to 60% of its energy consumption.

The recent rapprochement between Obama and Rohani, which has surprised the international community, is a means for the USA who is losing grounds from the point of view of their leadership, to regain the Iranian nuclear issue, and for Iran to demonstrate its freedom of action in relation to the big Russian ally.

The "pro-war" attitude of France which is criticized, has reduced its points after the happy end at the Security Council. Disowned by the " 27 ", the latter has not been associated with the various American-Russian summits and meetings that have led both to

²⁹ this explains the authorisation from the Turkish parliament granted in October 2012 to the government to take action in the neighboring countries of Turkey and the NATO and the deployment in January 2013 of Patriot missiles along the Turkish-Syrian border.

³⁰ Faced with this situation, the Turkish government has the resolve to deal with Kurdish leader Abdullah Ocalan, the negotiations that led to a cease-fire between the two sides and reforms to improve the status of Kurds in Turkey and authorize rapprochement with the Kurds in Iraq and Syria.

³¹ Tensions with Israel have affected its ability to mediate in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Despite recent U.S. efforts to reconcile Turkey and Israel including the resumption of arms sales to Turkey, returning to significant strategic alliance before 2008, does not seem to reach.

³² with Al-Assad at bay, Israel loses a hostile neighbor but a neighbor who has preserved the lull border. Israel is worried about the repercussions of the Syrian crisis including the use of chemical weapons,

the acquisition of tactical weapons by terrorist groups or Syria becoming a haven for Al Qaeda.

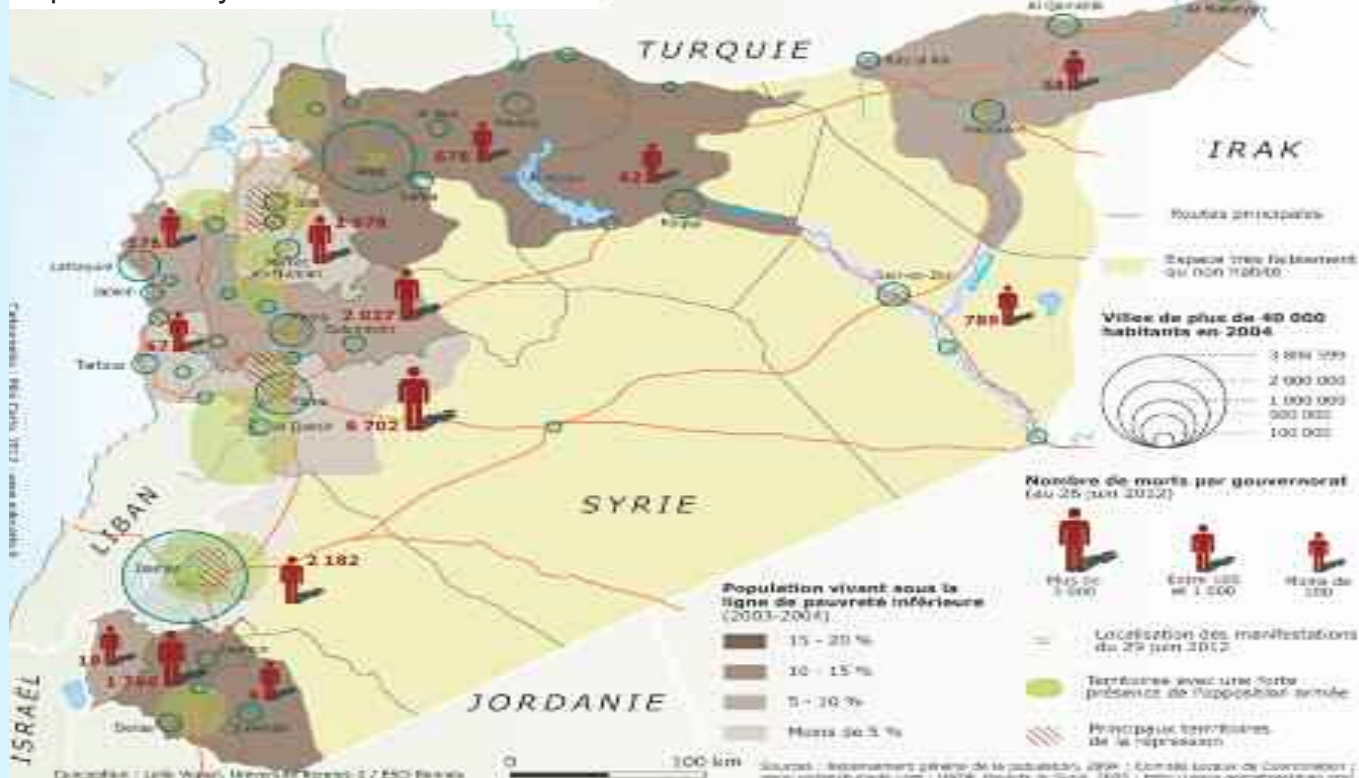
³³ However, the geopolitical repositioning is not based solely on the Sunni-Shia schism, it also relies on internal considerations and historical ties. Among the Sunni-dominated nations include firstly Tunisia, Libya and Egypt, which are stored in the revolutionary camp when it comes to supporting the protests and rebels in the region. On the other hand, conservative Gulf states for their support for the revolutions in Libya and Syria, helped suppress the uprising in Bahrain, contributed to the stability pact in Yemen and

providing generous support to Morocco and Jordan . In Tunisia and Egypt, the Gulf monarchies have first tried to keep the revs up, then eventually support conservative Salafist groups especially when they reached the evidence that the collapse of such schemes were inevitable. It should also be noted that these monarchies do not always have the same analysis and approach to regional problems while Qatar strongly supports the Muslim Brotherhood, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have constantly been worried about the growing influence of the Brothers in the region.

³⁴ The Russian-Syrian alliance is a way to counter the rise of Sunni extremism in North Caucasus

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Reprisals in Syria



the dismantling Plan and the Security Council Resolution of last September 27th.

The Syrian crisis: What is the opinion of Africa?

While the world, regional powers and the various international forums take active position and seeking a military and/or negotiated solution, Africa is silent. We can however mention on one side the position taken on an individual basis by some African countries: Tunisia, which has bridged its diplomatic relations with Damascus of February 2012 ; Morocco, which is suspicious of Hezbollah and Iran; Senegal, which had said that it would support the franco-american position if it was proven that the Syrian government was responsible for chemical attacks. On the other, South Africa, Algeria and Mauritania, who, while reaffirming their firm opposition to any foreign military intervention in Syria outside the framework established by international law, have demonstrated their support for a political settlement of the issue by means of an inclusive dialogue. Moreover, the African Union, which represents more than a quarter of the members of the United Nations, has so far not taken a clear and official position on the matter. This silence contributed to the marginalization of Africa on the international sphere, and excludes it from actors that are currently shaping and rebuilding new global geopolitics.

For some observers, this is an admittance of its inability to influence the major actors of the crisis. However, as Cheikh Tidiane Gadio says, "Africa cannot become closeted in silence. The peoples must not wait to be given a certificate to influence and impose themselves" [35] . Yet, the granting to Africa of a permanent seat in the Security Council will not remove Africa from its usual marginal position. African States should learn to make a block within the African Union, if they want to capitalize the possible permanent seat in the Security Council

In addition, the Syrian crisis seems not to only affect the northern part of Africa. Pan Arabian solidarity no doubt. Nonetheless, the confrontation is not only tough between the old regimes represented by Algeria, Sudan, Mauritania, and the revolutionary governments of Egypt, Tunisia and Libya but also between the laity and proponents of political Islam. The generalized silence of sub-Saharan Africa on the Syrian crises indicates two evidences:

- ▶ The indifference of sub-Saharan Africa which is indication of the lack of solidarity from the rest of Africa towards the Arab people whose largest number is found on the African continent;
- ▶ A confirmation of the idea that the Sahara would be a natural boundary between the two Africas. We can note that North Africa has never demonstrated a keen interest in black African conflicts.

³⁵ Cheikh Tidiane GADJO, ancien Ministre des Affaires Étrangères du Sénégal et dirigeant de l'Institut panafricain de stratégies, sur la Syrie, «l'Afrique ne peut pas se murer dans le silence», entretien avec Nicolas Champeaux, RFI, Article publié le : mercredi 28 août 2013.

The Syrian crisis: what scenarios in the short and medium term?

Are we going toward the end of the Syrian crisis? The agreement between Russia and the United States as well as the Resolution of the Security Council of the September 27, 2013 will increase the chances of a peaceful settlement. Yet, the holding in mid-November, of the Peace Conference in Syria, known as the "Geneva II", under the auspices of the United Nations and in the presence of delegations of the Syrian government and of the opposition, gives room to a negotiated outcome. We should however note the many postponements of this conference because of the divergences on its objectives and its stakeholders. However, in the light of the current situation characterized by the continuation of clashes on the ground, four possible solutions can be identified:

(1) A negotiated transition would be the more unlikely outcome because of the game developed by the different actors in the conflict, the conflicting interests of regional powers and the international disagreements on the analysis and resolutions of the conflict between the western powers, and Russia in this case.

(2) The continuation of fighting and the consolidation of the disintegration of the country seem to be the likely scenario due to the fact that each party is camped on its positions, including the military, and that external actors continue to support the belligerents. The impossibility of an early military solution would increase the massacres with the possibility of ethnic cleansing which would result to the fragmentation of the country into pro and anti-regime zones..

(3) A fall of the regime followed by a community civil war: the Libyan example allows to think that even in the case of a rebel victory massively supported by external actors, the fall of the regime will not necessarily mean the end of violence. The acts of vengeance against the former supporters of the politico-military apparatus, a probable ethnic cleansing and the fight between rebel factions for the control of portions of the territory are all factors favourable to the escalation toward a community civil war.

(4) A fall of the regime and the political transition: there is a broad consensus both within the political class and Syrian diaspora that this crisis should lead to a post-Assad order which will be democratic, pluralistic and inclusive in a united Syria. However, the impact of the civil war, the radicalisation of some rebel groups (with the interference in the conflict of Jihadists and foreign mercenaries), and the inability of the Syrian opposition policy

to unite and to structure themselves in a representative and credible body jeopardises the materialization of such a hypothesis.

The Syrian crisis is first and foremost a declination of the Arab spring, because it expresses the legitimate aspiration of a people to democracy, Human Rights and public freedoms, gender equality and to the end of the corruption. Unfortunately, the militarization of the parties, amplified by the interference of internal, regional and international lusts, has resulted in a brutal response of the Syrian governmental authorities.

Some experts consider that this crisis is not a simple episode of international relations, but a real turning point. They compare it to the Suez Crisis (1956). At the same time it demonstrates that the world is changing imperium [36], and becoming a test to relationships among the world powers. In addition, the Syrian crises marks a transition because American geopolitical unilateralism is less and less confirmed, as it is difficult to rally coalitions around the USA that can be a source of a legitimacy that may avoid a United Nations mandate. In the same vein, the emerging powers such as Europe are more concerned about the health of their economies, and open to avoid any instability that could harm them.

We are now entering into an era of fundamental difference between American interests, Europe and those of the rest of the world; which increases the importance of Russia or China in the settlement of matters concerning certain parts of the globe. In all, the countries will have to determine the extension of their respective powers, know what the other is capable and gauge what is their breaking point in relation to the means at their disposal. If this applies to powers with real military capacity (USA, China, Russia), it is rather unfortunate to recognize the nonexistence of military Europe. In the end, any development in the Middle East in terms of conflict, of borders, alliances and balance of forces will be largely dependent on the future progress of the Syrian crisis.



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³⁶ Selon certains experts, la crise syrienne semble ouvrir une période de transition vers l'établissement d'un condominium sino-américain sur le reste du Monde sur la base d'une logique d'adversaire-partenaire : adversaires, dans une lutte pour la suprématie ; partenaires, pour éviter l'émergence d'une troisième superpuissance susceptible de perturber le jeu. La guerre en Syrie

pourrait donc servir les intérêts stratégiques américains, car elle crée une tension (malgré la coopération) avec les russes et freine l'établissement d'une alliance stratégique entre l'Europe et la Russie (Jean-Bernard Pinatel, (général et chef d'entreprise) voir son blog : www.geopolitique-geostrategie.fr). L'on assiste à la résurgence de la quête traditionnelle d'un

équilibre jamais atteint parce que toujours instable des rapports de puissances, équilibre corrigé en permanence par le facteur nucléaire (François Géré, (historien. Spécialiste en géostratégie), entretiens avec Théophile Sourdille)



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