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UNDERSTANDING THE “WAR ON TERRORISM”: THE OIL & GAS INTERESTS -- PART 2 (AFRICA)¹

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Note: This paper is part of a series on understanding why we are fighting terrorism. There is nothing new in it that hasn't been published elsewhere, and of course the coverage of oil and gas activities is not comprehensive. The purpose of this paper is to compile some pertinent information together so that a pattern can be seen. In this paper I have tried to illustrate some trouble spots on the globe that have potential to be affected by the “war on terrorism” if US interests, or US corporate profits, are threatened. This particular paper is Part 2 of “The Oil and Gas Interests.” BA

In Part 1 of this series I quoted US Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham as saying that by 2020 US oil consumption will have risen 33 percent, gas consumption over 50 percent, and electricity demand by 45 percent; and that energy demands in the developing countries will jump over 100 percent.² Secretary Abraham also said: “We are committed to ensuring that America’s energy needs are not held hostage by politically unstable foreign suppliers.”³ Today (2002) the US consumes an average of 19.7 million barrels of oil per day.⁴ By 2020 that daily usage is expected to jump to 26 million barrels. Today (2002) America imports 52 percent of the oil used. By 2020 that dependence on imports will grow to 62 percent.

US Under Secretary of State Alan Larson set forth two primary goals of US energy security policy. The first is “to ensure that our economy has access to energy on terms and conditions that support economic growth and prosperity.” The second is “to ensure that the United States and its foreign policy can never be held hostage by foreign oil suppliers.”⁵ He went on to say that in addition

¹This paper addresses some of the most blatant US interventions but is not a comprehensive treatment of how indigenous people are repressed in order to further US energy industry interests. Likewise, the oil and gas issue is not the only factor pertaining to the “war on terrorism,” but it is a major one. In future companion papers to this I hope to address some of the other factors.

²Abraham, Spencer, 2 May 2002.

³Abraham, Spencer; 20 June 2002.

⁴One barrel of oil equals 42 gallons.

⁵Larson, Alan; 20 June 2002.

to managing a continuing trading relationship with Canada and Mexico, other important foreign policy initiatives are: 1) conducting a dialogue with Venezuela to build a more productive relationship, 2) developing multiple pipelines to connect the Caspian Basin to major transportation routes, 3) strengthening energy ties with Russia, 4) reevaluating Africa's role as a major energy supplier, and 5) encouraging Middle Eastern countries to open up certain areas of their energy sector to foreign investment. The first three of those foreign policy initiatives was examined in Part 1 of this series. In this part I'll address Africa.⁶ In future parts of this series I will discuss the Middle East, and also the Asia-Pacific region.

REEVALUATING AFRICA'S ROLE AS A MAJOR ENERGY SUPPLIER

Africa consists of 54 countries, most of them developing nations. The continent accounts for 15.3 percent of America's oil imports according to US Energy Department estimates, and by 2015 the US will obtain 25 percent of its oil needs from West Africa. The total proven oil reserves of the continent is 9.1 percent of the world's total. Africa also holds 8 percent of the world's proven gas reserves. Although Africa currently attracts less than one percent of global investment, the US is expected to invest \$35 billion in West African oil and gas in the next five years. For the last five years, the discovery rate in Africa has surpassed all other regions of the world.⁷

New oil discoveries off the Angolan and Nigerian coasts in 1997 attracted attention to Africa's potential. During the G8⁸ summit held in Canada during June 2002, US\$6 billion per year (half of the G8 share from the US) was allocated to Africa to help achieve "the objective of duty free and quota free market access for all products originating from the Least Developed Countries (LDCs), including African LDCs."⁹ The Bush Jr. administration has recognized Africa's emerging role as a major energy supplier. It has a strong policy interest in helping oil-producing countries to attain solid and sustainable economic development.

In spite of its potential, Africa is not a peaceful continent. Greg Engle, director of Africa Regional and Security Affairs for the US State Department on 5 December 2002 told a panel investigating terrorism in Africa that "Africa is a frontline in the war against terrorism.." He stressed that "we have to look at the causes of terrorism" in order to fight it effectively.¹⁰

One important factor making Africa a breeding ground for terror is the poverty, hunger, and disease on that continent. HIV/AIDS, in particular, has become out of control. At that same Senate-hosted panel, Dr. Richard Feachman, director of The Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Malaria, and Tuberculosis, stressed that African stability hinged on the battle against diseases which plague the populace. "We don't know how bad the HIV/AIDS pandemic is," he said while quoting the

⁶I had originally intended only two parts to this paper. But the Africa issue became so involved that I decided to make it Part 2 by itself.

⁷Oil and gas reserve statistics and future investment forecasts from Washington File, 19 November 2002.

⁸The Group of 8, or G8, consists of the seven most industrialized countries in the world plus Russia. Those seven industrialized countries are Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the US.

⁹Washington File, 27 June 2002.

¹⁰Washington File, 10 December 2002.

staggering statistics of the disease that has become the terror of Africa. The epidemic will not peak until 2050 or 2060. The current rate of infection in southern Africa is 40% but it reaches 70% in some areas. "Africa will get much worse if we continue to do what we are doing," said Feachman. "We have done far too little far too late."¹¹

Terrorist activity in Africa has also resulted from civil unrest and the spillover from regional wars (those which spread over national borders). The Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and South Africa have had their share of violence and kidnappings. Recent disturbances in Angola, Sierra Leone, and the Ivory Coast are other examples. Yet another example is the Sahrawi people of the western Sahara who have struggled for 27 years to end Moroccan occupation of their territory, and to resist a current French/US initiative which -- in contrast to several UN resolutions on Sahrawi independence -- seeks to make Sahara an autonomous Moroccan province. Tom O'Connor puts it very succinctly:

Africa in general has serious political problems. Unemployment runs at about 30 percent or more. Military spending is rampant.... It's not at all safe for journalists, foreigners, or international peacekeepers, and it's hard to tell combatants from noncombatants with all the insurgencies, rebellions, militias, proxy and civil wars.

African terrorism revolves around state, ethnic, religious, and tribal animosities. Dictatorships are common, and frequently produce state-sponsored terrorism. Ethnic cleansing and genocide are common at the hands of militia groups. Religious battles go on between the major denominations and hundreds of tribal religions.... To understand the mess that is Africa requires an understanding of anti-colonialism as a source of terrorism.¹²

I won't go into historical detail of colonialism in Africa but the information in this paper will address one form of modern colonialism -- the exploitation of hydrocarbon resources -- which, after all, is one of the two primary sources of today's international terrorist activity. (The other primary source is the existence of Israel.)

International terrorists with Islamic ties use indigenous conflict along with porous borders, lax financial systems, and widespread availability of weapons to their advantage. International terrorist groups flourish in weak governments unable to monitor their activities. East Africa is infested with Islamist terrorist cells.¹³ The unexpected violence encountered by US troops in Somalia late in 1993, and which ultimately led to their withdrawal, was an international terrorist incident¹⁴ orchestrated by Sudan, Iran, and Pakistan; with Osama bin Laden in charge of logistics. The assassination attempt on Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, which took place on 26 June 1995 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, was an international terrorist incident. The US embassy bombings in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, both of which took place on 7 August 1998, were international terrorist incidents. Since 1995, significant international terrorist incidents in sub-Saharan and eastern

¹¹Washington File, 10 December 2002.

¹²O'Connor, Tom. For a good overview on the volatility of Africa I recommend reading his syllabus entitled "Africa." (See references)

¹³I will use the term "Islamist" (as distinct from Islamic) as reference to a follower of the extremist, fundamentalist form of Islam. In other words, a militant Muslim terrorist.

¹⁴According to the US Government's Incident Review Panel criteria: an International Terrorist Incident is judged significant if it results in loss of life or serious injury to persons, abduction or kidnapping of persons, major property damage, and/or an act or attempted act that could reasonably be expected to create the conditions noted.

Africa have increased, as indicated below. This list, compiled from US State Department documents, does not include data on northern Africa -- Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia. These countries will be discussed later in this paper.

- 1995 Ten, taking place in Angola, Chad, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, and Somalia. (Down from 24 attacks in 1994.
- 1996 Eleven, taking place in Ethiopia and Uganda.
- 1997 Eleven, taking place in Angola, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Somalia, South Africa, and Uganda. Civil war and ethnic violence in parts of Africa overshadowed individual attacks.
- 1998 Twenty two, taking place in Angola, Central Africa Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo (Zaire), Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Somalia, Tanzania, and Uganda.
- 1999 Thirteen, taking place in Angola, Ethiopia, Liberia, and Uganda. In addition: Nigeria experienced bloody indigenous feuds, kidnaping of more than three dozen foreign oil workers, and violence against oil firms. Sierra Leone experienced the last gasp insurgent offensive before a peace agreement, but subsequent violent flareups and kidnappings of foreigners, including UN observers and peacekeepers, continued. In Lusaka, Zambia, at least 16 bombs exploded on February 28th.
- 2000 This year witnessed an increase in terrorist attacks against foreigners and foreign interests -- an increasing trend since 1995. International terrorist cells such as Lebanese HizbAllah and Egyptian terrorist groups continue to operate in Africa with an increasing threat to US interests. Particularly violent were Angola, Guinea, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and South Africa.
- 2001 Twenty eight, taking place in Angola. Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Namibia, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda.

Aggravating the political unrest, or possibly vice versa, are the social conditions in most African countries.

It is this environment -- poverty, malnutrition, disease, violence and terrorism stemming from civil unrest and regional wars, and international terrorism -- that US petroleum companies face in making Africa one of America's major energy suppliers. Although international terrorism has been active in East Africa since the early 1990s, it is now showing its first signs in West Africa, which can be epitomized by the riots in Nigeria centered on Sharia law and Islamic sensitivity. I will go into that in its proper place.

AFRICA'S TOP 5 OIL PRODUCERS

As of mid-2000, five countries account for 85 percent of Africa's oil production. In alphabetical order they are Algeria, Angola, Egypt, Libya, and Nigeria. These countries will be labeled in **RED** on the accompanying Africa map. (See Appendix-A for a map listing all the countries of Africa)

Algeria.

After a century of rule by France, Algeria (population 32.3 million) became independent in 1962. The country is 99 percent Sunni Muslim. In the December 1991 elections, the fundamentalist

Islamic Salvation Front was emerging so successfully as a political party that the army intervened and elections were postponed. Carefully controlled elections were eventually permitted which featured only pro-government and moderate religious-based parties. The subsequent terrorist-type civil conflict with the government continued until January 2000, when armed Islamists disbanded and many turned themselves in under an amnesty program. Nevertheless, residual fighting continues.

Algeria is a long-established oil producing country and a member of OPEC.¹⁵ Oil and gas comprise 95 percent of the country's exports and 25-35 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP). With proven oil reserves of 9.2 billion barrels and proven natural gas reserves of 160 trillion cubic feet, Algeria is highly dependent on the industry. It is the world's 16th largest oil producer and 6th largest gas producer. With five refineries it also exports refined products -- it is the world's 2nd largest exporter of liquified petroleum gas (LPG -- propane and butane). The oil fields are located mostly in eastern Algeria near the border with Tunisia and Libya. Gas fields are more in the center of the country.



The Algerian government has taken strong steps to quell the fighting between Islamist extremists and government security forces. Political unrest doesn't seem to deter foreign investors, however. The Anadarko Petroleum Corporation (Houston, Texas) has been exploring and producing in three of Algeria's oil fields, and has a 50 percent share in them. Amerada Hess Corporation (New York, New York) has also been exploring and producing. During his visit to Washington and the American oil capital, Houston, in early November 2001, Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika tried to exchange consultation from Algeria's decades-long experience in fighting terrorism for stronger US support of the western Sahara Sahrawi people against Morocco, and for more US investment in Algeria's oil and gas sector.

Although Algeria is a major oil producing country, it is considered largely unexplored. Furthermore, Algeria's state-owned petroleum company, Sonatrach -- by far Africa's largest corporation and the 12th largest petroleum corporation in the world -- was scheduled to become a private company in 2002, which forces it to expand internationally.¹⁶ This should further attract US oil companies which have been encouraging Algeria to open up areas of its energy sector to foreign investment.

¹⁵OPEC was founded in Baghdad in 1960. Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela (South America) were the five founding members. Algeria (northern Africa), Ecuador (South America), Gabon (central Africa), Indonesia (southwest Asia), Libya, Nigeria (central Africa), Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates were admitted in the early 1970s, making a total of 13 members.

¹⁶Sonatrach presently handles everything from exploration and production to marketing and distribution. When it is privatized, it will also be divested of some functions. And will have to compete with foreign companies for new exploration and production.

However, turmoil has been significant in Algeria. Since 1991, the violence caused by militant Islamists has killed more than 100,000 people. The 1994 hijack of an Air France airliner at Algiers (capital of Algeria) by Algerian terrorists was one of the last acts of international terrorism before the government cracked down. They had planned to crash the aircraft into the Eiffel Tower but were stormed by French commandos during a refueling stop in Marseilles.

When the Algerian government did crack down in 1994, it seemed to diminish terrorist acts in its jurisdiction. That is probably why foreign corporations are now willing to risk investment there. Nevertheless, some small terrorist cells still continue attacks from mountain bases. In addition, Algerian president Abdelaziz Bouteflika is one of the Mideast leaders deemed a puppet for western interests by global Islamic terrorists, and is thus marked for assassination.¹⁷

Much of today's global terrorism has its roots in Algeria because the government crackdown has sent Islamist radicals scurrying to Europe and Canada. Stephen Cook, an expert on Algeria at the Brookings Institute, is "quite confident there are Algerian [terrorist] cells spread all over Europe, Canada, and the United States."¹⁸

This was exemplified by a string of terrorist arrests during the two months following the September 11th attack on New York and Washington D.C. Algerian Lofti Raissi was charged in Britain as a lead instructor for some of the hijackers of American Airlines flight 77 which crashed into the Pentagon. French-Algerian Djamel Beghal is suspected by French authorities as leader of a cell planning an attack on the US Embassy in Paris and other US and European targets. Six Algerians are suspected by French authorities of being trained by bin Laden to bomb a cathedral and Christmas market in Strasbourg. Algerians were among eleven suspected terrorists with links to Al Qaida¹⁹ that were arrested in Spain. Algerian Samir Ati Mohamed was arrested by Canadian authorities for helping Algerian Ahmed Ressay plan to bomb Los Angeles airport. (Ressay was arrested in December 1999 when trying to cross from Canada to the US with explosives. Another Algerian arrested earlier is Hassan Hattab, also known as Abu-Hamza. He was arrested in Belgium in late May 1998 in a conspiracy to attack the World Cup games.) Abu Doha was arrested in Britain in February 2002 as the mastermind of the failed 1999 attempt to bomb the Los Angeles airport. On 9 November 2002, three Algerians -- Rabah Kadre, Rabah Cheaj Bias, and Karim Kadouri -- were arrested in Britain on suspicion of terrorist activity and connections with Al Qaida. Kadre is believed to be the current leader of the Algerian-dominated terrorist network based in London. Since the September 11th attack, Algeria has provided a list of 1,500 Algerian extremists operating at home and abroad. That country is a ticking time bomb for terrorist activity.

The US has been wooing Algeria for closer relations. A US-Algerian Chamber of Commerce has been set up in Algiers and a US-Algerian Business Council has been set up in the US. There have been a string of diplomats visiting Algeria in 2002 -- the US Deputy Secretary of Commerce, the NATO Supreme Allied Commander (a US General), the US Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, and the US Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs. There has also been a corresponding flow of Algerian diplomatic visitors to the US. On 8 November 2002 in Algiers, US

¹⁷Bodansky, p. 271.

¹⁸Cited in Hiel.

¹⁹Yossef Bodansky says: "Bin Laden's first charity, al Qaidah [commonly spelled Al Qaida] never amounted to more than a loose umbrella framework for supporting like-minded individuals and their causes... al Qaidah has been portrayed in the West as a cohesive terrorist organization, but it is not." See Bodansky, page 315.

Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Marc Grossman outlined three US-Algerian goals: simultaneous work in anti-terrorism, democratic reform, and economic cooperation. He pointed out that the three were closely related. Of course they are. They all provide a healthy business climate for US corporations. He also said that if Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria would integrate their market it would entice more US investment in the region. That would mean solving their political problems, including the disputed territory in the Western Sahara.

At the same time as Grossman's visit to Algeria, a "Liquified Natural Gas (LNG) Summit" was taking place in Washington D.C. where US and Algerian energy officials were discussing the future of LNG exports to the United States. The US is striving hard for a foothold in Algeria. Yet, if that foothold were achieved it would inevitably set off Islamist resistance to that increased western involvement.

Angola.

Angola (population 10.4 million) received its independence from Portugal in 1975 and has been in turmoil ever since. It is 47 percent indigenous beliefs, 38 Percent Roman Catholic, and 15 percent Protestant.

In 1492 Diogo Cao erected a stone monument at the mouth of the Congo River to mark Portugal's entrance into Angola. For the next 483 years Portugal would exploit Angola's valuable resources -- first slaves, then rubber, to diamonds, and coffee, finally oil. Angola was granted independence from Portugal on 11 November 1975. This was followed by 19 years of civil war in which one side was supported and supplied by the US and the other by the Soviet Union.²⁰ A peace agreement of sorts was reached in 1994 between the government and the opposition party -- the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). But fighting erupted again in 1998. It was not until the death of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi in February 2002 that a peaceful compromise seemed possible.

Throughout the civil war, oil was the only stable aspect of the Angolan economy, which was in tatters. In 1995, oil provided 83.5 percent of government revenues and 96.5 percent of export income. Oil was first discovered south of Luanda, Angola's capital, in 1910 but there was no effort to develop the field until the 1950s. Other fields were discovered during the 1960s, but it was not until offshore deposits were found in 1968 that oil became a significant contributor to the economy. At least 80 percent of Angola's production now comes from offshore wells.

Many foreign oil firms are involved in Angola but US companies, or companies that have subsidiaries in the US, predominate. They are:

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| -- BP-Amoco-Arco | Holds interests in several exploration and production facilities. |
| -- Chevron-Texaco | Through its subsidiary Cabina Gulf Oil Company Limited (CABGOC), it is the operator of two offshore concessions. |
| -- Conoco-Phillips | Has a concession for exploration. |
| -- Exxon-Mobil | Through its subsidiary Esso, it holds interests in several exploration and production facilities. |
| -- Haliburton Corp. | Through its subsidiary, Brown & Root, it is conducting an engineering study on behalf of Exxon-Mobil (Esso) for a deepwater project. Halliburton Energy Services is also a contractor and equipment supplier in Angola. |

²⁰For a good account of US involvement and deception right after Angola became independent see *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story*, by John Stockwell (W.W. Norton, New York/London, 1978). Stockwell was the Chief of the CIA Angola Task Force.

- Marathon Oil Company (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) Has concessions in two offshore blocks
- TotalFinaElf (Total is US affiliate) Through its subsidiary Total-Angola, it has interests in several offshore oil fields.

With the apparent return of peace, Angola has been tagged as a high priority for the oil and gas sector. With a proven reserves of 8.6 billion barrels of oil and 5.9 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, it is the second largest producer in Africa. Yet, although the future may look promising for business, that perception may be an illusion. Over half of the 10.4 million people are unemployed or underemployed. Up to 1.5 million people have been killed in the decades of war and hundreds of thousands are homeless. Rehabilitating the ex-UNITA rebels and integrating them into the political system is a challenge. Angola still holds formidable risks. Travel warnings are posted for this country and it is a dangerous place for Americans, particularly American business people.

Egypt.

Egypt (population 70.7 million) became nominally independent from Britain on 28 February 1922, and achieved full sovereignty following World War II. The country is 94 percent Muslim (mostly Sunni). Only 3 percent of its land is arable and there are no permanent crops. Oil and natural gas top the list of its natural resources. Egypt is also of strategic importance as operator of the Suez Canal between the Mediterranean and Red Seas.

Egypt currently produces enough oil to export but that may soon change. It is feared that sometime between 2005 and 2010 the country will not be able to produce enough for its own needs. For that reason, the government is encouraging exploration. The Egyptian General Petroleum Company (EGPC) was created in 1962 and is responsible for all oil and gas activities. EGPC is government-owned with no current plans to privatize. Egypt's proven oil reserves are 2.9 billion barrels. Its natural gas reserves are 55 trillion cubic feet.

The US firms, or firms with US affiliates with Egyptian concessions for oil and gas production/exploration are:

- Apache (Houston, TX) Oil and gas production.
- BP-Amoco-Arco Oil and gas production and exploration.
- Exxon-Mobil Oil and Gas exploration.
- Marathon (Pittsburgh, PA) Gas production.
- Seagull (Houston, TX) Oil Production.
- Shell Oil and gas production and exploration.
- TotalFinaElf (Total a US affiliate) Oil and Gas exploration.

Egypt not only has a long history of terrorism but also the reputation as a main breeding ground for terrorists and their leaders. One of the earliest rounds of terrorism had its beginning in 1977 when then Egyptian president Anwar Sadat visited Israel seeking peace between the two countries. To seek a compromise with the Jewish state shocked the Arab world. The Camp David Accords were signed in 1978 and that led to the Egyptian-Israel Peace Treaty in March 1979. Sadat's increasing repression of domestic opposition led to his assassination in October 1981 by an extremist Muslim group.

Hosni Mubarak took over the presidency in 1981 with the goal of creating a secular state. He was faced with balancing this goal along with the best elements of Sadat's regime vis a vis the

demands of extremists to create an Islamic state (i.e. a state governed by the rules of Islam as perceived by the Islamic fundamentalists). Ever since the signing of the Egyptian-Israel Peace Treaty, Egypt has been embroiled with sporadic terrorist activity. Mubarak has responded with force by inflicting unacceptable punishment in an effort to deter the terrorists. This has simply incited more terrorist acts. The stated aim of the fundamentalist groups has been to kill Mubarak and install a purely Islamic government devoid of Western influence and corruption, and impose strict Islamic law. Mubarak's entire administration has been in a state of emergency.

One major Egyptian terrorist organization founded in the late 1970s, and which was responsible for the 1981 assassination of President Sadat, is the Gama'at al-islamiyya (the Islamic Group).²¹ It was established by radical Islamic theologians, lawyers, and former army intelligence officers. Most noted of the founding fathers was theologian Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman, who is now serving a life sentence in the US for his part in the February 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center. The original founding former army officers are all serving life terms in Egypt. Today the Islamic Group has no known leader, although Sheikh Rahman remains their spiritual leader. It is believed to have several hundred trained militant operators among their several thousand members along with another several thousand sympathizers.

Since 1992, following Mubarak's strong support for the US coalition during the Persian Gulf war, terrorist activity in Egypt has become worse. The Islamic Group has taken responsibility for the assassination of secular commentator Farag Foda in 1992 and the assassination attempt on Nobel literature laureate Naguib Mahfouz in 1994. The group also helped plan the failed assassination attempt of President Mubarak during his visit to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 26 June 1995.²²

Destruction of Egypt's lucrative tourist industry has been a major objective of terrorists. The Islamic Group claimed responsibility for the April 1996 shooting deaths of 18 Greek tourists outside their hotel in Cairo. Sympathizers of the Islamic Group attacked a bus outside Cairo's Egyptian museum in September 1997. Nine German tourists and their Egyptian bus driver were killed. From 1992 through 1997 almost 1,200 people, including 92 foreigners, have been killed by terrorist activity.

Exiled Egyptian terrorist leaders have also had significant impact on the international terrorist movement. Most renown among them is Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri. He was a senior military commander in the Islamic Jihad in Egypt before he was forced into exile during one of Mubarak's Islamist purges of the mid-1980s. Since then he has become Osama bin Laden's closest companion.

On 15 November 1995, Zawahiri's group assassinated Alaa al-Din Nazmi in Geneva. Nazmi was Egypt's number two diplomat to Switzerland. Four days later, on November 19th, a small car crashed through the gates of the Egyptian embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan. The driver carried a small bomb into the embassy lobby and blew himself up, causing the visa-seekers in the lobby to move toward the front entrance. Then a pickup van loaded with explosives rushed through the smashed gates and crashed into the lobby entrance. A large explosion killed an additional nineteen people, including the van's driver, and wounded more than sixty. This was also attributed to Zawahiri's organization.

²¹It is difficult to determine if the various Egyptian terrorist groups referred to by different authors are actually different groups of merely different names for the same group. Some prominent names are Al-Jihad, the Egyptian Group, and the Egyptian Jihad Group. One thing is certain, regardless of names they are today all part of a coalition of international terrorists.

²²Although the Egyptian group played a major role in carrying out the assassination attempt on President Mubarak, the actual planning was done at a higher international level in Sudan and Iran.

In October 1997, Zawahiri's Egyptian Jihad Group (also known as the Armed Vanguard of Conquest) was a party to a major communique declaring a forthcoming terrorist jihad.²³ It declared: "The United States realizes that its real enemy, as it has declared many times, is Islamic extremism, by which it means the Islamic Jihad, the Jihad of the entire Muslim Nation against the world dominance of America, the international influence of the Jews, and the US occupation of Muslim lands. The Islamic Jihad is against the theft of the Muslim Nation's riches, this disgusting robbery, the like of which has not been witnessed in history."²⁴ The World Islamic Front For Jihad Against Jews And Crusaders was reorganized in 1998 with bin Laden and Zawahiri, along with a nucleus of dedicated leaders, at its core. The US now has a \$5 million reward posted for information leading to Zawahiri.

Egypt has always been a strong US ally in the Arab world -- the strongest in northern Africa. But an event in late autumn of 1997 changed that. Yossef Bodansky, director of the US House of Representatives Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare, describes an event that effectively realigned Egypt with the terrorist sponsoring states and against the US.²⁵ He writes: "If very senior Islamist terrorist leaders are to be believed, the Clinton administration was willing to tolerate the overthrow of the Mubarak government in Egypt and the establishment of an Islamic state in its stead as an acceptable exchange for reducing the terrorist activities against US forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina."²⁶ Bodansky then explains that this deal was proposed in a meeting between a known Arab-American CIA emissary, Abu-Umar al-Amriki (al-Amriki means "the American") and Zawahiri. The meeting took place in a terrorist training camp at Peshawar, Pakistan, near the Afghanistan border.

On 17 November 1997, a bloody massacre of 58 foreign tourists and four Egyptians took place in Luxor, Egypt. It was the worst terrorist attack in Egypt to date. Observers insist this attack was actually a test of Abu-Umar al-Amriki's credibility, and his authority to offer such a deal for the US. Bodansky explains: "The virtually deafening silence of the Clinton administration had to reassure Zawahiri and bin Laden that Abu-Umar al-Amriki had spoken with its backing, and a rejuvenated call to arms followed."²⁷

Whether reports on the meeting between Abu-Umar al-Amriki and Zawahiri are true or not, when Cairo got wind of them in mid-December 1997, President Mubarak believed them and acted accordingly. He knew that it was only due to massive US support that Egypt did not become an Islamic state. He also knew that if US support was withdrawn, the Egyptian Islamic fundamentalists, aided by their sponsoring states Iran and Sudan, would begin a new drive. The Abu-Umar al-Amriki incident was the final blow to Mubarak's earlier suspicions that the CIA was conspiring with Israel's Mosad intelligence agency. He recognized that his future lay with joining the Iranian-led strategic alliance and participating in any future war with Israel. "By early 1998 ... Egypt emerged as a militant

²³Jihad is the Islamic term for "Holy War."

²⁴Cited in Bodansky, p. 210.

²⁵See Bodansky, pp. 212-217.

²⁶Bodansky, p. 212.

²⁷Bodansky, p. 213.

leader in the Arab world and a dominant actor in regional strategic dynamics.”²⁸ During the month of Ramadan 2002, Egyptian television -- both government and private -- aired a 40-part series called “Horseman Without A Horse,” reported to be about a Zionist conspiracy to control Arab lands. The US State Department objected prior to the series, but Egyptian Information Minister Safwat Al Sharif denied that the program contained anti-Semitic material.

This is the increasingly anti-American atmosphere in which US petroleum companies will have to operate. Protection by the US military will be essential if all the new exploration for oil and gas in Egypt proves successful. According to a survey of 38,000 people in 44 countries by the US-based Pew Research Center, some of the strongest anti-Americanism is in Egypt.²⁹

Libya.

Libya (population 5.4 million) became independent from Italy on 24 December 1951. The country is 97 percent Sunni Muslim. Only 1 percent of its land is arable and Libya imports 75 percent of its food. The main export commodities are crude oil and refined petroleum products.. Libya’s Revolutionary Leader, Colonel Muammar Abu Minyar al-Qadhafi, became chief of state on 1 September 1969, after a military coup.³⁰ The government is a combination of socialism and Islamic law, but for all practical purposes is a military dictatorship. During the 1970s and 1980s, Qadhafi used his power to spread his ideology abroad. That included support for subversives and terrorists.

Libya is a significant oil producer. It is also a major exporter of crude oil and refined petroleum products to Europe. It became a member of OPEC in 1962 but still depends on foreign investment to keep the oil business going. With proven reserves of 29.5 billion barrels, oil is the mainstay of the country’s economy and accounts for 75-90 percent of state revenues. Proven natural gas reserves are estimated at 46.4 trillion cubic feet. Nevertheless, largely due to US and UN sanctions (to be explained below), Libya’s oil and gas resources have been largely unexploited. But now that UN sanctions have been lifted, a survey of 76 global oil companies indicates that Libya is the top priority for oil exploration and production.³¹

Established in 1968, the government-owned National Oil Company (NOC) -- with its 33 subsidiaries -- controls the entire gas and oil industry. Libya has three refineries which it plans to update in addition to building new ones. Also, with natural gas becoming the choice fuel for generating electricity, and the European Union representing the biggest users for gas-fired generators, the future for Libya’s gas industry looks good. Africa, as a whole, is estimated to contain 394 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, eight percent of worldwide reserves. A huge portion of this is in Libya.

Qadhafi and Libya have been blamed for sponsoring several terrorist incidents over the past decades. They are:

- 1972 Kidnaping of Israeli team at the Munich Olympics. (Libya was apparently later exonerated of this act.)
- 1984 Shooting death of British policewoman Yvonne Fletcher outside a Libyan government office in London. One report said the gunfire came from the Libyan embassy.³²

²⁸Bodansky, p. 217.

²⁹BBC News, 5 December 2002.

³⁰Numerous spellings of Qadhafi’s name have been used: Qaddafi, Quaddafi, Kadafi, Kaddafi, Gadaffi, Gadhafi, etc. I will use the spelling presented in the CIA’s *The World Factbook 2002* except in direct quotations.

³¹MBendi, “Libya: Oil And Gas Industry.”

³²See BBC News, 3 December 1999.

- 1986 (April 5th) Bombing of the La Belle discotheque in West Berlin.³³ Three people were killed -- two US servicemen and a Turkish woman -- and some 230 were wounded. A German court on 13 November 2001 found four people guilty (one a former Libyan diplomat) and acquitted a fifth. In retaliation, the US bombed Tripoli, capital of Libya, killing 101 people, including three dozen civilians.
- 1988 (December 21st) Bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Scotland. 270 people were killed -- 259 passengers and crew plus 11 on the ground at Lockerbie, Scotland..
- 1989 Bombing of a French airliner over Niger. A French court in 1999 convicted six Libyans for their role in this incident.

Some think that Libyan opposition politicians living in Britain were assassinated by Libyan agents during the 1980s and 1990s. Others say Libya backed assassination plots against the presidents of Chad, Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, and Zaire. Qadhafi has also been accused of training, equipping, funding, harboring, and otherwise supporting Palestinian terrorist groups, the Irish Republican Army, a Basque separatist group, and Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front. One thing that everyone seems to agree with is that Libya does not have ties to Osama Bin-Laden.³⁴ In fact, Qadhafi has cracked down on extreme fundamentalist Muslims since they tried to assassinate him in 1998.

Qadhafi has consistently maintained that Libya was not responsible for those terrorist incidents and does not support terrorism. There are legends of CIA involvement, reports of buying off witnesses, and other sinister stories about manipulation of evidence and facts. It is not the purpose of this paper to delve into this debate but one author's treatment of Libya's side in the dispute is given in the references.³⁵

Trade sanctions were first imposed by the United States in 1978 and were gradually strengthened as evidence of more Libyan-sponsored terrorism surfaced. On 2 May 1980 The US recalled its ambassador from Libya. Nevertheless, terrorism thought to be sponsored by Libya continued to increase, including the assassination of the British policewoman and the German Disco bombing. Then followed the bombings of Pan Am 103 and the French airliner.

Libya still denied any complicity and refused to extradite suspected terrorists. So, in April 1992 the United Nations also imposed trade sanctions until Libya shaped up and turned over for trial the suspects in the Pan Am 103 bombing. This forced foreign oil companies to cease operations in Libya and that country's economy started sagging.

Libya's support for terrorism markedly decreased after UN sanctions were imposed. Qadhafi started cooperating with the anti-terrorist movement -- even furnishing intelligence on terrorist activities and methods. It is also reported that Libya closed down terrorist training camps and expelled terrorist groups. Perhaps that action wasn't as pure as it seems. According to Yossef Bodansky, director of the Congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare:

³³As a prelude to the National Security Agency (NSA) performance prior to the 9-11 attack on the US, the NSA had intercepted Libyan diplomatic messages discussing the disco bombing prior to the event, but due to a shortage of translators was unable to interpret the message until it was too late. (See Bamford, p. 553)

³⁴The US State Department does list the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group as having links to Al-Qaeda, but this group apparently has no ties to the Libyan government.

³⁵For a treatment of Libya's side of this dispute see Tolworthy.

The Pakistani-Afghan terrorist infrastructure for the international Islamist movement increased in importance in 1991 in the aftermath of the international pressure and consequent sanctions on Libya because of Muammar al-Qadhafi's support for international terrorism. At the time two Libyan intelligence operatives were indicted by the United States for their role in the midair explosion of Pan Am 103 in December 1989. Strict international sanctions have been imposed on Libya until the two are extradited to stand trial and so, although fully committed to the escalation of the terrorist struggle, Tripoli decided to take precautions beyond the heralded expulsion of terrorists. Libyan intelligence began transferring some of its training installations into other countries, including Sudan and Pakistan-Afghanistan, where active training of Islamist terrorists was already taking place. Most important was the Libyan upgrading of the terrorist infrastructure in the camps of the Afghan resistance both in Pakistan and just across the border inside Afghanistan because, as Qadhafi pointed out in December 1991, "Afghanistan is open to anyone who wants to train."³⁶

Still Qadhafi would not accept blame or release the suspects for trial. To apply more pressure, the US in 1996 imposed a stronger unilateral embargo in the form of the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA). The ILSA bars any foreign company with investments exceeding US\$40 million annually in Libya's oil and gas fields from doing business in the US. This apparently added the last necessary incentive for Qadhafi because on 5 April 1999 he extradited the two Pan Am 103 bombing suspects to Scotland for trial. Libya also paid compensation for the 1994 shooting of a British policewoman and the 1999 bombing of a French airliner, but offered no apologies and accepted no blame for any terrorist action. Perhaps this change of heart was only a result of pressure and merely intended to mitigate Libya's reputation for supporting terrorism. There are some who say Qadhafi was only trying to improve foreign relations in an attempt to revive foreign investment in his oil fields and save his own regime.³⁷

After these concessions by Qadhafi, the UN in 1999, over US objections, suspended its sanctions. In November 1999, Britain restored full diplomatic relations with Libya after it paid compensation for the shooting of policewoman Yvonne Fletcher in 1994. Since then Libya's economy has improved and foreign oil companies, excluding US companies, returned to operations in Libya. The US-imposed ILSA has been largely ignored by other countries since suspension of UN sanctions.

In a Scottish court, the Pan Am 103 bombing suspects in January 2001 heard their verdicts. Libyan intelligence agent, Abdel Basset Ali al-Megrahi was found guilty of murder for smuggling explosives aboard the Pan Am airliner. His co-defendant, Libyan Arab Airlines employee Al-Amin Khalifa Fhima, was acquitted because the case against him could not be proved beyond a reasonable doubt. President George Bush (Jr.) Announced that the US would continue its sanctions. On 27 July 2001, Congress extended the ILSA for another five years. The US still requires that Libya 1) pay compensation for the terrorist acts, 2) admit guilt for the acts, 3) renounce terrorism and terrorist acts, and 4) tell all it knows about the terrorist acts that were committed. These are also requirements for the UN Security Council to completely lift its sanctions. (UN sanctions were only suspended in 1999, not removed.)

Libya denounced the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the US, and has shared intelligence information ever since. Qadhafi claims he has refused to harbor terrorists who have fled Afghanistan and will not allow any terrorist network to take refuge in Libya. In a July 2002 speech

³⁶Bodansky, pp. 47-48.

³⁷For instance, see Council on Foreign Relations.

in South Africa, Qadhafi strongly denounced terrorism and assured the world that Libya plays an important part in the war on terrorism. Probably the most forceful remark of his speech regarding terrorists was: "We term them heretics, actually. They are non-Muslims. They are outside Islam.... These are terrorist peoples, and actually they are crazy and mad.... They are really dangerous and they don't use law, they do not accept law, they do not allow you even to talk to them, and they should be dealt with accordingly."³⁸

Qadhafi has also responded to the requirement concerning compensation. In May 2002 he offered US\$2.7 billion in reparation for the Pan Am 103 bombing --US\$10 million to each of the 270 victims' families -- in return for lifting US and UN sanctions. 181 of the victims were from the US. The money would be placed in escrow and released as sanctions are revoked -- 40 percent when US sanctions are lifted, 40 percent when UN sanctions are completely removed, and 20 percent when Libya is removed from the US list as a sponsor of international terrorism.³⁹

It seems obvious that much of Qadhafi's change of stance is geared toward removing sanctions which have cost him billions of dollars. Some US officials believe Libya should be rewarded for sharing intelligence since to 9-11 attack on the US. The US State Department admits no credible evidence that Libya has backed any terrorist act since 1994.

More recently, a new impediment has surfaced regarding lifting sanctions against Libya. The Council on Foreign relations says: "The United States also remains concerned about Libya's attempts to acquire weapons of mass destruction."⁴⁰ US intelligence agencies now say Libya has weapons of mass destruction -- that it used mustard gas during its 1987 border dispute with Chad and has a chemical weapons program, that it is conducting bioweapons research but cannot yet produce large amounts of weaponized agents, and that it has been futilely trying since the 1970s to obtain nuclear weapons and delivery systems.⁴¹

Nevertheless, it is difficult to understand, considering Libya's vast resources in oil and gas, why the US keeps Libya on its black list when the country has essentially complied with all demands except admitting blame. Meanwhile, foreign oil companies are scampering for the business.

Libya's National Oil Corporation (NOC) runs the oil and gas sector. Italy's Agni and Eni are the most active for petroleum production and exploration in Libya. Others are Repsol-YPF (Spain), Canadian Occidental, OMV (Austria), Veba (Germany), Lasmo (Britain -- affiliated with US Amerada Hess), Petronas (Malaysia), Nimr Petroleum (Saudi Arabia), Lundin Oil (Sweden), Husky Oil (Canada), Red Sea Oil Corp. (Canada), PanCanadian, Pedco (South Korea), Petrobras (Brazil), Petro-Canada (Canada), Saga (Norway), Wintershall (Germany), Shell International (has a US affiliate -- Shell USA), and TotalFinaElf (France -- US affiliate is Total). At least three of these companies -- Lasmo, Shell, and TotalFinaElf -- don't seem to be hindered by the ILSA from doing business in the US, even though they have interests in Libyan oil.

Two US companies, Exxon and Mobil (now combined as Exxon-Mobil) operated in Libya until 1982. Five others -- Amerada Hess (New York, New York), Conoco (now Conoco-Phillips), Grace Petroleum (Dallas, Texas), Marathon (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), and Occidental Petroleum (Dallas Texas) -- operated in Libya until they were ordered out in 1986 by President Reagan.

³⁸CNN, 11 July 2002.

³⁹See Associated Press, 29 May 2002.

⁴⁰See Council On Foreign Relations.

⁴¹See Council On Foreign Relations.

In December 1999, executives from four of these US companies visited Libya with US approval. They were told that if they returned they would be able to operate out of the same fields they had previously. Then in early 2001 Libya contacted these companies telling them time was running out. Libya wanted to develop these fields and was considering giving them to European companies. In September 2001 Libya gave these companies one year to make use of their concessions or risk losing them. The US State Department immediately warned Libya that it must protect US interests even though they have laid dormant for 15 years. The State Department warned that any move to compromise US interests would be a block toward developing the kind of relationship with the US that Libya wants to develop. In March 2002 the US State Department agreed that Marathon Oil Company could hold discussions with Libya while sanctions remained in place.

On 3 January 2003 the Bush administration renewed the trade sanctions against Libya. The reason stated was that the country had not fully complied with the UN resolution concerning the Pan Am 103 bombing because it had not accepted blame or paid compensation.

Nigeria.

Nigeria (population 129.9 million) received its independence from Britain on 1 October 1960. It is Africa's most populous country and contains 250 ethnic groups. The religious breakdown in the country is 50 percent Muslim, 40 percent Christian, and 10 percent indigenous belief.

Nigeria made the transition from a military to a civilian government in 1999. Newly-elected President Olusegun Obasanjo was inaugurated on May 29th and a new constitution was adopted that same year. One of Obasanjo's most daunting tasks is to rebuild a petroleum-based economy which had been squandered through corruption, mismanagement, and political instability.⁴² The oil and gas industry is expected to expand.

Nigeria joined OPEC in 1971. At that time the Nigerian National Oil Corporation was set up to control all sectors of the energy industry. The name was changed to Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) in 1977. Natural gas and crude oil head Nigeria's list of natural resources. Petroleum and petroleum products (Nigeria has 4 refineries) account for 95 percent of its export revenues and 80 percent of its government revenues. Nigeria's proven oil reserves -- from about 250 fields currently operating -- are estimated at 22.5 billion barrels. But there are at least 200 more fields known to exist with undetermined reserves.

Natural gas reserves in Nigeria are estimated at 124 trillion cubic feet but the gas industry lacks adequate infrastructure. Currently 75 percent of the gas is flared (burned at the well) rather than produced. Flaring causes acid rain which destroys homes and agricultural land. It causes blindness, respiratory problems, skin diseases, and foul smells, to name a few. Flaring of natural gas is now banned in the US and Europe. An agreement between the Nigerian government and the oil companies is to end all natural gas flaring in Nigeria by 2004. The government is providing incentives for producing and using gas.

The US has negotiated a bilateral energy cooperation agreement with Nigeria to help promote development of its entire energy spectrum and to open new opportunities for American firms. Nigeria

⁴²An August 2002 annual report by Transparency International, an anti-corruption organization, surveyed 102 countries and found rampant corruption, particularly in the world's poorest countries. Nigeria (next to Bangladesh) was rated as the second worst country in the world for corruption. See Washington File, 28 August 2002.

was the 5th largest supplier of crude oil to the US in 2000. American energy companies operating in Nigeria are:

- | | |
|---|--|
| -- Andarko (Houston, TX) | Oil & gas production & exploration |
| -- Chevron-Texaco | Oil & gas exploration & production, and LNG development. Also project manager of the West Africa Gas Pipeline (see below). |
| -- Conoco-Phillips | Oil & Gas production & exploration, and LNG development. |
| -- Exxon-Mobil | Oil & gas exploration & production, and liquified natural gas (LNG) development. |
| -- Shell | Oil & gas production & exploration (produces nearly 50% of Nigeria's crude oil). Also part of the West Africa Gas Pipeline consortium (see below). |
| -- TotalFinaElf (Total is US affiliate) | Oil & gas production & exploration. |
| -- Western Geophysical (Houston, TX) | Oil & Gas exploration. (Parent Company of Haliburton Geophysical Services and a division of Western Atlas International, Inc.) |

On 16 September 1999 an agreement was signed to construct the 620-mile West Africa Gas Pipeline to carry natural gas from Nigeria to Benin, Togo, and Ghana. Chevron-Texaco is the project manager with Shell also in the consortium. The pipeline will run offshore with land spurs to the four countries involved. Gas flow was forecast to begin in 2002.

About 80 percent of Nigeria's oil and gas production operations are in the Niger Delta area. Air and marine pollution is one of the country's major environmental challenges. Flaring the natural gas contaminates the air and oil spills muck up the ocean and land. Over the past four decades there have been over 4,000 oil spills. That averages out to more than 100 per year -- an oil spill every three to four days. Since President Obasanjo came to office, he has been cracking down on the oil multinationals that have failed to meet international standards for their operations. Mobil (now Exxon-Mobil) has paid about US\$24 million to compensate victims of a 1999 spill off the coast of southeastern coast of Nigeria. A Chevron (now Chevron-Texaco) oil spill reported in May 2000 in Ondo state brought in the publicly-feared Mobile Police to close the area and prevent environmental monitoring. The following month, in June 2000, a Nigerian court fined Shell US\$40 million for environmental damage from a 1970s oil leak on land of the Ogoni ethnic group. Shell is appealing that ruling.

Crime and ethnic unrest has risen as a result of energy production. On top of ongoing inter-ethnic tensions, there have been persistent attacks against oil companies protesting pollution of their homelands and the small percentage of oil revenues that reach their communities. One of Shell's flow stations was damaged in September 2001 and will be down for 18 months. Illegal siphoning of fuel to sell on the black market has resulted in many oil pipeline fires. Over 1,000 people died in an October 1998 fire. 250 were killed in a July 2000 pipeline explosion. In a December 2000 explosion at least 60 perished. Fire and sabotage have added to corruption and poor management to keep the four refineries only operating at 40 percent capacity, if at all. During the first 10 months of 2000 there were 800 cases of pipeline vandalism. Attacks on oil facilities caused a revenue loss of about US\$4 billion that year. In 2001 the Nigerian navy received orders to crack down on arson attacks against petroleum facilities. Also, the US military is increasingly involved in training the Nigerian military to guard oil fields and pipelines.

Smuggling across the border is another chronic problem, mostly caused by corruption in the distribution and marketing system. An estimated 300,000 barrels of Nigerian crude is illegally freighted out of the country every day. The Nigerian navy was told to sink any ship carrying crude oil products that cannot be accounted for. During August 2001 several vessels were seized and destroyed.

The Nigerian government and the oil companies have responded to these activities with a harsh crackdown. Human Rights Watch reports that “multinational oil companies are complicit in abuses committed by the Nigerian military and police.”⁴³ They cite examples of oil companies using tactics to divide protesters, helping the government to arrest and educate key opposition leaders, and even oil companies providing helicopters from which Nigerian military personnel fire on protesters. Human Rights Watch goes on:

While the story told to consumers of Nigerian crude in the [US and EU] ... is that oil companies are a positive force in Nigeria, providing much needed economic development resources,... [o]ur delegates observed almost every large multinational oil company operating in the Niger Delta employing inadequate environmental standards, public health standards, and relations with the affected communities.... Far from being a positive force, these oil companies act as a destabilizing force, pitting one community against another, and acting as a catalyst -- together with the military with whom they work closely -- to some of the violence wracking the region today.⁴⁴

Nigeria has gone on record as supporting the US anti-terrorist efforts around the world and has drafted legislation -- The Anti-Terrorism, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission Act -- with tough criminal sanctions against terrorism and its financing. In spite of these efforts, Nigeria is a dangerous place. An August 2002 travel warning cautioned that conditions in Nigeria pose considerable risk to travelers. It also warned: “Violent crime, committed by ordinary criminals as well as persons in police and military uniforms, can occur throughout the country. Kidnaping for ransom of persons associated with the petroleum sector, including US citizens, remains common in the Niger Delta area.”⁴⁵ This warning followed the kidnaping of 43 Chevron-Texaco employees by militant youth in April 2002.

Amnesty International (AI) reports another incident in April 2002 which epitomizes the terror and human rights abuses in Nigeria being committed by armed groups. While inside the compound of the Anambra State Government House, a delegate from AI saw members of the Anambra State Vigilante Service (AVS) surround a elderly man, kneeling with arms tied behind his back, whose face was bleeding profusely from recent beatings. They poured gasoline on him but when they noticed the AI delegate they loaded the man into a truck and drove away. The job was undoubtedly completed somewhere else.

AI reports there have been at least 1000 summary executions by AVS in Anambra State alone during the past two years. What was originally indigenous resistance to foreign persecution seems to have become terrorist activity against oil firms, Americans, and their sympathizers. Nigeria is a fertile breeding ground for international terrorism . And as US oil interests become further endangered, indigenous opposition groups will soon be on the US list of international terrorist organization with all the consequences and effects that brings.

⁴³Cited in “Nigeria and Oil.”

⁴⁴Cited in “Nigeria and Oil.”

⁴⁵Posted on The Counter-Terrorism Page, 12 August 2002.

Although seething ethnic unrest plagues the oil-producing Niger Delta region in the south, Nigeria's ethnic unrest cannot be ignored. The country is only 50 percent Muslim but it is Africa's most populous nation, and it has Africa's largest Muslim population. Muslims are a majority in the north but there is also a significant Christian minority. Some of the northern provinces have declared that Sharia law will be applied in their area -- which includes women being stoned to death for giving birth out of wedlock -- and that has sparked deadly conflicts between Muslims and Christians. Since civilian rule replaced military law in 1999, more than 2000 people have been killed in religious and ethnic clashes.



Violence came to a head again in 2002. When the Miss World beauty pageant was scheduled for Nigeria's northern city of Abuja on December 7th. It became an open sore with Muslims who protested that it was indecent and led to sexual promiscuity. But merchants were overjoyed. One trade group head said the pageant contestants "are going to show the world that Nigeria is safe for tourists and investments."⁴⁶

That was not the case. A November 21st newspaper article which Muslims found insulting struck the match. Rioting, looting, and burning of the newspaper office erupted. Muslim youths stabbed, bludgeoned, burned, and stampeded people to death. They burned Christian churches. Christian youth retaliated in kind -- throwing rocks and broken bottles and burning mosques. Some 215 were killed and over 500 injured. Hundreds of police and soldiers were brought in. A 24-hour shoot-on-sight curfew went into effect and relief officials say more violence is expected.

With so much violence, it was decided that Nigeria was not a safe place for the Miss World pageant and it was moved to London. US petroleum companies could soon meet similar protests, and require an armed force to protect their activities and to keep international terrorists from exploiting this choice environment for recruitment.

AMERICA'S INVOLVEMENT IN OTHER OIL-PRODUCING AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

US and US-affiliated companies have interests in other African nations which contribute to oil production. The most prominent in alphabetical order are Cameroon, Chad, Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Ivory Coast, and Tunisia. These countries will be labeled in **GREEN** on the accompanying Africa map. (See Appendix-A for a map showing all the countries of Africa) I will not go into as much detail here as I did above with the biggest five petroleum producers in Africa. Neither will I cover every bit of oil and gas exploration by US companies. This will be more of a summary of the most prominent countries. More detail can be found in the references.

Although there appears to be no international terrorist activity in these countries at present, the poverty, human rights abuses, pollution of ethnic land and water, and government corruption

⁴⁶Cited in Maharaj.

make these areas of Africa a potential haven for terrorists. Increasing US and Western business activity may assure this eventuality. And when that happens, the US war on terror will reach to these parts to protect America's "vital interests."

Cameroon and Chad.

I will discuss Cameroon and Chad together because they are intricately connected through their main new oil enterprise -- the Chad-Cameroon Pipeline. The two countries share a common border. Cameroon has its coastline on the Gulf of Guinea of the Atlantic Ocean. Chad is landlocked.

Cameroon (population 16.2 million) received its independence from a France-administered UN trusteeship on 1 January 1960. Then in 1961 the former French Cameroon merged with part of British Cameroon to form present day Cameroon. Religious distribution in the nation is 20 percent Muslim, 40 percent Christian, and 40 percent indigenous religions. Unemployment is 30 percent. Only 13 percent of the land area is arable and another 3 percent is in permanent crops. Petroleum heads the country's list of natural resources and petroleum production and refining is the largest industry. It accounts for 60.4 percent of export receipts. However, Cameroon faces long-term declining crude oil production.. Much exploration is taking place but its proven oil reserves are only 400 million barrels. The country's natural gas reserves are estimated at 3.9 trillion cubic feet.

Cameroon's president is Paul Biya but, despite movements toward democratic reform, an ethnic oligarchy retains a firm grip on political power. The main political pressure groups are the Southern Cameroon National Council and the Human Rights Defense Group.

US oil companies operating in Cameroon are:

- Amerada Hess Corp. (New York, New York): has deep water exploration licenses.
- Chevron-Texaco: 25 percent share in Chad-Cameroon Pipeline project. (Discussed below.)

- CMS Energy (Houston, Texas): through subsidiary CMS Nomeco, has onshore oil & gas concessions.
- Conoco-Phillips: has exploration licenses.
- Exxon-Mobil: offshore and onshore oil & gas concessions.
- Exxon-Mobil (under its foreign affiliate name of Esso): operator with 40 percent share in Chad-Cameroon Pipeline project. (Discussed below.)
- Grynberg Petroleum Company (Denver, Colorado): has exploration licenses.
- Shell, through its 80 percent share in Pecten Cameroon Company: oil & gas exploration and production.
- TotalFinaElf (Total is US affiliate): has exploration licenses and production concessions.

Chad (population 9 million) received its independence from France on 11 August 1960. It has some 200 distinct ethnic groups and the religious mix is 51 percent Muslim, 35 percent Christian, and 14 percent traditional beliefs. Chad is one of the poorest countries in the world, ranking 155th on the United Nations' 2001 human development index of 162 countries. Only 3 percent of the country is arable and there are no permanent crops. Petroleum tops Chad's list of natural resources

and, unlike Cameroon, it has large undeveloped oil reserves estimated at 1 billion barrels.⁴⁷ There has been no estimate of the natural gas reserve.

After Chad's independence from France, there ensued three decades of ethnic war and an invasion by Libya. In 1990 the government either came to terms with or suppressed the warring factions and obtained a favorable settlement of the border dispute with Libya. Lt. Gen. Idriss Deby assumed state control in 1990 after a bloody military coup. Later he became head of the transitional government until a democratic constitution became effective in 1996. In that year, Deby was elected to his first of two allowed five-year terms as president. He was elected to a second term in 2001 in what an investigative report in the French newspaper *Le Monde* described as a fraudulent election process.⁴⁸ Opposition candidates faced a harsh government crackdown. In Chad, like in Cameroon, the political power remains firmly in the hands of a northern ethnic oligarchy despite ostensive movements toward democracy. Corruption and misuse of oil revenues to purchase US\$3 million in weapons is also alleged.⁴⁹

Another rebellion erupted in 1998, forcing the US to withdraw its Peace Corps volunteers. Violence lasted until a peace agreement was signed in January 2002.

US oil companies operating in Chad are:

- Chevron-Texaco: 25 percent share in Chad-Cameroon Pipeline project. (Discussed below.)
- Exxon-Mobil (under its foreign affiliate name of Esso): operator with 40 percent share in Chad-Cameroon Pipeline project. (Discussed below.)

The Chad-Cameroon Oil Pipeline is a US\$3.7 billion project to develop Chad's three southern oil fields in the Doba basin and pipe it to a marine terminal off-shore from Cameroon's coastal town of Kribi. The buried 650-mile (1,046-kilometer) pipeline will have 105 miles (169 kilometers) in Chad and 545 miles (877 kilometers) in Cameroon, including a 7-mile (11 kilometer) sub-sea pipeline to the offshore floating storage & offloading facility. Exxon-Mobil leads the project with a 40 percent share. The other two partners are Malaysia's Petronas (35 percent) and Chevron Texaco (25 percent). Construction started in October 2000 and oil production is expected to start in early 2004. The production date has been delayed because of two strikes.

This pipeline project has been the focus of intense opposition from human rights and environmental groups. Much of this is in Cameroon where the pipeline is routed underground through dense jungles inhabited by the Bagyeli ethnic group (Pygmies). The Bagyeli pygmies are nomadic and do not own land but they hunt for survival and the jungle is their hunting ground. Farmlands in southern Chad, where most of the country's food is grown, are endangered by oil spills. Likewise for ocean and river fishing areas for both countries. Many non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as well as human rights and environmental groups, both domestic and international, have complained.

⁴⁷Chad's proven oil reserves of 1 billion barrels is only for the three fields in the Doba basin. There are four other potential oil regions: the Lake Chad basin (three fields), Salamat, Bongor, and Doseo. The known reserves in the Doba basin are expected to be exhausted in 25-30 years.

⁴⁸Environmental Defense News Release, 13 June 2001.

⁴⁹Environmental Defense News Release, 13 June 2001.

The US State Department is backing the World Bank's monitoring role of the Chad-Cameroon Pipeline. However, on 25 September 2002 communities in Cameroon affected by the pipeline project, along with Center for Environment and Development/Friends of the Earth Cameroon, filed a complaint with the World Bank Inspection Panel claiming that several World Bank policies are violated. The claim itemizes World Bank policy violations regarding Natural Habitats, Indigenous Peoples, Environmental Impact Assessment, Poverty Reduction, Public Disclosure and Consultation, and Project Supervision.⁵⁰ Examples are oil spills in traditional fishing grounds, polluted water sources resulting in reduction of fresh water reserves in a region already critically lacking in potable water, loss of crops and forest land in countries where food is the major import, encroachment on fragile ecosystems including the coastal areas, failure to compensate communities for negative impact, violation of labor rights, and health problems. So far the resistance has been through prescribed legal means. But when legitimate grievances are thwarted the oppressed will undoubtedly resort to violent. The past speaks to that fact. The future could easily bring America's war on terrorism to Cameroon and Chad.

There have also been problems with neighboring states. The Central African Republic (CAR), which borders Chad to the south near the Doba oil fields. It is engaged in a civil war between soldiers loyal to President Ange-Felix Patasse and a rival army group supporting former General Francois Bozize. Fighting escalated on 31 October 2002 and the US State Department ordered all US officials home and recommended that US private citizens leave as soon as it can be arranged. Complicating the departure, the international airport at the capital city of Bangui is closed.

On that same day -- 31 October 2002 -- the government of Chad claimed that 120 Chadians had been killed in the CAR's capital. Since the CAR government had complained that much of the oil to be pumped from Chad's Doba basin comes from deposits under the CAR, and the possibility that someone might try to damage Chad's southern oil fields, the Chadian government reassembled troops along the CAR border. This is trouble from a different source that, in addition to domestic opposition, could seriously complicate the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project.

Congo.

Congo (population 3 million) is often referred to as "Congo (Brazzaville)" or "Congo-Brazzaville" to distinguish it from the Democratic Republic of the Congo.⁵¹ Brazzaville is the capital city where about 70 percent of the population live. Congo became independent from France on 15 August 1960. It tried to make communism work until 1990, and a democratically-elected government was installed in 1992. But a brief civil war in 1997 restored former President Denis Sassou-Nguesso to office.

There are four major ethnic groups in the Congo but the largest (48 percent) is Kongo. The religions are Christian (50 percent), Animist (48 percent), and Muslim (2 percent).

Only 1 percent of the Congo's land area is arable and there are no permanent crops. Petroleum heads the Congo's list of natural resources. In the early 1980s, oil started rising rapidly

⁵⁰The World Bank, Exxon-Mobil, and Chevron Texaco tout the pipeline as a model project that, while compensating for environmental impacts, will help reduce poverty.

⁵¹The official name of Congo-Brazzaville is "Republic of the Congo." Its neighboring country, formerly Zaire, is the "Democratic Republic of the Congo." Often the name "Congo" is confusingly used when referring to either one.

as a source of revenue. But the 1997 civil war was a setback and only now is the 2002-2003 forecast looking favorable. Petroleum, with its 90 percent share of export earnings, heads the list of export commodities.

Congo's proven oil reserves are 1.5 billion barrels. Its estimated gas reserves are 3.2 trillion cubic feet but is producing none. The industry is run chiefly by foreign companies and there is large scale exploration for new deposits. US companies, or companies with US affiliates, operating in the Congo are:

- Andarko Petroleum Corporation (Houston, Texas) has a share in production.
- Chevron-Texaco has a share in production.
- CMS Energy (Houston, Texas) is involved in production and exploration.
- Devon Energy (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma) has offshore oil & gas concessions.
- Exxon-Mobil is involved in production and exploration.
- Marathon Oil Company (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) has a share in production.
- Shell has holdings in several production fields.
- TotalFinaElf (Total is US affiliate) is dominant in exploring, production, and refining.

Congo was a communist state from 1970 until 1991. In 1979, Denis Sassou-Nguesso became ruler in a bloodless military coup. The first democratic election in 1992 put Pascal Lissouba in the presidency. Civil conflict broke out in 1993-1994, in the wake of contested parliamentary elections. Then armed conflict broke out between troops loyal to Lissouba and a French-backed militia of his political opponent, former ruler Sassou-Nguesso, just before the 1997 presidential elections. There was widespread destruction of foreign businesses until Angolan forces intervened and put Sassou-Nguesso in power. Another deadly battle erupted in 1998 as Sassou-Nguesso tried to extend his power.

In October 2001, President Sassou-Nguesso was being sued in a Belgium court. He was accused of War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity, tortures, arbitrary arrests, and person abductions. TotalFinaElf was named as a co-defendant, being "accused of having participated in the exactions perpetrated by the regime in power in Brazzaville."⁵² There are witnesses to the ethnic cleansing who saw "massacres perpetrated from helicopters where one could easily read the logo Elf."⁵³

Many of these alleged crimes were against people suspected of collaborating with the Ninja rebel militia, the main group opposing government corruption. The government has denounced the Ninjas as terrorists and has refused to negotiate with them, other than to offer amnesty to any Ninja guerrilla that surrendered. Forty of them did as of 18 September 2002 but there are still thousands left in the forest.

This continuing civil unrest coupled with a corrupt government offers fertile inroads for international terrorists.

Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), at first called Zaire, became independent from Belgium on 30 June 1960. The current population of 55.2 million is made up of over 200 African ethnic groups, of which the Bantu predominates. The country is 50 percent Roman Catholic, 20 percent protestant, and 10 percent Muslim. Kinshasa is the capital city.

⁵²Kiesel.

⁵³Kiesel. Also see Stroobants.

Diamonds lead in exports, and there are suspicions that they are illegally smuggled out of the country to finance international terrorists. That is followed by copper, coffee, and cobalt. Crude oil is fifth on the export list. But oil is an important contribution to the economy which, although the DRC is rich in mineral resources and has vast potential wealth, has been declining severely since the mid-1980s and has been stagnated since the late 1990s war. Foreign investors are reluctant to face the risks. When the war is settled, there will likely be foreign interest in several potential onshore production areas.

La Congolaise des Hydrocarbures (Cohydro), the national petroleum company since 1999, is responsible for all oil exploration, production and refining. The country has one refinery and oil production is mainly from offshore wells. US companies, or companies having US affiliates, operating in the DRC are:

- Chevron-Texaco through its DRC subsidiary, Congo Gulf Oil, is leading another project to boost offshore production.
- TotalFinaElf (Total is US affiliate) through Finarep, it's DRC subsidiary, is leading a project aimed at doubling the onshore oil production.
- Union Oil of California (UNOCAL) is in the consortium led by Chevron Texaco.

In 1994 there was a massive flow of Tutsi refugees into the DRC from the Hutu-Tutsi war in Rwanda and Burundi. Hutu rebels had killed more than 500,000 Tutsis -- possibly as many as one million. This touched off unrest in the DRC and on 16 May 1997, Laurent Desire Kabila overthrew the popularly-elected government in a military coup. Since then the country has been plagued with ethnic strife and a civil war broke out in August 1998. Rwanda and Uganda support the rebel movement. Troops from Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Chad, and Sudan were called in to assist Kabila's militia. A cease fire was signed on 10 July 1999 but sporadic fighting continued and severe hostilities broke out again in March 2000.

Kabila was assassinated in his bedroom by the opposition through his personal bodyguards on 16 January 2001. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Joseph Kabila, who rules with a dictatorial hand, although the DRC is presumably moving toward representative government. He has, nevertheless, also failed to end the war.

Daily acts of genocide and terrorism sponsored and/or commandeered by the Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda governments continue. Some reports indicate that possibly 3 million Congolese have been massacred since the turn of the century.⁵⁴ Another observer asserts that the fighting is not an ethnic rebellion at all, but a well-planned invasion of the resource-rich DRC by the Rwanda and Uganda governments.⁵⁵ Still another report indicates that international terrorist cells are making inroads in Uganda.⁵⁶

On 17 December 2002 a peace agreement was signed which set up a power-sharing transitional government under the auspices of a UN special envoy. Joseph Kabila will continue as president, and a prime minister will be appointed from the opposing faction. Then in June 2003 the country's first democratic elections are scheduled to take place.

⁵⁴"International Terrorism/Genocide in Eastern Congo."

⁵⁵Litofe.

⁵⁶See Bodansky, p. 273.

But all is not peaceful yet. A 24 January 2003 report by the International Crisis Group (ICG) says that in spite of the peace agreement: "Serious fighting continues in Eastern Congo, particularly Kivu and Ituri Provinces, which have been the main theaters for direct and proxy confrontation between local, national, and regional participants in the Congolese conflict since the cease-fire was signed in Lusaka in 1999." The ICG goes on to say: "This area was the powder keg where ethnic massacres first exploded in the 1990s and regional war in 1996 and 1998. Indeed, it was ... the extension of the Burundian, Rwandan, and Ugandan civil wars. The Kivu situation is now complicated by direct military involvement of external actors, multiplication of local warlords, and active exploitation of natural resources by both."⁵⁷

The DRC continues to be a very dangerous place in which even foreign aid organizations fear to operate. How much more dangerous for large petroleum companies exploiting the natural resources? People and rulers who can be so callous regarding human life are those who are likely to play into the hands of international terrorists. Compounding that is the added attraction of riches, especially diamonds, in the DRC which offer an abundant source of non-traceable revenue for international terrorist operations.

Equatorial Guinea.

Equatorial Guinea (population 498,144) should not be confused with Guinea. This small country looks like a little rectangle in the northwest corner of Gabon. It was formed in 1963 by joining two provinces -- a mainland portion and five inhabited islands -- under Spanish rule, and given partial self-government. Spain granted the country independence on 12 October 1968. Five percent of the land is arable and 3 percent is in permanent crops.

President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo was recently reelected in December 2002. Ethnic groups are Bioko (primarily Bubi with some Fernandinos) and Rio Muni (primarily Fang). The main religions are Christian (predominately Roman Catholic) and traditional beliefs.

Recent economic developments in Equatorial Guinea have been dominated by rapid growth in the oil sector, and petroleum accounts for 80 percent of the exports. The country is one of the leading countries in sub-Sahara Africa for oil exploration. Proven Oil Reserves are 12 million barrels but the probable reserves are much higher. Proven Natural gas reserves are 1.3 trillion cubic feet but the probable are 4.6 trillion cubic feet or more.

There are now so many US citizens working there in the energy field that the State Department is seeking congressional approval to reopen a diplomatic mission (embassy) in that country. Equatorial Guinea is now the fourth largest prospect for American investment (behind South Africa, Nigeria, and Angola). US businesses operating in Equatorial Guinea are:

- Amerada Hess (New York, New York) has offshore oil and gas concessions.
- Atlantic Methanol Production Company (Houston, Texas) is involved in natural gas production.
- Bechtel Corp. was awarded a contract for Marathon Oil's expansion.
- Chevron-Texaco production and exploration agreements.
- Exxon-Mobil has offshore oil and gas concessions.
- Globex International (Mountain Lakes, New Jersey) is a partner in LPG production.
- Marathon Oil Company (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) has liquified petroleum gas (LPG), natural gas, and liquified natural gas production agreements.

⁵⁷ICG Report, 24 January 2003.

- Noble Energy (Houston, Texas) is a partner in LPG and natural gas production.
- Ocean Energy (Houston, Texas) has offshore oil and gas concessions.
- TotalFinaElf (Total is US affiliate) has offshore oil and gas concessions.
- Vanco (Houston, Texas) has deep-water drilling licenses.

General Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo seized power in a coup in 1979. He was reelected as president for a seven-year term in February 1996 and again in December 2002. Although the country has ostensibly been a constitutional democracy since 1991, some observers have classified President Mbasogo as a dictator. The 1996 and 2002 presidential elections, and the 1999 legislative election, are widely seen as flawed.⁵⁸

Equatorial Guinea has a poor human rights record. Unrest is prevalent because the trickle down to the poor classes from the growing economy is too slow and too small. Foreign aid, on which the country has historically relied, has been withheld in recent years because of government mismanagement

Fifty people (mostly Bubi minority) were arrested in January 1998 after separatists attacks on military posts. After showing signs of pre-trial torture, they were convicted of treason, terrorism, and the illegal possession of explosives. Amnesty International reported that they were still in prison at the end of 2001. Amnesty International further reported that these people are being detained under extremely harsh conditions with virtually no medical attention, and far from their families who could offer some help.⁵⁹

Authorities continue to harass peaceful political opponents and the few journalists who still defend their right of free expression. The UN Commission on Human Rights has petitioned the government to respect freedom of movement, expression, and association; to adhere to the UN Convention Against Torture; and to cease using military courts for civilian cases. Meanwhile, groups to monitor human rights abuses are not allowed into the country.

More recently, in June 2002, 68 people, including the main opposition leader, were sentenced to 20 years in prison for an alleged coup plot against the President. Amnesty International reports that some defendants looked as if they had been tortured, and the European Union is concerned over how the confessions were obtained. Civil unrest and human rights abuses continue, unmonitored, amid a boom for the oil industry.

Gabon.

Gabon (population 1.3 million), with a coastline partly on the Gulf of Guinea but mostly along the Atlantic, became independent from France on 17 August 1960. President El Hadj Omar Bongo has ruled as an autocratic chief of state since 1967. Gabon is one of Africa's more prosperous nations with an annual per capita income of US\$3,700 but the wealth is not spread evenly. Almost half of the people live in poverty. Arable land is only one percent and likewise for permanent crops. Four major groupings of the Bantu tribe make up most of the population. Less than one percent of the people are Muslim.

⁵⁸In the February 1996 election, Mbasogo received 99 percent of the vote amid widespread reports of fraud. In the December 2002 election he received 100 percent of the vote after opposition candidates pulled out because of fraud.

⁵⁹Amnesty International report 2002.

The country's economy relies heavily on oil, which is its top export. Gabon was a member of OPEC until 1996 when it suspended membership because of the high membership fees. Oil accounts for about 65 percent of the government budget and 80 percent of export revenues. Gabon has proven oil reserves of 2.5 billion barrels and natural gas reserves of 1.2 trillion cubic feet. US energy companies involved in Gabon are:

- Amerada Hess (New York, New York) has an oil production sharing agreement.
- Andarko Petroleum Corporation (Houston, Texas) has a share in production.
- Devon Energy (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma) Has offshore oil & gas concessions and oil production.
- Marathon Oil Company (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) has offshore oil & gas concessions and oil production.
- Pioneer Natural Resources (Irving, Texas) has oil production sharing agreements.
- Shell operates Gabon's largest oil field and has production sharing agreements in other blocks..
- TotalFinaElf (Total is US subsidiary) has oil production agreements and a deep water exploration concessional agreement.
- Vaalco (Houston, Texas) has offshore oil & gas concessions.
- Vanco (Houston, Texas) is providing exploration and deep water drilling for TotalFinaElf.

Gabon is known as a utopia for child trafficking. The children arrive in ships and are sold at the dock as household servants, slaves to work in factories, for prostitution, and some are re-sold abroad. One police spokesperson remarked about the children in a smuggling ship that ran aground off the coast of Cameroon: "There is no doubt that these children are bought, to be resold at a later date. In the families that buy them, they perform domestic tasks, while they grow up and wait for the moment in which they are to be sexually exploited."⁶⁰

Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire).

Ivory Coast (population 16.8 million), also known as Cote d'Ivoire, became independent from France on 7 August 1960. President Laurent Gbagbo has ruled since a controversial election in 2000. There are five main ethnic groups of which the Akan are largest. The country is about 40 percent Muslim, 30 percent Christian (mostly Roman Catholic), and the remainder indigenous beliefs. Some 70 percent of the foreign migratory workers are Muslim. Nine percent of the land is arable and 14 percent has permanent crops.

The capital city of Yamoussoukro is in the center of the country. Second largest city, Bouake, containing about half a million people, lies north of the capital. The third major city is Abidjan, on the coast

Oil and Gas top Ivory Coast's natural resources but there are also diamonds and minerals. Proven oil reserves are estimated at 100 million barrels. Proven natural gas reserves are estimated at 1.1 trillion cubic feet. US energy companies, and foreign companies with US affiliates, operating in Ivory Coast are:

- Apache Corporation (Houston, Texas) is involved with natural gas production.
- Chevron-Texaco is involved with oil refining.
- Devon Energy (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma) is involved with natural gas production.

⁶⁰Pravda, 15 September 2001.

- Exxon-Mobil is involved with oil refining.
- Ocean Energy (Houston, Texas) is involved with oil and gas production, and in LPG extraction.
- Shell is involved with oil and gas production and in oil refining.
- TotalFinaElf (Total is US affiliate) is involved with oil refining.
- Vanco Energy (Houston, Texas) is involved in offshore drilling.

After becoming independent from France in 1960, relations between the two countries remained close and there was still a massive flow of Ivorian wealth to France. To help sustain this arrangement, France had stationed troops in Ivory Coast and negotiated a bilateral agreement that France would intervene if its client country were attacked by outside forces.

This arrangement ended on Christmas Eve 1999 when General Robert Guei toppled President Henri Konan Bedie in a military coup. France could not intervene because Ivory Coast was not attacked from outside. The US did not recognize the Guei regime which had overthrown an elected government, and imposed economic sanctions. But there were waivers for specific instances. During Guei's 10 months of military rule, the well-being of the country went downhill. Ivory Coast failed to obtain World Bank assistance during that time because of poor economic management.

Laurent Gbagbo defeated Guei in an October 2000. This presidential election and the legislative election two months later provoked violence because an opposition leader was excluded. Because the elections were not deemed free and fair by the US, Ivory Coast was not removed from the sanctions list. A reconciliation program initiated the following year failed to appease opposing Ivorian factions. Unrest prevailed.

An attempted military coup on 19 September 2002, in which at least 270 were killed, failed but left President Gbagbo in control of only the southern half of the country. The rebels had taken over Ivory Coast's second largest city of Bouake, in which there were 161 American schoolchildren ages 6 to 18 (children of US missionaries in western Africa) and hundreds of other American and European foreigners.

US troops were flown in to help French troops rescue foreign residents of captured cities. That was accomplished without mishap. Some reports indicate the rebels are well-organized and well-behaved, some being mutineers from the Ivorian Army. Evacuees say the rebels have fired only at military targets and in some cases have helped civilians to safety. Looting soldiers were punished severely, sometimes by death, by their superiors.

A failed coup soon degenerated into a civil war. Gbagbo's government has declared central Ivory Coast a war zone. On December 7th, government troops massacred 120 unarmed civilians in one village, burned shops, terrorized the villagers, and went door-to-door taking down names. The villagers had been accused of feeding rebels.

Ivory Coast is still in a state of political upheaval. The 24 January 2003 peace agreement is tenuous. Seydou Diarra was appointed transitional prime minister to share power with President Gbagbo until 2005 elections provide an elected president and prime minister. The rebels may also hold two other major ministries -- possibly interior and defense. But when President Gbagbo returned home from the Paris peace talks he was met by angry mobs. These loyalists rioted and protested what they thought was giving the rebels too much in the French-brokered peace accord. They gathered outside the US embassy pleading for American help to overturn what they perceived as a government forced on them by the French. The protests spread wider in the country and provoked ethnic clashes between those in favor of the peace agreement and those opposed. At the time of this writing, the protesting and demonstrating continues.

So far the conflict has taken place mostly in the north, away from oil production, which is on the southern coast. And so far the rebels don't seem to be influenced by international terrorists. But the north is mostly Muslim and the country has been ruled by the predominantly Christian south. With so much unrest in that country it would be easy for the flames of religious and ethnic hatred to be fanned into a new and different type of civil war.

Tunisia.

Tunisia (population 9.8 million) is a small country wedged in between Algeria and Libya, with a coastline on the Mediterranean Sea. It became independent from France on 20 March 1956. The populace is 95 percent Arab and 98 percent Muslim. Arable land is 19 percent and permanent crops are on 13 percent. Tunisia's first president, Habib Bourguiba, dominated the country with a one-party rule for 31 years.

Tunisia's second and current president, Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, has pursued a non-aligned foreign policy but domestically is trying to diffuse movements for a more open government. But social pressures are rising as the national debt burden increases. Unemployment is officially 16 percent but unofficially is much higher. The main political opposition group is the Islamic fundamentalist party.

Petroleum tops Tunisia's list of natural resources. Its proven oil reserves are 300 million barrels but estimated probable reserves are much higher. Proven natural gas reserves are 2.8 trillion cubic feet. Oil production is falling off as domestic use increases. Tunisia became a net oil importer in 2000. Consequently, exploration for new fields has a high priority. US companies, and foreign companies with US affiliates, operating in Tunisia are:

- Andarko (Houston, Texas) is involved in oil exploration and production.
- Anschutz Exploration Corp. (Denver, Colorado) is involved in oil exploration.
- Baker Hughes Inc. (Houston, Texas) has oil and gas concessions.
- CMS Energy (Houston, Texas) has oil and gas concessions and a gas pipeline partnership.
- Coho Energy Inc. (Dallas, Texas) is involved in oil exploration and production.
- Conoco Phillips (Houston, Texas) is involved in oil and gas exploration.
- Marathon Oil Co. (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) is involved in oil exploration and production.
- Nuevo Energy Co. (Houston, Texas) is involved in oil exploration and production.
- Pioneer Natural Resources (Irving, Texas) is involved in oil exploration and production.

After Tunisia became independent from France in 1956, Habib Bourguiba became the first president. He ruled for 31 years. His authoritarian regime repressed Islamic fundamentalism and improved the rights of women. But during the 1980s Tunisia became a base for international terrorists. First came the Arab league which had been in Cairo and which had assassinated Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. Then in 1982 the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was expelled from Lebanon. Yasser Arafat, its leader, then set up headquarters in Tunisia and continued terrorist activity in Israel through bases in Lebanon. This led to an Israeli Air Force strike in September 1985 against the Tunisian headquarters for the PLO -- a feat using eight US-made F-15 aircraft flying 1,280 miles with mid-air refueling. The terrorists responded by stepping up their attacks, including hijacking the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro*.

Tunisia was ripe as a terrorist haven because the aging Bourguiba government was weak and lacked direction. It was unable to correct the poverty, public estrangement, and sense of despair that

prevailed. By claiming their movement was based on the Islamic religion, the terrorists were able to gain support in this country of 98 percent Muslim. Tunisia became a country ruled by subversion and fear. The economy spiraled and anarchism reigned.

It was at this point, in 1987, that Zine al-Abedine Ben Ali became president. In his battle against terrorism he used the twin strategy of 1) strict application of the law and 2) meeting social needs. It was extremely successful and more will be said about it in the Conclusion to this paper.

Ben Ali essentially eradicated terrorism in Tunisia and the country prospered. Very recently, however, Tunisia apparently became the target of international Al Qaida movement. On 11 April 2002 a synagogue was bombed on the island of Djerba. Nineteen people, including 14 German tourists, were killed.

Miscellaneous.

US Energy companies have an interest in other countries in Africa. Here I will mention a few that I encountered while doing the research on the above countries. What is listed here is not comprehensive by any means. Appendix-A provides a complete map of all African countries.

- Amerada Hess (New York, New York) has deep-water exploration rights in Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, and Senegal.
- BP-Amoco-Arco is exploring for oil in Namibia and has oil & gas concessions in Mozambique and Somalia..
- Chevron-Texaco is exploring for oil in Namibia.
- Conoco-Phillips is exploring for oil in Morocco.
- Exxon-Mobil has oil and gas concessions in Niger and Sao Tome & Principe.
- Forest Oil (Denver, Colorado) in November 2002 signed a letter of intent with the South African government for a natural gas project including developing the infrastructure treatment facility, an offshore gas pipeline from the Atlantic Ocean to the South African coastline, storage facilities, and metering stations.
- Marathon Oil (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) is exploring for oil in Namibia.
- Pecten Cameroon Company (80% owned by Shell) has oil and gas concessions in Somalia.
- Pioneer Natural Resources (Irving, Texas) is exploring for oil in South Africa.
- Shell is seeking (or already has) a license for offshore oil exploration in Tanzania and has exploration and production rights in Gabon..
- TotalFinaElf (Total is US affiliate) is exploring for oil in Namibia and has oil and gas concessions in Niger..
- Vanco Energy (Houston, Texas) is exploring for oil and gas in Ghana, Madagascar, Morocco, Namibia, and Senegal .

As mentioned above, Exxon-Mobil has oil and gas concessions in Sao Tome & Principe, a small island nation off the west coast of Africa. It lies between the two oil-producing giants Nigeria and Angola. Exxon-Mobil has these concessions in a whopping 22 blocks. The US is interested in the large offshore oil deposits in the Gulf Of Guinea, which has a proven reserve of 60 billion barrels. There are persistent rumors that the US wants to build a military base on the island of Sao Tome. US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Walter Kansteiner, denies military base plans but

says the US will provide patrol boats so the country can improve its maritime customs control. Mr. Kansteiner visited Sao Tome & Principe in October 2002 where, among other things, he conducted talks on oil exploration.

EAST AFRICA: HOTBED OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

East Africa -- which includes the “Horn of Africa” because of northeast Somalia’s rhinoceros-type horn jutting out toward the Arabian Sea and India -- has for many years been the scene on international terrorist activity ranging from training and logistics to assassinations and bombings. In the countries discussed above, the main obstacles to US petroleum activities were ethnic unrest, poverty, destruction of indigenous lands, and human rights abuses. But as was previously pointed out, these are circumstances that open the door to recruiting and activity by international terrorists.

That has already happened in East Africa. The door has already been opened. In the early 1990s, after decades of civil war and internal strife in that region, the international terrorist infrastructure moved in. It was here that bin Laden emerged as a senior leader in the extremist Islamist movement. The terrorist bases and training facilities in East Africa pre-dated those in Afghanistan as the center for bin Laden’s activities. It was here that the Sunni Muslim extremists of Saudi Arabia and other countries formed a coalition of convenience with the fundamentalist Shiite of Iran.

The countries which traditionally make up East Africa are Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, and Sudan.⁶¹ I will include Tanzania in this discussion because of international terrorist activity in that country.



East Africa plus Tanzania

East Africa does not currently have the oil and gas activity found in West Africa and North Africa, but there is interest there.

Djibouti has no known oil or gas reserves.

Eritrea has no known oil or gas reserves. Andarko (Houston, Texas) unsuccessfully explored offshore during 1995-1997. CMS Energy (Houston, Texas) signed an offshore exploration agreement in May 2001.

Ethiopia has crude oil reserves of 428,000 barrels and natural gas reserves of 880 billion cubic feet. In December 1999, Sicor (Houston Texas) signed a joint-venture deal to develop a gas field, and another agreement in April 2000 for oil exploration. Hunt Oil (Dallas, Texas) signed a production sharing contract for a petroleum concession.

Somalia has no proven oil reserves and 200 billion cubic feet of natural gas reserves. Amoco (now BP-Amoco-Arco), Chevron (now Chevron-Texaco), Conoco, and Phillips (the latter two now combined as Conoco-Phillips) have explored the northern part of the

⁶¹Technically, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia are considered the Horn of Africa. Sudan and Kenya are added to form East Africa.

country. In February 2001 TotalFinaElf signed an agreement to explore in the Indian Ocean off the southern coast. Pecten Cameroon Company (80 percent owned by Shell) has explored in Somalia. The instability and lack of a central government in Somalia has hindered exploration activities. Nevertheless, US oil companies which had licences in Somalia have cited “force majeure”⁶² (superior power) in the hopes that some future government will let them return and continue their exploration.

Sudan has proven oil reserves of 563 million barrels and natural gas reserves of 3 trillion cubic feet. With the completion of a 930-mile (1,500 kilometer) oil pipeline to the Red Sea coast in 1999, Sudanese crude oil production has risen dramatically since the turn of the century. Oil now accounts for 70 percent of the country’s export earnings. Chevron (now Chevron-Texaco) during the 1960s and 1970s found some offshore gas reserves and some oil reserves in southern Sudan, but abandoned these concessions in 1985 due to political unrest. Since the US imposed economic sanctions against Sudan in November 1997, US companies cannot do business with that country.

Kenya has no known oil or gas reserves but the country does have petroleum refineries.

Tanzania has no known oil or gas reserves although Shell is interested in offshore exploring there..

Today’s US presence in East Africa is seemingly focused on the war on terrorism – an attempt to stabilize the region and destroy the terrorist cells that infest the area. This, of course, begs an answer as to why America is doing this. America is not known for interfering in another region unless some vital national interest is at stake. The answer would go deeper than retaliation for September 11th by rooting out terrorism. It is more likely that the US wants to root out terrorism because terrorism prevents America’s exploitation of certain natural resources. In the case of East Africa, there is little doubt that the natural resource involved is petroleum. Although there are few proven crude oil reserves in the area, Thomas E. O’Connor, a professional geologist who was the principle petroleum engineer at the World Bank, said in 1993: “It’s there. There’s no doubt there’s oil there. You don’t know until you study a lot further just how much is there. But it has commercial potential. It’s got high potential...”⁶³ On his list of potential commercial oil producers, O’Connor put Sudan and Somalia at the top.

Even before that 1993 World Bank study, petroleum companies were interested in East Africa. Hunt Oil Corporation (Dallas, Texas) in the mid-1980s conducted a highly successful exploration effort in Yemen, across the Gulf of Aden from East Africa. The results indicated that the huge Yemeni oil reserves “were part of a great underground rift, or valley, that arced into and across northern Somalia.”⁶⁴

⁶²“Force majeure” (superior power) is a legal term contending they were forced by war and unrest to depart from their contracts, and that they intend to return as soon as peace is restored.

⁶³Cited in Fineman.

⁶⁴Fineman.

US Presence on the Horn of Africa.

Djibouti, Eritrea, and Ethiopia are the countries affected by the latest US military incursion into Africa. The US Central Command has set up the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) Horn of Africa as a regional command under Marine Major General John F. Sattler. Opening this new front for the war on terrorism, some 900 personnel -- special operations troops, Marine expeditionary unit, airmen, and some civilians -- are based at Camp Lemonier in the tiny nation of Djibouti. Another 400 personnel --military, civilian, and coalition force representatives -- are aboard the assault ship *USS Mount Whitney* operating in the Gulf of Aden. This is also a command and control ship and is Major General Sattler's headquarters. A small number of liaison personnel are working in other parts of the region. The purpose of this CJTF is to "act upon credible information to attack, destroy and/or capture terrorists and support networks."⁶⁵ Additional forces and air cover can be requested as needed.

The CIA is already active in the region and operates two Predator unmanned aerial vehicles armed with Hellfire missiles from Djibouti. One patrols over Somalia and the other over Yemen. In late 2002 the one over Yemen destroyed an automobile carrying a senior Al Qaeda operative and five other terrorists.

A severe drought and famine now envelops the Horn of Africa, an area already suffering from chronic poverty, disease, corruption, unrest, and lawlessness. The countries there also have a reputation for human rights abuse. Eritrean President Afworki Isaias heads a one-party government that has closed the independent press and jailed critics. Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi is accused of gagging opponents and committing summary executions. By forming a coalition with these autocracies, the Pentagon is creating an alliance of convenience with governments it's own State Department condemns.

The forces at Camp Lemonier will provide military training and help strengthen border security for Djibouti, Eritrea, and Ethiopia. In return, these countries will share intelligence, allow overflights, and provide access to military airfields and bases.

Djibouti is a small country of 473,000 people located between Eritrea and Somalia. It borders the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea, and is conveniently located near one of the world's busiest shipping lanes for warships and oil tankers. Besides being only about 25 miles across the Bab el-Mandeb Strait⁶⁶ from the Mid-Eastern country of Yemen -- thus providing a choke point on the ideal path for smuggling weapons, explosives, personnel, money, and supplies to Africa from the Mid East through Yemen -- it is also strategically located to dispatch troops to almost any of the trouble spots in East Africa. In this regard the CJTF is courting the cooperation Eritrea and Ethiopia. But these are questionable partners.

Eritrea (population 4.5 million) was awarded to Ethiopia in 1952 as part of a federation. Ethiopia annexed the country ten years later and sparked a 30 year struggle for independence which

⁶⁵Defense Link, 10 January 2003.

⁶⁶The Bab el-Mandeb Strait separates the Red Sea from the Gulf of Aden.

Eritrea won in 1991. A 1993 referendum overwhelmingly approved independence. But in 1998 a border war broke out between the two countries, which ended under UN auspices on 12 December 2000. A UN peacekeeping force currently monitors the border until an international commission designates the demarcation line.

Ethiopia (population 67.7 million) is unique in that it escaped colonial rule. But it has had its share of terrorist activity and is infested with terrorist cells. On 26 June 1995, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak was visiting Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. An assassination attempt on his life, planned in Sudan with the help of Osama bin Laden, took place in that city. It failed but by 1998 terrorist cells of the Islamic Union and the more hardcore militant Dergue⁶⁷ were active in Ethiopia. During the spring of 2002, five terrorists were sentenced to death and another five to jail for a 1995 series of bombings that killed 27 people, an assassination attempt on the former minister of transport and communications, and the killing of Dutch tourists in the town of Dire Dawa. "They were also found guilty of accepting willingly al-Itihad's plan to depose the government through terrorism and attending military training to execute the evil intentions of the outlawed group," the Ethiopian News Agency quoted the court as saying.⁶⁸ Al-Itihad emerged during the early 1990s as a militant terrorist group to create a unified Islamic state in Somalia.

Bin Laden Comes to Prominence in East Africa.

Sudan and **Somalia** are two troublesome countries in East Africa as far as international terrorist activity is concerned. They have both been plagued with civil wars and ethnic unrest for decades. Famines and droughts have become a way of life. These two countries have "porous" borders -- which means terrorists can smuggle explosives, weapons, supplies, and personnel across them with little difficulty.

Sudan (population 37 million) received its independence from Britain and Egypt on 1 January 1956. Except for a 10-year period (1972-1982) the country has been embroiled in civil war. Since 1983, war and famine have caused more than 2 million deaths and 4½ million people displaced.

The current authoritarian regime -- an alliance of the military and the fundamentalist National Islamic Front led by General Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir -- came to power in 1989 after overthrowing a transitional coalition government. Since then, traditional Muslim parties have allied with the non-Muslim rebels to oppose the government. Bashir and his party won overwhelmingly in a December 2000 vote when all opposition parties boycotted the election.

Shortly after Bashir's military takeover, Sudan became a safe haven for fundamentalist Islamist organizations and leaders. When Osama bin Laden was evicted from Saudi Arabia in 1991, he set up his headquarters in Sudan. Training, arranging of finances, and operational planning took

⁶⁷Dergue (communist) is a militant Ethiopian terrorist organization led by Kasa Kid, the illegitimate brother of former Ethiopian dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam.

⁶⁸Cited in BBC News, 12 April 2002.

place in Khartoum, the country's capital.⁶⁹ Bin Laden and other international terrorists were ostensibly evicted from Sudan (to Afghanistan) in 1996. Since the war with Afghanistan, however, there are indications that Sudan is again becoming a hub for terrorist activity, and that terrorists fleeing from Afghanistan may have returned, and that Al-Qaida's gold may have been moved back to Sudan.⁷⁰

In the ongoing civil war, the fundamentalist Arab/Sunni Muslim government in the north is pitted against the black/non-Muslim rebels in the oil-producing south. The main opposition party -- the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) -- has declared the oil fields and oil pipeline to be military targets. On the other hand, international human rights organizations have accused the Sudanese government of using oil revenues to finance wide-scale human rights abuses -- including mass displacement of people living near oil fields, using government forces to support the slave trade, and aerial bombardment of civilian targets.

The July 2002 Machakos Protocol (building on the 20 July 1994 Declaration of Principles for negotiating a peace) was an interim deal to end the conflict, establish a secular nation, and allow a 2008 referendum to determine if the south should remain part of Sudan. This angered hardliners in the government and heavy fighting broke out again in early September 2002.

To nudge toward a comprehensive peace agreement and garner Sudan's cooperation in the war against terrorism, the US Legislature on 7 October 2002 passed the Sudanese Peace Act. It outlines stiff sanctions -- ranging from downgrading of diplomatic relations, freezing oil revenues, and seeking a UN arms embargo -- if the Sudanese government fails to negotiate in good faith with the SPLA.

On 15 October 2002 Khartoum and the SPLA signed another memorandum of understanding to resume peace talks. In late January 2003, the peace negotiations were still taking place, as was sporadic fighting.

Some observers say the US provides diplomatic backing for the SPLA and that the CIA funnels arms to the rebels through Eritrea and Uganda.⁷¹ The US State Department says that Sudan remains "a designated state sponsor of terrorism. A number of international terrorist groups including al-Qaida, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Egyptian al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and HAMAS continued to use Sudan as a safe haven, primarily for conducting logistics and other support activities."⁷²

Somalia (population estimated at 7.8 million), one of the world's poorest countries, became independent on 1 July 1960. It was formed through a merger of British Somaliland (which became independent from Britain on 26 June 1960) and Italian Somaliland (which became independent from

⁶⁹For a detailed account of terrorist activity from Sudan see Bodansky, pp 35 et. seq.

⁷⁰See Farah.

⁷¹See O'Connor.

⁷²Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001, p. 68.

the Italian administered UN trusteeship on 1 July 1960).⁷³ The ethnic mix is 85 percent Somali and 15 percent Bantu. The religion is Sunni Muslim

Siad Barre, from southern Somalia, came to power through a military coup on 21 October 1969. He introduced a system he called scientific socialism to invigorate the economy and societal morale. But during his 22-year reign he had also leased exploration rights on almost two-thirds of Somalia to the four US oil giants -- Amoco (now BP-Amoco-Arco), Chevron (now Chevron-Texaco), Conoco, and Phillips (the latter two now combined as Conoco-Phillips).

Since the Siad Barre regime was ousted in January 1991, turmoil, factional fighting, and anarchy have prevailed. In May 1991, various northern clans declared an independent Republic of Somaliland, which covers the area of former British Somaliland. It has managed to maintain a fairly stable existence due to the dominance of the ruling clan and the infrastructure left behind by British, Russian, and American military aid.

Two neighboring regions have joined to form the self-declared autonomous state of Puntland. Although it does not seek independence, it has been self-governing since 1998. Both Somaliland and Puntland maintain their own security forces. Southern Somalia has been infested by various warlords and their militias.

US Marines hit the beach near Mogadishu in December 1992 and a two-year UN “humanitarian” mission began in 1993 -- ostensibly to alleviate famine, particularly in the south. Although the mission was classed “humanitarian,” that noble motive was tarnished by the eager participation and encouragement of oil companies. Soon after the US arrived in Somalia, Conoco (now Conoco Phillips), one of the oil companies that had been exploring the area during the Siad Barre regime and the only one that had continued to maintain an office in Somalia, offered to lease its headquarters compound to the US. The Conoco compound became a virtual US embassy. Rumor had it that Conoco was close to a big oil discovery and kept an office in the country to help preserve the company’s rights. This prompted many critics to challenge the humanitarian pretext, saying that US intervention was really to protect big oil. It is interesting that the World bank petroleum study, and Thomas O’Connor’s statement (see above), came out during the US occupation.

This accusation gained more credibility alongside the fact that Islamist armed forces had already made visible inroads, particularly around Mogadishu, Marka, and Bosaso. These terrorists saw “the real US objectives to be (1) controlling the new oil grid in Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, and Yemen, which was the ultimate reason for the hidden agenda behind the ‘humanitarian’ arrival of the marines; (2) setting up a pro-America government in Mogadishu; and (3) advancing from Somalia into southern Sudan, which would then become ‘a region to wear out the Islamic question’ the same as Iraqi Kurdistan was already being used to wear out Saddam Hussein.”⁷⁴

The Islamist terrorists immediately started their campaign against the occupation. They were supplied with weapons smuggled in through Sudan.⁷⁵ They worked through various warlords to

⁷³Somalia looks like a numeral seven. The upper, horizontal part is the former British Somaliland. The lower, more-vertical part is the former Italian Somaliland.

⁷⁴Bodansky, page 70.

⁷⁵See Bodansky, page 67.

attack UN/US forces and make their stay in Somalia very unpleasant. The Marines' Hollywood-style beachhead in December 1992, with cameras rolling and floodlights glaring, gave the appearance of little opposition. That was soon to change.

The Islamists, headquartered in Sudan -- with support from Iran, Lebanon, and Yemen -- planned their offensive. Osama bin Laden was in charge of logistics. Muhammad Atef was his military commander.⁷⁶ A trap was set up that on 5 June 1993 enticed US troops to pursue warlord Mohammad Farah Aidid and attack his compound. But when the Americans attacked in what they thought would be a simple operation they were ambushed by an overwhelming and well-equipped Islamist terrorist army. At least one Black Hawk helicopter was shot down and 18 Americans were killed. Other UN soldiers were also killed as well as between 500 and 1,000 Somalis massacred -- many of them women, children, and the elderly. One dead American was dragged through the streets of Mogadishu by a mob -- a scene that is attributed as President Clinton's reason to withdraw US troops from Somalia. In a later interview, bin Laden stated: "We also believe that our battle against America is much simpler than the war against the Soviet Union, because some of our mujahideen [holy warriors] who fought here in Afghanistan also participated in the operations against the Americans in Somalia -- and they were surprised at the collapse of American morale. This convinced us that the Americans are a paper tiger."⁷⁷

The Islamist operation in Somalia was the first major event in which terrorists from many countries and organizations coalesced to form a unified force. It was also the first campaign in which Sunni and Shiite Islamists worked together in a coalition. A 30 June 2002 *Washington Post* article entitled "Experts Fear Alliance of Terror Groups" sensationalizes this decade-old "teaming up" of the Shiite-backed Hezbollah terrorists with the Fundamentalist Sunni Al-Qaida organization as news just off the press.⁷⁸ But as illustrated above, this is now new. Shiite and Sunni Muslim terrorists actually came together in 1991 to share tactical information and training resources. This happened shortly after bin Laden set up his headquarters in Sudan. Yes, traditional Muslims in these sects do have serious differences regarding Islam, and that has not changed. But the terrorist factions, shunning traditionalism, have two common goals: 1) expelling western "crusaders" and jews from Muslim land and 2) creating Islamic states. The first manifestation of this alliance was the fatal ambush of 5 June 1993 which resulted in withdrawal of American troops from Somalia.⁷⁹

When the entire UN force withdrew in 1995, Somalia's political system remained extremely unstable. There is no legal system and Sharia (Islamic) law and secular courts are in some localities. There is no permanent national government but an interim transitional national government was

⁷⁶Mohammed Atef became Al Qaida's military commander. He is believed to have been killed in November 2001 during the war on Afghanistan.

⁷⁷Cited in Bodansky, page 89.

⁷⁸See Priest and Farah.

⁷⁹All of this is meticulously described in Bodansky, pages 25-40 and chapter 3. Bodansky is an internationally renowned threat analyst and a former senior consultant to the State and Defense Departments, and is director of the Congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare.

established in the capital city of Mogadishu in August 2000. Its president is Abdikassim Salad Hassan. It has a three-year mandate to create a permanent national government. But the transitional government, with its reformed Somali National Army, barely controls Mogadishu. It does not recognize Somaliland as an independent state, or Puntland as an autonomous province, and it has failed to unite the country. Meanwhile, numerous warlords and factions -- with their many militias -- are fighting for control of Mogadishu and other regions of the south.

Suspicious of Somali links with global terrorism complicates the picture. According to Yossef Bodansky, the Islamist terrorists started rebuilding their forward base in Somalia as part of their overall presence in East Africa. He points to safe houses established in Mogadishu by bin Laden as one example.⁸⁰ None of this will provide the regional stability needed for oil companies to exploit the petroleum potential of Somalia.

Other Terrorist Activity in East Africa.

Kenya and **Tanzania** have been the locations of international terrorist attacks. As I said above, Tanzania is really part of Southern Africa but I am including it here because global terrorism has reached that country. Kenya lies just south of Ethiopia and Somalia and has an Indian Ocean coastline. Tanzania lies just south of Kenya and also has an Indian Ocean coastline.

Kenya (population 31 million) is 78 percent Christian and only 10 percent Muslim. It became independent from Britain on 12 December 1963. Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's liberation struggle leader, became the founding president until his death in 1978. Daniel Toroitich arap Moi succeeded him on October 14th of that year. In 1982, Moi's party made itself the sole legal party in Kenya. Marred by violence and fraud, elections in 1992 and 1997 failed to dislodge Moi, but he is constitutionally required to step down for the scheduled 27 December 2002 elections.

Kenya's economy is hampered by corruption and reliance on agricultural exports with declining value. In 1997 the International Monetary Fund suspended Kenya's Enhanced Structural Adjustment Program because of the government's failure to curb corruption, but resumed some aid briefly in 2000 to help the country survive a severe drought

Tanzania (population 37 million) was formed on 26 April 1964 by uniting Tanganyika and Zanzibar -- two colonies which had become independent from Britain on 9 December 1961 and 19 December 1963 respectively.⁸¹ The mainland is 30 percent Christian and 35 percent Muslim. Zanzibar is 99 percent Muslim. Democratic elections in 1995 signaled the end of a one-party government. President Benjamin William Mkapa was elected on November 23rd of that year. Zanzibar's semi-autonomous status and popular opposition has led to two contentious elections since then, which Mkapa's party won although international observers reported voting irregularities. Tanzania is one of the world's poorest countries. It is heavily dependent on agriculture although natural gas exploration looks promising in the Rufiji Delta.

Terrorists struck on 7 August 1998. Two US embassies were simultaneously bombed -- one in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, and the other in Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of Tanzania. In Nairobi,

⁸⁰See Bodansky, page 234.

⁸¹The new United country was first called the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. It was renamed the United Republic of Tanzania on 29 October 1964.

the embassy doors were blown off and a seven-story building next to the embassy collapsed. The embassy in Dar-es-Salaam had one side blown off. All together, 250 people were killed and 5,500 injured.

These bombings, 450 miles apart, were planned and executed by the Iranian-based HizbAllah⁸² International. HizbAllah International was established in June 1996 to integrate all the various Sunni and Shiite terrorist groups into one global movement. Osama bin Laden sits as one of the “Committee of Three” which does the coordinating, planning, and execution of attacks for this international terrorist organization.

Three weeks after the bombings, President Clinton retaliated. He unleashed some 80 Tomahawk cruise missiles against terrorist training camps in Afghanistan and a suspected chemical weapons factory in Sudan. These strikes garnered more support for bin Laden’s plan of action against the US and Israel. But as far as actually stimulating terrorist activities, the strikes merely gave additional motivation and justification for what was already planned.

On 28 November 2002 (Thanksgiving Day) the terrorists struck again in Kenya. This time the strike was aimed more at Israeli tourists than Americans. About 7:00 AM a four-wheel drive vehicle crashed through the gates of the Israeli-owned beachfront Paradise Hotel and headed for the lobby. A witness says that one man, with explosives strapped on, jumped out of the car and ran into the lobby before exploding. Two others stayed in the car which exploded outside. Sixteen people were killed, including the three suicide bombers. Almost simultaneously, what are believed to be at least two Soviet made, shoulder-fired SA-7 surface-to-air missiles were fired at an Israeli airliner as it was taking off from Kenya. Fortunately, these missiles failed to hit their target. In a coordinated attack in Israel itself, a gunman killed six people.

In early November 2002, just before the bombing of the beach resort, and after years of ethnic politics and social disharmony, the leader of Kenya’s political opposition coalition spoke of the upcoming elections. Raila Odinga, prime minister elect for the coalition, and who had been imprisoned for his political beliefs by President Daniel arap Moi’s regime in the 1980s, said reconciliation, anti-corruption, and reform of a stagnated economy would be his coalition party’s chief priorities.

In spite of a campaign tainted by irregularities, the 39-year-old corrupt party was toppled. The opposition alliance won a landslide vote. Miwai Kibaki became president and there is new hope in the people. But the terrorist threat continues.

CONCLUSION

Africa endures extreme poverty where the masses are unable to improve their condition. The African people become desperate under such vile conditions and that feeling of reckless abandon becomes even more acute when they see a corrupt government skimming national revenues for their own agenda without regard for the people. Or when they see a large foreign corporation carrying away their wealth of natural resources with scant compensation to any except to prop up a sympathetic ruler. It is in this milieu where terrorism garners public support and makes inroads.

⁸²HizbAllah means “Party of God.” It is sometimes spelled Hizballah, Hezbollah, or Hizbollah).

Fanatic leaders do exploit the situation, but at the grass roots level there is more a difference in degree than in substance between terrorism and rebellion against social injustices. When that connection can be seen, a plan to eradicate terrorism can be mapped.

Tunisian President Ben Ali saw that connection when he took office in 1987. He set out to wage a war against terrorism long before that term became the watchword around the globe. The first thing he did was identify and isolate the enemy. This was a twofold process. First was to locate the leaders and prosecute them to the fullest extent the law allows. Second was to identify the social conditions that foster terrorism and correct them with an ambitious and positive program.

In the first part Ben Ali began by separating extremists from the Islamic faith. He exposed terrorist acts as inconsistent with a faith that fostered love, tolerance, forgiveness, hard work, and knowledge. He defined the type of acts that terrorists commit -- offences aimed at harming persons or property, intimidation and fear, and incitement to religious hatred or fanaticism -- as illegal and prosecuted fully those who were guilty of committing them.

In the second part, the president identified the breeding grounds of terrorism and set out to change the entire social-political-economic structure. As Anver Versi stated it; "The war on terrorism would also be a war on poverty and need, a war on ignorance, a war on despondency and marginalisation, a war on disease, a war on inequality and a war on oppression."⁸³ Ben Ali instituted a process of national reconciliation where all segments of society would openly discuss the future of their country. Anver Versi describes the result:

Over the past 13 years, Tunisia has slashed the rate of poverty to a negligible 4%, 75% of the population own their own home, infant mortality has halved, life expectancy has increased, virtually all children receive education, young people get free vocational training or very soft loans to start their own businesses, and Tunisia has become the second most computerized country in Africa after South Africa. Is it any wonder then that you will find it a very hard task to discover a fundamentalist in Tunisia today?⁸⁴

The world needs a global equivalent of Tunisia's brand of fighting terrorism.

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GLOSSARY

AI	Amnesty International.
Amoco	Probably originally meant American Oil Company.
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation group.
Arco	Atlantic Richfield Company.
AVS	Anambra State Vigilante Service.
BP	British Petroleum.
CABGOC	Cabina Gulf Oil Company, an overseas operating subsidiary of Chevron-Texaco.
CAR	Central African Republic.
Chevron	Formerly Standard Oil of California
CIA	Central intelligence Agency.
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Force.
Conoco	Continental Oil and Transportation Company.
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo.
EGPC	Egyptian General Petroleum Company.
Esso	An overseas operating subsidiary of Exxon-Mobil.
G8	Group of 8. It consists of the seven most industrialized countries in the world plus Russia. Those seven industrialized countries are Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the US.
Exxon	Formerly Standard Oil of New Jersey.
GDP	Gross Domestic Product.
ICG	International Crisis Group.
ILSA	Iran-Libya Sanctions Act of 1996 (US).

IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks, part of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
Islamist	A follower of the extremist, fundamentalist form of Islam -- a militant Muslim terrorist.
Jihad	Islamic term for “Holy War.”
LDC	Least Developed Countries.
LNG	Liquified Natural Gas.
LPG	Liquified Petroleum Gas (propane and butane).
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization.
NNPC	Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation.
NOC	Libya’s state-owned National Oil Company
NSA	National Security Agency.
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.
Pan Am	Pan American Airlines (US, now defunct).
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization.
SPLA	Sudan People’s Liberation Army.
Texaco	Probably originally meant Texas Company.
UAE	United Arab Emirates.
UN	United Nations.
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.
Unocal	Union Oil of California.
US	United States.
USN	United States Navy.
WTO	World Trade Organization.

APPENDIX-A
MAP OF AFRICA



Source: Country Analysis Briefs,
Energy Information Administration,
US Department of Energy
<http://www.eia.doe.gov>

APPENDIX-B

GOVERNMENT CONNECTIONS TO THE OIL AND GAS INDUSTRY⁸⁵

George Bush Jr. has numerous representative from the energy industry working in his administration:

- **George Bush Jr. -- President of the US:** Started Bush Exploration/Arbusto in the 1970s. On Board of Directors of Harken Energy (currently struggling against opposition to stop Harken from offshore drilling and exploration). Owns stock in General Electric, BP-Amoco-Arco, Duke Energy, Exxon-Mobil, Newmont Gold Mining Corp., Pennzoil (now merging with Shell), and Tom Brown Inc. While running for President, the energy industry donated US\$2.8 billion and the auto industry US\$2.3 billion to his campaign.
- **Dick Cheney -- Vice President of the US:** Former Defense secretary under Bush Sr. administration, then CEO of Halliburton, the world's largest oil-services company. During 1992-2000 Halliburton has contributed US\$1.6 billion to the campaigns of Washington politicians. In 1994, while CEO of Halliburton, he helped to broker a deal between Chevron (now Chevron-Texaco) and Kazakhstan.
- **Condaleeza Rice -- National Security Adviser:** Member of Chevron (now Chevron-Texaco) Board of Directors for ten years (had the honor of having a supertanker named "Condaleeza"). While with Chevron she was its chief expert on Kazakhstan. Chevron is also a player in Nigeria. Rice will oversee foreign policy relating to both countries.
- **Spencer Abraham -- Secretary of Energy:** His constituency is indicated by campaign donations from Ford, General Motors, and Daimler Chrysler when he was running for reelection as Senator from Michigan. He lost, but he personally fought against fuel efficiency limits for sport-utility vehicles, promoting renewable energy, and the federal gasoline tax.
- **Gale Norton -- Secretary of Interior:** Former corporate lawyer and advocate of "free market environmentalism." Has long been a supporter of oil drilling in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Previously attorney general of Colorado where British Petroleum and Ford were among her campaign supporters.
- **Don Evans -- Secretary of Commerce:** George Bush Jr's campaign manager and chief fundraiser in three elections. Former CEO and Chairman of Colorado-based oil company Tom Brown Inc. Formerly on Board of Directors for Sharp Drilling. In his cabinet job he will be overseeing such issues as climate change and offshore oil drilling.
- **Thomas E. White -- Secretary of the Army:** Before this appointment he was vice chairman of Enron Energy Services.
- **Zalmay Khalilzad -- Special Envoy to Afghanistan:** Consultant to Unocal in 1997 while studying the proposed gas pipeline. In that position, and while the Taliban still ruled Afghanistan, Khalilzad wrote in the *Washington Post* that the "Taliban do not practice the anti-US style of fundamentalism practiced by Iran. We should be willing to offer recognition and humanitarian assistance."⁸⁶
- **Tom Kean -- Head of the Independent Panel to Investigate September 11th.** Director on the board of Amerada Hess (New York, NY) a petroleum company with operations in Africa and Southeast Asia. The company is also in a partnership with Delta Oil Company (Saudi Arabia) in a joint venture called Hess-Delta, an oil exploration and production consortium incorporated in the Cayman Islands.

Many of the lower echelon officials in the Bush administration have similar backgrounds in the energy industry.

⁸⁵"Greasing the Machine." Also see Baldi and Kennedy.

⁸⁶Cited in Baldi and Kennedy.

APPENDIX-C

HELP FOR OIL COMPANIES FROM FORMER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS⁸⁷

- **James Baker** -- Secretary of State in the Bush Sr. administration helped negotiate with Caspian Basin governments. He is also the principal attorney in the law firm Baker & Botts which represents the Shah Diaz pipeline consortium.
- **Brent Scowcroft** -- National Security Advisor in the Bush Sr. administration helped negotiate with Caspian Basin governments.
- **John Sununu** -- White House Chief of Staff in the Bush Sr. administration helped negotiate with Caspian Basin governments.
- **Alexander Haig** -- National Security Adviser and Secretary of State in the Reagan administration. Hired by Turkmenistan to stimulate US investment in that country and to soften the US position opposing pipelines through Iran.
- **Henry Kissinger** -- National Security Adviser and Secretary of State in the Nixon administration and Secretary of State in the Ford administration. Hired by Unocal as adviser on CentGas gas pipeline through Afghanistan.
- **Robert Oakley** -- Former US Ambassador to Pakistan, headed Unocal's Afghan Advisory Committee.

⁸⁷Source: Zehle

APPENDIX-D

OIL & GAS COMPANIES BASED IN THE US OR WITH US AFFILIATES

(Exploration, Production & Construction)

Not a comprehensive list

Amerada Hess	New York, NY
Andarko	Houston, TX
Anschutz Exploration	Denver, CO
Apache Corporation	Houston, TX
Atlantic Methanol Production. Co.	Houston, TX
Baker Hughes Inc.	Houston, TX
Bechtel Corporation	Houston, TX and other cities.
BP-Amoco-Arco	British -- Amoco & Arco are US
Chevron-Texaco	Bellaire, TX
CMS Energy	Houston, TX
Coho Energy	Dallas, TX
Conoco-Phillips	Houston, TX
Devon Energy	Oklahoma City, OK
Esso	Foreign operating subsidiary of Exxon-Mobil
Exxon-Mobil Corp.	Irving, TX
Forest Oil	Denver, CO
Globex International	Mountain Lakes, NJ
Grace Energy Corp.	Dallas, TX -- Also Grace Petroleum & Grace Drilling Corps
Grynberg Petroleum Co.	Denver, CO
Hunt Oil Corporation	Dallas, TX
Lasmo	British -- Affiliated with Amerada Hess
Marathon Oil Company	Pittsburgh, PA
Maxus Energy Corp.	Dallas, TX
Noble Energy	Houston, TX (formerly Noble Affiliates)
Nueva Energy Co.	Houston, TX
Occidental Petroleum Corp.	Dallas, TX -- affiliate of Occidental Chemical Corp.
Ocean Energy	Houston, TX (oil exploration)
Pecten (or Pectin Cameroon)	80% owned by Shell. Operates in Cameroon
Pennzoil	Merged with Shell (also includes Quaker State)
Pioneer Natural Resources	Irving, TX
Quintana Oil Co.	Houston, TX
Samedan Oil	A subsidiary of Noble Energy
Seagull	Houston, TX
Sharp Drilling	Midland, TX
Shell	US -- a subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell
Sicor	Houston, TX
Tom Brown, Inc.	Denver, CO
TotalFinaElf	French -- Total is US affiliate
Union Oil of California (UNOCAL)	El Segundo, CA
Vaalco	Houston, TX
Vanco Energy	Houston, TX (deep water drilling)
Western Geophysical	Houston, TX -- Parent Company of Haliburton