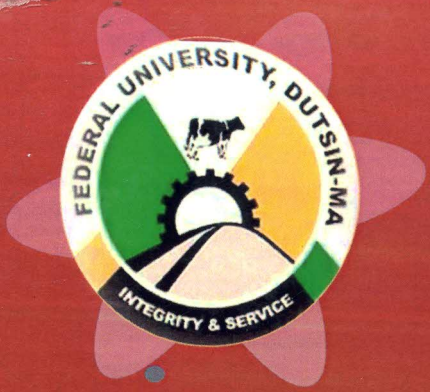


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TERRORISM IN AFRICA: A SEARCH FOR COLLABORATIVE STRATEGY

Odeigah Theresa Nfam and *Ochoga, Edwin Ochoga*

bstract

This paper has established that before now terrorism was entirely a new phenomenon in Africa. Since the September 2001 attacks on the US by the Al-Qaeda, the Madrid train bombing in April, 2004 and the July, 2005 attacks on the London transportation system, terrorism gradually started gaining prominence in the Middle East, now operating in Somalia, Nigeria, Kenya, Central African Republic and other African countries. The paper used qualitative data and argues that most of terrorist groups in the African continent are believed to have fraternity with the Al-Qaeda, where the terrorists enjoy training, funding and other strategic support from the Al-Qaeda. If the desire of every patriotic African is to get the continent rid of terrorism, then, the strategy must be both preventive and combative in nature. As part of the preventive measures, the paper also contends that African states have the golden option of institutionalizing good governance towards poverty, unemployment, corruption and illiteracy reduction, control of proliferation of weapons and the outright condemnation of religious extremism. On the other hand, since terrorism is complex and the challenges are enormous, it was observed that the Africa Union and the global community do not have to relent in their efforts to tackle the raging plague of terrorism. It concludes that the increasing trend of terrorism in the continent is a challenge for the African Union to adopt a large scale of action in tackling the menace by joining hands with African countries plagued by terrorism to concretely combat the challenge in the continent. The paper recommends that military and non-military measures to curb terrorism in Nigeria should be pre-emptive and proactive.

eywords: Terrorism, Strategy, Collaboration, Governance and Africa

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Introduction

In the past, most acts of terrorism occurred in the Middle East, Eur and South Asia, but toady what was seen as alien activities now oper in Nigeria and some other African countries. Terrorism has becom major instrument of protracted warfare in contemporary world. Terror in every form is more complicated than conventional warfare. The intric is because its operations are emotional-laden as a rhetorical weapo often employed by those who hold different ideologies. In 50 BC, Ju Caeser encouraged the taking of hostage to ensure the obedience conquered tribes. The word terrorism first came into widespread during the French Revolution between 1789 and 1799 (Gallagher, 19 The French Revolution is said to have provided the ideological basis justifying acts of terror in pursuit of certain political objectives.

Over the years, despite the concerted effort by the internatio community to curb the scourge of terrorism, terrorists have strategica increased their dehumanizing activities mostly in Africa, and the Mid East. The volume of terrorist activities has grown at an annual rate about 12 to 15 percent. Several factors suggest the likelihood of continued growth. The increase in the volume of terrorist activities been matched by the geographic spread of terrorism – a slow, long-te trend (Awuku,2000). The pattern of this trend varies from continen continent, and from state to state. Terrorism has become the instrum of insurgencies around the world, particularly in countries in the Mid East, Asia and Africa. Some notable terrorist's organizations include Qaeda, Taliban, and al-Shabaab, Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (IS Assad, Boko Haram and among others.

In Africa, a major historical act of terrorism was first recorded in 19 when some Moroccan rebels kidnapped an American (Igbinnovia, 19 The victim's home government put pressure on the French governme which was also to mount pressure on the King of Morocco to rele their detained colleagues. The wind of democratic change which bl from Eastern Europe following the collapse of the Soviet Union oper up internal crises in several African countries like Liberia, Sierra Leo Angola, South Africa, Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Za Algeria and others. Today, Africa is an interesting continent for the stu of terrorism and other forms of sectarian violence.

Today, terrorism is no longer a new phenomenon in Africa, as the Shabaab is operating Somalia, the Boko Haram in Nigeria, the Anar- dine in Mali etc. Apart from kidnapping, bombing and sporadic shoot at religious workshop centers, and other public places are notable aim target of the terrorist groups operating in the continent. Each of th

terrorist groups has their peculiar reasons for killing innocent citizens and the destruction of socio-economic infrastructures that are meant for development purposes. For whatever are their reasons are predicated upon, the pertinent question is ; why is Africa continuing to be ravaging by all manners of sectarian violence and no crowded it with up with the almighty menace called terrorism. To this end, the causes of terrorism in some African countries, and the challenges of African governments in the fight against terrorism have remained issues of mixed reaction in public discourse. Thus, this is the gap that this chapter intend to fill and as such the thrust of this chapter is to critically x-ray the possible causes of terrorism, the problems associated with the campaign against terrorism in Africa, and as well as the strategy to enhance successful fight against terrorism. And the rest is to provide answers to these problems.

Theoretical Underpinnings: The Meaning and Causes of Terrorism

Terrorism is an advance form of violent conflict that its devastating effects are always unimaginable. There are several existing theories that try to provide theoretical explanation to justify why violent conflicts occur. The source of terrorism is indeed a controversial discourse. Thus, this chapter sees the relevant of adopting the Psycho-Cultural Conflict Theory, as every terrorist organization found expression in socio-cultural cleavages as their source of operation. In other words, since almost all the terrorist groups in the world profess one religion or the other, the Psycho-Cultural Conflict Theory remained relevant to this chapter, hence religious professing is the motivation for terrorists.

The Psycho-Cultural Conflict Theory is associated with the ground works of Ross (1993), Burtton (1990), Crighton (1991), Rothschild and Groth (1995) and others. This theory emphasises the role of culturally induced conflict; it shows how enemy images are created from deep-seated attitudes about human action that are learned from early stages of growth in the explanation of conflict Ross (cited in Faleti,2007:48). It contends that even though there are different forms of identities, the one that is based on people's ethnic origin and the culture that is learned on the basis of that ethnic origin, is one of the most important ways of explaining violent conflict. Identity is thus seen to be the reason for social conflict that takes long to resolve. However, despite their belief that ethnicity is the biggest sources of identity-based conflicts, those who hold this view agree that this does not mean that conflict is unavoidable wherever there is the difference (Faleti,2007).

The theory believe that social conflicts often occur when groups of people feel that they are discriminated or deprived of their material or

immaterial aspirations on the ground of their ethnic-religious ori
Rothchild and Groth (1995) argued that a history of humiliati
oppression, victimization, feelings of inferiority and other forms
experiences which wear away a person's dignity and self-esteem
lead people to resort to vengeance constitute part of what has been refer
to as the 'pathological dimensions of ethnicity (cited in Faleti,2007:50-

Be that as it may, since it is no longer hidden that the operation
Boko Haram and other terrorist groups are propelled and motivated
certain Divine norms that are best known to they, it could be summari
that the intrinsic desire to profess and propagate that Divine norm
belief in a certain manners that have led to the recurrent spread
terrorism in Nigeria and other countries in the world. Therefore,
inherent desire to prove a point on the basis of what they believed
cherished whether it is real or an imagination is responsible for
dehumanized phenomenon of terrorist acts. Terrorism is a comp
warfare as all those who believed in propagating ideology by the terro
would be the rally point for membership and funding. It is on this prem
that terrorism can be defined as a non conventional warfare group wh
dehumanizing activities are propelled and motivated by certain ideol
and other cultural cleavages which they believed and vowed to die

Fundamentally, the root cause of terrorism in Nigeria and some ot
African countries is blamed on over emphasize on epic phenomenon
socio-cultural dynamics that are inherent in the African societies. As l
population in Nigeria and most African countries pay more allegianc
their cultural cleavages than they do to their nation. This complexity wh
is rooted in micro-nationalism affects governance and individu
perceptions about the state. Other likely causes of terrorism in Af
include; bad governance, poverty, illiteracy, religious fundamentali
political interest and proliferation of weapons. Forms of terrorism in Af
has being manifested to include bombing and sporadic shooting in religi
workshop centers, motor parks, government offices premises in one ha
and kidnapping of large number of people like the Chibok girls.

Terrorism Groups

There are several terrorist groups in the world, but terrorist grou
operating in Africa are not limited to the under summarized terro
organizations.

- **Al-Qaeda**: Al-Qaeda is one of the foremost and notable internatio
terrorist groups believed to be founded by late Osama Bin Lad
The Al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for the September 11, 2001, T
Tower attack on the World Trade Centre in United State of Americ

It is believed that Al- Qaeda is the ground terrorist group in the world and it has fraternity and linkages with other notable terrorist groups across the world.

- **Al-Shabaab**: The Al-Shabaab as a terrorist group is an off-shoot of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), which splintered into several smaller factions after its defeat in 2006 by Somalia's Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and the TFG's Ethiopian military allies. The group has described itself as waging jihad against "enemies of Islam", and is engaged in combat against the Federal Government of Somalia and the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM). In early August 2011, the Transitional Federal Government's troops and their AMISOM allies managed to capture all of Mogadishu from the Al-Shabaab militants. An ideological rift within the group's leadership also emerged, and over the years several members of the Al-Shabaab's senior commanders were assassinated. The group has also been suspected of having links with Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb and Boko Haram.
- **Boko Haram**: The Nigeria Boko Haram is also known as Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad; Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad; meaning people committed to the Prophet's Teachings for Propagation and Jihad; Sunni Group for Preaching and Jihad. Founded by late Mohhammed Yusuf and presently headed by Abubakar Shekau. This group was designated as a terrorist organization on November 14, 2013. This Nigeria-based terrorist group responsible for numerous attacks in northeastern Nigeria that have killed thousands of people since its emergence in 2009. The group espousing a violent Sunni extremist ideology and at times has received assistance, including funds and training, from al Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). The Boko Haram has extended its operations to the neighbouring countries of Cameroon, Chad and Niger Republic.
- **Ansar al-Dine**: This terrorist sect is also known as Ansar Dine; Ansar al-Din; Ancar Dine; Ansar ul-Din; Ansar Eddine; meaning the defenders of the Faith. The Ansar al-Dine (AAD) was designated as a Terrorist Organization on March 22, 2013 operating in Mali. AAD was created in late 2011 after AAD's leader, Iyad ag Ghali, failed in an attempt to take over another secular Tuareg organization. Following the March 2012 coup that toppled the Malian government, AAD was among the organizations to take over northern Mali, destroy UNESCO World Heritage sites, and enforce a severe interpretation of Sharia law upon the civilian population living in the areas it controlled. Ansar Al-Dine's location and area of operation includes the Northern Mali, and Southwestern Libya.

- **Ansar al-Sharia:** The Ansar al-Sharia was formed during the Liby revolution and rose to prominence after the killing of Muamm Gaddafi. This terrorist organization is believed to have made up former rebels from the Abu Obayda Bin Aljarah Brigade, Malik Briga etc. Their first major public appearance occurred on 7 June 2012, wh they led a rally of as many as 200 pickup trucks mounted with artiller along Benghazi's Tahrir Square and demanded the imposition of Sha law. Ansar al-Sharia carried out destruction of Sufi shrines in Bengha which they regarded as idolatrous. The group has also engaged i series of attacks on Sufi shrines all over the country. Aside from milita activities, Ansar al-Sharia has attempted to gain local support throug Dawah (missionary activities), the provision of social services, rangi from security patrols to garbage collection, and the establishment medical clinics and religious schools. In January 2015, the group introduce Islamic religious police and a Sharia Court in parts of Benghazi.

  The Ansar Bait al-Maqdis: The Ansar Bait al-Maqdis literally mea the Supporters of the Holy House, or Ansar Jerusalem or "Supporte of Jerusalem." This terrorist group is based in Egypt. The Ansar Ba al-Maqdis emerged as an extremist militant group after the Egyptia revolution in 2011, with its operations increasing in the wake of th Egyptian Revolution of 2013 and the overthrow of Mohamed Mors The group was believed to have been the main group behind th militant activity in the Sinai. The group recruited Bedouins as well a other Egyptians and people of other nationalities.

ii.

iii.

The Effects of Terrorism

Terrorism and terrorist attack have political, economic and psychologic effects on the people and the government. They are:

i. **The Political Effects:** Virtually all the terrorist groups in the worl have a political objective. Although, the objectives may differ, the operations manifest similar pattern of airplane hijackings, kidnapping assassinations, bombing and applying sufficient pressures o governments to achieve certain political aims. For example, Al Qaeda bomb attack on American diplomatic quarters in Saudi Arabia in 199 which resulted in the death of 32 persons and injury to 112 peopl was intended to press their demand for the withdrawal of America troops from the holy land (Schmid,2003). In other words, If a stat sees the anticipated negative consequences of future terroris operations as greater than the cost of conceding to terrorist demand the effect is that the government will grant the terrorists som consideration and accommodation.

Also, the inability of a government to quickly and effectively curb terrorism activities could be used by the opposition parties in the state to count against the efficiency and effectiveness of the party in power to handle insurgency and security matters in general. This situation found expression in Nigeria during the electioneering campaign towards the just concluded 2015 general elections, when the main opposition party (All Progressive Congress) used the protracted terrorist activities of the Boko Haram in Nigerian as campaign strategy against the President Goodlock Jonathan led rulings party of People Democratic Party.

The Economic Effects: Terrorism has a devastating effect on the economy of affected states. The areas of effect includes; reduction in human capital development due outright killing and displacement of citizens living in the affected communities, destruction of socio-economic infrastructure, channeling of funds meant for developmental projects to the cost of managing terrorism. Other negative economic consequences of terrorism include; the discouragement of foreign investors and complete stoppage of meaningful socio-economic activities due to the fear of insecurity. Damages done to socio-economic facilities by terrorists invariably amount to development sect back for affected communities. For example, the attacks of 11 Sep 01 had significant economic costs that have been estimated to the tune of between $80 and $90 billion (Walter,2003).

ii. **The Psycho-Socio Effects:** Terrorism wields a considerable amount of power by its psychological effect on large populations; this is why it is usually a tool of the powerless. The perpetual fear of attack by people living in terrorism volatile areas is one of the great psychological effects of terrorism. Like the case of Nigeria, religious faithful in terrorism propped areas are being psychologically conditioned in their places of worship due to the fear of possible attack, although, only a few people may be injured but millions of people realize that "it could have been they," because they, too, shop in markets. (Awuku, 2000) and also those that attend church services and board public vehicles form the motor parks. These categories of persons that are psychologically affected are the people that have either lost their loved ones or being displaced from their ancestral homes by terrorists. They are often be dramatized by hearing the word terrorism in public discourse.

Challenges Impeding the Fight against Terrorism

The challenge of African states and their military in curbing the threat of terrorism is not that terrorists are overwhelming the government forces

in any regard. Rather, the problem is how the militaries can get pub support both domestic and international when the terrorists intens their bloody attack on citizens, and there is a corresponding change tactics by the militaries. Another possible challenge militating against fight on terrorism include but not limited to bad governance, proliferat of weapons, poverty, religious fundamentalism and absence of sta collaboration. These are discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

i. **Bad Governance, Poverty and Unemployment:** Crime and pover are often believed to be off springs of bad governance. Where b governance exists, there is tendency to have institutionalis corruption, high rate of unemployment, increase in illiteracy rate, a high living condition. These phenomenons are good recipes that a capable of providing a fertile ground for the recruitment of terroris to form a group against the state and the people like the Boko Hara insurgency in Nigeria. As rightly observed by a former Philippin President, Arroyo, terrorism will spread like contagion; it will spre like Sears, if we don't address the poverty that represents the breedi grounds for terrorism.... In any country, terrorism thrives and ge its recruits, not coincidentally in the poorest provinces of the count (cited in Wardlaw, 2008). On the other hand, institutionalise corruption orchestrated by bad governance can invariably a tactically prolong the fight against terrorism in a state.

ii. **Religious Fundamentalism and Illiteracy:** The high rate of illitera in the northern part of Nigeria and other part of Africa created a ferti environment that attracted religious fundamentalists to spread the ideology to local populace for dubious interest. The erroneo perception that western education and democracy are alien to certa religious group is counter- productive. Experience has shown th extremists used the opportunity of forming religious movemen which later metamorphosed into terrorist organizations. For examp Al-Qaeda was formed by Osama Bin Laden to bring together Ara who fought in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. Al-Qaeda's ma objective is to establish a great Islamic Kingdom throughout the worl

In another instance, the Boko Haram terrorist group in Niger started as a religious movement but later metamorphosed into terror Islamic groups that have considered western education and democra as forbidden. In other words, people with terrorist tendency oft use religion to manipulate illiterate citizens that democrat government is un-Islamic and as such they should distance themselv from government activities, and join the struggle to institute a "tr

Islamic state that would be governed by Sharia Law; where Islamic education would be cherished and promoted. This assumption is not far from what Boko Harams are propagating. Therefore, since religious oriented ideologies are difficult topics in any public discourse, religious fundamentalism and illiteracy remained twin phenomenon that is capable of frustrating government's effort in the fight against terrorism.

iii. **Proliferation of Weapons:** It is difficult to completely stop the production of the types of weapon used by contemporary terrorists, but it is earlier to curtain the movement of such weapons. When it is not curtained, the accessibility and easy movement of weapons across the porous borders facilitates the spread of terrorism. Like the operational base of the Boko Haram at the Sambisa forest, most terrorist groups target some countries and regions due to a number of reasons which include the region's proximity to porous borders. The steady movement of weapons cross porous borders and the non adherence to international law provisions against proliferation of weapons remain a fundamental threat to the fight against terrorism.

iv. **Absence of Proactive Cooperation among States:** When terrorism is seen as an individual state's internal problem, this strategic posture of 'it does not concern us' is a threat to the unity of purpose needed in the global fight against terrorism. Experience has showed that terrorism cannot be timely and effectively tackled by the affected country alone. Multinational collaboration is fundamental for effective sharing of intelligence on the activities of terrorist groups. For example, the present multinational joint force among Nigeria, Chad, Niger Republic and the Cameroon is the strategy that have contributed to the successes recorded by the Nigerian Military in the fight against Boko Haram so far of which the Nigerian military has reclaimed all the communities previously captured by the terrorists.

Strategies for Enhancing the Fight against Terrorism in Africa

Based on the above explained problems affecting the fight against terrorism in Africa, the following strategies have been carefully suggested to enhance the eradication of terrorism in the continent.

i. **Institutionalization of Good Governance:** Good governance is instrumental for creating conducive environment for government institutions to be well-built enough so as to implement policies and programmes capable of having maximum triple down effects on the citizenry. When government institutions are not strong, there is tendency for government not to have the capability to manage conflicts

and even terrorism. The one of the consequences of bad gover is corrupt practices among public office holders. Corruption w public service has been globally identified as the fertile ground which terrorism thrives. With Good governance, relevant gover institutions will be fully utilized to provide every support for th against terror to be successful prosecuted. With the entrenchm good governance, government could pass resolutions compe concerned institutions within the state to manage their affai accordance with democratic tenets of fairness, justice, and the ru law, so as to eliminate the emergence of terrorists. In other w good governance is pivotal for boosting the moral of people wh directly involved in the application of both military and approaches in combating terrorism.

On the other hand, poverty and illiteracy could be by-produc *bad governance. Thus any government that sincerely deals with* flash points of poverty, unemployment and illiteracy, that governm is invariably preventing and reducing crime, conflict, terrorism, other social vices. In other words, poverty, unemployment *illiteracy could aid in the recruitment of terrorists and this trend* be check mated through strong adherent to the principles of g *governance, which involves commitment to public good, rule of* and popular electoral participation.

ii. **Controlling the Proliferation of Weapons**: The proliferatio weapons accounts for the increase in number of terrorist groups armed struggle. The UN should intensify its present efforts to the proliferation of weapons. This effort should be reinvigorated manner to collaborate with other regional and sub-regi organizations. The campaign against the proliferation of weapons be more resulted oriented if the collaboration is sustained. Also, porous nature of international borders especially in Africa shoul strictly protected, and illegal importers of weapons should prosecuted in accordance with relevant laws.

iii. **Cooperation among States:** If African states view terrorism as at to one, is an attack to all, collaboration will be timely to pragmatic curb the scourge of terrorism in the continent. The African Union Sub-regional organizations have to set up a specialized Commis that will be saddle with the responsible to under study terrorism f points in each member states, for the purpose of collaborative ur military and non military preventive actions. Where the terro exists, states should actively collaborate in the aspect of mili engagement, and as well as blockading the sources of weap

financing, terrorist's recruitment, and other logistics. Also, terrorism is entirely is an emerging phenomenon in Africa and as such how to combat terrorism is certainly not part of the strategic plan of militaries in the content. Therefore, there is urgent need for the African Union to collaborate with the United Nations in order to bridge the gaps in the ground strategic plan of most African States. Meanwhile, there is the need for the African Union to move towards conceptualizing a comprehensive approach to fight terrorism in Africa.

iv. **Check Mating acts of Religious Extremism:** Since very terrorist organization across world professes an ideology in which they claim to be inherent in one religion or the other, government at all levels should work closely with religious leaders to monitor activities of religious groups. For example, if the activities of the Boko Haram which stated as religious movement were noticed and properly monitored before 2009, the movement would not have been metamorphosed into radical terrorist group as they are today. The situation whereby some religious and community leaders perceived initial flash points of act of terror as an expression of oppression, separatist or ethnic feelings is capable of enhancing the growth and spread of terrorism in the continent. Also, ideological beliefs being advocated by any religious group that contradict divine provisions of the professed religion should be questioned and condemn by the hierarchy of the affected religious body. There is need for Africans to be more committed to national unity and peace, rather than paying more allegiance to cultural cleavages.

Conclusion

This paper has established that before now terrorism was entirely a new phenomenon in Africa. Since the September 2001 attacks on the US by the Al-Qaeda, the Madrid train bombing in April, 2004 and the July, 2005 attacks on the London transportation system, terrorism gradually started gaining prominence in the Middle East, now operating in Somalia, Nigeria, Kenya, Central African Republic and other African countries. Most of terrorist groups in the African content are believed to have fraternity with the Al-Qaeda, where the terrorists enjoy training, funding and other strategic support from the Al-Qaeda. If the desire of every patriotic Africans is to get the continent ride of terrorism, then, the strategy must be both preventing and combating in nature.

As part of the preventive measures, African states have the golden option of institutionalizing good governance towards poverty, unemployment, corruption and illiteracy reduction, control of

proliferation of weapons and the outright condemnation of reli extremism. On the other hand, since terrorism is complex an challenges are enormous, it was observed that the Africa Union an global community do not have to relent in their efforts to tackle the r plague of terrorism. The increasing trend of terrorism in the contin a challenge for the African Union to adopt a large scale of acti tackling the menace by joining hands with terrorism affected A countries to concretely combat terrorism in the continent.

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