

AFRICA AND TERRORISM IN A WORLD OF CHANGE

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Abstract

This paper noted that Terrorism in Africa is surprisingly alarming. This is because Africa as a continent is known for a modest approach to life, informed by cultural and peculiar ontological patterns. But in the last 10 years, Terrorism seems to be pushing its luck successfully on the continent, unleashing ruthlessness that has made Africa an island of blood and want. Employing the methods of analysis and phenomenology, the paper noted that the psychological basis of Terrorism is to destabilize Government and impose an extreme ideology not compatible with the idea of development and progress. The paper concluded using Ruchita Beri's expertise idea on tackling Terrorism. We must collectively nip Terrorism in the bud by fighting the root causes of it, otherwise, it would ravage us as a continent.

Key Words: Africa, Terrorism, Terrorism, Africa, World, Change.

Introduction

The issue of terrorism in African continent is surprisingly alarming given that Africa as a continent has modest approach to life hinged on cultural patterns, beliefs, traditions that were passed down and a communal disposition that partners with religion to create a unique experience for the African people.

The African has a negritudinal identity that has a communal character. Unlike the French Philosopher, Rene Descartes' *Cogito* of the self, the African believes in the "we" approach to life, which replaces the *Cogito* to *Cognatus*. Africans see themselves as brothers begotten by one common

ancestry. They have the "kinsman" attitude to life. And for this reason, they believe in the sacredness of life of every member of the African community.

The world is changing and the question becomes how does Africa as a continent sway with the trend? In a world of negative trends, as epitomized by Terrorism, what becomes the geographical fate of the African? Terrorism has become a global issue and affected nearly every continent of the world, Africa inclusive. Boko Haram in Nigeria, for instance, never seems unending. It has gained a perennial status, after it was not nipped in the bud at the initial stage.

In this paper, we shall be looking at Africa as a continent, terrorism in Africa and the various dimensions on the menace, the causes of Terrorism globally and how it spread to Africa and analyze how the world is changing, for good or bad? We will then give some soluble recommendations in our concluding reflection.

Africa as a continent

Africa is the world's second largest and second most-populous continent (the first being Asia in both categories). At about 30.3 million km² (11.7 million square miles) including adjacent islands, it covers 6% of Earth's total surface area and 20% of its total land area. With 1.2 billion people as of 2016, it accounts for about 16% of the world's human population. The continent is surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea to the north, both the Suez Canal and the Red Sea along the Sinai Peninsula to the northeast, the Indian Ocean to the southeast and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. The continent includes Madagascar and various archipelagos. It contains 54 fully recognized sovereign States (countries), nine territories and two de facto independent states with limited or no recognition. The majority of the continent and its countries are in the Northern Hemisphere, with a substantial portion and number of countries in the Southern Hemisphere. (Wikipedia 2018, para. 1).

Africa's average population is the youngest amongst all the continents; the median age in 2012 was 19.7, when the worldwide median age was 30.4. Algeria is Africa's largest country by area, and Nigeria is its largest by population. Africa, particularly central Eastern Africa, is widely accepted as the place of origin of humans and the *Hominidae Clade* (great apes), as evidenced by the discovery of the earliest hominids and their

ancestors, as well as later ones that have been dated to around seven million years ago, including *Sahelanthropus chadensis*, *Australopithecus africanus*, *A. Afarensis*, *Homo erectus*, *H. habilis* and *H. Ergaster* – with the earliest *Homo sapiens* (modern human) found in Ethiopia being dated to circa 200,000 years ago. Africa straddles the equator and encompasses numerous climate areas; it is the only continent to stretch from the northern temperate to southern temperate zones.

Africa hosts a large diversity of ethnicities, cultures and languages. In the late 19th century European countries colonized almost all of Africa; most present states in Africa originated from a process of decolonization in the 20th century. African nations cooperate through the establishment of the African Union, which is headquartered in Addis Ababa (Wikipedia 2018, para.2).

Afri was a Latin name used to refer to the inhabitants of Africa, which in its widest sense referred to all lands south of the Mediterranean (Ancient Libya) (Lewis & Short 1879). This name seems to have originally referred to a native Libyan tribe. The name is usually connected with Hebrew or Phoenician *afar* meaning 'dust', but a 1981 hypothesis has asserted that it stems from the Berber *ifri* (plural *ifran*) "cave", in reference to cave dwellers (Michell 1903, pp.161-194). The same word may be found in the name of the *Banu Ifran* from Algeria and Tripolitania, a Berber tribe originally from *Yafran* (also known as Ifrane) in northwestern Libya. (Lipinski 2004, p.200).

Under Roman rule, Carthage became the capital of the province of Africa Proconsularis, which also included the coastal part of modern Libya (Consultsos.com, para.1) The Latin suffix *-ica* can sometimes be used to denote a land (e.g., in *Celtica* from *Celtae*, as used by Julius Caesar). The later Muslim kingdom of *Ifriqiya*, located in modern-day Tunisia, also preserved a form of the name.

According to the Romans, Africa lay to the west of Egypt, while "Asia" was used to refer to Anatolia and lands to the east. A definite line was drawn between the two continents by the geographer Ptolemy (85–165 AD), indicating Alexandria along the Prime Meridian and making the isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea the boundary between Asia and Africa. As Europeans came to understand the real extent of the continent, the idea of "Africa" expanded with their knowledge.

Other etymological hypotheses have been postulated for the ancient name "Africa":

The 1st-century Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (Ant. 1.15) asserted that it was named for Epher, grandson of Abraham according to Gen. 25:4, whose descendants, he claimed, had invaded Libya.

Isidore of Seville in his 7th-century *Etymologiae* XIV.5.2. suggests "Africa comes from the Latin *aprica*, meaning "sunny".

Massey, in 1881, stated that Africa is derived from the Egyptian *af-rui-ka*, meaning "to turn toward the opening of the Ka." The Ka is the energetic double of every person and the "opening of the Ka" refers to a womb or birthplace. Africa would be, for the Egyptians, "the birthplace" (Massey n.d, para.4).

Michèle Fruyt in 1976 proposed linking the Latin word with *africus* "south wind", which would be of Umbrian origin and mean originally "rainy wind" (Wikipedia 2018, para.5).

Robert R. Stieglitz (1984) proposed: "The name Africa, derived from the Latin *Aphir-ic-a*, is cognate to Hebrew "Ophir."

There are those who also believe that being African can be divided into "African by blood" and then "African by Geography." In fact, the understanding and the problematic of who is an African in an African continent (Geography) or of African descent (by blood) was well captured by Adibe (n.d), when he noted that: "At face value, the answer to this question seems obvious. Surely, everyone knows who the African is, it would seem. But the answer becomes less obvious once other probing qualifiers are added to the question. Are White South Africans really Africans? Are Moroccans, Egyptians and other Arab Africans as much Africans as say, Nigerians or Ghanaians? Is Barrack Obama an African? Do all categorized as African or as having an African pedigree perceive themselves as such? Are all who perceive themselves as Africans accepted as such? Are there levels of "African-ness", and are some more African than others? Who allots this African-ness, and why? How does African identity interface with other levels of identity and citizenship in Africa? In short, how is the African identity constructed in the face of the mosaic of identities that people of African ancestry living within and beyond the continent bear?" (Para.1).

For some, the African is simply a racial category - a Black man with

certain Bantu features. But this classificatory scheme often poses more questions than it answers. Let us for instance assume that a Caucasian English police officer described the scene of a crime thus: "At the scene of the crime were four Africans and four white boys." What kinds of images come to our mind to differentiate the four 'Africans' from the four White boys? If the same police officer changes the description to: "There were four Black men and four White boys at the scene of the crime", what sorts of imageries come to our mind? Or better put, what sorts of imageries do we think he is trying to convey?

It would seem that the use of 'African' is much narrower than the use of 'Black' because our hypothetical Caucasian police officer would most likely think of Africans as being different from Black Caribbean, Black Guyanese or African-Americans even though they are all generically called Blacks. This analogy suggests that while race does matter as an organizing category in identifying the African, it would be inadequate in properly differentiating, in the Western imagination at least, who is an African from who is Black.

Again, if we use race alone in the delineation of the African, a legitimate question is raised about non-Blacks with African citizenship, say, the White South Africans, who never knew any other country but South Africa. Are they Africans?

Some have tried to use territoriality to define the African. For those who adopt this perspective, all it takes will be to look at the map of the world and categorize all who were born in the continent of Africa or who hold the citizenship of one of the countries that make up the continent, or has ancestry in the continent, as African. This option however has equally a number of problems. For example, if we choose to call all who have 'African' ancestry Africans, how far back in time should we go? This perspective also wrongly assumes that all who are citizens of the countries that make up the continent of Africa accept that they are 'Africans'. Even within sub-Saharan Africa, sections of countries like Somalia, Mauritania, Niger and Sudan would prefer to be called Arabs, not Africans.

There are also those who believe that consciousness of being an African, or commitment to the cause of Africa should be the only or main criterion for delineating who the African is. This form of classification is quite popular with the remnants of the African ideological left and those eager

to wear the toga of universalism and cosmopolitanism. One of the weaknesses of this classificatory scheme however is that it is so fluid that any one expressing any sort of interest in African affairs could, by this definition, legitimately claim to be an African. For instance, is Tony Blair, who as Prime Minister of Britain, said that Africa was a scar on the consciousness of the world, and felt moved enough to set up the Commission for Africa, an African by this definition? Besides, using consciousness to delineate the African could end up de-Africanizing a majority of the people who non-Africans will commonly identify as Africans. Does for instance the village Igbo or Yoruba or Hausa woman in Nigeria have any consciousness of being an African? If, as is commonly believed, such a consciousness is non-existent, or at best insipient, does that then imply that such people are not Africans? (Adibe n.d paras.1-5)

However, we want to summarily say that the African(s) can be seen as a person or group of persons, living in a continent, who share the same negritudinal and a being-with-others identity.

The menace of terrorism across the globe

It is no longer news, that the world today as we have it is being besieged by Terrorism. Terrorists strikes at will and without prior notice, leaving victims dead, families displaced and stranded and government helpless in many cases. The example of Boko Haram in Nigeria is enough practical stance to simply understand what terrorism is all about.

However, we shall still define it in order to clarify what it is still. Terrorism is the unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims.

According to Fortna (2015) "Terrorism is, in the broadest sense, is the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence as a means to create terror, or fear, to achieve a financial, political, religious or ideological aim"(p.519).

It is used in this regard primarily to refer to violence against peacetime targets or in war against non-combatants (Wisnewski 2008, p.175). The terms "terrorist" and "terrorism" originated during the French Revolution of the late 18th century (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2010). It then gained mainstream popularity during the U.S. Presidency of Ronald Reagan (1981–89) after the 1983 Beirut barracks bombings and again after the attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C. in September 2001 and on Bali in October 2002 (Heryanto 2006, p.161).

There is no commonly accepted definition of "terrorism". Being a charged term, with the connotation of something "morally wrong", it is often used, both by governments and non-state groups, to abuse or denounce opposing groups (Sinclair, S.J, Antonius D., 2014, p.14). Broad categories of political organizations have been claimed to have been involved in terrorism to further their objectives, including right-wing and left-wing political organizations, nationalist groups, religious groups, revolutionaries and ruling governments (Encyclopedia Britannica, p.3). Terrorism-related legislation has been adopted in various states, regarding "terrorism" as a crime (Schwenkenbecher, A. 2012). There is no universal agreement as to whether or not "terrorism", in some definition, should be regarded as a war crime (Mackenzie Institute, n.d).

According to the Global Terrorism Database by the University of Maryland, College Park, more than 61,000 incidents of non-state terrorism, resulting in at least 140,000 deaths, have been recorded from 2000 to 2014 (Global Terrorism Index 2015, p.33).

The Latin verb *terrere* means: to frighten (Campbell 2001). The English word 'terror', just like the French *terreur*, derives from that Latin word and means from of old: fright, alarm, anguish, (mortal) fear, panic.

Oxford English Dictionary reportedly states that the word 'terrorist' (French: *terroriste*) was invented in the year 1794, during the French Revolution. The first meaning of the word 'terrorist' was then: adherent or supporter of the Jacobins (Shariatmadari, D. 2018).

Thus, having tried to explain what Terrorism is all about, let us espouse on the menace across the globe.

High-profile attacks on major cities in Belgium, France and the United States have set the world on edge. Commentators are talking of a new kind of protracted guerrilla war stretching from the Americas and Europe across Africa, Asia and the Arab world. This one is irregular, hybrid and networked, involving a constellation of terrorist organizations such as ISIS and Al Qaeda. Rather than hitting specific groups of people or symbolic sites, cities themselves are coming under siege. Complicating matters, violent extremists are recruiting directly from poorer and marginal neighbourhoods across the West (World Economic Forum 2017, para.1).

The extent of local recruitment and so-called "extremist travelling" from

Western countries is certainly calls for concern. One study estimates that as many as 31,000 people from 86 countries have made the trip to Iraq or Syria to join ISIS or other extremist groups since June 2014. It is not just Western Europe or North America that is proving to be fertile ground for so-called remote radicalization, but also Russia and Central Asia. Many foreign fighters are killed while fighting abroad, but as many as 30% of them eventually make the trip back home. Politicians are scrambling to respond and hate crimes against minority groups are on the rise (World Economic Forum 2017, para.2).

It is statistically undeniable that terrorist violence is on the rise. But is today's terrorist violence really more intense and widespread than in, say, the 1960s and 1970s? Are Western European and North American cities really the new front line of a global jihad? The answer partly depends on how terrorism is defined. There is currently no international legal or even academic agreement on what constitutes terrorism. Some experts say that it consists of violence perpetrated by non-state actors against civilians to achieve political religious or ideological change, but that sounds a lot like armed conflict. Complicating matters, governments routinely conflate terrorism and insurgency (World Economic Forum, para.3).

However, statistics and observations are turning the tide of Terrorism from Europe to Africa even. The tide of application and execution is moving from Western to non-western of which Africa is part. The World Economic Forum (2017) noted that: "It turns out that extremist violence is much less pervasive than you might think. As other analysts have noted, it is significantly more prolific outside Western countries than in them. A recent assessment of terrorist risks in 1,300 cities ranked urban centres in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Nigeria, Pakistan and Somalia as significantly more vulnerable than those in Belgium, France, the UK or the US. At least 65 cities were described as facing extreme risk, with Iraq - especially Baghdad, Mosul, Al Ramadi, Ba'qubah, Kirkuk and Al Hillah - fielding six of the top 10. Consider that between 2000 and 2014, there were around 3,659 terrorist-related deaths in all Western countries combined. In Baghdad there were 1,141 deaths and 3,654 wounded in 2014 " (para.4).

However, there is also the issue of whether most attacks globally are terror-incline or terroristically implied or it is a case of attacks bordering on Homicide or even war.

World Economic Forum (2017) noted this dilemma when it noted that: "It

is true that there have been dozens of terrorist attacks in recent years, but how are they spread around the world? The Global Terrorism Database (GTD) tracks terrorist-related fatalities between 2005 and 2014 in 160 countries. In a handful of cases where there is ongoing warfare – including Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and Yemen – the GTD sometimes conflates terrorist and conflict-related deaths. The authors of the database go to great lengths to avoid this from happening, but it is unavoidable. There are alternative datasets that apply much more restrictive inclusion criteria, but they are not as broad in their coverage and also suffer flaws. Rather than focusing on absolute numbers of violent deaths, it may be more useful to consider prevalence rates" (para. 5)

On the one hand, most countries at the top of the list of most terrorism-prone are clustered in North Africa, the Middle East and South Asia. They include war-torn countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Libya, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Lebanon, Israel, Yemen, Pakistan and Syria. Other countries in the top 15 are more unexpected, not least the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia, Central African Republic, and Kenya. Belgium comes in at 86th place while France and the United States come in at 98th and 105th respectively. These latter rankings will obviously shift upwards given recent attacks in 2015 and 2016, but not by as much as you might expect (World Economic Forum 2017, para.6).

Terrorism in Africa

The recent terror attack by *al Shabaab* in the port city of Barawe in southern Somalia, a suicide bomb attack by Boko Haram in Maiduguri in Nigeria, [all these took place in 2017) and an attack on a military post in Mali by an al Qaeda-linked terror group have brought the focus back on terrorism in the African continent. Over the years, terrorism has become the most important challenge to peace, security and development in Africa. The terror activities have grown exponentially in the continent, not only in terms of the number of attacks but also the number of countries affected due to increased proliferation of terrorist groups (Beri 2017, para.1).

In terms of statistics, according to the IHS Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Centre, the terror attacks by radical groups in Africa have increased by 200 per cent and fatalities by more than 750 per cent during 2009-2015. A number of groups have been terrorizing the civilians and governments alike in several parts of Africa. While global terror groups

such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and *Al Qaeda* have made their presence felt in the region, other local groups too have gained prominence over the years. The deadliest of these are Boko Haram, *Al Qaeda* in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and *al Shabaab*. As a result, an arc of instability is spreading across Africa, from Nigeria in West Africa, Mali in Sahel, Libya in North Africa, to Somalia in East Africa.

In Nigeria: Boko Haram seems down (or at least technically defeated, in the words of the Federal Government) but not out. Boko Haram (meaning Western education is sin) continues to target civilians and government infrastructure despite several rounds of operation conducted by the Nigerian Army. Boko Haram, that came up in 2009, had emerged as the 'world's deadliest terrorist organization' by 2014. In the last eight years, it is said that Boko Haram has taken 20,000 lives, displaced 2.6 million people, created 75,000 orphans and caused about nine billion worth of damage. Links with the ISIS, with leadership tussle between Abubakar Shekau and ISIS favouring Abu Musab Al-Barnawi, have turned the situation more complex. While there may have been some reduction in Boko Haram-led violence in the country due the Nigerian Army's counter terrorism campaign, the group continues to expand its operations in neighbouring countries such as Cameroon and Chad (Beri 2017, para.2).

Sahel, there is a resurgence of *al Qaeda*. The four terrorist groups that continue to wreak havoc in the region - AQIM, Mokhtar Belmokhtar's *al Mourabitoun*, Ansar Dine and Macina Liberation Front - have recently decided to combine forces and merge into a single group called *Jama'at Nusrat al-Islam wal Muslimeen* (Group for Support of Islam and Muslims). They have also pledged allegiance to the *al Qaeda* leadership. This regrouping of terror groups is ominous for countries such as Mali and the neighbouring Niger, Coted'Ivoire and Burkina-Faso that have borne the brunt of their attacks in the past (Beri 2017, para.2).

In Somalia, the notorious *al Shabaab* is on the offensive and in recent months has taken control of some towns after defeating the troops of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The group has increased its attacks on African Union bases, Somali government facilities, targets in neighbouring Kenya and, for the first time in a show of strength, has also launched attacks in the northern Puntland autonomous region. This comes as a surprise as the *al Shabaab* had steadily lost ground over the last six years. It lost control of the capital Mogadishu in 2011 and then was

pushed out of Somalia's major cities by the 22,000-strong African Union force deployed in the country.

The withdrawal of the Ethiopian troops from Somalia and the announcement by the African Union to withdraw AMISOM too (triggered primarily by reduction in funding by the European Union), may have been to an extent responsible for al Shabaab's comeback. The attacks in the north may be a move to regain control by the pro-al Qaeda al Shabaab leadership, after the recent declaration of allegiance to ISIS by Abdul Qadir Meemen, leader of the faction based in Puntland. Another issue of concern is the possibility of revival of friendship between the al Qaeda of Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and al Shabaab. In the past, al Shabaab is reported to have trained cadre along with AQAP. The Saudi Arabia-led war against Houthis in Yemen seems to have benefitted the AQAP. This group appears to have rapidly gained control over chunks of territory in Yemen. The emergence of nexus between al Shabaab and AQAP could make the situation in Somalia deadlier (Beri 2017, para.3).

The ISIS plan to establish a caliphate in North Africa was thwarted after it was routed out of Sirte, the last ISIS strong hold, in December 2016 by the Libyan National Army, with air support provided by the United States (US). Since 2014, pro-ISIS terrorist groups have been active in North Africa, particularly in Tunisia and Libya. In Libya, the instability following the collapse of the Muammar al Gaddafi regime, and the presence of numerous indigenous factions and also the porous borders, provided a fertile ground for the expansion of ISIS in the country. Moreover, Libya's long unmonitored coastline too provided the ISIS with a channel to Europe. Between 2014 and 2016, ISIS expanded its presence in multiple cities in Libya, including Derna, Benghazi and Sirte. While the terror group was driven out of most of the region under its control, there are chances that remnants of the group may reconstitute and again create problems.

In Tunisia, Ansar al-Sharia, an ISIS affiliate, has been responsible for a large number of terror attacks in the country. It has also been the main facilitator of ISIS fighters from the country to West Asia. Tunisia, has earned the ignominious tag of being the key recruitment ground for the ISIS (about 6,500) in Syria and Iraq.

ISIS is recruiting youth from eastern as well as southern Africa to fight its wars in Syria and Libya. In Kenya, coastal Tanzania and Zanzibar, youth

from the Muslim communities are vulnerable to the ISIS recruitment drives. Reports suggest that at least 140 youth from South Africa may have joined the ISIS. These terrorist outfits are using both internet as well as networks of radical clerics to lure the youth from the region (Beri 2017, para4).

Thus, from the foregoing, we can see a situational report of the activities of terrorists on the African continent. Let us look at the dangers of Terrorism anywhere.

Dangers of terrorism

Terrorism doesn't exist in a vacuum...It is the response to earlier acts of terrorism, whether perpetuated by insurgents or by the state. Terrorist attacks in 2014 were mainly concentrated in Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, Pakistan and Syria. These countries saw 78 percent of the deaths and 57 percent of all attacks in the world. Since 2000, only 3 percent of deaths caused by terrorist attacks took place in Western countries, including Australia, Canada, members of the European Union and the United States.

Terrorism is dangerous because apart from the wanton destruction of life and properties, it creates a psychological trauma of living in fear and even of dread in human society. It also creates an indoctrinated reason for action in a way that brings about twisted and left-wing ideologies. For instance, Boko Haram says that Western Education is evil; that it is harmful and we ask, how? Such extremist form of thinking is a by-product of indoctrination and illiteracy even and not being sufficiently enlightened.

Another major danger is the idea that the younger generation of a terrorist-infested country may overtime breed a generation of young people who see violence as normal and as a way of life. It is argued in some quarters, for instance, that the average Afghanistani is now a terrorist or at least has potentials to.

Terrorism also stalls development strides, especially in developing countries. In Nigeria, for instance, at the commencement of Buhari's administration, the Presidency announced that it borrowed 2.1 billion dollars from World Bank to rebuild the Northeast. Add that figure to money the country might be owing before now, it further makes the country, an "Indebted Island of Want." Thus, further taking developing

countries backwards than forward.

More so, Terrorism distorts the global balance for peace and stability. For without these, economically and politically and even religiously, the world would be in trouble and know no peace. For security of Life and property is important for any business to thrive or for development to take place in any society.

Concluding reflection

In the course of our reflection and writing, we came across Ruchita Beri systematic expertise treatment to the issue of terrorism, especially in Africa written in 2017. Her ratiocination coincides with our own idea on what we think should be the way forward as well. Thus, we corroborate with her and reproduce her ideas here for others to further see what can be added solution to the problem of terrorism in the future. Here are her recommendations [adapted for this study also]:

There is a growing recognition in Africa that terrorism is a transnational problem and, therefore, there is a need for cooperation at the continental level to effectively deal with it. Over the years, African countries have devised various measures to deal with this threat at the Pan-African level. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, adopted at Algiers in 1999, had put in place a solid framework to deal with the scourge of terrorism. It not only defined terrorism but also laid out areas of cooperation among the member states as well as guidelines for the extradition. This was followed by a Plan of Action on Prevention and Combating terrorism in 2002, which put forward several measures for border surveillance, issue of machine readable passports, checking illegal transfer of weapons, introduction of legislation preventing the financing of terrorism, and sharing of information and intelligence on terror activities. The Plan of Action incorporated international standards for combating terrorism, in line with the provisions of the UNSC Resolution 1373 of September 28, 2001. It also called for the establishment of the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT).

However, the most important instrument is the 2004 Protocol to the 1999 Algiers Convention. This Protocol recognised the “linkages between terrorism and mercenarism, weapons of mass destruction, drug trafficking, corruption, transnational crimes, money laundering and illicit

proliferation of small arms". The Protocol also addressed a major weakness of the 1999 Convention, which is, lack of an implementation mechanism. The 2004 Protocol mandated the African Union's Peace and Security Council to monitor and facilitate the implementation.

Unfortunately, despite the existence of these instruments, terror networks continue to operate in the region. This is mainly due to the tardy implementation of the counter terrorism framework by the member states. For example, the 2004 Counter Terrorism Protocol needed ratification by minimum states before it could come into force. However, it took more than a decade to finally operationalise this key instrument in 2014. Moreover, some of the key states facing terror attacks such as Nigeria, Kenya, Somalia and Chad are yet to ratify it. Much of the delay has to do with insufficient financial resources and lack of necessary political will amongst African states to implement it. A large number of countries do not have the funds to enforce the counter-terrorism measures. For example, border fencing would be extremely costly and most of the states are in a dilemma about utilising the limited development-oriented funds for such tasks. Also, a large number of African countries, while understanding the transnational nature of terrorism, shy away from seeking external intervention or support as it is considered a challenge to their national sovereignty.

Another important factor could be the very nature of states in Africa. Most of the counter measures to deal with terrorism have dealt with enhancing the capacities of the states in the continent. However, this has proved to be counterproductive in some cases, as greed and corruption overwhelmed feelings of nationalism amongst section of political elites. For example, it has been reported that in Somalia the arms transfers from the US found their way to Al-Shabaab due to corruption in the ranks of the Somali National Army. Similarly, there are reports that suggest that Boko Haram may have supporters within the state structures in Nigeria, particularly in North Nigeria.

There is no doubt that terrorism is a global problem and countries across the world including India have for decades suffered from this scourge. While the rise in terrorism in Africa may not impact India directly, there is no denying the fact that this may not remain the case in future. First, recent revival of piracy off Somalia's northern coast, an area often used by al Shabaab, has reopened the old debate of possible connections between

al Shabaab, AQAP and the pirates. The fact that the pirates hijacked an India dhow, adds to the vulnerability for the country. Second, as Nigeria is India's largest trading partner in Africa, Boko Haram's continued attacks in the country makes it an issue of concern for India too. At the Third India Africa Forum Summit in 2015, and during Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Kenya and South Africa in 2016, the issue of cooperation in counter-terrorism was raised. As African countries look towards the international community in their fight against terrorism, friendly support from India will go a long way in taking the relationship forward.

Conclusively, we say that in a world of Change, for Africa to truly harness her potential, it must do everything collectively to combat the ugly trend of terrorism before it "Afghanistize" Africa and turn her to continent where the end of the tunnel is blood and darkness, instead of light.

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