

https://dspace.org/

Boko Haram: African Islamic State

Gvilia, Tsotne

2021
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/33929

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Boko Haram – African Islamic State

By Tsotne Gvilia

2378949

Submitted in Partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN POLITICAL STUDIES

In the

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL STUDIES



Johannesburg 2021

Abstract

Boko Haram, also known as the African Islamic State, has become one of the major problems for the Chadian Lake Basin states. A terrorist organization is busy with destabilizing countries because they give neither peaceful settlements nor states a break. Boko Haram continues to commit terrorist acts that are claiming the lives of more people, and that is why this topic was chosen to understand what this terrorist organization represents. Those reasons determined the topic of this dissertation.

Boko Haram clashes include suicide bombers, as well as the use of conventional weapons against both civilians and the military. Boko Haram jihadists rely on stealth, using both locals and rural areas for this. The Boko Haram skirmishes became topical in the early 2000s, but emerged in 2009, when their active involvement began. In 2009, the Nigerian military arrested members of Boko Haram and confiscated ammunition and bomb-making materials. This resulted in Boko Haram attacking police in the following cities: Maiduguri, Potiskum, Bauchi in Yobe State, Wudil and Kano. More than 700 people were killed and police buildings, prisons and state buildings, schools, churches were destroyed.

Recall the Bauchi prison break that occurred on September 7, 2010. After the election of a new leader, Boko Haram released from prison 105 members and in addition 600 other prisoners escaped. This was followed by new clashes in Nigeria, especially in the north of the country. A few months later, Boko Haram detonated 4 bombs in Jos and struck two churches in Maiduguri, while on New Year's Eve, Boko Haram blew up barracks, killing civilians.

The following year 2011 did not turn out to be easy for Nigeria either. Hours before President Goodluck Jonathan's inauguration, Boko Haram carried out a series of bombings in Abuja, Zaria and Bauchi. In 2012, there were small-scale clashes between Christians and Igbo ethnic groups in the country. In Kano, a police building was hit, killing 190 people. Clashes were strong from 2013 to 2021 as well. In 2021, Boko Haram killed 10 people in Maiduguri, and in April ISWAP killed 33 military personnel in Borno state. Boko Haram continues to carry out attacks on the Nigerian state and military forces today, but let us recall the old terrorist acts in Europe.

In September 1972, the city of Munich hosted the Olympic Games. Munich had mainly symbolic value since Germany was then divided into two parts, providing an opportunity to celebrate Olympic ideals of peace and togetherness. Sadly, terrorist attack tested these ideas.

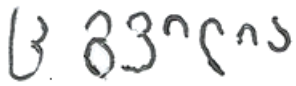
The attack was initiated by a group that referred to itself as "Black September", and its founder was Ali Hassan Salameh, originally from Palestine, codenamed Abu Hassan. The attackers disguised as police officers who were armed and ordered to kill members of the Israeli delegation. They also blew up a plane and killed Olympic participants.

Thirty years later, another tragedy occurred in the Western world. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, which primarily targeted twin commercial buildings in upstate New York, demonstrated the dangers of terrorists' attacks on a grand scale. This event played a turning point in the changing world. In particular, pressure on the Middle East and the places where Osama Bin Laden lived has increased, international organizations-imposed sanctions, and U.S. troops entered Afghanistan and Iraq under the command of George W. Bush[1] to bring peace to Iraq. The event is known as the Bush Doctrine, meaning the U.S. declared war on international terrorism after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Unfortunately, terrorism could not get reduced, and about 200 thousand terrorist acts were carried out from 2001 to 2020. In addition, it should be noted that the coronavirus pandemic has had a significant impact on the Islamic State, as they have taken a "pause" to carry out terrorist acts.

That is why attention needs to be paid to the fight against terrorism, because any of us may be one of the victims tomorrow if people do not pay proper attention to all this. However, unfortunately, the African continent is under pressure from terrorists, and their area and power are expanding, so this dissertation serves the purpose of presenting the biggest problem in some of African states, the terrorist group Boko Haram, now known as Boko Haram, the African Islamic State.

Declaration

I Tsotne Gvilia, with student number 2378949, declare that this report is my own unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in Political Studies at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.



_____

Tsotne Gvilia

30 April 2021

Dedication

As a foreign student (From Georgia) I thank WITS University for giving me the opportunity to study at such an amazing university. My first contact with the university was in 2016 and I did not even think that after 4 years I would study at this university. Many thanks to my faculty coordinator, Ms. Thandeka Ndebele, who was very attentive to me and always ready to help me. Thanks to my lecturers Julian Brown and Keith Breckenridge. I would also like to thank my Georgian lecturer Zviad Tkabladze, who was my supervisor when writing my bachelor thesis, I thank Mr. Diallo Aziz, Principal of the English Language School. Great thank to: Nandy Theka, Norman Mabunda, Bonisiwe Mokhabuki, Genevieve Kamfe. I would like to remember my Georgian lecturer, Ramaz Lominadze, who passed away in March 2018, who made a great contribution to my development in political and human affairs, rest in peace my dear friend.

Acknowledgments

Many thanks to my supervisor Joel Quirk for giving me advice and guidance throughout the year in writing the dissertation on the right path.

Table of Contents

Abstract ... ii
Declaration ... iv
Dedication ... v
Acknowledgments ... vi
Table of Contents ... vii
Chapter 1 ... ix
1.1 Introduction ... ix
1.2 Literature review ... x
1.3 Methodology ... xiv
1.4 Chapter Structure ... xvii
Chapter 2 ... 1
What is terrorism? ... 1
2.1 Theorizing terrorism in Africa ... 3
2.2 How is terrorism theorised and conceptualised? ... 7
2.3 The main international agreements and treaties governing Terrorism ... 13
2.4 The Impact of Islam on Terrorism ... 18
2.5 Conclusion ... 21
Chapter 3 ... 22
Boko Haram and Terrorism in Nigeria and the region ... 22
3.1 History of Nigeria and the birth of the soul of Boko Haram ... 22
3.2 Nigeria's independence and civil war ... 26
3.3 Boko Haram leaders and their activities ... 28
3.4 New Islamic State of Africa - Impacts in the region ... 34
3.5 Conclusion ... 39
Chapter 4 ... 40
Counterterrorism and regional responses ... 40
4.1 Counterterrorism in Nigeria ... 41
4.2 Global Responses to Terrorism in the Lake Chad Basin ... 47
4.3 Neighbouring countries ... 52
4.4 Conclusion ... 54
Conclusion ... 56

List of Figures

Figure 1: - Nigerian's views on Boko Haram by year ……...……xvi

Figure 2: On the picture is shown a map of Nigeria with its cities and state borders. Also visible are its neighbouring countries and the countries of the Chad Lake Basin…….....….25

Figure 3: A diagram that shows us total deaths in Incidents Involving Boko Haram, from 2011 to 2018……34

Figure 4: #endSARS Nigerian people who says no to police brutality…….45

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

The African continent is the second largest globally, with a population of 1.5 billion people who are organized within 54 countries (Plus including six disputed territories). Corruption, inequality, lack of employment lead to dissatisfaction among the population, which can explode and severely punish government officials who despise the people. All of this can happen in some African states because the accumulation of problems is causing people to protest. One of the reasons why terrorist groups have emerged is because they have developed a hatred of the state, which is why the world sees terrorist groups in Africa. Our main topic is Boko Haram, which laid the foundations of the colonization period when the United Kingdom ruled Nigeria. For all those affected by Boko Haram actions, there is only one thought on how to eliminate it and stop them so that the dissertation will focus on a few key aspects, and our research questions will address the following issues:

Research questions are: What are the main reasons for armed conflict in Nigeria; How is Boko Haram collaborates with other international terrorist organizations; What kind of activities are carried out by international organizations against Boko Haram? and countries against Boko Haram, and assistance method, what methods are used against Boko Haram and is it sufficient?

In connection with those questions, will be analysed patterns of violence associated with Boko Haram and their threat to the region. In chapter three of the dissertation, will be well presented the origins of Boko Haram, from the period of colonization, when the United Kingdom ruled one of Africa, and which mistakes were made during this period of a rule. Also, the following periods of colonization, known as the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), which played an essential role in the subsequent formation of Boko Haram, followed by the end of the Civil War, which further aggravated the situation in beginning of the 20th century in Nigeria, when the Boko Haram terrorist organization got finally established. The focus here will be on northern Nigeria, where development was a huge problem, and in many cases, they were in the minority. Less attention was paid to their regions, which led to declining literacy and often illiteracy, as well as job shortages and protests among young people and society that only a small number of Nigerian officials had access to oil, leading to the unequal redistribution of resources and rising poverty levels. However, first in chapter two, there will

be dissertation about what constitutes terrorism in general and who is considered as a terrorist, and as a freedom fighter, and the psychological aspects of those two.

Question about ties with other terrorist organizations became relevant after Boko Haram took an oath of allegiance to the Islamic State, which changed its name to Boko Haram - African Islamic State, which made them even more powerful and dangerous not only in Nigeria, but also in the countries of the Chad Lake Basin. In addition, as the level of threat posed by Boko Haram will be analysed how they will develop in the future with similar perspectives, the connection with other terrorist organizations will be examined in the following chapters. Those topics are presented in chapter 3.

International organizations and allied countries are of great importance in the fight against terrorist organizations, and the United States, The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United Nations, the European Union, and other local international organizations have a prominent role to play. The African Union is also one of the leading organizations and fighters in the fight against terrorism, which is actively involved in monitoring and funding. In Chapter 4, there will be discussion all the efforts coming from international organizations and countries to eliminate the threat of terrorism worldwide, with a particular focus on the African continent, where most countries are on the brink of poverty.

1.2 Literature review

Since the main topic of conversation is Boko Haram - a regional threat, the thesis uses Hussein Solomon's book Terrorism and Counterterrorism in Africa Fighting Insurgency from Al Shabaab, Ansar Dine[2], and Boko Haram. In the dissertation, I pay great attention to the author's visions about arguments and theorems are related to Understanding the Terrorist Threat in Africa and the Limitations of the Current Counter-Terrorist Paradigm. He starts talking about a schoolgirl abducted on April 11, 2014, in Nigeria. In particular, Boko Haram abducted 230 young girls on this day. Unfortunately, they could not be released due to a delayed reaction, and they were transferred to Cameroonian camps. The abduction captured the world's attention. The author focuses on the facts showing the world that Boko Haram is indeed one of the most dangerous terrorist organizations. This information about the kidnapping of girls also reached the ears of Michelle Obama and David Cameron. Since the author talks about the dangers of Boko Haram, it will support the dissertation with facts as it

[2] Hussein Solomon, Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Africa Fighting Insurgency from Al Shabaab, Ansar Dine and Boko Haram (Palgrave Macmillan UK, University of the Free State, Republic of South Africa, 2015).

will show the reader the dangers of Boko Haram more clearly. Responding to Terror: Counterterrorism, Hussein informs the reader of all the possibilities used in the fight against terrorism, including international organizations, local organizations, the United States and France. Funding against the fight against Boko Haram. The author also mentions the African Union conventions in the fight against terrorism.[3]

In Boko Haram nature, not only schoolgirls but also women are subjected to tremendous pressure and terror. Therefore, dissertation draws upon the John-Mark Iyi and Hennie Strydom book entitled "Boko Haram and International Law"[4]. This book has had a profound effect on the thesis as the author has shown more clearly that the role of women is reduced to zero. For obvious reasons, women have become the prime targets and instruments in Boko Haram's adjustments and resurgence, and people have seen women being increasingly deployed as suicide bombers by the group. Boko Haram has completely weaponized women for a variety of reasons - their feminine nature means women are generally presumed by the public to be gentle and to pose little or no threat, women are less likely to attract suspicion from security forces. Cultural inhibitions also mean that women are less likely to be subjected to an invasive body search by security forces. Consequently, it gives us the illusion that women are not a threat; that is why it is necessary to talk about it because it is all Boko Haram's use women for their insidious plans and damage their reputation.[5]

In studying the regional threat, the work of one of the Russian professors Бакаре Илесанми Абиодун (Bakare Ilesanmi Abiodun)[6] helped to deepen dissertation significantly. The author has a clear idea of why terrorism is prevalent in the countries of the Chad Basin and what caused it. The case concerns the protocol adopted by Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1979; in particular, it was related to the economy and free movement in African countries. Despite the pros, it also has its downsides. Just as an ordinarily safe citizen can move, so a terrorist has no obstacles. (Despite that, there are customs in West Africa, a

[3] Ibid.
[4] John-Markıyi¬ and Hennie¬ Strydom (ed.), Boko Haram and International Law, (Springer International Publishing, Cham, Switzerland, 2018).
[5] John-Markıyi¬ and Hennie¬ Strydom (ed.), Boko Haram and International Law, (Springer International Publishing, Cham, Switzerland, 2018). P.260.
[6] Бакаре Илесанми Абиодун, ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ ТЕРРОРИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ГРУППЫ «БОКО ХАРАМ» КАК УГРОЗА РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ В ЗАПАДНОЙ АФРИКЕ (2009-2017 гг.) (РОССИЙСКИЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ ДРУЖБЫ НАРОДОВ, Опубликовано работа Докторанта, Москва, 2017) (Translate: Bakare Ilesanmi Abiodun, Activites of the Boko Haram terrorist group as a threat to regional security in Western Africa (2009-2017) (RUSSIAN UNIVERSITY OF PEOPLE'S FRIENDSHIP, Published PhD dissertation, Moscow. 2017)

terrorist can enter with an active document, in this case, a passport, and then carry out attacks.) In the first place, this fact poses a threat to the neighbouring countries, i.e., the region. It has also led to trafficking (primarily children and women), illegal arms exchanges, drug trafficking, and smuggled goods.

Moreover, of course, many crimes are committed by Boko Haram. Border security issues are not always included in the national security strategies of countries in the region, and border services are generally poorly equipped, poorly trained, and under-resourced. What attracted the attention of this author was his simple connections with Boko Haram, other terrorist organizations. This author is mentioned in the central question because he has enough knowledge; he mainly discusses al-Qaeda and ISIS and Al-Shabaab, AQIM. The author also points out the need for border protection and tells us about the great role played by all this, ie national and regional security enhancement and, most importantly, the United Nations (UN) efforts. In the dissertation will be studied the funding strategy, as well as the efforts of the countries in the region in the fight against terrorism, briefly the domestic policies of the countries. A comprehensive work will help the reader to show the world's efforts to fight Boko Haram.

In this book, 'Rising Terror Groups in the Middle East and North Africa 'Alexandria Stafford[7]. The author argues and discusses al-Qaeda, which is spread not only in the Middle East but also in Africa and the Islamic State and Nigerian Boko Haram. There will be shown how much attention America is paying to these Middle Eastern countries as well as Africa. The discussion will include the steps taken by the United States during the presidency of Barack Obama, which was aimed at destroying the Islamic State. The cruel nature of Boko Haram is well illustrated by this work, on the recent attacks on the state and civilians, drawing on a narrative of resentment and vengeance for state abuses to elicit recruits and sympathizers. The kidnapping of 300 schoolgirls in 2014 attracted the attention of the Obama administration and thus provided more assistance to the Nigerian government against Boko Haram. As well as disclosing links to other terrorist organizations, this dissertation will answer the main question and the additional question aimed at cooperating with other terrorist organizations and providing international assistance. The author will also criticize the Nigerian government for forcing 300 thousand people to leave their homes. According to

[7] Alexandria Stafford (ed.) Rising terror groups in the Middle East and North Africa (Nova Science Publishers, New York, NY, 2015).

official statistics from the United Nations and Nigeria, more than 6 million Nigerians have been affected, and at least 5,000 people have been killed. Also, 300 thousand people were internally displaced. The clashes were both against the Christian minority in the northern state and against the Christian majority living in the south.[8]

The dissertation will be included the following academic literature: Brendon J. Cannon and Dominic Ruto Pkalya, 'Why al-Shabaab Attacks Kenya Questioning the Narrative Paradigm' [9]- This study questions the current narrative paradigm and argues that al-Shabaab attacks Kenya for strategic and highly rational reasons, beyond sharing a border and having bases in southern Somalia closer to major population centres than Ethiopia or Uganda; Samson Eyituoyo Liolio, Rethinking Counterinsurgency: A Case Study of Boko Haram in Nigeria - The main topic of discussion will be Boko Haram as a problem for Nigeria, which is dangerous not only in the region but also for international security, whose violence and clashes take place on security forces, civilians, churches, media houses as well as international bodies such as the United Nations. The delayed reaction by politicians has led to an increase in terrorists in the country, including suicide bombers, so if earlier it included several Nigerian states, now Boko Haram has covered all 36 Nigerian states, dealing a significant blow to both the economic side and socio-political growth. This work explores the economic and political-cum-military forces at play between the Nigerian state and Boko Haram. Samuel Justin Sinclair, 'the political psychology of terrorism and fears" -[10] One of the most necessary parts is to discuss the psychology of terrorism. Here the authors tell us about terrorism and how it affects people. One of the most significant impacts on human psychology was the 9/11 terrorist attack in the United States.

Nevertheless, the fear of terrorism continued even after that. This book's central thesis was that despite normalizing rates of psychopathology within the USA and beyond, people continue to fear terrorism in meaningful ways. Authors argued that existing frameworks for understanding how people are affected psychologically by terrorism are inadequate, often relying on specific clinical criteria for making a psychiatric diagnosis of some kind. Stated materials are an incomplete list of literature to which more than fifty academic pieces of

[8] Alexandria Stafford (ed.) Rising terror groups in the Middle East and North Africa (Nova Science Publishers, New York, NY, 2015). P. IX.
[9] Brendon J. Cannon and Dominic Ruto Pkalya, Why al-Shabaab Attacks Kenya: Questioning the Narrative Paradigm, (Institute of International and Civil Security (IICS), 2019).
[10] Samuel Justin Sinclair and Daniel Antonius (ed.), The political psychology of terrorism and fears (Oxford University Press, New York, NY, 2013)

literature will be added. For better development and a deeper understanding of the problem, more than 50 foreign academic literature will be used, including Russian, English, and Georgian.

1.3 Methodology

The dissertation is about one of the most important issues in Africa, and in the recent history of the world in the field of security and conflict management, because terrorism is increasingly being felt in Africa. It examines the threat of a specific terrorist organization and the underlying foundations of terrorism, specificity, and the activities of the organizations, and what is required from governments to combat these organizations. The study of many diverse sources made it possible to locate information about organizational leaders, organizational structure, and an analysis of the war being waged against Boko Haram.

The study aims to provide an overview of the African Islamic State (Boko Haram) and focus on the reasons for armed conflict. This study is devoted to the study of Islamist extremism in Africa. Since the beginning of the 21st century, analysts and politicians have increasingly perceived the activities of radical Islamist organizations in the Lake Chad area. The growing danger of the spread of extremist ideology in Africa, especially in the creation of such foci in different parts of the world, requires careful study of these issues based on scientific analysis. The spread of extremist organizations is most often characterized by a subtle yet effusing spread of extremism. This study will be a step forward in research on international terrorism, conflict, and extremism in International Relations and security. The case studies that this dissertation will concentrate on are the West and Central African countries including Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Cameroon. Each case study will examine a number of measures taken to contain terrorism in Africa. The dissertation introduces the dysfunctional state of Nigeria. Nigeria has gained great international prominence in recent years for its actions and goals.

The scientific value of this study lies in the necessity to evaluate and analyse the material issues contained in current literature. This analysis will allow for increased information and in-depth analysis, leading to a great understanding and insight. The study will also examine the causes leading to the emergence of “Boko Haram” as a phenomenon, the organization’s origin, its effectiveness, and an analysis of its activities analyse the main facts of the origin and development of the organization, the principles, and methods of its operation in West Africa, its connection with other regional and global terrorist networks. Source base of the

study: As mentioned above, foreign language literature will be used in the dissertation. For the first time, our primary focus will be on sources such as official sources. The official state documents of Nigeria and the documents of the countries of the Lake Basin, this group will also include the resolutions of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly. It is necessary to use the following resolutions: International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism (of the financing of terrorism), OAU convention prevention, and combating terrorism. Also, reports on Boko Haram terrorist activities and crimes are prepared by international non-governmental organizations. The subsequent documents will be journals-newspapers and scientific papers, scientific literature, other types of reports.

Interpretative or disciplined configurative case studies aim to use established theories to explain a specific case. Multiple case study it comes with both advantages and difficulties. The dissertation will take more time as there will be quite a lot to do discuss more and more cases.

The literature review: that is why I will ask the question which case studies is adequate. As I mentioned above research questions and also from the literature our main goal is to fight Boko Haram as well as international efforts and search for causes. In this case, we treat both, multiple case studies as well as comparative case studies, because it would be simpler and more thorough to review the dissertation. Why? Because these two case studies can be used to augur similar results in the studies or augur contrasting results for expected reasons. Because I can clarify whether the findings are valuable or not. In addition, we use a comparison of authors' views in this dissertation to see which author's views on this or that issue, as well as evidence created from a multiple case study is measured strong and reliable. Multiple case studies allow us to study specific research questions and theoretical evolution in more detail. Comparative case studies in our dissertation include analysis and synthesis of the similarities, which will make the work more interesting. Comparative case studies involve the analysis and synthesis of comparative thematic studies in which both qualitative and quantitative methods are used and are very useful for obtaining accurate results.

In the beginning, Boko Haram was not given proper attention, and ex-president Goodluck Jonathan said that Boko Haram would be removed soon, but unfortunately, that did not happen, and that led to further aggravation of the situation, which hit the country first in 2009 and then in 2015 when Boko Haram has united with the Islamic State. What were the consequences of this? It was followed by the spread of Boko Haram in Nigeria and

neighbouring countries such as Chad, Cameroon, and Niger. Terrorism may gain more ground and attack a state such as Central and West Africa states in the future. Another major highlight of this dissertation is the nature of Boko Haram, which lies in the brutality of suicide bombers, as well as attacks on the buildings of international organizations, the incident in 2014 that made the world talk was about 300 primarily Christian schoolgirls, also known as 'Chibok schoolgirls kidnapping[11]. 'They also continued to kidnap people even further when they claimed responsibility for kidnapping hundreds of boys in Nigeria. As many as 36,000 people have been killed in attacks by Boko Haram since 2009. Worst of all, they did not stop the terrorist acts during the Coronavirus but actively continued to carry them out. Boko Haram has always been a problem in the African region since the 21st century. If they only had a regional face, their area would be expanded, and their links with other terrorist organizations would be more assertive. We want to show people that a lot depends on the government and that is what the Nigerian people and especially the youth who are leaving the country to look for work and freedom in another country, and on the example of some students we saw how they joined the protest and joined Boko Haram. Eliminating corruption and educating the public are essential.

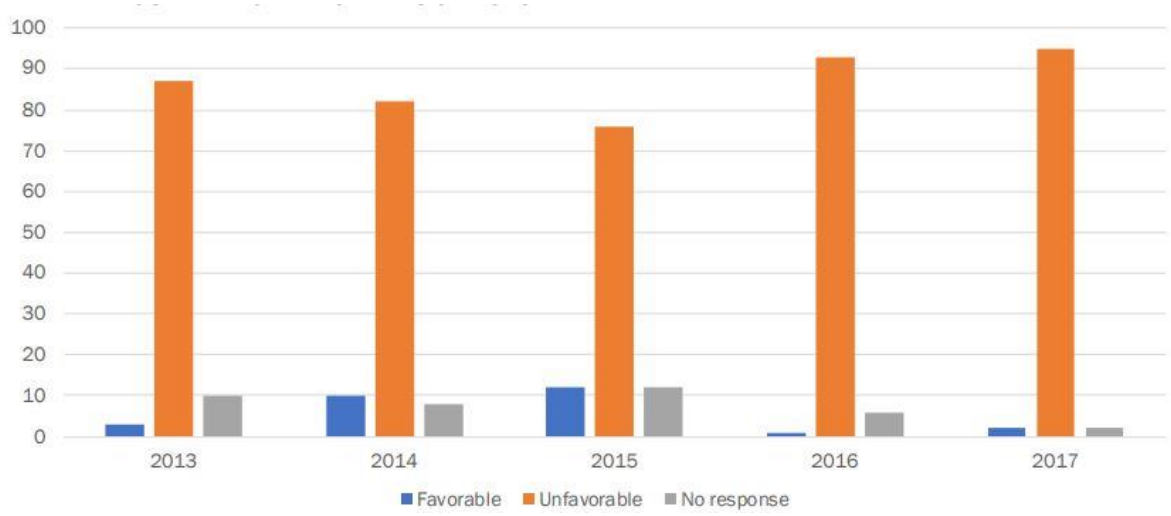


Figure 1: Nigerian's views on Boko Haram by year[12]

The statistics are quite interesting, because as we see in 2014 2015 sympathy for Boko Haram is quite large, but it is surprising that in those years Boko Haram was particularly active in

[11] Alexander Thurston, Boko Haram: The History of an African Jihadist Movement (Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2018). P.13.

[12] Source: Author's graph, using Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Surveys for Nigeria, 2013-2017. Interview question: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Boko Haram?

terrorist acts, in exactly the years Boko Haram killed the most civilians. As for 2016, the sympathies here have dropped quite a bit as military campaigns have begun to wage a serious fight against Boko Haram.

1.4 Chapter Structure

In chapter 2 - This chapter focuses on the essence of terrorism, what terrorism is for the world today, Terrorism in Africa, definition, international agreements, and relation to Islam. The chapter will start by introducing 'Theorizing terrorism in Africa - a general picture of terrorism. Then, it discusses terrorism, including terrorist acts committed in the past, their consequences, how many terrorist organizations there are in the world, and how many terrorist acts were committed. The thesis will pay the most attention to ow terrorism is theorized and conceptualized,'which tells us what terrorism is and its definition. Then, various examples will be given for defining terrorism and expanding on who is a terrorist who is not. Next, the dissertation topic touch on American politics and other organizations regarding terrorism, what they say about it, what psychological aspects terrorism has, and many other topics discussed in this section. As previously mentioned, 'The main international agreements and treaties governing Terrorism 'refer to the efforts of international organizations aimed at eradicating terrorism, namely the OSCE, UN, ECOWAS, and AU. The focus here will be on the methods and funding they use to eliminate terrorism, the responsibilities of each organization, and military assistance, be it soldiers, military equipment, or weapons. The last part will be devoted to Islam, in which we will talk about Islam that being a Muslim does not mean being a terrorist, as well as the aspects in which terrorist acts are carried out and discuss each of them to make it clear to us the reasons for attacks on countries and their citizens.

In chapter 3 - Will be a crucial part of our paper as it will present issues that will show us the history of Boko Haram origins and the problems that contributed to the strengthening and formation of the terrorist organization. Boko Haram and Terrorism in Nigeria and the region will talk first about the history of Nigeria, what stages it went through for the formation of this state, and the main focus will be on the period of colonization, then already the civil war and the formation of the state. We will pay much attention to the northern province of Nigeria and the efforts of the missionaries in Nigeria. In particular, we will address the following issues: Ethnic and religious problems in Nigeria - which addresses problems between the Muslim population and the Christian population, as well as leaving the northern states out of the spotlight; Inequality and unequal distribution of resources - corruption in the state and the

redistribution of oil and wealth only to the rich and leaving the poor behind, as well as the lack of jobs; The period of colonization of Nigeria 1914-1960 - The main period when Nigeria was under pressure and had lost its governing power, giving great power to the United Kingdom on the African continent; Nigerian Independence and Civil War in Nigeria 1967-1970: - 3 years of bloody period and high levels of tension that gave a spark in the formation of Boko Haram; Founder and first leader of Boko Haram Muhammad Yusuf and current leader Abubakar Shekau - Boko Haram's first leader, his activities and intentions, what they fought for and what their protest was, as well as his assassination in 2009 and the coming to power of a new leader who fundamentally replaced Boko Haram and made it an African Islamic state; We will also discuss and analyse the following parts in the dissertation: what is known about Boko Haram violence and what is the threat to the region, transforming Boko Haram into an Islamic state and links with other terrorist organizations, Boko Haram influences the countries of the Chad Lake basin, Islamophobia - as equated with the Islam of terrorism.

Chapter 4 - Counterterrorism and regional responses will be the main topic of discussion in the current section. It is one of the essential levers of all kinds of threats globally, particularly terrorism, because the participation of an international organization or powerful states plays a crucial role in eliminating terrorism. Counterterrorism, the beginning of history, we will start by talking about when the need for counterterrorism arose in Nigeria and who the state's leading supporters were. We will also talk about the optimistic attitude of the ex-president of Nigeria that Boko Haram will not last long. The response to terrorism by the world - Nigeria's main allies and international organizations, what kind of assistance and how much their international partners have helped Nigeria and neighbouring countries. Neighbouring countries - What kind of force will the countries of the Chad Lake Basin use in the fight against terrorism, what is their role in neutralizing terrorism, and what damage has been done to them by Boko Haram.

Conclusion - In this section, we will summarize and analyse the central issue of our dissertation again, the reasons for armed conflict in Nigeria. Also, a few words should be added why it took so long to counter the advancement of Boko Haram. Finally, we will draw the conclusion on how these problems can be solved and advise the Nigerian state to establish peace.

Chapter 2

What is terrorism?

The chapter begins with one of the critical questions about what terrorism is, defined, international agreements, does Islam influence terrorism? An essential topic of discussion is how terrorism is theorized within Africa, as the main focus of our dissertation is located on the African continent, namely Nigeria. Unfortunately, gaining independence and its aftermath turned out to be difficult for Africa as there were bloody confrontations and terrorist acts, and today we see what is happening in African states, both in Nigeria and other African countries. The second thing I will talk about (chapter 2.2) and what is very important is how terrorism is theorized and conceptualized. The answer to why these explanations is needed is a simple one. To distinguish between these two, who are the Freedom Fighters and what are they considered to be in this part and what are considered to be terrorist groups.. The reader will get to know facts about the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the next steps that changed the perception of terrorism. In addition, there are levers used by international organizations and countries (chapter 2.3) against terrorism that contribute to the fight against terrorism, be it funding, sanctions, or anything else. Regional and international organizations try to protect states from terrorism and invest large sums of money in it, but we will determine whether all this is enough in this chapter. The culmination of all these topics will be Islam (chapter 2.4), a religion that originated in the 7th century and has up to 2 billion followers today, especially in the Middle East and surrounding areas. However, this does not mean that Islam preaches evil or terrorist acts; if we read the Holy Qur'an, we will see that there is no such thing, and we can blame it all on who understands this Holy Book. It is also heavily influenced by Sharia law, characterized by its strictness and the primary constituent in northern Nigeria. As for the timeframe, although terrorism has been practiced before, differently, we should start from the 20th century, namely 1979 or the Iranian revolution, because terrorism has been active since that period. Exactly when the world were passing laws against terrorism. We will shortly say a few words in the post-World War II period.

This chapter is organized into four sections. Section one explores how terrorism is theoretically discussed in Africa and gives some examples of terrorist acts. Things have also led to an increase in terrorism in Africa. This recent history of terrorist acts is crucial because it relates to terrorism in Africa. The principal argument of this section is that terrorism is not

a new phenomenon and that it dates several centuries. We will also talk about how and why terrorism has changed over time. In section two, we analyse how different entities view terrorism, emphasizing the motivations behind who gets classified as a terrorist and on what grounds. This section focuses upon the United States government, which has played a vital role in shaping how terrorism has been defined and applied within Africa and elsewhere. Section three will be introduced and analyse relevant international conventions concerned with terrorism and their influence on counter-terrorism interventions. This helps to focus the different methods used by different countries to defeat terrorism, including criminal sanctions, funding for states, and strengthening the rule of law.

We will address the topic of 'People Power, 'which expresses the protest of the people against terrorism and not only, that is, the protest of the population against all this, which is a clear example of the fight against apartheid, during which this term was used, and the change of government took place peacefully. In addition, we will talk about the principles: strengthening the protection of travel documents, both entry and exit, and visa control; Control of Internet use against terrorism; Preventing and suppressing the financing of terrorism. In the final chapter, thesis topic focuses on Islam, which is widely understood to play a role within contemporary patterns of terrorism within Africa. This, in turn, means grappling with islamophobia since being a follower of Islam does not mean being a terrorist, yet this is sometimes what gets assumed. This material, in turn, is used to support argument that poverty and corruption are one of the main causes of the challenges of terrorism. Poverty and corruption, as previously said, are one of the main reasons for the intensification of terrorism but not the only ones as there are other poorer countries where terrorism is not mentioned. However, precisely these create a favourable environment for the dissemination of radical ideas. Nevertheless, African terrorism has links to global militant Islamism. In short, one of the things they pursue is an ideology that they consider to be right and reject other ideologies.

We will conduct a more in-depth analysis of this in the last part of this chapter. It is also said that the deployment of military bases in African countries has further irritated terrorists, which has aggravated the situation in the countries. Thirteen countries worldwide have military bases on the African continent, as there are French-speaking countries in Africa, so France and the United States play a significant role. Foreign intervention on the African continent became necessary when states felt the threat of terrorism, and other threats, which forced the Western world to move to the African continent to manage the conflict, and the

terrorists themselves were irritated by this event as they felt pressure from the outside world. Since then, we have had cases where terrorists have attacked the buildings of international organizations such as Nigeria. Our focus will be on the late twentieth century, exactly when they were passing laws against terrorism.

2.1 Theorizing terrorism in Africa

A very interesting question is how and why terrorism has changed over time. The word terrorism first became known during the French Revolution. Surprisingly, at that time, the word terrorism had a positive connotation. The system, or régime de la terreur 1793, 1794, from which the English word originated, was taken to establish order in a short time during the turmoil of the anarchic period. Nowadays, the word terrorism has an entirely different meaning, manifested in revolutions and anti-state activities carried out by non-governmental or sub-national organizations. It was created by the methods of intimidation to form a new government. Also interesting are the methods of punishment before and now. The Common Security Committee and the Revolutionary Tribunal (also known as the "People's Court") had broad powers to detain and sentence those hanged on the guillotine for those charged with treason. Such punishments were intended to teach others that anyone who tried to speak out against the revolutionaries or nostalgia for the old regime would get severely punished.[13]

Over time, other similar organizations were formed worldwide that fought against heads of state and government. Such was the case in the Russian Kingdom in the 19th century Народная волья (People's Will), who were engaged in terrorist acts against the kingdom. They used it to overthrow the king and carry out terrorist acts in the 20th century.[14] At least what has changed, and what tools have been used before? The principal weapon in the Russians' camping was a handgun and a hand grenade in the nineteenth century. Terrorists in the past have focused on targeted assassination which used the killing of individuals because they were intended to avoid injuring or killing ordinary citizens or innocent persons, namely only for a specific purpose.

In comparison, let us take the Skirmishers who are a light cavalry soldiers deployed as vanguard, who shed the blood of others: a seven-year-old boy got killed, and three people got wounded in the Salford Barracks. At the beginning of World War I, terrorists still maintained

[13] Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism (Columbia University Press, New York, 2017). Pp.17-18.
[14] Ibid,21.

their revolutionary nature, terrorists who wanted to change something and target any particular person or group. In the 1880s and 1990s, the Armenian military nationalist movement in eastern Turkey opposed Ottoman rule.[15] Although ostensibly a secret society, like many other terrorist groups Black Hand was also cultivated a public persona in the form of a highly stylized, evocative logo and recognizable insignia,, experienced a uniqueness that led to their inclusion in the arsenal of terrorism: evidencing a skull and crossed bones with knives, a vial of poison, and finally bombs. [16]

In 1930, the meaning of terrorism changed again. The term revolutionary movement and violence against the state and its leaders were now less commonly used. Authoritarian regimes, fascist regimes in Italy, Nazi Germany, and Stalinist Russia came to power. The countries of Hitlerand Mussolini had great defenders in the 'street,' which gangs intimidated political opponents and often punished them. 'Terror? Never " - Mussolini said because he denies intimidating people. [17]

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon within African countries. It is considered as the use of violence and attacks on civilians and the mean of the destruction of infrastructure and its primary purpose is to achieve political goals; it also instils in people anxiety and fear owing to the indiscriminate targeting of civilians. Terrorism has been pathologized to manifest psychological and behavioural deviations, which the abuser had as a child.[18] The methods of terror have been used for decades both by the African government and internal and external adversaries. Terrorism has been associated with liberation wars, insurgent and anti-insurgency operations, ethnic clashes, and ideological conflicts within the framework of the world system's struggle between capitalism and socialism. From 1979 onwards, following the Iranian revolution 1978-1979, Islamist terrorism (also called jihadist, Salafi, or fundamentalist.) also began to play a more prominent role. Unfortunately, internal terrorism has been and will remain an integral part of armed conflict in Africa. Signs of terrorism can be found in the actions of warring parties during the civil wars in Sudan (Darfur and South Sudan), Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and other African countries. However, to be more precise, the issue where terrorism is directly aimed at civilians trying to instill panic and fear in their minds is one of the main aspects of terrorism,

[15] Ibid,27.
[16] Ibid,29.
[17] Ibid,30,31.
[18] Randy Borum, Psychology of Terrorism (University of South Florida, Florida, 2004). P.18.

and we can recall an example of this the abductions of children by the LRA or the massive car bomb in Mogadishu. Let us consider an example beheading in the stadium in northern Mozambique. According to the BBC, military Islamists have beheaded more than 50 people in Mozambique. The militants turned the football stadium into an 'execution ground,' where they beheaded and mutilated human bodies.

Similar cases have occurred in other places at the same time. It all started in 2017 with a rich gas resource in Cabo Delgado, the northernmost province of Mozambique. Two thousand people were killed, and up to 500,000 people were forced to flee their land. As for the terrorists, they were linked to the Islamic State. As mentioned at the beginning of the dissertation, one of the leading causes of terrorism is poverty and unemployment, and this is precisely the reason used here to attract more young people and fight for Islam. Like Nigeria, people here were unhappy because they got almost nothing in return, even though this region is rich in minerals. Not all violent cases may be typical of African conflicts, including the killing and abduction of civilians, mass rapes, the destruction of villages, the destruction of crops, the poisoning of wells. They may have had specific political goals and may be classified as terrorism; other examples are sufficient to indicate a widespread occurrence of this phenomenon on the continent.

From 1970 to 2019, more than 200,000 terrorist acts were committed worldwide.[19] From 2013 to 2014, the number of victims worldwide rose from 18, 111 to 32, and 685. Furthermore, the most dangerous terrorist organization remains Boko Haram, which is slightly ahead of ISIS.[20] While terrorism in Africa is most prominently associated with non-government actors, more significant issues are state crime that frequently overlaps with terrorism. However, they may not always be classified as state-sponsored genocide, ethnic cleansing, and other crimes against humanity committed during the conflict. While state-sponsored abuses within Africa do not always attract attention from the international community, greater attention tends to be paid to African states from 2013 to 2014. The number of victims worldwide rose from 18, 111 to 32, and 685. Furthermore, the most dangerous terrorist organization remains Boko Haram, which is slightly ahead of ISIS. Which

[19] According to Global Terrorism Database.

[20] Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (. ed), The history of Terrorism from antiquity to ISIS (UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, Oakland, 2016). P.X.

export terrorism to other parts of the globe or terrorist acts within Africa targeting US interests.[21]

Some prominent examples of this more significant trend are as follows. On the one hand, we have Former Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, who in 1972 publicly offered to help the Army of the Republic of Ireland and the African American radical left-wing organization "Black Panthers." Libya subsequently funded several armed terrorist organizations worldwide, from Japan to Colombia, with specific support for the Palestinian struggle.[22] On the other hand, we have one of Africa's most infamous terrorist attacks, which took place on August 7, 1998, with synchronized attacks targeting the U.S. embassy in the Kenyan capital Nairobi and the former Tanzanian capital Dar es Salaam. The death toll in Nairobi was 213 people, while 4,000 people received severe injuries. Eleven people got killed, and 85 got injured in Dar es Salaam.[23]

There are also acts of terrorism that become especially notorious due to their scale and brutality. Take, for example, the case of Garissa University College. In April 2015, 148 people got killed and 79 injured in a terrorist attack by Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen, a Somali group.[24] As is often the case on these occasions, this high-profile attack followed in the wake of incidents that attracted limited attention. Al-Shabaab had previously claimed responsibility for terrorist attacks in Garissa, including an incident on February 19, 2012, when a police officer got killed. Also, on July 1, 2012, shooters opened fire on churches in the same city, killing 17 people and wounding 60. However, unfortunately, the list of their attacks does not end there.[25]

It has had a huge impact on terrorism in Africa when the U.S. was growing its counter-terrorism bases at the cost of billions of dollars. The U.S. is not causing terrorism by increased funding but activating terrorist organizations will do so more because when they feel pressured, they try to become more active and teach who is in charge. According to the U.S. Department of Defence, Africa Strategic Centre, about 25 active terrorist groups are

[21] С.В.Костелянец, Терроризм в Африке - Осебенности, тендеции и перскептивы (Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO), Москва, 2016). Translate: S. V. Kostelyanets, Terrorism in Africa - Features, Trends and Prospects (Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO), Moscow, 2016). P.101-102.
[22] Ibid,103.
[23] Stephen Feinstein, The 1990s (Ennslow Publishing, New York, 2016). Pp.82-83.
[24] Harun Maruf, Dan Joseph, Inside Al-Shabaab: The Secret History of Al-Qaeda's Most Powerful Ally (Indiana University Press, Indiana, 2018). P.98.
[25] Ibid, P.208.

operating in Africa today. This compares to only five organizations in 2010. A record number of incidents of violence were also reported in 2019, with more than 3400 cases, many of which can be attributed to terrorist groups.[26]

2.2 How is terrorism theorised and conceptualised?

Terrorism is a political strategy grounded in the systematic use of violence and intimidation. It includes ''criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes" and that such acts "are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them."[27] There is no internationally accepted definition of '"terrorism", but many common themes can be found within the relevant literature. When talking about terrorism, it is necessary to clarify what terrorism is and what non-terrorism is. This begins with distinguishing between 'Guerrilla warfare, 'which primarily targets military opponents, and 'terrorism, 'which extends the field of conflict to target civilians as part of efforts to advance a larger political agenda. Terrorist organizations should not be easily mistaken for "freedom fighters", because they engage in acts of violence intentionally perpetrated on civilian non-combatants with the goal of furthering some ideological, religious, or political objective. Even if their ultimate goals are legitimate, an organization that targets violence against the population is considered a terrorist organization.[28] This distinction is reflected in international laws and principles, such as Geneva and Hague Conventions, which differentiate between soldiers who attack a military adversary and war criminals who deliberately attack civilians. [29]

While this distinction may seem relatively straightforward in formal terms, it becomes more complicated once political considerations enter the equation. This is reflected in the familiar axiom that "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter."[30] In any aspect, it is essential to consider the effects of politics in shaping how terrorism is defined, whether states are compelled into action or inaction since it is true that terrorism is much political as it is

[26] The Intercept_, 'Pentagon's own map of U, S. Bases in Africa contradicts its claim of "light" footprint'' <https://theintercept.com/2020/02/27/africa-us-military-bases-africom/> (25 January 2020).
[27] United Nations – Audio Visual library of international law, 'Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism',17 December 1996, <https://legal.un.org/avl/ha/dot/dot.html> (25 July 2020)
[28] Boaz Ganor, 'Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist another Man's Freedom Fighter?', Police Practice and Research: An International Journal (2002), pp.287-304.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

illegal. As said before, all kinds of terrorism aimed at destroying the lives of civilians cannot be considered legitimate. The only justification he can have, we know not in the name of terrorism, but guerrilla warfare primarily targets military opponents. For example, Crenshaw Martha[31] argue that a definition of terrorism is necessary but that its definition can be misused to serve their political ends. This is especially true of terrorism funded by states, where governments are keen to have the international community define terrorism so that if they are funded, they will be free of all responsibility.[32] According to the FATF, two countries call for action nations are Iran and North Korea. Also in the Grey list are countries that do not fully perform their duties, such as Bahamas, Botswana, Cambodia, Ghana, Iceland, Mongolia, Pakistan, Panama, Trinidad and Tobago, Yemen, and Zimbabwe.

It is interesting to reconsider the US view of terrorism, which states they say are sponsors of terrorism. As of 2021, these countries comprise Iran, Syria, North Korea, and Cuba. Besides, the states that were formally on this list: Sudan, South Yemen, Iraq, and Libya. The United States needs to monitor the financing of terrorism. Often sponsors try to circumvent control; for instance, they try to make several transfers instead of one, dividing the money into parts, or use someone who has no criminal record of turning their backs on the US state. There are several other ways, such as disguising money as a charity or as a gift to a family member. In addition, terrorists and terrorist organizations use a variety of methods to obtain funding. For example, ISIS uses oil distribution on the black market to carry out terrorist acts. This situation is complicated because academics, politicians, security experts, and journalists all use a variety of definitions of terrorism. In their book, *Political Terrorism*, Schmidt and Jongman (1988) found 109 different definitions of terrorism based on a survey of leading texts in the field. They additionally classified these definitions according to their different components. Violence and force appeared in 83.5% of the definitions; politics in 65%, and fear in 51%.[33]

Unlike the international community, the U.S. does have a definition of terrorism. After the September 11 terrorist attacks, U.S. attitudes toward terrorism changed dramatically, and NATO's Fifth Article was issued. [34] Terrorism is defined by Title 22 of the U.S. Code as

[31] Crenshaw, Martha (Ed.) (1995). Terrorism in Context. Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Fifth Article of NATO provides that in the result of an attack on any NATO State, it shall be deemed to be an attack on all NATO Member States, i.e., involving all NATO member states in the war.

politically motivated violence perpetrated clandestinely against non-combatants.[35] While the U.S. controls the threat posed by terrorism and funds organizations against terrorism, its policy toward terrorism has proved very weak. We can consider USA and their plans against terrorism and talk about the pros and cons of the U.S. in all of this but let us touch on the first major terrorist attack that took place in 2001. The president then was George W. Bush, who "successfully" expanded the global war on terrorism. All of this was inevitable as it arose from an interpretation of events and of America's adversaries. President Bush's speech-making has successfully brought to the brink of war in Iraq and Afghanistan, civil liberty-reducing legislation, and a sizeable institutional edifice dedicated to counterterrorism.[36]

As for President Obama's policies, he has sought to change the president's rhetoric on the terror threat. He made fewer statements on terrorism than his predecessor, President Bush. Despite everything, he continued Bush's policies, including targeted assassinations using modern drones. An analysis of Obama's rhetoric on terrorism shows that the president is simultaneously trying to distance himself from ex. President Bush and also wanted him to be considered an uncompromising fighter against terrorism. So, the rhetoric and politics of President Obama are close to the rhetoric and politics of President Bush. Unfortunately, Obama was not able to assess the threats posed by ISIS, and it also shows that the president does not need to talk much about terrorism, as policies on his solution have already been adopted.[37]

As for Trump's rhetoric, it differs from the rhetoric of every president. Trump has often been accused of Islamophobia and anti-immigrant rhetoric, recalling the construction of a wall on the Mexican border to prevent illegal immigrants from crossing and the repeal/restriction of green card policies. President Trump used Twitter to keep his followers in 'permanent camping.'(people who are constantly watching his news and following/protects him). Trump used fear rhetoric to incite his supporters of Muslims and deportees by linking terrorism to both groups. As the University of Chicago professor Jeffrey Tullis would say, Donald Trump is the first demagogue in the US. It is precisely this demagoguery associated with Trump, and

[35] Donald Trump, President Donald J. Trump is protecting The United States from terrorism, (National Strategy, USA Government, 2017)
[36] Gabriel Rubin, Presidential Rhetoric on Terrorism under Bush, Obama, and Trump: Inflating and calibrating the threat after 9/11 (Palagrave Pivot, New Jersie, 2020). P.55.
[37] Ibid, 81.

his support has framed the terror threat and, in turn, eroded American society. Also, Trump's policy as 'other' has created a big dark zone where domestic terrorism is concerned.[38]

On January 20, 2021, America elected a new President, Joe Biden. It is expected that the security relationship between the U.S. and Africa will further strengthen, which is a crucial task in eradicating terrorism in Africa, which is why the fight against terrorism will play a crucial role. Unfortunately, there are no accurate predictions yet on how all this will happen. The U.S. has built dozen military bases in Africa since the 2001 terrorist attacks, all of which have led to an increase in terrorism in Africa (according to the 'Institute for security studies'', by Akinola Olojo[39], but all of this raises suspicions and could jeopardize the U.S. military presence in Africa.) By January 2019, the U.S. bombing of Somalia during the Trump presidency killed 500 people, and in the first seven months of 2020, there were more bombings in Somalia than there were under Bush and Obama. Despite all this, it has not reduced terrorist activity in Africa. There is an abrupt withdrawal of U.S. troops from Somalia today. While we cannot say that Africa will rely on Biden, there are expectations that several steps can be taken, but African state leaders on the continent must conduct the debate on terrorism. There is also a joint terrorism task force founded in 2020 by the State of Kenya and the USA.[40]

Other theoretical arguments regarding terrorism: Over the past years, terrorism research has progressed much further in the theoretical field than its empirical research. Terrorism, like other social problems, has been thoroughly analysed through different theoretical perspectives such as psychological, rational choice, mainstream/orthodox, and Critical approaches. Psychological perspectives: Generally, the psychological perspective to terrorism focuses on the individual and group levels of analysis. It is crucial to find the answers to why they commit terrorist acts and the specific 'terrorist personality. Psycho pathological theories – as an individual approach to terrorism. Psychologists claim that terrorists are who suffer from narcissists 'personality disorders. It is this narcissism that calls people to commit terrorist acts. According to this theory, terrorists are 'insane 'or 'psychopaths. 'Psychologists discuss this aspect more broadly. There is a lot to talk about, but because it is one of the main

[38] Ibid,105.
[39] Akinola Olojo Ph.D., Senior Researcher, Lake Chad Basin Programme, ISS Dakar
[40] Institute for security studies, Joe Biden, and counterterrorism in Africa: more of the same? <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/joe-biden-and-counter-terrorism-in-africa-more-of-the-same> (26 January 2020).

topics to be discussed and it is difficult to put this aspect into a few words. As we know, terrorism is often directed against the state, but in this case, psychologists rule out political, ideological, economic, and social factors that may provoke terrorist acts in a person. There is also a second psychological aspect, 'Psycho-social theories, 'which will be explained in the central part of the paper. Terrorism also includes other aspects: theory of religious fanatics, relative deprivation theory, rational choice perspective, orthodox approaches, which include realism, liberalism.[41]

However, let us expand on this topic, as it deals with one of the main topics, human physiology, concerning terrorism. It is evident that the basis of terror, first of all, is the fear of a sufficiently large number of people. It is the foremost feeling that terrorist attacks evoke in people. No fear, no terror. Then there is simply some kind of relatively familiar, "ordinary" violence (criminal offense), even grievous, up to the murder, but not causing under the virtue of habit, in the perception of people the fear of a mass threat.[42] Fear is based on surprise, and that surprise is exactly that death, which many factors, including terrorism, can cause. Is there a clear example of this that terrorism has frightened people? Yes, and it is, for example, after the events of September 11 2001, the Americans practically stopped flying for some time because of the fear. That arose due to the work of the imagination. It is believed that fear is "the most toxic, most harmful emotion," which is why terrorists use it.[43] The extreme degree of horror is - fear. But, in contrast to mere fear, signalling a probable threat, anticipating it, and reporting it, horror states the inevitability of a disaster.[44]

Terrorist attack is not only terrifying in itself. As a rule, terrorists themselves contribute to the spread of terror. Moreover, sometimes terrorist acts look even as purely ritual murders. It is exactly how, for instance, considering the murder of Nicholas II and his family in Yekaterinburg (Russian Empire).[45] Feelings of fear similar to those of the United States remained in Russia when, in the fall of 1999, residential houses in the Russian capital, Moscow, exploded, causing people to fear and focus on housing at the entrances and basements. As for the US, the focus was on aircraft doors and cockpits, with the number of

[41] Ogunrotifa Ayodeji Bayo, Research on terrorism: an overview of theoretical perspectives (AJRSH, University of Edinburg, UK, 2012)
[42] Дмитрий Вадимович Ольшанский, Психология терроризма (Питер, Санкт-Петербург, 2002). Translate: Dmitry Vadimovich Olshansky, Psychology of Terrorism (Peter, St. Petersburg, 2002). P.42.
[43] Ibid, P.45.
[44] Ibid, P.49.
[45] Ibid, P.50.

flights reduced by 20-25%, as mentioned previously. Panic, one way or another, is the most common behavioural consequence of emotional experiences of fear and terror is mass panic. Exactly such panic is the primary manifestation of the theory as a mass event, and the most frequent manifestation is a massive panic reaction to fear experienced by people and its extreme form - horror. Panic is one of the most noticeable types of behaviour of the masses (crowd), and at the same time, it is a unique emotional state that arises as a result of either a lack of information about some frightening or incomprehensible situation, or its excessive excess, and manifests itself in spontaneous, impulsive actions. Panic is a complex, intermediate, psychobehavioral phenomenon. Accordingly, based on panic as an emotional and behavioural state, massive panic crowds with specific behaviour arise.[46] For example, the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York City, when people panicked because it was believed that a plane hijacked by terrorists was flying to one of the American nuclear power plants. Rumour caused panic, and the already tense situation became even tenser. So, we see that terrorism has a tremendous impact on human psychology, causing a great deal of emotion in people.[47]

Terrorism is violence, fear, insecurity, ideology, political parties, a political issue that includes tactics and motives. Terrorism regularly kills civilians, kids, and women. Terrorism is not democratic. Terrorism destroys infrastructure, destroys countries, leaves many people without parents, forces people to change their place of residence, and mutilates everyone. The list is not a complete description of the results of terrorism, but it does make sense at first glance what terrorism is. As for the picture, the psychological elements of terrorism, which instill panic and fear, are caused by considering the nature of terrorism. Recall the 9/11 case, the mass media messages promote the psychology of fear and victim age, and the sense of imminent danger pervades much of everyday life.[48] It also causes tremendous fear when members of terrorist organizations on camera strangle, kill, shoot ordinary people; it causes massive psychological trauma not only to the country where it happens but to the whole world[49]. Fear of terrorism can also be seen as a means of manipulating people's minds. Exactly this quote can be attributed to mass fear and panic, but with the interpretation of the

[46] Ibid, P.55.
[47] Ibid, P.58.
[48] Samuel Justin Sinclair and Daniel Antonius (ed.), The political psychology of terrorism and fears (Oxford University Press, New York, NY, 2013), Page. 287.
[49] Раевский Александр Евгеньевич, 'СОЦИАЛЬНО-ПСИХОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ФАКТОРЫ РЕЛИГИОЗНОГО ТЕРРОРИЗМА В ЯПОНИИ, (МОСКОВСКИЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ ИМЕНИ М. В. ЛОМОНОСОВА, Published PhD dissertation, Москва, 2015). (Translate: Raevsky Alexander Evgenievich, 'SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS OF RELIGIOUS TERRORISM IN JAPAN, (MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY NAMED AFTER M.V. LOMONOSOV).

state: it is necessary to create an atmosphere of mass hysteria, to retain power by intimidating society. this is the political meaning of the word “terror”. [50]

2.3 The main international agreements and treaties governing Terrorism

Terrorism has always been a big problem for states because it is directly aimed at the civilian population and we can recall many facts when innocent people were injured as a result of a terrorist act, so the main task of the state is to protect both the country and population from terrorism. It does not matter what kind of country you are talking about, rich or poor. For this very reason, agreements have been set up that include the fight against terrorism, the financing of countries, the training of troops and many other factors. Because terrorist acts can lead to population loss and economic collapse, which directly affect the country's image and security, it can also lead to criticism of the government and eventually their downfall. So, let us look at what the world has been doing to fight terrorism, consider conventions and other aspects.

International humanitarian law includes several provisions prohibiting terrorist acts. Article 33 The Fourth Geneva Convention covers, in part, " collective punishment and all forms of intimidation and terrorism which are prohibited ". A similar additional provision written in the Geneva Convention, namely Article 1949 51 (2) Protocol I International Armed Conflict and 13 (2) Protocol II non-international armed conflict, provides in part that " acts of violence and danger aimed at spreading terrorism to civilians It forbids among them ". Article 4 (2) Additional Protocol II stipulates that "terrorist acts against civilians and non-combatants" are and remain inadmissible at any time and in any place. The prohibition in Article 3 is common to all four Geneva Conventions, which deal with violence against people who do not participate in hostilities, such as certain terrorist acts. The law also prohibits attacks on nuclear power plants. Article 56 of the 2005 Convention prohibits such acts. The Convention also includes four anti-terrorism treaties - the 1979 Convention on the Hostage-taking, the 1997 Convention against Terrorist Bombings, the 1999 Convention on the Financing of

[50] С. Кара-Мурзы, 'Манипуляция сознанием' <https://psyfactor.org/terror.htm>, (5 August 2020). (Translate: S. Kara-Murza, 'Manipulation of Consciousness' Published on the basis of the book)

Terrorism, and the 2005 Convention on Nuclear Terrorism - which include provisions based on international humanitarian law.[51]

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe is based in Helsinki (Finland), whose main task is to protect human rights. This organization is also located along the borders of the occupied territories to protect human rights, but we will talk about their contribution to the fight against terrorism. OSCE in the fight against terrorism (PC.DEC / 1063), whose primary goal is to eradicate terrorism and international legal cooperation in criminal matters related to terrorism. The international legal framework in the fight against terrorism, based on and includes 19 universal instruments – UATI. And also, relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council (UNSCR). Ratification can get achieved in OSCE participating States and Partners, but UATI participation is not sufficient (although none of the Chadian Lakes countries is a member or partner of this organization, it still plays a vital role in establishing peace). Offenses defined must be criminalized at the legislative level of the state. States must exercise adequate jurisdiction over offenders under the conditions prescribed. Finally, as a necessary method, states should also use international cooperation mechanisms. Those mechanisms include cooperation at law enforcement and judicial levels at official and unofficial levels, punishing offenders, or extraditing them to another country.[52] Anti-terrorism, as previously mentioned, includes 19 regulations starting from 1963. The first convention got adopted exactly this year (1963), including crimes and other acts committed on board an aircraft. The other 18 conventions deal with various aspects, including the security of the population, protection of diplomats, hostage-taking, protection of nuclear material, protection of airports and their passengers, financing of terrorists, and more.[53]

The primary responsibility for international security lies with the UN Security Council, whose leading members are the United States, the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, the French Republic, and the United Kingdom.[54] UN - It is a primary fighter against

[51] International Review of the Red Cross, 'International treaties against terrorism and the use of terrorism during armed conflict and by armed forces,'' (Volume 88 Number 864, 2006). <https://www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/a21937.pdf> (25 January 2020). P.863-864.
[52] OSCE, Status of the Universal Anti-Terrorism Conventions and Protocols as well as other International and Regional Legal Instruments related to Terrorism and Co-operation in Criminal Matters in the OSCE Area <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/5/8/17138_0.pdf> (26 January 2020). P.3
[53] Ibid.
[54] Бакаре Илесанми Абиодун, ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ ТЕРРОРИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ГРУППЫ «БОКО ХАРАМ» КАК УГРОЗА РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ В ЗАПАДНОЙ АФРИКЕ (2009–2017 гг.) (РОССИЙСКИЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ

terrorism because it is their responsibility to bring peace to the world and protect human rights. The United Nations signed the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime in December 2000 in Palermo, Italy. If we look at the second UN article, "Use of terms," "we will see that organized criminal group" means the formation of a group of three or more people who exist for a certain period and their primary purpose is to commit one or more severe crimes or violations of the law, which results in obtaining finances or matter through all of this.[55] Until 1945, the United Nations (then the League of Nations) did not have the principles of self-determination in the rules, so everything like that was considered illegal. However, ever since the development of the world, the UN has always stood by countries that wanted to gain independence, such as Namibia, South Africa, and South Sudan. Nevertheless, on the other hand, the UN-imposed sanctions on countries where the rights of the people were violated, such as apartheid South Africa, which collapsed in 1994 and became an independent state.[56]

The African continent is also actively involved in the fight against terrorism, with the MNJTF and the African Union put pressure on Boko Haram and other terrorist organizations. We will also talk about ECOWAS in the following paragraphs (See paragraphs 2 and 3) . In short, and to expand on this topic later, one of the principal organs of the African Union responsible for security is the Peace and Security Council (PSC). The Council is empowered under Article 20 (as referred to in Article 9 of Protocol 2003) and Article 2 in the African Union Security and Peace context, which entered into inure in 2000. It has been set up as a mechanism for collective security and early warning to develop modern and effective measures to resolve conflict situations and resolve crises. It includes 14 states.[57]

Just as a coin has two sides, so does the OAU has pros and cons. The organization has often been the subject of criticism, such as the lack of armed forces that led to the civil wars in Nigeria and Angola that did not subside for several years, and the OAU could do nothing to stop them. Interference in the state's internal affairs also limited the OAU's role, as a result of

---

ДРУЖБЫ НАРОДОВ, Опубликовано работа Докторанта, Москва, 2017) (Translate: Bakare Ilesanmi Abiodun, Activites of the Boko Haram terrorist group as a threat to regional security in Western Africa (2009-2017) (RUSSIAN UNIVERSITY OF PEOPLE'S FRIENDSHIP, Published PhD dissertation, Moscow. 2017) P.112

[55] UN, United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and The Protocols Thereto, <https://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/UNTOC/Publications/TOC%20Convention/TOCebook-e.pdf> (27 January 2020). P.5.

[56] Giuseppe Nesi (ed), International Cooperation in Counterterrorism, The UN and Regional Organizations in the Fight Against Terrorism (Ashgate, Trento,2006). P.38

[57] Ibid, Бакаре. P.104. (Bakare)

which human rights were violated in Uganda in the 1970s, i.e., the OAU was powerless here as well. However, let us get closer to the topic because it comes down to the fight against terrorism. The OAU Convention has sometimes got criticized for being overly broad since it frames terrorism in extensive terms. One of the critical remarks made was about the protection of human rights expressed in Algeria in the 1990s, where it was considered that rights and advocates could not respond adequately against mass violations by abuses by armed groups. Human rights organizations are more concerned with the actions of the government than with the actions of terrorists, and they do not acknowledge that states have legitimate security concerns, or this, in turn, leaves it open to abuse by governments. Other criticisms also include that human rights organizations are obsessed by government and by government abuses of power. All this conceals the fact that the state has a responsibility to protect the safety of those who live under their jurisdiction and acts a crucial function in protecting rights and freedoms.[58]

On the other hand, it is necessary to say a few words about the 'OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, the primary purpose of which is to eliminate terrorism and at the same time present its definition. Determined to eliminate terrorism in all its forms and manifestations; According to them, terrorism means: any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a State Party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity, freedom , or cause severe injury or death to, any person, any number or group of people, As well as the destruction of personal property, infrastructure and cultural landmarks, the OAU aware of the need to promote human and moral values based on tolerance and rejection all forms of terrorism irrespective of their motivations. They were also convinced that terrorism cannot be justified under any circumstances and should be defeated in all forms and displays.[59] When Democrats fight terrorism, they leave behind the thesis that their political life should be free from violence. However, in order to defeat terrorism, violence is necessary, with which probably everyone will agree. It can also be used for coercion, secrecy, lying as well as rights violations. How can Democrats address this issue without violating the values they create, that is, respect for human rights? However, thoughts of less violence are impossible. If the state relies on the rule of law,

[58] OAU, Convention ON The prevention and combating of terrorism, Date of Adoption: 1 July 1996, (Date entry into force: 06 December 2002) <https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/37289-treaty-0020_-_oau_convention_on_the_prevention_and_combating_of_terrorism_e.pdf> (1 August 2020

[59] Ibid.

then it will be beneficial for terrorists. That is why it is challenging to be a democratic and, at the same time, militant state.[60]

OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism was adopted on 1 July 1999. Its first signatories were the following African states: Algeria, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Comoros, Congo, Egypt, and 23 other African states, and subsequently, the rest of the states also signed before 2013. Unfortunately, several states refused to sign this agreement. The Convention further reaffirms the" Legal right to self-determination and independence of the people, of course, based on international law and the principles of the OAU African Charter on Human and People's Rights. "OAU (African Union nowadays) is also convinced that "Terrorism is a grave violation of human rights, as well as the right to physical integrity, life, liberty, security and hinders socio-economic development, which leads to the destabilization of the state." It is also convinced that terrorism has no justification and that it must be fought by any means. "Convinced further that terrorism cannot be justified in any case and therefore it is necessary to fight it, including those in which states are directly or indirectly involved. Regardless of their origins, causes, and purposes." The 1999 Algerian OAU Convention is divided into five main parts and 23 Articles. Many paragraphs. In part, I am the 'Scope of application" comprising of Articles 1 -3. In part II 'Areas of cooperation" is subdivided into Articles 4 - 5. In part III is devoted to the jurisdiction of the state and includes Articles 6 - 7. In part, IV is the 'Extradition' part, which includes Articles 8 - 13. The fifth part, which deals with the investigation, includes' Extra-Territorial investigations (Commission Rogaroire) and cooperation, which includes articles 14-18, and the final sixth part refers to the final part, which includes 19-23 articles. Finally, there is the list of international instruments.[61]

With Africa's history of civil war and also internal conflict, it is challenging for the African Union as a political institution to distinguish between freedom fighters and terrorist activities. This is precisely to what counter-terrorism legislation has led. Everything changed after the 9/11 attacks, and Africa also developed conventions in this regard. In November 2001, the OAU Central Organ issued a communique against terrorism stating that ''terrorism ''is a universal phenomenon that is not associated with any particular religion, culture, or race and that terrorism should be combated in all forms and manifestations, including those in which

[60] Ibid, Chinyere Christiana Okpala.
[61] Ibid, 109.110.

States are involved directly or indirectly. Guidelines for States to ratify the Terrorism Convention was developed.[62]

2.4 The Impact of Islam on Terrorism

Islam is one of the most widespread religions in the world, and it has up to 2 billion followers. Over time, Islam gained a stronger foothold globally, and the religion even spread to the African continent. If we look at the map of religion, we will see that Islam is prevalent in North, West, and East Africa, which forms the basis for spreading terrorism in African countries. Islam does not preach terrorism or similar violence, but illiteracy in society is more likely to incite terrorism in countries like Nigeria when students side with terrorists as they protest against the background created in the country. Because terrorism is directed at violence, the primary victims are innocent citizens and the symbols of political life.[63] Islam provided an essential but ambiguous element in the arsenal of precolonial state rulers near the Lake Chad basin. The spread of Islam in the region took place in the 11th century; it was adopted first by the local elite and then by ordinary people, often being imposed on them. It is entirely probable that orthodox Islam was not very common among the ordinary rural population and in Islamic states until the 17th and 18th centuries. There is no doubt that for most states that lived near the Chad Lake basin, conversion to Islam was sincere and necessary, but this in itself led to long-range trade controlled by Muslim groups. As we can see, Islam was established in the Chad Lake region in the early centuries and gradually became more established in the population.

Islam is a religion of mercy that rejects terrorism. That is why we cannot accuse Islam of inciting terrorism because there are too many Muslims around us and especially in South Africa. We see that they, too, are followers of the ordinary religion and just as quiet as the followers of other religions. The point is that after the change in world politics and the collapse of science and technology and, most importantly, Marxism, the Islamic movement has changed. The changes affected the aims, mechanisms, and methods of the Islamic movement, and in addition, new movements emerged in the Islamic world that differed from their predecessors and called themselves neo-fundamentalists. The new Islamic movement is

[62] Wayne Fulton, *'Intelligence and the War against Terrorism': Multilateral Counter-Terrorism Policies Implemented post-September 11* (University of the Witwatersrand, Published MA disertation, 2004)
[63] Joseph E. Goldberg, Perspectives on Political Science (Routledge, London, 2010). P.87-88.

divided into two levels, low and high levels. At high levels, it explains the global goals of this movement, and their main factor, which lies in transformation.

In contrast, low levels are directed at internal problems in the Islamic world. The topic of neo fundamentalism was first raised by Olivier Roy in his book 'The Failure of Political Islam"[64]. He sees Islamic neo fundamentalism as a return to true religious beliefs. This phenomenon is as old as Islam itself. Furthermore, modern tendencies, called neo fundamentalism, combine deculturized technical modernism with traditional tendencies to differentiate from traditional Islam and modern Western culture and globalization. In his view, the mainstream of Islamic movements has crossed the boundaries of the struggle to create a world Islamic society as an idea of 'Islamic nationalism.' Neo fundamentalists want to be officially recognized as new players in the domestic political arena. They have already primarily moved away from their transnational views, which still form part of their ideology.

On the other hand, the policy of `` reviving Islamism " was pursued by many governments, including secular ones, to weaken the opposition and revolutionary Islamists, particularly after the Islamic revolution in Iran, and gaining religious legitimacy, has had the opposite effect. As a result of the containment of revolutionary Islamism, this kind of fundamentalism emerged. This new movement encompassed lifestyles, food and worship, dress style, communication with the opposite sex, and raising and educating children. His goal was to Islamize society, starting from the bottom. The most remarkable thing is that the reason for the opposition of the Neo fundamentalists to the authorities of Muslim countries was not despotic politics or economic pressure, but the failure to comply with Islamic Sharia law and the assistance of these authorities to Christians and Jews in attacks on Muslim countries. Neo fundamentalists openly adhere to an anti-Western position and violently oppose modernism. From the point of view of many, the most striking confirmation of this is their disagreement with women being engaged with social activities.[65]

Interestingly, Al-Shabaab attacks on Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, and Kenya are interesting to consider. These countries share a border with Somalia, which is the main base for Al-Shabaab and Muslim settlements. Today, Uganda and Burundi hold forces in Somalia under

[64] Olivier Roy (Translated by Carol Volk), The Failure o f Political Islam (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1994).
[65] Дж.Мирзоева, Исламофобия (Россиский университет дружбы народов, Москва, 2016). Translate: J. Mirzoeva, Islamophobia (Peoples' Friendship University of Russia, Moscow, 2016). Pp.149,150.

the auspices of the African Union (AMISOM), which supports the Somali government (SNG) in the capital. Despite these figures, Somalia is still experiencing numerous blows from terrorists, especially in October 2011, when the Kenyan Forces (KDF) moved to Somalia to oust Al-Shabaab from the ranks and establish buffer, safe zones. Unfortunately, due to the weakness of the borders, terrorists are infiltrating states like Chad Lake countries. From 2008 to 2015, terrorists carried out 272 clashes in Kenya and five in Ethiopia, so to this day, this organization remains dangerous for Kenya. The reasons why Kenya is under the terror of Al-Shabaab are several options, and one is the invasion of Kenya in southern Somalia; some believe that the strengthening of terrorist support in these clashes among Muslims and disaffected youth in Kenya.[66]

It is well known that poverty is the biggest problem, therefore the U.S. has always allocated funds to Middle Eastern countries, particularly in 2013-2014, when Jordan received up to $ 2 billion in aid when they fought against Iraq. The U.S. also helped the Middle East with billions of dollars. According to George Washington University, in 2013, the United States invested $ 300 billion in the Middle East and Central Asia economy and military. Egypt received $ 114 billion, Iraq $ 60 billion since the end of World War II.[67]

Islam has existed in Africa for such a long time, dating back to its origins in the Arabian Peninsula, that some scholars have argued that it is a traditional African religion.[68] Dimensions of terrorism in Africa cause a religious incompatibility or a conflict arising on its grounds. Islam is divided into specific parts as Christianity, namely Shiites, Sunnis, Sufism. The difficulty of African Islam is precisely in these traditions and movements that are constantly fighting for dominance in many African countries. Moreover, Islam in Africa often changes around social, economic, and political conditions. That is why Sharia law, which is prevalent in northern Nigeria, is one of the fundamental laws of Boko Haram under which they are governed. They aim to spread Sharia law throughout Nigeria.[69]

---

[66] Brendon J. Cannon and Dominic Ruto Pkalya, Why al-Shabaab Attacks Kenya: Questioning the Narrative Paradigm, (Institute of International and Civil Security (IICS), 2019). Pp.3-5.
[67] Ibn Warraq, The Islam in Islamic Terrorism the importance of beliefs, ideas, and ideology (New English Review Press, Tennessee, 2017). P.31-33.
[68] Thomas, Douglas E., African traditional religion in the modern world (McFarland & Company, Inc., Second edition, Jefferson, 2015). P.125.
[69] М Ф Видясова, В В Орпов, Политический ислам в странах Северной Африки. История и современное состояние (Издательство Московского университета, Moscow,2008). P.225 Translate: MF Vidyasova, VV Orpov, Political Islam in the countries of North Africa. History and current state (Moscow University Press, Moscow, 2008). P.225

2.5 Conclusion

In current conditions, the fight against terrorism is one of the most severe challenges to the world community. Its ever-wider internationalization is an indisputable fact faced by states. It is necessary to distinguish between what terrorism is and not to honour people who fight for the good of their country because, in some cases, states misbehave (such as apartheid South Africa). Terrorism will never be justified as it causes destabilization in both developed and developing countries. There is a great deal of effort made by international organizations to eradicate terrorism, and we hope that the relationship between the states on the issue of terrorism will continue. The proper development of the country plays a massive role because, as we see, most terrorist organizations and clashes occur in low-developed countries and corrupt countries. Africa is distinguished by both poverty and high levels of corruption.

Chapter 3

Boko Haram and Terrorism in Nigeria and the region

This chapter is organized into four sections. In section one, we explore the history behind the emergence of Boko Haram, starting with the dimensions of colonization, where the United Kingdom invaded Nigeria, and the complications followed in terms of ethnic and religious problems, inequality, and unequal distribution of resources. The principal argument of this section is that the British did not pay proper attention to development in Northern Nigeria. They were busy developing other regions like South and West-East Nigeria. That is why the Northerners felt oppressed and already decided to change everything in the future. Section two analyses Nigeria's period of independence, the in-depth path the state has taken to overcome colonialism, and the complications associated with military rule and ethnic conflict. Based on this analysis, we argue that Nigeria was partially unprepared for independence and was not a strong society that solved all the problems that arose during the rule of Britain. In section three, we compare the work of Boko Haram leaders. We know two leaders who have ruled Boko Haram since its inception, but in 2009 the first founding leader Mohammed Yusuf was assassinated, and after this year, Abubakar Shekau took power. In the final section, the thesis focusses on the New Islamic State of Africa - Impacts in the region. This material, in turn, is used to support the stated argument that their new face has gained more power over Boko Haram and through more funding, as well as helping terrorists financially from Africa and the Middle East, making it harder for Nigeria and neighbouring countries to fight them. The main focus of this chapter will be on the second half of the 20th century to the present day since this is the period where the factors which led to Boko Haram are almost immediate, be it the Civil War or later periods.

3.1 History of Nigeria and the birth of the soul of Boko Haram

Recent events have complex historical roots, such as the formation of the state, the development, and past conflicts and conquests. Nigeria is no exception, with the history of British colonialism being especially consequential. Those historical events played a crucial role in the birth of Boko Haram and the subsequent formation of a terrorist organization that claimed many people's lives and continues to these days. To get a clear picture of why this problem is still unresolved nowadays, we will start the conversation with a brief description

of the period of colonization, as we have clear examples of why Boko Haram's bloody activities do not end today. As we know, Nigeria was under British rule, which defined its geocultural and religious aspects, which has led to conflicts and problems in different regions of the country. Additionally, corruption and negligence of the people's interests are deeply rooted throughout the country's political history. These cumulative problems have brought the country into an active zone for terrorists.[70]

Nigeria is famous for its ethnic diversity. Hundreds of people of different ethnic backgrounds live on this land, and three stand out, particularly: Hausa – Fulani in the north, Yoruba in the West, and Igbo in the East, which makes up 60 percent of the country. Within the Hausa ethnic group living in the north, 95 percent of their population is Muslim and 5 percent Christian. In the West, 60 percent of the Yoruba tribe is Christian, 30 percent Muslim, and 10 percent traditional African. Finally, in the East, 98 percent of the Igbo tribe is Christian (mostly Catholic), and 2 percent is the traditional African religion. This has invited comparisons along the lines of the "clash of civilizations." Indeed, Christian, and Muslim identities appear to be a significant religious differentiation and potential conflict in a situation where Muslims in Nigeria are more clearly expressing their religious identities than Christians. Consequently, the two laws conflict with each other these are the laws of Nigeria (English laws) and Sharia (Islamic laws). In 1999, several Nigerian states passed Sharia law, but as they reported, these laws applied only to the Muslim population. However, the Christian population claimed that they, too, were subject to these laws. So, what is the primary goal of Boko Haram? The exact Islamization of the entire Nigeria, which appeared in 2009.[71]

I cannot ignore another reason for the formation of Boko Haram. It is the corruption in the country, which results in an unequal distribution of wealth. In particular, Nigeria, which is one of the wealthiest countries on the African continent, is characterized by oil reserves. The country has been producing oil since 1957 and its reserves include 32 billion barrels. For the past 25 years, the value of oil extracted by Nigeria has been estimated at $300 billion, but that is nothing compared to the fact that 63 percent of the population lives on $1 a day. Key areas

[70] Бакаре Илесанми Абиодун, ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ ТЕРРОРИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ГРУППЫ «БОКО ХАРАМ» КАК УГРОЗА РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ В ЗАПАДНОЙ АФРИКЕ (2009–2017 гг.) (РОССИЙСКИЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ ДРУЖБЫ НАРОДОВ, Опубликовано работа Докторанта, Москва, 2017) (Translate: Bakare Ilesanmi Abiodun, Activites of the Boko Haram terrorist group as a threat to regional security in Western Africa (2009-2017) (RUSSIAN UNIVERSITY OF PEOPLE'S FRIENDSHIP, Published PhD dissertation, Moscow. 2017) P. 22

[71] Ibid,24,25.

include oil of the Niger River Delta (because the oil fields are located in southern Nigeria, this does not allow us to ignore northern Nigeria), where live 32 million people and includes 140 ethnic groups. [72] The population of the country by 2020 is over 200 million.[73] The unemployment rate for 2020 (post-coved period) is 27.1 percent. The forecast is not reliable as it is the highest rate of unemployment.[74] As for the youth part of the population, the situation here is deplorable. Unemployed students joined the Boko Haram sect, who tore up the diplomas and thus condemned the state. It is the fault of the authorities that unemployment and poverty have been caused by the oversupply and inaction of their Western education, which has been expressed in the misuse of state resources for the people. For Boko Haram, the state is a nest of corruption, exploiting the poor.[75]

[72] Крутов А.А, Движение за освобождение Дельты Нигера: конфликт на юге Нигерии (Самарский государственный университет, АЗИЯ И АФРИКА СЕГОДНЯ, № 9, 2015.) С.31. Translate: Krutov A.A, MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE NIGER DELTA: CONFLICT AT THE SOUTH OF NIGERIA (Samara State University, Asia, and Africa, № 9, 2015) P.31.

[73] The world bank, Data bank - Population, total - Nigeria <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=NG> (01.10.2020).

[74] Trading Economics, Nigeria Unemployment Rate 2020, <https://tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/unemployment-rate> (01.10.2020).

[75] 1 Abimbola O. Adesoji, 'Boko Haram and the Global War on Terror''< https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e851> (01 September 2020).

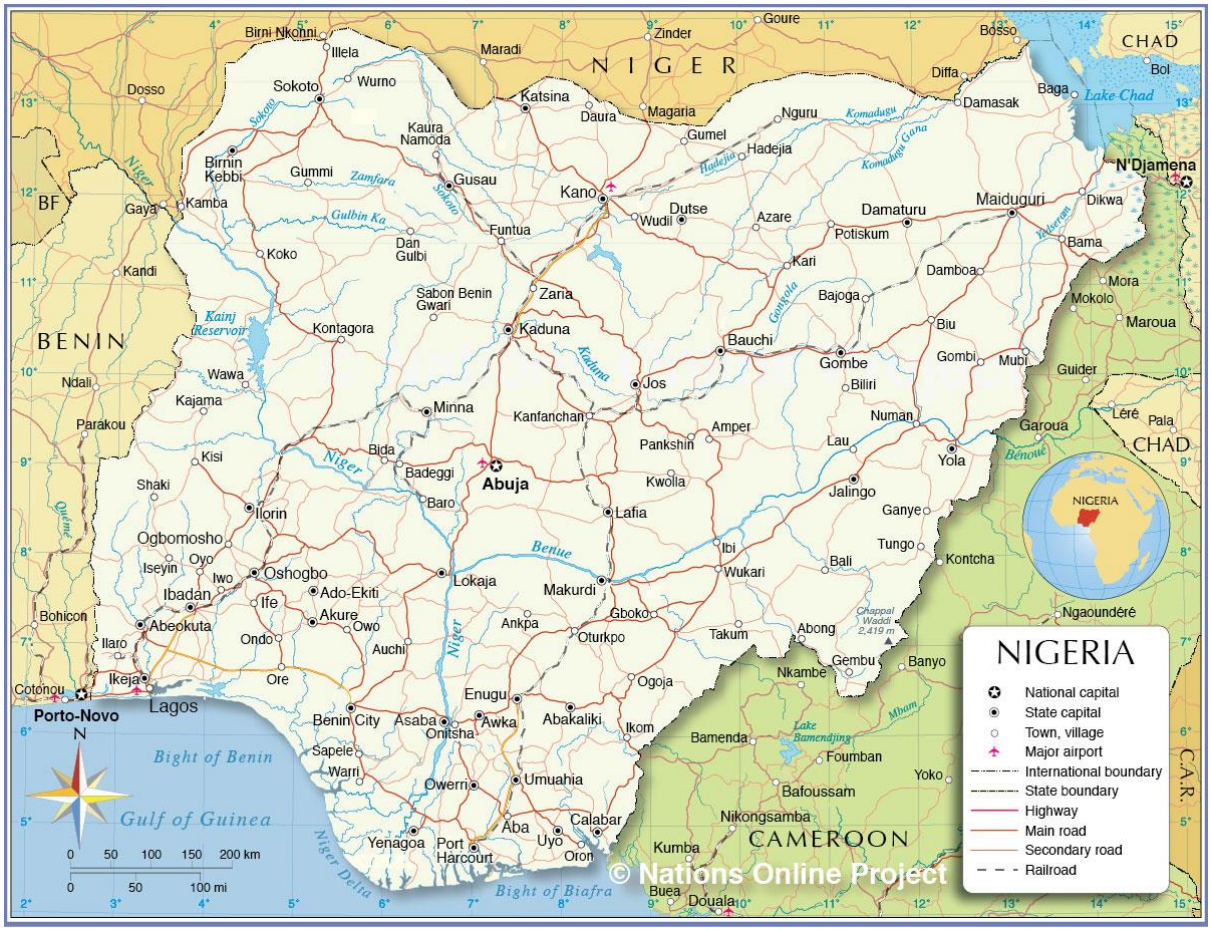


Figure 2: On the picture is shown a map of Nigeria with its cities and state borders. Also visible are its neighbouring countries and the countries of the Chad Lake Basin.[76]

The colonization of Nigeria began in the late 19th century and continued until the mid-20th century. But the official founding date of the British colony in Nigeria is 1914, and its completion date is 1960.[77] Britain made one of the biggest mistakes when they divided Nigeria into three parts and, as a result, formed political parties: North (NPC), East (NCNC), and West (AG). The British division led to the distribution of priorities to the regions, which resulted in Northern Nigeria being hit by a minority. Their (British) vision of the future was of a Nigerian federation presiding over three regional governments with legislative power. This structure had the perverse effect of encouraging first a winner-takes-all quest for electoral power within each of the three regions and then competition between the regions for power at the federal level. The civil service was regionalized in 1953: each region would control its bureaucracy and its patronage resources. Unfortunately, not all regions were equal:

[76] Figure 2: Google image: https://www.nationsonline.org/, On the picture is shown a map of Nigeria with its cities and state borders. Also visible are its neighbouring countries and the countries of the Chad Lake Basin.
[77] Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton, A History of Nigeria (Cambridge, University of Texas at Austin, New York, 2008). P.1

in the northern part, where most of the population was settled, including Muslims. They also had a weakly developed education system and were firmly ruled by a traditionalist Muslim elite. On the other hand, the western part (Yoruba), with the help of cocoa, was part of the wealthiest country, and the capital Lagos was within its borders. As we know, during the colonization period, each region had its ethnic majority, and as for the northern part, the well-known Hausa-Fulani tribes were in the majority. To some degree, contradictions have developed in each region, especially in the north, as populist challenges have arisen among the ruling elites, predominantly the minority.[78]

3.2 Nigeria's independence and civil war

The colonization period that ended in the 1960s revealed a new problem that arose during the British rule. The Nigerian Civil War is also known as the Biafran War of Independence and the Nigerian-Biafran War. Nigeria also was not ready for independence as the departure of the British caused a more assertive confrontation within the country and deviated from its legal path. The armed conflict caused by inter-ethnic resistance attempted to separate the eastern province and thus create the Biafran Republic. According to Adalikwu[79], the conflict over resources (not only because of oil revenues, but also because of its sales) has been characterized throughout historical periods of Nigeria (uprisings of ethnic groups against colonial power in 1912, 1929, 1939, 1945, and 1948; interethnic clashes in Lagos, the civil war for the secession of Biafra; the growth of religious extremism in northern Nigeria in the 1980s.).[80] Elections were needed to start Nigeria's independence, but all this did not go well, problems began in the first years, with election rigging and the establishment of ethnic political parties. [81]

In the 1960 Federal Parliament, the Northern Party (NPC) had a majority in the northern election, and they also entered into a coalition with the West (AG). As a result, the East (NCNC) party was left alone. This created an unstable political situation, with bloody clashes

[78] Frederick Cooper, Africa Since 1940 The past of the present (Cambridge University, New York, 2002). PP. 69,70.
[79] Dr. Paul Adalikwu, Director at Federal Government of Nigeria.
[80] ГЕОРГИ Дарья Григорьевна, ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ КОНФЛИКТА В ЮЖНОЙ НИГЕРИИ середина XX – начало XXI вв. (Московский государственныĕ университет имени М. В. Ломоносова» Институт стран Азии и Африки, Москва 2017). Translate: GEORGES Daria Grigorievna, EVOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT IN SOUTH NIGERIA mid XX - early XXI centuries (Lomonosov Moscow State University "Institute of Asian and African Countries, Published PhD dissertation, Moscow 2017). P.23.
[81] Ibid,50,51.

in the 1963 elections and further disputes in 1965, most notably concerning the rigging of elections by the Western region. In response, a group of military officers, most Igbo, carried out a military coup in January 1966, with actions in five main cities: the capital Lagos and the main regional centres of Kaduna, Ibadan, Benin, and Enugu. As a result of all this, numerous political leaders were killed, including critical figures Ahmad Bello and T. Baleva. The reigns of power were ultimately taken by a Major-General of the Nigerian Army, J. Ironsi, ethnically Igbo.[82]

Igbo people were also located in the north of the country (now located in south-central and south-eastern Nigeria), where their number reached hundreds of thousands and maybe millions. Thus, set in motion a series of responses, purges, and pogroms that established a pattern of Nigerian political, military, and social development, the residue of which is still very evident today.[83] In February 1966, NDVF [84] Divisions launched an attack on a police station in Yenago to obtain ammunition and take police officers hostage. The NDFD managed to blow up some oil pipelines before being captured. Isac Boro (the head of the Niger Delta Volunteer Force), Owonaru, and Dick got arrested for treason, which resulted in them being tried and found guilty. Isaac Boro was sentenced to death but got later pardoned by Nigerian General Gowon, and when the Civil War broke out in 1967, Boro fought on the side of the Nigerian Federal Forces but fought it against those who had been in the campaign before. Boro got killed during the fighting on May 17, 1968, at the age of 32.[85] During this period, the country was divided into two warring factions, the Federal Government of Nigeria and Biafra, but it is necessary to remember that national self-determination could be exercised within the state at any time, so the division of a country into parts can also be considered in this way. The two sides battled for control and sovereignty over the territory. Both sides deployed conventional armed forces with traditional command and control structures.[86]

---

[82] Ibid,50,51.

[83] Peter Baxter, BIAFRA, The Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970 (African War Series, volume 16, England, 2014) P.10-11.

[84] Niger Delta Volunteer Force

[85] Davis C. , The Potential for Peace and Reconciliation in Niger Delta Canon Dr Stephen (Coventry Cathedral, 2009) < https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/read/47557648/the-potential-for-peace-and-reconciliation-in-the-niger-delta> (12.10.2020) P.55-56.

[86] Коновалов Иван Павлович, Африканские войны современности (Центр стратегической конъюнктуры, Пушкино, 2012). P.25-26. Translate: Konovalov Ivan Pavlovich, African wars of our time (Centre for Strategic Conjuncture, Pushkino, 2012). P.25-26.

Nigeria, lieutenant colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, declared the creation of an independent state of Biafra. In early June, the military government of Nigeria, led by Colonel Yakub Gowon, embarked on a blockade of the rebellious province. Operation Unicorn began on July 6. Federal forces entered Biafra with two columns from the north but collided with a very well-organized defence. Ideally, from a strategic point of view, there was a landing to seize oil fields 30 kilometres from Port Harcourt. The Biafra state had many attempts to take control of the territories but to no avail. The participation of mercenaries proved futile as some were killed, and eventually, the mercenaries left the country. A few months later fell Port Harcourt, and the rebels lost access to the sea. Their supply now went exclusively by air through the Spanish colony of the island of Fernando Po. [87]

In the early spring of 1969, the Biafrans tried to seize the initiative and recapture the seaports. As a result of the counterattack in Owerri, a brigade of the Nigerian army was surrounded. However, federal forces continued to advance slowly, gradually slicing through the rebel territory. Umuahia was lost, almost all airports and runways. Desperate counterattacks were unsuccessful. Recently, Biafra aviation units have been bombing the Nigerian Federal Forces through the MCI-9B, destroying state aircraft and bases. But in December, the last month of the war, there were clashes between Nigerian state forces. Biafra's 70,000-strong army was opposed by the 180,000-strong state army, which had plenty of powerful combat equipment. On January 12, 1970, Biafra's opposition was finally crushed, ending the Civil War.[88]

3.3 Boko Haram leaders and their activities

The formation of Boko Haram was greatly influenced by its spirit leader, founder and first leader of Boko Haram Muhammad Yusuf and subsequently after the first leader, the current head of Boko Haram, Abubakar Shekau. We will talk about one of the former young leaders Muhammad Yusuf and the current leader Abubakar Shekau. Muhammad was born exactly when the Civil War ended in 1970. With the end of one problem, another problem was born, and Shekau was born in 1969, the last year of the war. Muhammad Yusuf and his successor Shekau believed that 'the government of Nigeria has not been built to serve justice…. It has been built to attack Islam and kill Muslims." [89] Yusuf was born in Jakusko Local Government

[87] Ibid.
[88] Коновалов Иван Павлович, Ibid, 26,27.
[89] Alexander Thurston, Boko Haram: The History of an African Jihadist Movement (Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2018). P.41.

Area, and Abubakar Shekau was born in the village named Shekau, making his name effectively, 'Abubakar from Shekau."[90] Yusuf's teacher of Islam was his father, memorizing the Qur'an by the time he was fifteen years old. Then he travelled around the country to acquire new knowledge, he was well acquainted with Islamic literature, and he possessed knowledge and disseminated it. Yusuf and Shekau were born in rural settings, but they grew up and became scholars of politics and religion, which influenced the formation of Boko Haram. They recall the Christian-Muslim violence recorded in Kafanchan in 1987 and Zangon-Kataf in 1992. Accordingly, they were concerned about these cases. Yusuf and Shekau would be absorbed, by the new millennium, by the Salafi[91] current that gained force beginning in the late 1970s. Eventually, both of them analysed that they were taught in the Northern states in a Western style. Yusuf himself found his followers where he studied. This uncertainty, combined with rapid urbanization, altered relationships between elders and youth. As young migrants in the 1990s, Yusuf and Shekau were very often confronted with poverty and inequality.[92]

Nearly all the heads of state from 1960 to 1999 were originally from the North, but after 1999, it was a new phase for Nigeria, and consequently, Muslim youth felt cynicism and anger. Therefore, the presidential residence moved south. The level of corruption has not decreased, although multi-party policies have not changed. Poverty also increased in the North, leaving many people unemployed. Consequently, Boko Haram leaders were sceptical of the liberalization of democracy and the economy, which contributed to the establishment of Boko Haram.[93] Yusuf remained its rallying point even after a temporary schism in 2003-2004. He was also a dynamic, even chameleon-like preacher: he formed his thoughts in different ways for different audiences, which enabled him to create a different audience. Also was an adaptable political actor: his willingness to compromise on democracy and enthusiasm for armed struggle was variable. He was the sect's head from 2001 to 2009 and has had ups and downs in his career history. It is unknown when Yusuf was appointed as leader, around the late 1990s or early 2000s.[94] The year 2009 turned out to be fatal for Mohammed Yusuf. Boko Haram launched its military operation in July 2009 with attacks

[90] Ibid,46.
[91] Salafi movement is a reform branch movement within Sunni Islam.
[92] Ibid,42,43.
[93] Ibid, 46.
[94] Ibid, 84.

across four northern states. As a result, 800 security forces died. The sect leader, Mohammed Yusuf, was arrested and died in the custody of the police at the age of 39 in 2009.[95]

What do we know about Boko Haram violence, and what is the threat to the region? Many may not know it, but the Boko Haram sect was formed in 1995, called 'Sahaba,' and was led by Abubakar Lawan. However, this person, as said in documents, moved to study at the University of Medina, and that is why the post was congratulated by the first leader Mohammed Yusuf. [96] The activation of Boko Haram is related to both internal and external causes. The internal reason is the complex economic and social environment created in the country. As well as corruption, unequal distribution of the country's resources and many other factors. As for external factors, the easiest way to cross the border is noteworthy here; although the countries are tightening border controls, it is still not enough, which is related to insufficient military personnel who cannot resist Boko Haram. In addition, the year 2000, the next election period, is particularly noteworthy as Sharia law was established in Zamfara state and 11 different northern states.[97]

Boko Haram was formed in the north of Nigeria, namely in Maiduguri (Borno State). Its foundation date is 2002. The name Boko Haram comes from the Hausa dictionary. In particular, 'Boko' means book, and the Arabic word 'Haram'' means forbidden. Therefore, it means 'book is sinful,' but in its deeper definition, Western education is forbidden. The Boko Haram sect has rejected Western education, lifestyles, entertainment, governance, and modern science in northern Nigeria. The Boko Haram sect was originally known as the 'Shabaab Muslim Youth Organization''. The strategy of the first founder of Boko Haram, Mohammed Yusuf, was to direct their attacks on the state and their leaders, accusing the government of suffering and deprivation of the people. He also accused them and declared them agents of an international conspiracy to perpetuate misrule and corruption in society as dictated by the Western world. Unemployed students joined the Boko Haram sect, who tore up the certificates and thus condemned the state. It is the fault of the authorities that unemployment and poverty have been caused by the oversupply and inaction of their Western education, which has been expressed in the misuse of state resources for the people. For Boko

[95] John-Marklyi and Hennie Strydom (ed.), Boko Haram and International Law, (Springer International Publishing, Cham, Switzerland, 2018). P.140.
[96] Samson Eyituoyo Liolio, Rethinking Counterinsurgency: A Case Study of Boko Haram in Nigeria (European Peace University (EPU), Published MA dissertation, Stadschlaining, Austria, 2013). P.64.
[97] John N. Paden, Muslim Civic Cultures and Conflict Resolution the Challenge of Democratic Federalism in Nigeria (The brookings institution, Washingtion, D.C, 2005). P.39.

Haram, the state is a nest of corruption, exploiting the poor. The state is formed and supported by Western values and education, which are contrary to the will of Allah.[98] As I mentioned, Boko Haram was founded in the early 2000s as a small Sunni Islamic sect advocating a strict interpretation and implementation of the Islamic law of Nigeria. At first, the sect leader did not call for violence. In the years of its formulation, there were only conflicts and quarrels with the police by Boko Haram followers. At that time, the group of activists was limited and included only north-eastern Muslims.[99] Experts estimated the number of Boko Haram military wings at 9-10 thousand militants. According to 2015, they have fewer people than they had previously.[100]

Let us start with a brief overview of the activities carried out by Boko Haram: Over the past decade, the Boko Haram terrorist group has killed 20,375 people and injured about 30,000, forcing 2-3 million people to flee their country or be displaced. It is essential to add that 10,000 people have been diagnosed with cholera, and 175 died in 2018. Due to the Boko Haram attacks, the Nigerian economy incurred losses by $ 9 billion in 2016; it includes the destruction of infrastructure, damage to the economy, military losses, and many other similar factors.[101]

In the 2019 Global terrorism index, about 200 countries are represented. The highest rates of terrorism are reported in the following countries: Afghanistan, Iraq, and Nigeria. Accordingly, Nigeria ranks third in the world in terms of terrorism, primarily due to Boko Haram. [102]

The organization's cooperation with other terrorist organizations is expanding, with alliances with jihadists from the Maghreb and other West African countries. The groups have also benefited from the conflict environment in Libya and the collapse of this ISIS caliphate in the Middle East.[103] It turned out to be relatively quiet for Nigeria from 2002 to 2008, as Boko

[98] Abimbola O. Adesoji, 'Boko Haram and the Global War on Terror''< https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-851> (15 October 2020).
[99] Alexandria Stafford (ed.) Rising terror groups in the Middle East and North Africa (Nova Science Publishers, New York, NY, 2015), PP.99,100.
[100] Война и мир, Нигерия «Боко харам» и «царство хаоса» <http://www.warandpeace.ru/ru/analysis/view/98370/> (25 October, 2020). Translate: War and Peace, Nigeria "Boko Haram" and the "Kingdom of Chaos.
[101] J. Tochukwu Omenma, Ike E. Onyishi & Alyious-Michaels Okolie, 'A decade of Boko Haram activities: the attacks, responses and challenges ahead'', Security Journal, (2020), P.2
[102] Institute for economics and peace, Measuring the impact of terrorism (Global Terrorism Index, Sydney, AU, 2019)
[103] Ibid, J. Tochukwu, P.2.

Haram's intentions started precisely from 2009. The wave of Boko Haram violence began in June 2009 when the leader came into conflict with state forces. The immediate catalyst was a new law, which provided the need for motorcyclists to wear helmets and a ban on movement at night. As a result, 17 unarmed Boko Haram members were killed by police officers. This was followed by the reaction of the leader of Boko Haram, who openly stated that he was seeking revenge. The state's reaction was not delayed, and as a result of the raids, several members of Boko Haram and the leader were arrested. In addition, explosives prepared to seek revenge were seized. Eventually, the lives of 700 sect members were liquidated, and the infrastructure was destroyed. The assassination of their leader became a crucial moment in the development of Boko Haram. Because of all this, Boko Haram's main goal was to spread Sharia law throughout the country, aiming to eradicate poverty. Consequently, Yusuf and his group initially withdrew from what they viewed as a corrupt society and sought the creation of a micro-society where "pure" Islam could be expressed. The failure of this approach perhaps led to the radical idea of displacing the secular Nigerian regime for a Salafist government—i.e., anything that gets in the way of this goal must be destroyed.[104]

Boko Haram then changed its tactics, combining traditional hit-and-run attacks with the placement of improvised explosive devices (IEDs), targeted assassinations, drive-by shooting, and suicide bombings. This eventually included more than 20 suicide bombers from 2011 onwards. The psychological and social toll tends to be severe since they create a widespread sense of fear and vulnerability. Their weapons include dangerous weapons such as Kalashnikovs, grenades, rocket-propelled grenades, automatic rifles, surface-to-air missiles, vehicle-mounted anti-aircraft machine guns, machine guns with anti-aircraft visors, and explosives such as Semtex.[105] Abubakar Shekau then became the leader of Boko Haram, which took over the development of the terrorist organization. In 2010-2015, he revolutionized Boko Haram through violence and administering the occupied territory. The great cities of the Northeast came under the control of Boko Haram.[106] Throughout the book, we can see the clashes between Boko Haram, which have claimed many lives, and there is

[104] Abimbola O. Adesoji, 'Boko Haram and the Global War on Terror''< https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-851> (17 October 2020).
[105] Samson Eyituoyo Liolio, Rethinking Counterinsurgency: A Case Study of Boko Haram in Nigeria (European Peace University (EPU), Published MA disertation, Stadschlaining, Austria, 2013). P,68-69.
[106] Ibid, J. Tochukwu, P.8.

nothing more dangerous when nobody knows when their attacks will come. The following list provides a representative account of the scale and type of their activities in this period:

- September 2010 - Boko Haram members stormed the Bauchi state prison, killing five people and releasing more than 700 inmates.
- May 2011 - Boko Haram bombed up three military barracks in the town of Bauchi on the day of President Goodluck's inauguration. At least 10 people died.
- August 2011 - Boko Haram attacked the UN building headquarters in the Nigerian capital, Abuja. A car bomb killed at least 23 people and injured more than 75 others.
- January 2012 - More than 200 people died in Boko Haram clashes with police, military, prisons, and other facilities in the city of Kano.
- April 2013 - Boko Haram fighters engage Nigerien, Nigerian, and Chadian security forces in Borno State, killing 200 people, including civilians.
- June 2013 - Boko Haram attacks churches in Chibok (Nigeria), killing 50 people.
- A well-known and sad story, April 14, 2014, when Boko Haram militants kidnapped 276 teenage girls from a school in the city of Chibok. Some of the girls managed to escape. This incident caused a stir and created the #BringBackOurGirls campaign.[107]

In 2014, several other attacks were carried out by Boko Haram. In 2015, Boko Haram changed its flag and name and joined the Islamic State or African Islamic State. Between June 2011 to June 2018, the NST[108] documented 2021 incidents that resulted in the death of up to 38 thousand people. Exactly during this period ACLED [109] three thousand three hundred forty-six recorded incidents and up to 35 thousand deaths. As for the reduction of violence, it happened in 2016, when the Nigerian military took over the occupied territories by Boko Haram.

[107] CNN Editorial Research, Boko Haram Fast Facts <https://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/09/world/boko-haram-fast-facts/index.html> (21 October 2020).
[108] Nigeria Security Tracker
[109] Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project

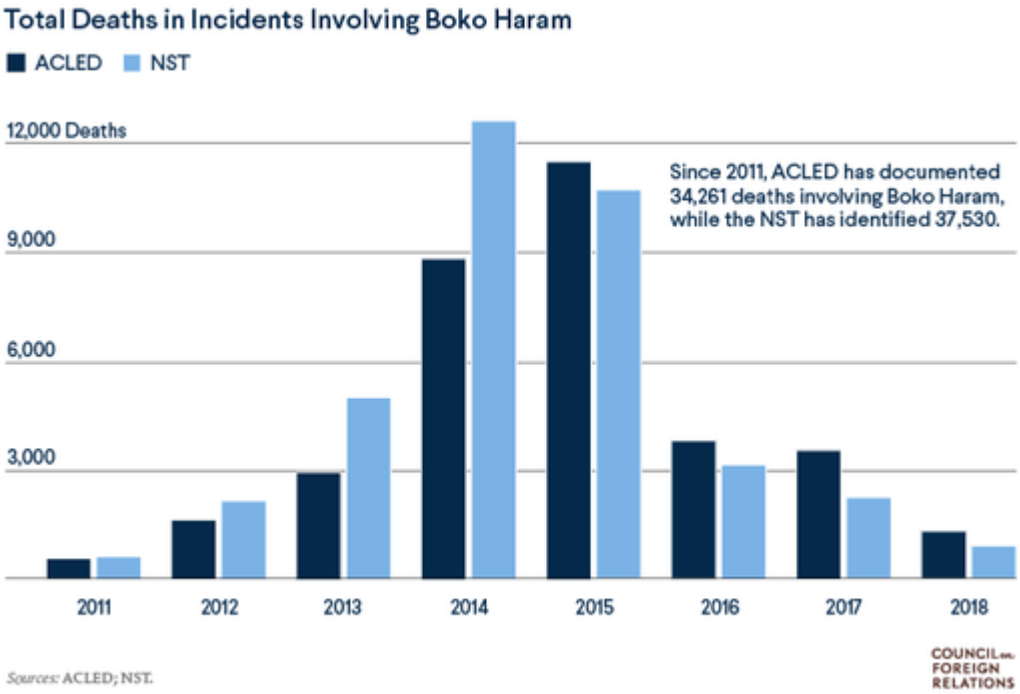


Figure 3: A diagram that shows us total deaths in Incidents Involving Boko Haram, from 2011 to 2018. [110]

According to statistics posted by the Council on Foreign Relations global conflict tracker, the highest number of incidents occurred in 2015, including clashes and deaths, including a large share of explosions carried out by suicide bombers in 2015, which killed up to 2000 people and more than 100 attacks were carried out. As for the clashes on churches and mosques, the statistics are as follows: in 2015, the highest number of incidents, 28 cases were inflicted on churches and up to 6 on mosques, while in 2015, there were more attacks on mosques than on churches.[111]

3.4 New Islamic State of Africa - Impacts in the region

Fighting alone is always associated with difficulties. Everyone is trying to find allies, funding, but most importantly, it concerns terrorist organizations. Experts say Boko Haram has links to other terrorist organizations in Africa, especially in the Sahel and Jihadist organizations like al-Qaeda and Islamic State. In addition, Boko Haram is suspected of having links with African Muslim radical groups such as al-Shabab, the MUJAO[112] and AQIM[113] Algeria). For example, in June 2010, Abdelmalek Drukdel, also known as Abu

[110] Figure 3: Council foreign relations, Global conflict tracker < https://www.cfr.org/article/boko-harams-deadly-impact> (25 October 2020). A diagram that shows us total deaths in Incidents Involving Boko Haram, from 2011 to 2018.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa
[113] Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb

Musab Abd al-Wadud, Emir AQIM, announced his collaboration with Boko Haram and discussed helping the group. It was also reported that in 2011, Abubakar Adam Kambar and al-Barnawi (a member of Boko Haram) met at a training camp in Algeria. According to the International Crisis Group, these connections have made Boko Haram a more dangerous terrorist organization and threaten regional stability, especially in areas where Boko Haram is trying to control its "own" territories.[114] Ties between Boko Haram and another FTO, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), a regional criminal and terrorist network operating in the Sahel and North Africa, appear to be particularly concerned. The rise in kidnappings by Ansaru and Boko Haram of Western and other foreign citizens may indicate AQIM influence. Exactly AQIM is related to kidnappings, and one of its splinter factions was responsible for the 2013 Amenas hostage crisis in Algeria, where 38 hostages got killed. In addition to Boko Haram's links to AQIM and its affiliated groups, some members of Boko Haram reportedly may have received training from the Somali terrorist group Al Shabaab in East Africa.[115]

Links with Islamic State are critical. In 2015, before Boko Haram joined the Islamic State, they carried out large-scale attacks on many settlements, most of which were destroyed and attacks on border towns and into Cameroon and Chad. However, in March of that year, Boko Haram officially took an oath of allegiance to ISIS and changed its name to "The Islamic State in West Africa" (ISWAP). All this was announced on their site. [116] The new name of Boko Haram has become the subject of discussion, as well as the name related to ISIS appeared on the social network. The former Nigerian president Goodluck Jonathan also said that Boko Haram militants would train at Islamic State bases. According to the International Crisis Group (ICG), these ties have made Boko Haram a dangerous organization for the regional stability of West Africa, but especially for people living in areas that Boko Haram seeks to control. These fears intensified further after Boko Haram swore allegiance to the so-called. Islamic State. [117]

[114] Ibid, Thurston. P.106.
[115] Ibid, P,107.
[116] CNN, Boko Haram purportedly pledges allegiance to ISIS https://edition.cnn.com/2015/03/07/africa/nigeria-boko-haram-isis/index.html (17 October 2020).
[117] Бакаре Илесанми Абиодун, ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ ТЕРРОРИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ГРУППЫ «БОКО ХАРАМ» КАК УГРОЗА РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ В ЗАПАДНОЙ АФРИКЕ (2009–2017 гг.) (РОССИЙСКИЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ ДРУЖБЫ НАРОДОВ, Опубликовано работа Докторанта, Москва, 2017) (Translate: Bakare Ilesanmi Abiodun, Activites of the Boko Haram terrorist group as a threat to regional security in Western Africa (2009-2017) (RUSSIAN UNIVERSITY OF PEOPLE'S FRIENDSHIP, Published PhD dissertation, Moscow. 2017)PP.67-69.

Boko Haram is often portrayed in the media and political circles as part of the so-called "African terrorist arc," as reflected in expressions such as "Africaistan" or "Sahelistan," referring to terrorist cooperation between African jihadist groups throughout the Sahel zone. However, experts are still debating how much their connection is and the significance of its effects. The group shares the goals of international terrorist organizations and, of course, attracts international media attention with its statements, but Boko Haram's goals remain predominantly local in the context of West Africa's undefended borders. As for Boko Haram links outside Nigeria, for example, in northern Mali, in the name and another Muslim world, they have the opportunity to get help from other Islamic terrorist groups. In addition, Boko Haram can survive outside its base in Borno if Nigerian forces can oust the leaders from the country. In addition, al-Qaeda's ideology, and instructions for making weapons strongly influenced Boko Haram, and the group acted to create anti-state and anti-Western characters in the northern part of the country to justify their existence. In addition, Boko Haram uses border weaknesses to recruit new members. [118]

Terrorism in Africa appears as follows: The Boko Haram and ISIS-WA strikes have caused severe damage to civilians, especially in north-eastern Nigeria, where more than two million people have been forcibly displaced and about 10 million people in need of humanitarian assistance. Terrorists have expanded their territory in the Sahara region, particularly in the northern and central regions of the Republic of Mali and its border regions such as Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger. Terrorists continue to attack military bases, abduct citizens and migrant workers from the western province, attack churches, mosques, schools, primarily where they teach Western education, and kill government officials and politicians. [119]

Boko Haram organization has created problems for neighbouring countries such as Niger, Chad, and Cameroon. The leading site here has been the Lake Chad Basin, which covers the northern states of Nigeria, the south-western part of the Republic of Chad, the southern part of the Republic of Niger, and the northern part of the Republic of Cameroon. In recent years, Boko Haram has carried out attacks on neighbouring Niger. However, neighbouring countries are also actively involved in repelling Boko Haram forces. The two most at-risk neighbours are Niger, whose border stretches for 1,497 kilometres, and Cameroon's 1,690 kilometres. As for Benin and Chad, in the first case, it covers 773 kilometres, and in the case of Chad, 87

[118] Ibid.
[119] U, S Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, Country Reports on Terrorism (Department of State, 2019).

kilometres.[120] Boko Haram has focused its attacks to date predominately on northeast Nigeria, although several kidnappings of Western citizens in neighbouring Cameroon have been attributed to the group and Ansaru. These three neighbouring countries also felt the influence of Boko Haram via 60 thousand internally displaced persons (IDPs) from Nigeria. In addition, kidnappings and attacks cause significant damage to the local economy. In 2012, Boko Haram fighters were reportedly conducting parallel training in al-Qaeda-linked northern Mali. According to the United States State Department, Nigeria's neighbours have limited military and law enforcement, which is not enough to protect borders and strengthen security. [121]

Boko Haram has been slowly unravelling the Chad Lake basin countries, so here is the following sequence: The first attack was carried out on Cameroon. This decision may be related to a geographical location, namely the Mandara Mountains, which includes the border between Nigeria and Cameroon, and became a refuge for Boko Haram in 2004 and 2009. After that, Boko Haram carried out strikes against Cameroonian authorities and civilians involving the Suicide terrorists. Then, in June-July 2015, attacks were carried out on the cities of Cameroon.[122] Also, in early 2015, Boko Haram's violence became systematically regional. Boko Haram has launched strikes on Nigeria and Chad, prompting Chad to participate in Nigeria's northern civil war. The first strikes by Boko Haram inside Chad took place in February 2015, aimed at the military in the village of Ngounoua. They also bombed the capital, N'Djamena, on June 15 and July 11. They also continued to attack through Suicidal terrorists.[123]

In February 2015, Niger suffered the most. During this period, they received numerous blows in the Diffa district, which included a raid on the border town of the Bosso and so-called Kamikaze attacks on the city of Diffa. This was followed by Boko Haram attacks on towns and villages in south-eastern Niger. In 2015, Diffa scored eight shots, followed by 76 shots the following year.[124] March 23, 2020, Jama'atu Ahlis-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal-Jihad (JAS) attacked an army position in Bome on the Chad Peninsula in the Lake Chad Basin. As a

[120] Uyo Salifu, 'Border porosity and Boko Haram as a regional threat' <https://issafrica.org/amp/iss-today/border-porosity-and-boko-haram-as-a-regional-threat> (19 October 2020).
[121] Ibid, Alexandria Stafford, P.97.
[122] Ibid, Alexander Thurston, p.228.
[123] Ibid, p.229.
[124] Ibid, p.230.

result, 98 Chadian soldiers were killed. About 40 people were seriously injured, and the terrorists seized military equipment. However, the counterattack was not delayed, and strong blows were inflicted on the terrorist group. The wrath of the Boma military campaign covered three countries. - Chad, Niger, and Nigeria.[125] These four affected countries are also known as "The LCBC countries" - they created a Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF) to battle the insurgency.[126] This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter on counterterrorism.

Islam is a religion that originated in the Middle East in the 7th century. There are over 2 billion followers globally, especially in the Arab states located in the Middle East and Africa (and South and Southeast Asia). Islam covers more than 49 countries. In the letters of one of the famous Turkish Muslims, we read that no true believer can kill an innocent person in the name of his faith regardless of religion. The murder of innocent people is the greatest sin that leads a person to the eternal, terrifying torment of Hell. A true believer who fears the punishment of the Lord will in no way be able to commit such an atrocity. The Supreme Lord commands the believing people love, mercy and peace. Terror is a complete antagonism to faith, and it sets its goal as ruthlessness, violence, murder, and suffering of people. The roots of such phenomena should be sought among people who grew up in a society inspired by the ideology of fascism, communism, racism, or other forms of the materialistic worldview. If a person kills innocent people in cold blood, then he is not a believer. He is an atheist. These are non-humans who do not know the fear of the punishment of Allah Almighty, and their only goal is to commit bloodshed and cause suffering to people. While the statements about "Islamic terrorism" that are often flashed in the press today, as well as the concepts of "Jewish terror" or "Christian terror," are deeply erroneous and absurd and have no basis at all. For there is no place for terror or any other forms of violence against people either in Islam or in the other two Divine faiths, terror is the greatest sin in Islam, and every Muslim is responsible before the Almighty Lord for preventing such actions, establishing peace,

[125] Institute for security studies, is counter-terrorism history repeating itself in Lake Chad Basin? <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/is-counter-terrorism-history-repeating-itself-in-lake-chad-basin> (23 October 2020).
[126] United Nations, Countries urged more action on task force against Boko Haram <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/audio-main-view/countries-urged-more-action-task-force-against-boko-haram#:~:text=Boko%20Haram%20operations%20in%20the,Force%20to%20battle%20the%20insurgency.> (27 October 2020)

tranquillity, and justice on earth. Allah calls to the abode of peace and leads whomever He wishes to the straight path! (Sura "Yunus"; 10:25)[127]

3.5 Conclusion

Nigeria has come a long way in gaining independence. However, Britain affected the state in a good and bad way. The good thing is that the country has developed both economically (cocoa) and in terms of education since the high quality of British education is widely known. However, unfortunately, not everyone can get an education as it is inaccessible to the poor. During the reign of England, there was a sense of protest in West Africa as they were treated unequally and were busy developing other regions. It can be said that if Britain had taken care of the development of the north and made concessions, we would not have Boko Haram today, and there would be peace in the country. The claims against the Nigerian government are that nowadays, only the elite is getting wealthy; this does not seem right and becomes another reason for the protest of the northern states. We cannot say that Boko Haram unjustifiably carries out attacks on state structures; of course, it is unacceptable to commit terrorist acts and take the lives of peaceful people, but they are thereby protesting against the state. As for Boko Haram, sharia law is wrong for the whole country because, as stated in the Nigerian constitution, all are equal regardless of religion or ethnicity. The solution here is only one: it is to negotiate and make concessions and give more education to the citizens of the country and eliminate corruption. If everyone in the country is employed and wealth is distributed equally, conflicts can be avoided.

[127] Харун Яхья, Ислам проклинает террор, (Classic M, Республика Казахстан, Астана, 2002). Translate: Harun Yahya, Islam Curses Terror, (Classic M, Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, 2002). Pp.1-5.

Chapter 4

Counterterrorism and regional responses

A countries military and law enforcement always play an essential role in the strength of the state. The world is paying close attention to the fight against terrorism, which has developed further since the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks. Our main topic of conversation will be counterterrorism in Nigeria and the countries of the Chad Lake Basin. Will focus on what organizations and states are involved in conflict resolution, what methods they use to eliminate terrorism, what kind of funding and how much funding states receive, and the role of the UN, Europe, and the US. As well as the involvement of the African continent and the African Union in the eradication of terrorism. This section will analyse the question explores why it took so long to counter the advancement of the group. Our area of conversation will be with African states that are concerned about the influence of Boko Haram. These states are Nigeria, Niger, Chad, and Cameroon. As for the timeframe, we will start the conversation from 2009 to the present as this is the period when Boko Haram is becoming more active in Nigeria, and the conflict became regional. The eradication of terrorism will bring peace and development to countries because the constant fear of human beings is inadmissible, and all this violates the principles of international law on human freedom, so it is necessary to talk about this topic.

This chapter will focus on counterterrorism, which is of great importance in order to eradicate terrorism and neutralize terrorists, thus establishing peace. In this chapter, our goal will be to answer the following question: How are the international organizations and countries responding against Boko Haram and providing assistance to the Chad Lake Basin countries? The discussion will be on Counterterrorism in Africa and the role of Africa in neutralizing terrorism (approaches to the fight against Boko Haram in Nigeria and neighbouring states), As well as the role of the African Union and the involvement of other organizations or countries. Also, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), UN Security Council.

This chapter is organized into three sections. Section one explores the internal history of counterterrorism in Nigeria and state efforts to fight Boko Haram. In section two, we will analyse the world's response to Boko Haram, how various organizations are helping the Lake Chad basin countries, and what they are using to defeat terrorism. Based on this analysis,

arguments will be stated that some organizations do not perform their duties, and consequently, money is wasted, which encourages terrorists and multiplies them in the region. The problem also includes more serious issues such as abuses associated with military interventions. In section three, we will compare the countries of the Chad Lake basin. Which methods were used against Boko Haram, and how much money was allocated from the budget against terrorists.

4.1 Counterterrorism in Nigeria

Since 2009, the Nigerian state has felt more pressure from the terrorist organization Boko Haram. It is noteworthy that the Nigerian government believed that the threat of Boko Haram would gradually disappear. For instance, President Goodluck Jonathan (2010-2015) said that "Attacks are a burden with which we must live. It will not last forever''. Also, then Chief of Defence, Vice-Marshal WHO, said that the ''mobilization of the idiots ready to commit a terrorist act will soon end''. Accordingly, the Nigerian state was optimistic and paid less attention to Boko Haram counterterrorism. The pressure has paid off, and the ongoing terrorist attacks have prompted a backlash from the government. The escalation of terrorist activities in early 2010 caught the government by surprise. The first serious step taken by the then, Nigerian President was to declare a state of emergency in North Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe in May 2013, which he restored in November 2013 and May 2014. The focus was on the northern states and the deployment of military units in precisely these regions. The army, state security, and law enforcement agencies were united into the Joint Task Force (JTF) group. It is from these periods that Nigeria is trying to deal with this problem. All of this was followed by an increase in the budget from 625 million dollars in 2010 to 6 billion dollars in 2011, and so the funds were added every year. Most of the funds were directed to the fight against Boko Haram. The same year, a law was passed that would try terrorists in Nigerian courts.[128] In 2011, the Nigerian National Assembly drafted the Terrorism Prevention (TPA) Act, which defined terrorist acts and provided the framework for the investigation. Two years later, this law was amended, further expanding the role of the State Security (ONSA).[129]

The Nigerian state had poorly developed cyber security, so in August 2012 Boko Haram hacked the personal record bases of the State Security Service. The perpetrator who

[128] Ibid, Бакаре Илесанми Абиодун. Pp.70-71 (Bakare)
[129] J. Tochukwu Omenma, Ike E, Onyishi, Alyious-Michael Okolie, 'A decade of Boko Haram Activities: the attacks, responses and challenges ahead'' Springer Nature limited (2020), P.5.

committed a similar act left the name of the terrorist group in the data because the state saw with whom they were dealing.[130] The question is, did Nigeria accept Boko Haram domination, or was the government trying to change things for the good of the country? By this question I mean, does Nigeria recognize that it is powerless against Boko Haram or they will fight against them to the last drop of blood? Sure, they were trying to make people see that the state was doing everything to get rid of this 'plague" once and for all, but was it going to be done one hundred percent?

Despite these challenges, President Buhari[131] promised the country that he would strengthen his defences and end Boko Haram by the end of 2015. In the same year, the president announced the defeat of the "technical" group, and a year later, the president announced the "permanent destruction" of Boko Haram. However, as time has shown, they continued to harass Nigeria.[132] Perhaps all of this was effective because Boko Haram felt pressure from the state, so the sect changed its style in 2013. However, they continued to carry out regular terrorist acts in various cities, showed control over the territories, and were ready to resist open battles for state forces. Thus, the war became not ordinary. This logically led to the following changes:

First, Nigerian troops intensified their campaign against Boko Haram, stationed in the northeaster states (Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe) for 18 months during an emergency. Secondly, the government sponsored the rise of civilian quasi-official vigilantes. Their help reduced Boko Haram's influence in the northeaster cities, prompting sect members to relocate to the countryside. However, Boko Haram also demonstrated increased terrorist ambitions and capabilities as the sect moved from extortion and predation in northeaster towns and villages to outright territorial control. [133]

Next year is 2014, which is the last year for peace in Nigeria (here is meant the period before Boko Haram joined the Islamic State) if we can say so because, in 2015, Boko Haram changed its name and became the Islamic State of Africa, which further strengthened their existence. On May 10th this year, according to the Nigerian Ministry of Defence, two groups of armed divisions were deployed in border areas near Chad, Cameroon, and Niger. This mission was related to the kidnapping of schoolgirls, and the primary purpose was to gather

[130] Ioannis Mantzikos ed., Boko Haram Anatomy of a Crisis (E-International Relations Bristol, 2013). Page:35.
[131] Muhammadu Buhari is a Nigerian politician who has been president of Nigeria since 2015.
[132] Ibid, Thurston. P.34.
[133] Ibid, P.183.

information and conduct surveillance. A deficit in the exchange of inadequate intelligence in the region is related to political instability and is a significant problem in the region. To reinforce all these, 250 military flights were performed.[134]

The state resorted to various means to protect citizens, including blocking roads, checkpoints, searches, guarding key sites, military patrols, and military raids. Furthermore, the frequent appearance of suicide bombers and repeated attacks on conscription units have forced the military to set up roadblocks on major roads and begin military patrols in the north-eastern part of the country. The move was aimed at responding quickly to identify terrorists or members of Boko Haram and arresting them quickly. In addition, military raids were carried out to destroy Boko Haram shelters, release hostages, return territories and destroy terrorists. As reported from the book, the Union of Citizens (JTF) and the military increase raids' effectiveness in shelters, cameras, camps, and in networks of Boko Haram. Exactly all of this impacts the group's weakening as the terrorists were either captured, killed, or dispersed.[135]

The coin always has two sides, so it is necessary to criticize both the Nigerian government and law enforcement agencies. Nigerian security forces are notorious for abuses against civilians, both in the north and elsewhere. It has been widely argued that the abuses perpetrated in the name of counter-terrorism are a key source of terrorist recruitment. But before I start talking directly about this topic, I want to touch on the role of the internet world.

Activism in the internet and digital world, became the main key of the campaign during the protests, which became the main tool of the public movement. These methods include social networks, e-mails, and live broadcasts, through which information was disseminated. One such example is the spring of 2011, during which millions of Egyptians came out and ousted Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. For 18 days the Egyptians could watch all this online, via Facebook, twitter, and YouTube. About the same thing was happening in Nigeria when young people came out with the hashtags #EndSARS. In 2017, a movement called #endSARS was created. It is a social movement and mass protests coming out against the Nigerian violent police in Nigeria. The slogan called for the disbanding of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) who are known for their sad and evil experiences. It was with this in mind that I started talking about the fact that this campaign was also launching on social media. This campaign started on Twitter and then continued on the street. In October 2020,

[134] Ibid, Alexandria Stafford. P.109.
[135] Ibid, J. Tochukwu Omenma. P.5.

this campaign was revived again after SARS committed repeated atrocities. The most interesting thing is that all the big cities of Nigeria were covered by protest waves, which led to great activities on the social network. On Twitter, they collected 28 million tweets with the hashtag #endSARS. In addition, Nigerian diasporas have staged protests in various cities around the world. The protest showed Nigeria that the future is in the hands of the youth, and this once again testifies to the patriotism of the youth.[136]

What about SARS, their history begins at the end of 1992, whose main function was to fight such crimes as motor vehicle theft, cattle rustling, robbery, kidnapping and firearms. As mentioned above, the SARS group was disbanded in October 2020 as a result of the protests, but a group of activists thought it was all because government wanted to calm the society down and end the protests.[137]

According to U.S. Department of State, 1997 Human Rights Report: Nigeria was published 27 pages report[138]. In 1996, SARS arrested two guards in Lagos on suspicion of robbery. The two guards were not charged with the crime at the time of their arrest. In January 1997, their bodies were placed in a morgue where the cause of death was not explained.

SARS violence erupted again on March 2, 2005, when police in Makurdi, Benue State, shot and killed a commercial bus driver for failing to pay 20-naira (15 usd cents) bribe. This of course caused people to protest, resulting in the burning of the police building, the blocking of roads, the burning of cars and the killing of 3 policemen.[139] After 4 years, the SARS number has increased and intensified. In addition, there has been a rise in Internet machinations and secret societies at Nigerian universities, which have led to a special operation by SARS, which has led to the successful arrest of several people, but all of this has led to the arrest of innocent people.

SARS no one was an exception, not even pregnant women, such is the case in August 2019, when SARS arrested kidnappers, whose shooting killed and killed a pregnant woman. In an

[136] Isabel Ortiz, Sara Burke, Mohamed Berrada, Hernán Saenz Cortés, World Protests: A Study Of Key Protest Issues In The 21st Century (Palgrave Macmillan, NY, Brussels, 2022). P.61.
[137] Olufunmilayo B. Arewa, Disrupting Africa: Technology, Law, and Development (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2021). Pp.171-172.
[138] U.S. Department of State, Nigeria Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1997 <http://www.state.gov/www/global/human_rights/1997_hrp_report/nigeria.html> (26 November 2021) P.5
[139] Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - 2005 <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/61586.htm> (26 November 2021). P.2

interview with Al Jazeera, one young man notes: In 2015, one of my friends, Richard, who was a university student, was killed. SARS accused him of allegedly buying a stolen phone and was arrested and tortured until he died. That's exactly why we went out and protested against the injustice. Police officers were here in 6 o'clock morning, to stop the protest. They were shooting in the air to make us fall. This is exactly what led to the arrest of three people. We continue to protest because it is our right.[140]

It is unfortunate when state structures behave like this when they do not take care of their own citizens. Aside from the fact that state forces are fighting against Boko Haram, I cannot fail to mention this criticism because it is so difficult to defeat Boko Haram, when you are against your citizens.



Figure 4: #endSARS Nigerian people who says no to police brutality. [141]

It is necessary to recall another case which had a negative effect of counterterrorism in practice. Recall the year 2009. This is the period when Boko Haram conducted its operations more or less peacefully for the first 7 years. During this period Boko Haram was headed by

[140] Al Jazeera, Nigeria's SARS: A brief history of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2020/10/22/sars-a-brief-history-of-a-rogue-unit> Published: 22 October 2020. (26 November 2021).
[141] #endSARS Nigerian people who says no to police brutality. Source: Al Jazeera

Mohammed Yusuf. The Nigerian government decided this year to launch an attack against Boko Haram. The thing is, the state has always ignored the kind of messages that talked about Boko Haram, where they were accused of possessing weapons and taking military action. But everything changed when they launched an operation and investigation against Boko Haram, which was caused by the arming of Boko Haram members, which seemed to pose a threat to Nigeria and the civilian population. When the Nigerian government took action, 38 members of Boko Haram were arrested in Abuja, where Boko Haram later carried out terrorist attacks, and five people in Gagi village in the far northwester state of Sokoto. This was followed by clashes in several Nigerian states, where hundreds of Boko Haram members were killed, and not only because the leader of the Boko Haram police station was killed on the same day, which put an end to the peace in Nigeria again. During these clashes, Nigerian state forces would use in attempting to crush the sect, including extrajudicial executions and mass arrests. It was as if everything ended in 2009 and Nigeria could breathe a sigh of relief, but they still did not realize that even such tactics did not reduce Boko Haram clashes, but rather saw in the future that Boko Haram became stronger and became more brutal.[142]

In addition, the mosques were destroyed and looted. The following day the following words were uttered by Boko Haram: We started jihad in Nigeria, and no one can stop it. Our goal is to bring Nigeria entirely under Islam and make the rulers predominantly Muslim. We will teach Nigeria a lesson, very bitter .... In August we will start a series of bombings in the cities of southern and northern Nigeria, starting from Lagos, Ibaden, Enuga and port Harcourt ... We will make the country ungovernable; we will kill all the politicians who are acting irresponsibly, we will kill all those who will be against the Sharia laws ...[143]

With all this, Nigeria has suffered an unbearable headache, which has plunged them into a great conflict, and it continues to this day. While Nigeria is still fighting terrorism today, we must not forget the provocations and violence perpetrated by the Nigerian government against Boko Haram. The military raid in 2009 which killed a large number of Boko Haram adherents is an obvious example. If the Nigerian government hadn't killed these people would the group have resorted to terrorism? These and similar questions have arisen for all of

[142] Ibid, Thurston. Pp:123,161,164,169.
[143] Ibid,136.

us, of course this has had a huge impact on the further development of terrorism in Nigeria. This is evidenced by the terrorist acts committed after 2009, including in 2014 and 2015.

4.2 Global Responses to Terrorism in the Lake Chad Basin

The involvement of countries and international organizations is essential to eradicate terrorism. One of the leading organizations, in this case, is the Continental AU (African Union). In June 2014, the AU Summit was held in Equatorial Guinea, dedicated to the Peace and Security Council, linked to the growing threat posed by Boko Haram, Al Shabaab, and AQIM. When considering its responses, we should also be aware that the AU has built on the counter-terrorism platforms already created by its predecessor - the Organization of African Unity (OAU). They passed resolutions against terrorism in 1992 (Resolution 213 to curb extremism) and 1994 (Assembly of Heads of State rejected fanaticism and extremism).[144] Organization of African Unity on the thirteenth session of the African states, which was held in Tunisia in 1994, took the decision, which included human rights, moral values, and rejecting all forms, including the motivation for any terrorist acts. In addition, the declaration outlined what the terrorist acts meant and who were the victims of those acts. This declaration considerably contributes to African counterterrorism because the parties agreed that terrorism is a common problem, and it is necessary to fight it.[145]

One of the problems of the African Union is that it suffers from collective action problems with no leader to direct it in security matters. Thus, the African Union has two sides, and one is that it plays an important role and the other that it does not play a significant role in the fight against terrorism. Actions taken so far are reactive rather than proactive. However, let us also recall that despite their 'slow beginnings, the African Union has developed a progressive system in the fight against terrorism, forcing states to coordinate their actions to close loopholes and shut down potential safe havens.'[146] As analysts report, the African Union has argued that capacity issues still encumber it because it lacks sufficient human resources and funding to fight terrorism. However, the African Union cannot fully lead and take responsibility for the continental body at the same time. As for Nigeria, in the early stages of

[144] Ibid, Hussein Solomon. Pp.105-106.
[145] OAU, Convention ON The prevention and combating of terrorism, Date of Adoption: 1 July 1996, (Date entry into force: 06 December 2002) <https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/37289-treaty-0020_-_oau_convention_on_the_prevention_and_combating_of_terrorism_e.pdf> (1 August 2020)
[146] Francis Mbawini Abugbilla, Boko Haram and the African Union's Response (David Publishing, International relations and diplomacy, Arizona, 2017). P.235.

Boko Haram, the state refused international military intervention, and they justified this by saying that it was a matter of domestic state affairs. However, we all saw what this brought, and later Nigeria decided that they would need help from neighbouring countries. Former Nigerian President, Jonathan's announcement clarifies that his words are unsuitable to his deeds towards the solution of the insurgency. The president always denied the threat of Boko Haram until one day it was too late.[147]

Judging by the final assessment, the African Union did not play a decisive role in the liberation of Nigeria, as Boko Haram's house remains in Nigeria. Only one thing needs to be rectified: the situation calls for political will from all African leaders and, most importantly, from Nigeria. The way out of the current situation for Nigeria can be found in eradicating Corruption, educating youth, and cutting short Boko Haram's funding. [148]

The following prominent figure is the most potent state globally and their effort to defeat terrorism in the US. To neutralize terrorism 2002 US National Security Strategy document explicitly stated, "We will do our best to eradicate and destroy terrorism ... as long as it reaches our borders. As part of the military-cantered response, the US Department of Defence secured agreements from several countries to set up forward operating sites (FOSs) and main operating bases (MOBs) that would serve as operations hubs from which to respond quickly to crises. Nigeria is also on the list of these countries. The Western Partners (USA, Europe), one of the first in the fight against terrorism, helps Chad Lake Basin countries neutralize terrorists. It is essential to specify what kind of weaponry they use, and therefore we can see how well armed they are. US military equipment includes Predators, Global Hawks, Scan Eagle drones, MQ-8 crewless helicopters, EP-3 Orion aircraft, Pilates, and E-8 Joint Stars aircraft. 2002 The Pan Sahel Initiative (PSI) was formed at the initiative of the United States, which includes Chad, Niger, Nigeria, with a total of $600 million. It included strengthening security and preventing their territory from becoming safe havens where terrorists could recruit, train, or plant operations.[149]

During Obama's Presidency, Boko Haram was considered first as a local threat but later as an extremist threat in West Africa. The U.S. perceived this terrorist organization as a threat to U.S. security and influenced U.S. - Nigeria relations. The United States has made a significant contribution to the fight against Boko Haram, as follows: The State Department

[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid, P.238.
[149] Ibid, Page. 118.

designed three individuals linked to Boko Haram as Global Terrorists (SDGTs) in June 2012, including Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau, and in June 2013 issued $7 million for information on Shekau's whereabouts, which included a funding program. In November 2013, the State Department approved Boko Haram as a foreign terrorist organization, and after the kidnapping of schoolchildren in 2014, the United States applied additional resources to the region to strengthen the Nigerian state and resist terrorists. In addition, the Obama administration was very supportive of the Nigerian government and provided support with USAID support. However, the U.S. government has also criticized Nigeria. Former Assistant Secretary of State for African Business Linda Thomas-Greenfield called on the Nigerian government to use a more 'holistic approach to terrorism. She noted that the difference in regional and socio-economic status was one of the reasons that led to the formation of Boko Haram. She notes that not only is the fight against the downsizing of the terrorist group necessary, but also justice and human rights are needed to reduce the influence of Boko Haram (meaning that Boko Haram takes over as few people as possible). Ultimately, America calls for a fight against poverty and inequality.[150]

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has made a contribution to investigating terrorist acts and incidents in Nigeria. The United States has assisted Nigeria primarily in training professionals and training operations, including border and land. In addition, it has provided significant assistance to the Nigerian military in peacekeeping deployments through the Global Peacekeeping Operations Initiative (GPOI), totalling $ 2 million and $ 3 million. Nigeria also receives up to $ 1 million in Foreign Military Financing (FMF) to repair C-130 military aircraft.[151]

Donald Trump came into politics after Barack Obama, who intensified his fight against terrorism. In 2018, the president promised a more active fight against jihadists. Trump has made it possible to sell military helicopters and light fighter jets to Nigeria, the A-29 Super Tucano. In a private conversation, the US side stated that they provide Nigeria with $1 billion annually.[152] However, it is still unclear what the new US President John Biden's strategy will

[150] Ibid, Alexandria Stafford. P.109-111.
[151] Ibid, 112.
[152] Whitehouse, Remarks by President Trump, and President Buhari of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in Joint Press Conference (30 April 2018) <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-president-buhari-federal-republic-nigeria-joint-press-conference/> (20 December 2020).

be concerning explicitly Nigeria. Will it be as strong as it was before if the state cuts funding to Nigeria?

Regional aid through international efforts came to the fore when Boko Haram abducted 300 girls in April 2014, leading to a counter-terrorism summit in Paris. The primary purpose of the summit was to analyse Boko Haram's threat and make a joint effort to fight against it. As a result of the summit, there was an operation aimed at fighting terrorism, in which France and its 3,000 troops played a key role. Their base is located in Chad.[153]

In the same way, a further contribution is made by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), whose involvement is recorded in Mali, whose military contingent consists of seven thousand soldiers, and it includes the military of 13 African countries. ECOWAS makes an outstanding contribution to the fight against Boko Haram, and after the completion of this mission, the UN will take responsibility for itself [154] ECOWAS has sought the support of the African Union. ECOWAS adopted the so-called visa-free travel between the states in 1979, which complicated the period of Boko Haram's activity, as terrorists could quickly move between countries.[155]. This organization plays one of the key roles in conflict resolution. It was this organization that sent thousands of troops to establish peace in Nigeria and neighbouring countries. They also carry out monitoring and surveillance missions, peacekeeping, peacekeeping operations, support for humanitarian missions, enforcement of sanctions including embargoes, control of police cases involving the prevention of group crime, and many more. All this is happening not only in Nigeria but also in other countries. The main problem to be solved is the problem of smuggling weapons, which allows Boko Haram to supply ammunition, but both the African Union and ECOWAS have failed to crush Boko Haram, and the problem here, too, is with intelligence, with the intelligence reserve forces. Also, this organization depends on funding and fundraising, which means they are limited in everything. Also, this organization does not include Chad and Cameroon, as they belong to Central Africa. Nevertheless, the organization has received minor operations against Boko Haram, which is explained by the fact that Nigeria has not asked for military assistance as they think, and even so, it can be considered that Nigeria is a leader in terms of military numbers.[156]

[153] Ibid, Бакаре Илесанми Абиодун. Pp.97-98.(Bakare)
[154] Ibid, Page. 98
[155] Ibid, P.47,48.
[156] Ibid, P.89-95.

The Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) against Boko Haram plays one of the most significant roles in counterterrorism. This organization was initially founded in Nigeria to promote checkmate banditry activities and facilitate free movement along its northern border. In the future, the organization underwent development and joined the Chad Lake Basin and Benin countries. The main task of the organization is to fight terrorism, which has become necessary since 2012. A total of € 700 million was allocated to the organization, which was spent on various programs, including the humanitarian, the Emergency Trust Fund, stabilization.[157]

Following the Nigerian election in May 2015, following the election of President Mohammadu Buhari, he decided to defend neighbouring countries, such as Nigeria, Chad, and Cameroon, with the help of the well-known and much-needed Multinational Joint Task Force. MNJTF, headquartered in Chad).[158] This organization makes a considerable contribution to counterterrorism. Let us consider the benefits that this organization has brought. From July 2016 to December 2020, they invested € 50 million in defeating terrorism. They acted in conjunction with the African Union Commission to reduce the threat of Boko Haram (the reason why it was established was to increase the threat of Boko Haram in the region). What is this organization? Established by the Lake Chad Basin Commission in 1998, fighting against banditry and other similar crimes, the MNJTF has been restored and empowered by the African Union to conduct combat operations against Boko Haram, intercept trafficked weapons, release hostages and encourage defections. 2015 is linked to strengthening this organization as the Boko Haram attack on the MNJTF headquarters in Baga (Nigeria) gave a new political impetus to strengthen the MNJTF: more troops, expansion of mandates, and relocation of headquarters to Chad. The European Council concludes that "the growing threat of Boko Haram in the region requires a collective and comprehensive response to eradicate terrorism and thus protect the rights of the people." [159]

In 2016, a collaboration was signed between the European Commission and the AU commission. While the threat of Boko Haram persists in the region, MNJTF operations have made considerable progress in combating them and weakened their potential. This year is related to the € 50 million assistance provided with EU assistance, of which 22% was

[157] The Africa-EU partnership, 'Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF)'' (02 September 2020)
[158] Caroline Varin and Dauda Abubakar (ed.), Violent Non-State Actors in Africa (Palgrave Macmillan, London - Michigan, 2017). P.32.
[159] The African Peace Facility, MULTI-NATIONAL JOINT TASK FORCE (MNJTF) against Boko Haram <https://africa-eu-partnership.org/sites/default/files/apf_factsheet_-_mnjtf.pdf> (01.12.2020)

allocated to Personnel costs and the remaining 78% to Operational/logistical costs. It is also worth noting that both France and the United States are assisting the country with their military and, most importantly, with the help of the United Kingdom " million 5 million from the UK channelled through the AUC. "[160]

Today the number of MNJTF soldiers is 10,000 men, including 250 soldiers from Benin. If we take into account the number of Boko Haram fighters, the number of which is controversial, to say the least, up to 20,000 fighters, we can conclude that a terrorist organization can be defeated if all parties want it. It is thought-provoking if there were any connections between members of the terrorist organization and state officials, but it is hard to find clear evidence for proving such a consideration. The MNJTF has more than 10,000 troops created as a result of the Chad Lake Basin Commission (LCBC), which includes the Nigerian Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin militias, and their mandate is to prevent cross-border activities within Lake Chad region.[161]

The state has launched a program since 2013 for Boko Haram soldiers who laid down their arms and renounced a terrorist organization. In the city of Abuja in 2015, multinational military operations in West African states involved the MNJTF, one of the main fighters against Boko Haram, to eradicate Boko Haram support networks in Niger, Chad, Cameroon, and drive Shekau's network from its Northern safe havens. MNJTF vs. Boko Haram intends to repeat the successes of French, Chadian and local law enforcement, in destroying AQIM's 2013 nascent jihadist state.[162]

4.3 Neighbouring countries

According to the State Department of the United States, Nigeria's neighbours have limited military and law enforcement, which is not enough to protect borders and strengthen security, but significant political will.[163] Chadian Lake Basin countries such as Chad, Cameroon, Niger, and Nigeria have begun taking action against Boko Haram, known as the Multinational Joint Task Force MNJTF. However, their lack of commitment to funding problems and disagreements in planning has reduced the effectiveness of the MNJTF.

[160] Ibid.
[161] Olumuyiwa Temitope Faluyi, Sultan Khan, Adeoye O. Akinola, Boko Haram's Terrorism and the Nigerian State: Federalism, Politics and Policies (Springer International Publishing, SA, 2019). P.22.
[162] Anthony Celso, Islamic State: A Comparative History of Jihadist Warfare (Lexington Books, Maryland, 2018). Page:190.
[163]Ibid, Alexandria Stafford. P.97.

Jihadists often regroup when troops withdraw. The best or good strategy to fight terrorist groups at Chad Lake depends not only on military operations but, most importantly, on the ability to improve conditions and gain the population's trust. That is why they will be able to influence all of this more effectively through joint efforts. If we ask the question, what should be done? - Lake Chad countries need to integrate their forces into the MNJTF fully, and they can increase potential, improve information, plan, and intelligence exchanges, address military forces for more prolonged operations, and improve human rights compliance. They also need to work with the African Union and the European Union to address funding issues.[164]

As reported by the Nigerian State Department, neighbouring countries have a limited number of military and law enforcement personnel, which complicates border protection and retaliation, but the significant political will to do so.[165]Chadian President Idriss Deby said he had seen numerous meetings at the state level but no steps forward to defeat Boko Haram, a problem that now affects four countries that could become dangerous for the entire continent if they do not take appropriate action. Chadian parliament passed a stringent law on suppressing acts of terrorism and hanged ten Boko Haram perpetrators accused of human rights abuses.[166] Chad stepped up security measures, upgraded intelligence methods, acquired a new arsenal. In January 2015, they sent troops to Cameroon and Niger, indicating their relationship with Boko Haram. At the end of 2015, troops arrived in northern Cameroon and carried out the first offensive in Nigeria, in Gambara. If other states detained Boko Haram on their borders, Chad was the only one who had the proper pursuit of terrorists in Nigeria. In a few days, the Chadian soldiers left for Niger, where they also fought Boko Haram. They then moved with Nigerian soldiers to Nigeria to conduct " cleaning operation " In the northern part of the country. Chad also pledged aid to Nigeria in 2016 when Boko Haram attacked the city of Boso. It is noteworthy that Chad has held strategic positions in most regional and international structures in recent years.[167] Indeed, 2020 proved to be fruitful for the state of

[164] International crisis group, 'What Role for the Multinational Joint Task Force in Fighting Boko Haram?'' (Africa Report N°291 | 7 July 2020, Brussels, Belgium). P.0.
[165] Ibid, Alexandria Stafford. P.105.
[166] Marielle Debos, Living by the Gun in Chad: Combatants, Impunity and State Formation (Zed Books, London, 2016). P.78.
[167] Crisis group, Fighting Boko Haram in Chad: Beyond Military Measures <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/chad/246-fighting-boko-haram-chad-beyond-military-measures> (01 December 2020).

Chad, as they killed numerous members of Boko Haram. Al Jazeera sources say that in April 2020, Chadian soldiers killed 1,000 Boko Haram members during an operation.[168]

Initially, Cameroonian authorities observed neutrality in relations with Boko Haram in the context of a tacit agreement on mutual non-aggression. So, the terrorist group used Cameroon as both a significant military base and a refuge.[169] Nor does Cameroon lag in operations. They carried out two military operations, Emergence 4, which used regular troops, and Operation Alpha, in which Rapid Reaction Troops (BIRs) participated. They also have another group, which includes 2450 soldiers. In total, their number reaches 7 thousand soldiers. Unfortunately, the Cameroonian reaction's weakness is manifested in the absence of their policies and in the unwritten program that should be involved in the fight against Boko Haram. Added to this is that this region is also poorer and has meagre school education in the country, which has helped Boko Haram impose its ideology on the citizens. Unfortunately, no development and fight against terrorism are recorded at the regional level. In the same light, no speculation has been started on ending this crisis since Boko Haram has weakened. Experts say Africa should adopt the Marshall Plan to develop the region, investing in social, school, polyclinics, and labour sectors.[170]

4.4 Conclusion

The fight against Boko Haram will take a long time until the states unite and become one force. It will be necessary to make concessions in Nigeria, which means placing more international missions or organizations on their territory. As one of the leading states in Africa, they have to come to terms with the fact that the problem is in the state, and it is necessary to eliminate the corruption and inequality that has influenced the creation of Boko Haram, as well as access to jobs and education for all so that everyone has equal rights.

Boko Haram has been weakening lately, but it is not enough to get rid of it eventually, so there are still many steps to remove this problem. The most prominent place is still occupied by the West and international organizations, as the cases funded by them get more results

[168] Aljazeera, Chadian troops 'kill 1,000 Boko Haram fighters' in Lake Chad <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/4/9/chadian-troops-kill-1000-boko-haram-fighters-in-lake-chad> (10 December 2020).
[169] Ibid, Бакаре Илесанми Абиодун. P.82. (Bakare)
[170] Crisis group, Q&A: Boko Haram in Cameroon <ttps://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/q-boko-haram-cameroon> (20 January 2020).

than local organizations. Furthermore, as for the states, Chad, Niger, and Cameroon, the most prominent place here are occupied by the Chad state, because according to the information obtained on the Internet, we can conclude that they carry out more military interventions against Boko Haram than other states, but this is the more general opinion on the Internet,

The coronavirus has changed everything on Earth, including the tactics of terrorist organizations. The exception is Boko Haram (also Taliban and others), which has continued its terrorist attacks despite everything. Such development of events indicates that they will never calm down until the countries of the lake's basin take a decisive role in this. Funding is enough to equip countries and train troops, but if the state does not support all of this, the money will be wasted. 2021 will be a challenging year for counterterrorism as the economic situation in the world is unfavourable. We hope that Boko Haram will see a significant loss with all this, and their funding will be stopped.

Conclusion

African states often had to deal with problems caused by development factors and history, especially in the 1990s, as this year was been marked by change. One of the first terrorist acts was reported in 1998, when terrorists attacked Kenya and Tanzania, targeting the US Embassy. Ever since the attacks on the US embassy, Africa has become a continent of terrorism due to its proximity to the Middle East more than any other state. Although Europe is also close to the Middle East, European states have stronger borders than African countries. Added to all this is poverty and political instability, which is beneficial to all terrorist organizations. The area of terrorism on the African continent is expanding even further; if it started in the north, it has already reached Mozambique in south-east Africa. It is, therefore, necessary to involve the entire African continent as well, as this could lead to infiltration into other states where there was no terrorism.

There are many types of terrorism, including: psychological, biological, chemical, electromagnetic, atomic, technological, and by methods of execution, robbery, attempted murder and murder, cyber terrorism, armed attack, and many more. It is precisely these methods of terrorism that we must fight to prevent the population from being intimidated and murdered and protect the world from future threats. That is why in this dissertation, we have analysed the facts and discussed the reasons related to the terrorist organization Boko Haram, as well as outlined how the problems can be solved at the current stage. In the dissertation, we talked about terrorism, what it is and who can be considered a terrorist, and previous acts that have affected the world talked about the leading causes, the origins of the conflict, and the formation of a terrorist organization in northern Nigeria. As we see in chapter three, we pay attention to the colonial period from which the problems began.

We have touched on topics that hinder the development of Nigeria and contribute to the development of a terrorist organization. We have referred to topics such as poverty, as a considerable part of the population lives with $1 a day. So, hardship turned the population against the state, resulting in complications of their situation, and their thoughts went so far as to either leave the costly country or flee the state and seek ways in the northern states where Boko Haram is located. Furthermore, the example of the students was the same; Corruption, which eats away at the state and destroys democracy in the country, starves the people, and makes the state monopolistic and totalitarian. The religious inequality that we know has profoundly affected Nigeria during the colonial period, as the population was

divided between Christians and Muslims, and the missionaries' attempt to instill a Western education in the Muslim population and spread Christianity, which led to Muslim protests. Therefore, to eliminate extremism, it is necessary to look for its causes. Any strategy against extremism without establishing a cause can only combat it and alleviate the symptoms and not the causes.

Jihadists have long been plotting terrorist acts in the Chad Lake Basin region. The Nigerian state must take several steps to eradicate this group: Work with regional partners to combat misguided ideology, support the armed forces, rehabilitate ex-combatants, and provide essential services. Nigeria needs to renew cooperation with Benin, Chad, Niger, and Cameroon. The MNJTF worked effectively against Boko Haram until it was weakened due to Chad's withdrawal from the organization in October 2017, which drew hundreds of troops from Nigeria. It is probably clear that Nigeria can demonstrate that Nigeria is the strongest country in Africa fighting extremist groups. Neither during the Goodluck presidency nor the Buhari presidency did the positions in the international arena change and, most importantly, did not differ. Cameroon's Rapid Intervention Battalion (BIR) will be of interest, which has encountered severe coordination and intelligence sharing problems with its Nigerian counterparts. They suggested that the situation would improve after the arrival of Buhari, but this did not happen. Buhari said during the election that he would not accept foreign troops on his land. [171]

The most innocent victims can be found in Nigeria's neighbouring countries, where Boko Haram has also been targeted. Niger, Chad, and Cameroon should continue to cooperate and also, with the help of Nigeria, be able to put an end to Boko Haram, but for this, it is necessary to unite and, we must remember that they are fighting against a common enemy and not against each other, they must give a hand of help and defeat terrorism.

Since the beginning of 2020, we have seen a more significant threat than terrorism, and this is a virus known as coronavirus, but that does not mean we should not focus on all of the problems we were facing before. This period was a chance for terrorism to intensify as the world focused on something else altogether, and also the terrorists stopped carrying out temporary strikes, but as previously mentioned, Boko Haram did not stop the series of shootings and kidnappings. However, it also proved beneficial for the states because they still had enough time to be better prepared against terrorism, be it weapons, funding, or anything

[171] Ibid, John Mark Iyi, Hennie Strydom.Pp:354-356; Odd referencing.

else. Nevertheless, we may face more danger in the future, so before it is too late, we must neutralize terrorism and seek a way to the truth. [172]

Probably no one had imagined before that the foot of terrorism would be trampled on in states that come from ancient civilizations and developed worlds where numerous ancient inventions manifested themselves or the area where Jesus was born in Palestine. Perhaps this made us think that terrorism has no borders and may one day reach a safe country. That is why science works and books are written; that is why states are funded against terrorism to get rid of it all one day, but the efforts of us and each state person are necessary for this.

We have been following the UN news on terrorism very often, and I was interested in one article about terrorists: 'cyberspace and the word "loners." Fighting this terrorist method is becoming more difficult. It is about the actions called "Lone wolves" Who use cheap and low-tech means to carry out attacks on less protected targets. With that, they use cyberspace and new technologies. ISIS is actively involved in developing new regions and countries, and as a result, its branches in South and Southeast Asia have emerged in recent years, also in the Sahel region, Chad Lake Basin countries, and Southern and Eastern Africa. Or what does that mean? This means that they are gradually adapting to new technologies. For example, even though they use the old methods, they can also use drones, which we all know is a threat because it is banned in most countries because there is a chance of a plane crash and other crimes.

The most devastating consequence of terrorism is human sacrifice. They are followed by suffering, pain, remorse, weakness. Unfortunately, terrorism is becoming more severe, and it is bringing more casualties. Moreover, terrorism poses a problem to the country's economy because it requires a total investment of money, leading to the state's exhaustion.

Nigeria and the Chad Lake Basin countries may have to fight Boko Haram for a long time, there may be even more casualties and terrorist acts, but one thing is clear to everyone that terrorism will one day end, or it will take a weaker face. As soon as sponsors stop funding terrorism in the future, they will lose more and more supporters, weaken gradually, and eventually disintegrate. Until then, it is necessary to continue the pressure, reach out to the funders and try them and impose sanctions. We must also understand that the sponsor of

[172] Ibid, Francis Mbawini Abugbilla. P.236.

terrorism can be any particular powerful state because it arranges them. It is necessary to consider the responsibility of citizens towards terrorism because our steps can save the lives of many people. It is active involvement in terrorism, launching campaigns against terrorism.

One of the main ways to hear the people's voice in Nigeria and the world is to have a strong society, referred to as "People's Power." The term is a political term denoting a populist movement in any society that calls for a government at the grassroots level of opinion and will, as a rule, in opposition, which are conventionally organized corporate or political forces. The main goal of all this is to bring about changes in the political process. This method is based on population, which can be small protests or large-scale revolutionary rallies. With the largest population on the African continent being Nigeria, numbering over 200 million, people may be able to change the situation in Nigeria through rallies and revolutions, as with their rich resources, it is completely probable that Nigeria will become a more robust state where poverty levels will significantly reduce. We must remember that not all revolutions end peacefully and may result in casualties, but it is better to shed blood for change once than Nigeria suffers for a lifetime, and Nigeria and other similar countries face a similar problem.

It is necessary for Nigeria to further strengthen law enforcement agencies, but in a way that does not unjustly kill people, as I mentioned above. Much the same applies to ‘pacification’ campaigns in the north more recently, which are notorious for killing civilians. That is why changes are needed in the country that will focus on young people, because they are the future and the force of the day.

Bibliography:

Abimbola O. Adesoji, 'Boko Haram and the Global War on Terror''< https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-851> (01 September 2020).

Alexander Thurston, Boko Haram: The History of an African Jihadist Movement (Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2018).

Alexandria Stafford (ed.) Rising terror groups in the Middle East and North Africa (Nova Science Publishers, New York, NY, 2015).

Aljazeera, Chadian troops 'kill 1,000 Boko Haram fighters' in Lake Chad <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/4/9/chadian-troops-kill-1000-boko-haram-fighters-in-lake-chad> (10 December 2020).

Al Jazeera, Nigeria's SARS: A brief history of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2020/10/22/sars-a-brief-history-of-a-rogue-unit> Published: 22 October 2020. (26 November 2021).

Anthony Celso, Islamic State: A Comparative History of Jihadist Warfare (Lexington Books, Maryland, 2018).

Boaz Dvir, 'In the terrorism fight, Trump has continued a key Obama policy', 24 January 2020 <https://theconversation.com/in-the-terrorism-fight-trump-has-continued-a-key-obama-policy-129216> (30.07.2020)

Boaz Ganor, 'Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist another Man's Freedom Fighter?' Police Practice and Research: An International Journal (2002), pp.287-304.

Brendon J. Cannon and Dominic Ruto Pkalya, Why al-Shabaab Attacks Kenya: Questioning the Narrative Paradigm, (Institute of International and Civil Security (IICS), 2019).

Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism (Columbia University Press, New York, 2017).

Caroline Varin and Dauda Abubakar (ed.), Violent Non-State Actors in Africa (Palgrave Macmillan, London - Michigan, 2017).

Charles Townshend, Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction, (Oxford University Press, USA, 2003).

Chinyere Christiana Okpala, A Re-Assessment [sic] of the Effectiveness of OAU (AU) Conventions on Preventing and Combating Terrorism (GOLDEN GATE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW, Published PhD disertation, 2014) P.

CNN Editorial Research, Boko Haram Fast Facts <https://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/09/world/boko-haram-fast-facts/index.html> (21 October 2020).

CNN, Boko Haram purportedly pledges allegiance to ISIS https://edition.cnn.com/2015/03/07/africa/nigeria-boko-haram-isis/index.html (17 October 2020).

Council foreign relations, Global conflict tracker < https://www.cfr.org/article/boko-harams-deadly-impact> (25 October 2020).

Crisis group, Fighting Boko Haram in Chad: Beyond Military Measures <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/chad/246-fighting-boko-haram-chad-beyond-military-measures> (01 December 2020).

Daniel Egiegba Agbiboa, 'The Ongoing Campaign of Terror in Nigeria Boko Haram versus the State Stability'2(3): 52, (International Journal of Security & Development, Stability, 2013)

Davis C., The Potential for Peace and Reconciliation in Niger Delta Canon Dr Stephen (Coventry Cathedral, 2009) < https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/read/47557648/the-potential-for-peace-and-reconciliation-in-the-niger-delta> (12.10.2020)

Donald Trump, President Donald J. Trump is protecting The United States from terrorism, (National Strategy, USA Government, 2017)

Edlyne Eze Anugwom, The Boko Haram Insurgence in Nigeria: Perspectives from Within, (Springer International Publishing, Palgrave Macmillan, Nigeria, 2019).

Francis Mbawini Abugbilla, Boko Haram and the African Union's Response (David Publishing, International relations and diplomacy, Arizona, 2017).

Frederick Cooper, Africa Since 1940 The past of the present (Cambridge University, New York, 2002)

Gabriel Rubin, Presidential Rhetoric on Terrorism under Bush, Obama, and Trump: Inflating and calibrating the threat after 9/11 (Palagrave Pivot, New Jersie, 2020). P.55.

Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (. Ed), The history of Terrorism from antiquity to ISIS (UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, Oakland, 2016).

Giuseppe Nesi (. Ed), International Cooperation in Counterterrorism, The UN and Regional Organizations in the Fight Against Terrorism (Ashgate, Trento, 2006).

Harun Maruf, Dan Joseph, Inside Al-Shabaab: The Secret History of Al-Qaeda's Most Powerful Ally (Indiana University Press, Indiana, 2018).

Hussein Solomon, Terrorism and Counterterrorism in Africa Fighting Insurgency from Al Shabaab, Ansar Dine and Boko Haram (Palgrave Macmillan UK, University of the Free State, Republic of South Africa, 2015).

Ibn Warraq, The Islam in Islamic Terrorism the importance of beliefs, ideas, and ideology (New English Review Press, Tennessee, 2017).

Institute for economics and peace, Measuring the impact of terrorism (Global Terrorism Index, Sydney, AU, 2019)

Institute for security studies, is counter-terrorism history repeating itself in Lake Chad Basin? <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/is-counter-terrorism-history-repeating-itself-in-lake-chad-basin> (23 October 2020).

Institute for security studies, Joe Biden, and counterterrorism in Africa: more of the same? <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/joe-biden-and-counter-terrorism-in-africa-more-of-the-same> (26 January 2020).

International crisis group, What Role for the Multinational Joint Task Force in Fighting Boko Haram? (Africa Report N°291 | 7 July 2020, Brussels, Belgium)

International Review of the Red Cross, 'International treaties against terrorism and the use of terrorism during armed conflict and by armed forces," (Volume 88 Number 864, 2006) <https://www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/a21937.pdf> (25 January 2020).

Ioannis Mantzikos ed., Boko Haram Anatomy of a Crisis (E-International Relations Bristol, 2013).

Isabel Ortiz, Sara Burke, Mohamed Berrada, Hernán Saenz Cortés, World Protests: A Study Of Key Protest Issues In The 21st Century (Palgrave Macmillan, NY, Brussels, 2022)

J. Tochukwu Omenma, Ike E, Onyishi, Alyious-Michael Okolie, 'A decade of Boko Haram Activities: the attacks, responses and challenges ahead" Springer Nature limited (2020)

John L. Esposito, Unholy war: terror in the name of Islam, (Oxford University Press, New York, NY, 2002).

John N. Paden, Muslim Civic Cultures and Conflict Resolution the Challenge of Democratic Federalism in Nigeria (The brookings institution, Washingtion, D.C, 2005).

John-MarkIyi and Hennie Strydom (ed.), Boko Haram and International Law, (Springer International Publishing, Cham, Switzerland, 2018).

Joseph E. Goldberg, Perspectives on Political Science (Routledge, London, 2010).

Marielle Debos, Living by the Gun in Chad: Combatants, Impunity and State Formation (Zed Books, London, 2016).

Mike J. Smith, Boko Haram: Inside Nigeria's Unholy War, (I.B. Tauris, London, 2015).

NATO, 'NATO's military concept for defence against terrorism', 19 August 2016 <https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_69482.htmA>, (1 August 2020)

Neil J. Smelser, Faith Mitchell, Terrorism: Perspectives from the Behavioural and Social Sciences (National Academies Press, Washington, 2002).

OAU, Convention ON The prevention and combating of terrorism, Date of Adoption: 1 July 1996, (Date entry into force: 06 December 2002) <https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/37289-treaty-0020_-_oau_convention_on_the_prevention_and_combating_of_terrorism_e.pdf> (1 August 2020)

Ogunrotifa Ayodeji Bayo, Research on terrorism: an overview of theoretical perspectives (AJRSH, University of Edinburg, UK, 2012)

Olumuyiwa Temitope Faluyi, Sultan Khan, Adeoye O. Akinola, Boko Haram's Terrorism and the Nigerian State: Federalism, Politics and Policies (Springer International Publishing, SA, 2019).

Olufunmilayo B. Arewa, Disrupting Africa: Technology, Law, and Development (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2021).

OSCE, Status of the Universal Anti-Terrorism Conventions and Protocols as well as other International and Regional Legal Instruments related to Terrorism and Co-operation in Criminal Matters in the OSCE Area <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/5/8/17138_0.pdf> (26 January 2020).

PBS Frontline, Bombings of the Embassies of the USA at Nairobi Kenya and Dar Es SALAAM, Tanzania. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/bombings/summary.html> (20 January 2020).

Peter Baxter, BIAFRA, The Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970 (African War Series, volume 16, England, 2014)

Randy Borum, Psychology of Terrorism (University of South Florida, Florida, 2004).

Samson Eyituoyo Liolio, Rethinking Counterinsurgency: A Case Study of Boko Haram in Nigeria (European Peace University (EPU), Published MA disertation, Stadschlaining, Austria, 2013)

Samuel Justin Sinclair and Daniel Antonius (ed.), The political psychology of terrorism and fears (Oxford University Press, New York, NY, 2013)

Scott MacEachern, Searching for Boko Haram A History of Violence in Central Africa (University press, Oxford, 2018)

Stephen Feinstein, The 1990s (Ennslow Publishing, New York, 2016). Pp.82-83.

The Africa-EU partnership, 'Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF)'' <https://africa-eu-partnership.org/en/projects/multinational-joint-task-force-mnjtf-against-boko-haram> (02 September 2020)

The Africa-EU partnership, 'Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF)'' <https://africa-eupartnership.org/en/projects/multinational-joint-task-force-mnjtf-against-boko-haram> (02 September 2020)

The African Peace Facility, MULTI-NATIONAL JOINT TASK FORCE (MNJTF) against Boko Haram <https://africa-eu-partnership.org/sites/default/files/apf_factsheet_-_mnjtf.pdf> (01.12.2020)

The Intercept_, 'Pentagon's own map of U.S. Bases in Africa contradicts its claim of "light" footprint" <https://theintercept.com/2020/02/27/africa-us-military-bases-africom/> (25 January 2020).

The world bank, Data bank - Population, total - Nigeria <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=NG> (01.10.2020).

Thomas, Douglas E., African traditional religion in the modern world (McFarland & Company, Inc., Second edition, Jefferson, 2015).

Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton, A History of Nigeria (Cambridge, University of Texas at Austin, New York, 2008)

Trading Economics, Nigeria Unemployment Rate 2020, <https://tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/unemployment-rate> (01.10.2020).

UN, United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and The Protocols Thereto, <https://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/UNTOC/Publications/TOC%20Convention/TOCebook-e.pdf> (27 January 2020).

United Nations - Audio-visual library of international law, 'Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism',17 December 1996, <https://legal.un.org/avl/ha/dot/dot.html> (25 July 2020)

United Nations, Countries urged more action on task force against Boko Haram

U.S. Department of State, Nigeria Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1997 <http://www.state.gov/www/global/human_rights/1997_hrp_report/nigeria.html> (26 November 2021)

Uyo Salifu, 'Border porosity and Boko Haram as a regional threat' <https://issafrica.org/amp/iss-today/border-porosity-and-boko-haram-as-a-regional-threat> (25 July 2020).

Wayne Fulton, 'Intelligence and the War against Terrorism': Multilateral Counter-Terrorism Policies Implemented post-September 11 (University of the Witwatersrand, Published MA disertation, 2004).

Whitehouse, Remarks by President Trump, and President Buhari of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in Joint Press Conference (30 April 2018) <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-president-buhari-federal-republic-nigeria-joint-press-conference/> (20 December 2020).

Бакаре Илесанми Абиодун, ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ ТЕРРОРИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ГРУППЫ «БОКО ХАРАМ» КАК УГРОЗА РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ В ЗАПАДНОЙ АФРИКЕ (2009-2017 гг.) (РОССИЙСКИЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ ДРУЖБЫ НАРОДОВ, Опубликовано работа Докторанта, Москва, 2017) (Translate: Bakare Ilesanmi Abiodun, Activites of the Boko Haram terrorist group as a threat to regional security in Western Africa (2009-2017) (RUSSIAN UNIVERSITY OF PEOPLE'S FRIENDSHIP, Published PhD dissertation, Moscow. 2017)

Война и мир, Нигерия «Боко харам» и «царство хаоса» <http://www.warandpeace.ru/ru/analysis/view/98370/< (25 October 2020). Translate: War and Peace, Nigeria "Boko Haram" and the "Kingdom of Chaos" <http://www.warandpeace.ru/ru/analysis/view/98370/ < (October 25, 2020).

ГЕОРГИ Дарья Григорьевна, ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ КОНФЛИКТА В ЮЖНОЙ НИГЕРИИ середина XX – начало XXI вв. (Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова» Институт стран Азии и Африки, Москва 2017). Translate: GEORGES Daria Grigorievna, EVOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT IN SOUTH NIGERIA mid XX -

early XXI centuries (Lomonosov Moscow State University "Institute of Asian and African Countries, Published PhD dissertation, Moscow 2017)

Григорий Аросев, 'США облегчили введение санкций против террористов', 10 September 2019, < https://www.dw.com/ru/сша-облегчили-введение-санкций-против-террористов /a-50375376 > (5 August 2020) (Translate: Grigory Arosev, 'The United States Eased the Imposition of Sanctions Against Terrorists')

Дж.Мирзоева, Исламофобия (Россиский университет дружбы народов, Москва, 2016). Translate: J. Mirzoeva, Islamophobia (Peoples' Friendship University of Russia, Moscow, 2016). Pp.149,150.

Дмитрий Вадимович Ольшанский, Психология терроризма (Питер, Санкт-Петербург, 2002). Translate: Dmitry Vadimovich Olshansky, Psychology of Terrorism (Peter, St. Petersburg, 2002).

Крутов А.А, Движение за освобождение Дельты Нигера: конфликт на юге Нигерии (Самарский государственный университет, АЗИЯ И АФРИКА СЕГОДНЯ, № 9, 2015.) С.31. Translate: Krutov A.A, MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE NIGER DELTA: CONFLICT AT THE SOUTH OF NIGERIA (Samara State University, Asia, and Africa, № 9, Published PhD dissertation. 2015)

М Ф Видясова, В В Орпов, Политический ислам в странах Северной Африки. История и современное состояние (Издательство Московского университета, Moscow,2008). P.225 Translate: MF Vidyasova, VV Orpov, Political Islam in the countries of North Africa. History and current state (Moscow University Press, Moscow, 2008).

О.Н. Алексеев, Особенноси и перспективы борьбы с международным терроризмом (Армия и общество, Припорский край, 2012). Translate: O.N. Alekseev, Features and Prospects of Combating International Terrorism (Army and Society, Pryporsky Krai, 2012).

Раевский Александр Евгеньевич, 'СОЦИАЛЬНО-ПСИХОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ФАКТОРЫ РЕЛИГИОЗНОГО ТЕРРОРИЗМА В ЯПОНИИ, (МОСКОВСКИЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ ИМЕНИ М.В. ЛОМОНОСОВА, Published PhD dissertation, Москва, 2015). (Translate: Raevsky Alexander Evgenievich, 'SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS OF RELIGIOUS TERRORISM IN JAPAN, (MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY NAMED AFTER M.V. LOMONOSOV).

С. Кара-Мурзы, 'Манипуляция сознанием' <https://psyfactor.org/terror.htm>, (5 August 2020). (Translate: S. Kara-Murza, 'Manipulation of Consciousness' Published on the basis of the book)

С.В.Костелянец, Терроризм в Африке - Осебенности, тендеции и перскептивы (Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO), Москва, 2016). Translate: S. V. Kostelyanets, Terrorism in Africa - Features, Trends and Prospects (Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO), Moscow, 2016).

Харун Яхья, Ислам проклинает террор, (Classic M, Республика Казахстан, Астана, 2002). Translate: Harun Yahya, Islam Curses Terror, (Classic M, Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, 2002).