

War on Terrorism in Africa: A Challenge for Regional Intergration and Cooperation Organizations in Eastern and Western Africa

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Abstract

It has been studied that the current wave of a new form of reinforcing the terms of regional integration and cooperation have to find its roots in the real commitment to fight a common enemy, promote a common good. Contemporary regional integration organizations were formed in the aftermath of the Second World War to prevent the escalation of conflicts and focus on economic cooperation to improve trade and industry, exchange of knowledge and technology. The African regional integration was mostly formed in the early days of independence to reaffirm their integrity and sovereignty. The Rome Treaty of 1957 saw a coalition of 12 European countries to create the European Economic Community (EEC). The EEC did well prevent wars and conflicts in most European countries, brought about uncontested steps forward towards prosperity and development of the year 1970's. It came to its full achievement by the inclusion of the United Kingdom in 1973 marking a great success in what could be termed as regional integration and cooperation. Amadou and Moshood showed how this success in union of nations served as a starting point to other countries in the world especially in Africa.

Keywords: Ecowas; Igad; Eac

Introduction

Regional integration and cooperation on African continent

This need of uniting nations had been the motive behind the creation of several cases of regional integration organization on African continent. The Economic Commission for Africa (E.C.A) of early days of independence had long envisioned this ideal regional integration and cooperation through its two main forerunner actions. The Lagos Plan for Action (L.P.A) of 1980 saw the creation of Economic Community of West African States and the Preferential Trade Areas in 1981 for East and Southern African States which later became the common markets for Eastern Africa (CO.M.E.S.A). It was followed by the Economic Community of Central African States in 1993 together with the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU). All these regional integration organizations and those that were formed later on had a common aim and vision to lead to an African common market by 2025. In the Abuja Treaty was where initiatives of putting in place the African Organization Union (A.O.U) started and it was preceded by the creation of the African Union in 2001. The other important regional groups formed outside the Treaty were the West African Economic and Monetary Union (W.A.E.M.O) which ECOWAS grouped under C.F.A Zone and, the Economic Monetary Union of Central Africa (C.E.M.A.C). Within C.O.M.E.S.A, came the southern African Union (SACU) and the Southern African Development community (S.A.D.C) and the East African Community (E.A.C). It was remaining with what is known today as the Horn of Africa (H.O.A) countries which were grouped under the Inter-governmental Authority and Development (I.G.A.D).

Regional integration and cooperation in West Africa

In this study, we shall review the principles upon which the three major regional integration organization namely ECOWAS, IGAD and EAC are made in regards to countering terrorism. ECOWAS was established in 1975 as an organization essentially made to promote economic integration of the first 15 countries. The historic perspectives behind the formation of this organization can be traced to the early days of independence. France and Britain made efforts to coerce their former colonies to enhance cost-effectiveness in their administration and exploitation. Britain put in place the West African Currency Board in 1912 in Ghana, Gambia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone which was to make

easy economic transactions. When France created the Communauté Financière d'Afrique known as CFA with its central Bank in Dakar, Senegal; it was its own way to bring together its former colonies to advance trade among them and still have a hand in their economies by controlling the currency. Few years later, the experience of economic and political exploitation raised the urge to the call of unity to fight common ills infringed on them by external powers. An economic cooperation was a welcome idea as alternative to political integration earlier preached by some panafrican leaders and nationalists. The outstanding figures in this call to unity and fusion of national interest were the Ghanaian Kwame Nkrumah and Senegalese Sedar Senghor's appeal to a collective, self-reliance and mutual aid among Africans. In this attempt, Liberia and Sierra Leone created the Mano River Union (M.R.U) for economic cooperation. The union was joined by Guinea under Sékou Touré in 1983. Factions among members, civil wars and internal conflicts could not let this solidarity among nations last long. Linguistic criteria hindered its expansion in other West African countries. It was after the efforts of Adebayo Adedeji who was the executive secretary of the UN's Economic commission for Africa (ECA) that, ECOWAS's formation gradually took place. He thought that, Africa could not effectively compete with the rest of the world if not fully politically and economically jelled. It brought together the 15 nations of West Africa regardless their linguistic, colonial and historical background. The main vision was to put in place a wider market to improve competitiveness, create space of a larger exchange platform for industries and business to proliferate. It was a way of facing the current waves of globalization by risk sharing and fighting together the common adversities [1].

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Regional integration and cooperation in Eastern Africa

For East Africa, the regional integration of East African countries resulted from the need to advance economic cooperation and combat common threats to their economies as elsewhere on the continent. The Kampala Conference on security, stability, development and cooperation (S.S.D.C.A) proposed the integration of East African countries to join hands and solve a variety of issues (economic and security) facing the region. Following other earlier consultation, the Kampala forum marked the birth of the East African community signed out at the OAU summit in the Abuja Treaty on the 3rd June 1995 and came into force the following year comprising Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya, Anangwe (2006). The East African countries were grouped into two main culturally different communities: The East African community with now 5 countries and the Horn of Africa. The UNODC Regional Program [2] paper on “promoting the rule of Law and Human security in East Africa, presents the region as the most poorest part of Africa due to natural disaster, long lived civil wars, food shortage, drought and famine that left 180 millions of people experience abject poverty. Poor governance, corruption, human rights abuses, high rate of HIV/AIDS prevalence...made development opportunities quite difficult. According to Tetra Tech Ard [3], the motives behind the formation of this organization was mainly to counter illicit trafficking, organized crime and terrorism, fight corruption and promotion of justice and integrity, improve health and human development.

Problem Statement

In today's Africa, most especially in these three regional organizations of our study, regional integration and cooperation organizations have to reaffirm their commitment to join hands to combat crime and fight against nascent terrorist groups hampering with their economies. Most African countries especially those in sub-Saharan region, a lot is to be done to attain the middle income status and do away with abject poverty rural zones are confronted it with. The set Millennium Development Goals which has to do with improvement in education, health, housing and accommodation, employment and a real take off in the industrial sector, improving the social welfare of their people to raise the living standard of the majority power citizens, new politics on health and skillful timely intervention in times of outbreak of communicable diseases has to be put in place as standby force to counter rapidly contagious diseases. Their economic cooperation terms would have envisioned fighting hunger to feed fast growing population, reduce poverty through a whole range of economic measures made to reduce unemployment and boost production. In their political cooperation, these organizations have a lot to do in the areas of rule of law, reduce human rights abuses of all sorts. Democracy meant power sharing and peaceful and smooth handing over power through a universal uncontested universal suffrage where the ballots alone confer power to which it is due. Wars and civil unrests, internal and external political dispute in African nations rise drastically despite all powers given to regional integration organizations up to the edge of doubting their efficacy. Are these regional cooperation organizations up to the tasks to combat all ills handicapping development of our African nations?

Justification

The paper calls for a new form of panafricanism designed to tackle current common threats to African people. If the solution has to be from Africa, new forms of regional integration and cooperation have to redraw its new roadmap to improve security of people and businesses. New more integrative and inclusive social security and

social protection are yet to come and protect vulnerable populations under risks. Technology exchange can rather embark on heavy industrialization to reduce youth unemployment so to reduce the number of the death recorded in the Agadez desert in Sahara and in Mediterranean Sea of this unutilized or underutilized human resources fleeing Africa. Stabilization of economy through multidimensional approaches is to target trade and industries liberalization. The paper explores what has been effective and what constituted the bane to successful security management in the regional integration of regional organizations. Security, being the prime driving force to development, the strategies put in place or implemented to guarantee security of people seems a priority. We shall seek to know what has been done and what has constituted to bane to fully do away with insecurity in our Africa deeply being wounded by most disastrous mass killing on daily basis. Mac Carthy affirms that pan-africanism had in itself germs of a real theoretical take off driven by political and economic ambitions. The current awakening of panafricanism or new era of regional integration may have to face the wave of growing insecurity in most nations. This insecurity poses not only threat to national economies but also to the regional as a whole when projects, agenda and macroeconomic activities are disrupted on their course of implementation. Hence, joining hands to take Africa away from the current terrorist movements seem to be salutary and the unique way to develop. Much has been elaborated but little have been achieved in terms of economic integration as emphasis on trade, investment in technology transfer, transportation, infrastructural development and Information communication technology face fatal obstruction from insecurity. Since security is the most needed asset to this solidification of development in our continent, information sharing, sophisticated networking in monitoring what put people and goods on risks remains paramount to the regional integration's terms of cooperation. The rethinking of this new cooperation should be shifted to socio economic issues, in health and education, facility development to face common challenges whereas cooperation of political and security area should lay emphasis on building institutional stability, inter-governmental electoral process to minimize cases of over tenure in office of some leaders, the impact of which hinder the good governance, gives room to internal conflicts based on poor power sharing mechanisms.

Understanding regional integration formation

Why do countries have to join efforts? Why do sovereign nations have to ally with one another to carry out common agenda? Regionalism is and has been a complex and complicated task in this era of globalization. A new way of dealing with the globally economic and political issues, trade and exchange of all kinds, mutual aid, bilateral and multilateral cooperation... assisting each other to face calamities and security issues or achieving financial stability. This coming together of nations tends to procure global public good which are the basis of framework for global policy. For Memar and Solomon [4], the regional integration may be based on simple intergovernmental relations aimed to assist each other to facilitate free trade, movement of goods and services. It can be a complex joint cooperation to deal with issues of security and conflict prevention with military forces like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). They can be broad based multidimensional organization like SADC organ on politics Defense and security Cooperation or the ECOWAS Monitoring Group. It can simply be in terms of economic arrangements ranging from free trade to common markets, customs. In most cases, it can encompass economic agreement through monetary and political union as it is being envired by the EAC. Or else, sharing financial institutions (Banks) to finance and mobilize resource for development projects. Some other

regional organization may simply be unidirectional organization while others are said multidimensional (EU, AU, etc.).

Security Challenges in African Regional Integration Organizations

Nature and causes of insecurity in our area of study

The source of insecurity in most countries have to do with unsolvable or unsolved internal ethnic conflicts, power sharing disputes, greater deal of injustice, lack of rule of law, undemocratic and weak institutions, border disputes between countries, religious and cultural differences, poor agricultural reforms, etc. Most terrorist groups that immersed in Africa were more or less based on revolutionary agenda, religious antagonism leading to extremism, appeal to institutional change, claiming recognition from oppressed minority [5]. Fragility of institutions, ephemeral or overstaying governments based on ethnic basis for either election or resources and power sharing. Failure of social inclusion policies to allow participation, macroeconomic disequilibrium, lack of effective border control, inefficient crime prevention and unequipped counter-terrorism organizations, climatic conditions, uncontrolled or uncontrollable migration through porous borders, complicity and complexity in criminal activities by government officials.

Rise of terrorism

Duffy defines terrorism as all criminal acts directed against a state and intended to create a state of terror in the minds of a particular group of people or the whole nation. The world has known terrorism for years and in various forms and degrees. It came to be a global concern with the emergency of East Asian terrorist groups operating in many countries causing mass destruction of human lives and materials. Some indicators of threat had been eminent in Eastern Asia, Europe, Africa and USA. When the American embassies were bombarded in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda in 1998. The world came to realize that terrorism is real on 11 September, 2001 when in the United States of America and in the world this day became a day of tears. The attack on the World Trade centre ignited a very vivid wrath against terrorism that had just demonstrated their power despite all security measures in place. The strength of Al-Qaida in Africa and in other parts of the world threatens Western interests on the continent and the war on terrorism has been declared to attempt a neutralization of some of the sophisticated terrorist groups networks in West and East Africa where recently Boko Haram and Al-shabaab had defied the world most powerful security agencies.

Nascent terrorism in Africa, a worry for African development and unity

Our three areas of study are the ECOWAS, IGAD and EAC are the most affected by terror groups, wars and military insurgencies with all kinds of ills making insecurity the order of the day. Over some years, a flux of Islamic extremism and radicalized fighters has created conflicts in some parts of West and East African countries. In west Africa, the Al-Qaida in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and many of its allies such as MNLA, MUJAO, Al Qaida, the Tuareg fighters and many separatist movements (in Mali and Niger) Boko Haram in northern Nigeria are those terrorist groups whose ties with other global well organized terrorist groups have posed security dangers for populations claiming allegiance with Islamic state's fighters. In Eastern part of Africa, Al-shabaab the Somali based major terrorist group has perpetrated criminal and terrorist attacks in various countries. Unless these groups are neutralized, the affected countries will still face fatal security and development issues.

Why the war on terrorism

The war on terrorism is and must be a communal fight as effects are felt by the whole region and constitute the threat the global peace and security. Moreover, individual countries may not have all it requires to face atrocity of terrorism in their sophisticated attacks. The regional integration organizations and the United Nations' commitment to counter terrorism have to move from their theoretical framework into real action. The past interventions of some organizations to stop wars, manage and prevent conflicts in some parts of the continent has demonstrated a power which is today to be intensified to deal with a great task of preventing, managing and counter terrorism which is the today's handicap to security of people and economic development. Terrorism does not only hinder national economic agenda, but constitutes also a bane to the accomplishment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as resources are used to reconstruct damages or pay heavy ransom to hostages. Security is a treasure to African nations and a joint operation to maintain peace and tranquility is paramount to any nation.

Failure to deal with terrorism on national level

In most regional integration organization, combating crime, violence, and terrorism fail due to: political instability in the countries of the region. Civil unrests and wars in a country nurture and empower terrorism and criminal acts. The countries of the same regional integration don't have the same macroeconomic equilibrium. Each country has a different security history and tightens ties to protect its sovereignty. Each nation has a duty to protect its people first before getting concerned about a regional ill which may not directly concern the country. (e.g.: The war in northern Mali may not have so much implication for Ghana, Rwanda may not have anything doing in the war of Somalia etc). Integration makes it difficult when it comes to resource, profit sharing and distribution among countries in the region. Competition is a common phenomenon. Directives, agreements and resolutions made on regional level fail to find echoes in individual nations which have their own constitutional references and other guidelines in executing some projects. Lack of uniformity in projects implementation due to absence of control and efficient monitoring mechanism makes the regional integration a hectic work. It may also be due to mere fact that unequal infrastructural and economic dispositions to apply resolutions are not the same, hence a delay in the harmonization of project's implementations. It has been also observed that in most regional summits, policies remains theoretical formation and their real implementation is always left to individual nations which may not have equal logistics and potentials to execute them [6]. The other issues pointed out by Kegero [7] was that the UN strategy to security is formulated in generic terms and fail to be translated into real problems solving techniques on the ground. For Annie et al. [8], regional integration has not fully been able to do much because conflicts are only tackled when they appear on the surface and they have been failing to trace the roots of issues that are mostly converted into real conflicts. She noticed that, problem of identity, security, respect and recognition are the major issues to deal with at the grassroots level. For them, the major period in African history has not been carefully studied as the source of today's security problems: The process of the transition between colonial to independent states and the process of transition between authoritarian undemocratic regimes to democratic change of early 90's.

Failure to counter terrorism on regional level

In various regional integration organizations' protocols, policies

and strategies were put in place to counter-terrorism, what is needed to be done is much more what has been accomplished as terrorism grow tougher and hashier in their attacks. In most cases, what has been elaborated in various protocols are mainly proactive guidelines organization should go by in case of terror attack but facing live events take much time as individual countries will drag their feet to act when sovereignty of each nation is to be safeguarded. A terrorist activity always involves more than one nation. Ethiopia had to invade Somalia in retaliation to attacks made on its soil when Somalia was not having enough control over Al-shabaab. Kenya had to move in Somalia and dismantle Al-shabaab's hideouts after the shootings in Garissa University. Chad, Niger and Cameroon had to send their troops on Nigeria's soil in an attempt of stopping Boko Haram from propagating in the region. Intervention may not follow any pre-arrangement agreement and this has caused misunderstanding and little gauges between countries within the same regional organization. A country may be so lenient to deal with terrorism on its soil for some reasons but neighboring countries facing consequences may decide to intervene for the good of its citizens and hence inter-state conflicts arise. In some cases, it is noteworthy mentioning competing priorities, political sensitivity on security issues while dealing with an enemy hosted by a neighboring country [9]. In this global war on terrorism embarked on by some global powers, the tools used in dealing with terrorism remain the UN Global Counter-terrorism Strategy of 2006 which, in actual fact, it does not have the same responses in all countries as forms of terrorism situations take different unprecedented tactics. For some countries, the regional organizations' summits and protocols may not have enough representatives of concerned bodies like civil society and nongovernmental organization on the time of formulation of policies but they are called to take part in their implementation.

Impact of the failure to counter-terrorism for national and regional economies

The scope of terrorism is very wide and its impacts are felt by the whole world as it destabilize free flow movement of people and goods. Their actions are being more organized that to dismantle some of them, there should be a more organized and united conjoint operation. Unlike stipulated by UN security council directives (which are just policies to be implemented), combating crime and terrorism implies a full knowledge of the anatomy and composition of their body and this requires a very well trained intelligence services operation within to break into their internal organizations: which has been today a very complicated task. Security in each nation is an asset to safeguard and keep intact for the sake of the whole region as terrorist and criminal activities take advantages in the instability to advance their recruitment and equipping themselves. Hence, investing in security management and prevention has been one of the difficult things to successfully attain for most organizations. In West and East Africa, most populations live on subsistence farming and the lack of security to normal people bring about dislocation of family food supply; hunger and malnutrition are likely to follow. It has been studied that insecurity also hinders education and health services and other social services delivery to vulnerable. It endangers human rights as little children are forcibly enrolled in the fighting militias whereas women are raped and dehumanized through atrocious treatment. It poses danger to infrastructural development and social amenities meant to improve livelihood, businesses and people's living standards. It retard development as people are displaced and forced into exile losing their assets, belongings due to terror attacks, war and any other criminal acts. The set millennium development goals (MDG) can't be achieved when a wave of massive destruction dislocate and discontinue ongoing developmental projects. Humanitarian

services and nonprofit making organizations are normally denied access to reach the people.

Security and Terrorism Issues in the Horn of Africa

Terrorism in the HOA

This part of Africa, called Horn of Africa is one of the most affected by terror group for multiple reasons. When the Regional Economic Community (REC) was founded, it was mandated to deal with issues related to economic problems facing the continent. Their mission has been extended to control, manage and prevent conflicts and all sorts of insecurity, which was seen to be the bane to economic development. The presence of various forms of insecurity in the region was seen to be a handicap to the overall development projects and a joint operation needed to be made to effectively deal with well organized terror groups destabilizing people and businesses. The Inter-governmental Authority and Development (IGAD) were formed for these ends. At its early creation, IGAD was mandated to address issues related to famine, drought that had deeply devastated Ethiopia and Somalia in the early 1980's [10]. The region is constantly under a wave of various forms of insecurity caused by unending wars, cross-border conflicts, civil wars, maritime piracy, weak institutions and absence of legislative means to control porous borders etc. In this region, Somalia has been a terrain of an ending internal wars and conflicts. Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia has been facing staged insecurity issues all of which offer conducive environment to the formation and operation of terror groups. Together with other regions on the continent the move towards countering terrorism became sharper after the US attacks on 11th September 2011. Various legal and institutional commitments were put in place to combat terrorism on a global level. The UN Security Council of 2011 too reaffirmed its unyielding initiatives aimed at preventing, managing and controlling terrorism worldwide [11]. The IGAD's own plan of action were more proactive approaches formulated as policies to fight for peace and security in the region in a form of conflict prevention, management and resolution where the areas of concern have been the Sudan war, internal conflicts in Somalia, the Eritrea and Ethiopia's border disputes between 1998 to 2000, Kinfe [12] said. Committees for real actions were made of Heads of states and governments, councils of ministers and committees of ambassadors and their secretariats to draft an implantation plan to deal with terrorism in the region in 2003. IGAD [13] as active and proactive measures to enhance cooperation and renew terms of engagement to fight any terrorist act. Kinfe [12] states that the region has been a prepared ground for terrorist acts due to some inherent internal security situations fueling conflicts and hence, giving rise to possible terror activities. Some of this factors triggering insecurity with the IGAD are, issues of ethnic identity, boundary issues, lawless and undemocratic institutions, bad governance and backwardness of economic development, climatic conditions all of which contribute to the displacement of people: great mass of refugees (in Somalia and Sudan). Besides the most terrorist group in the region, Al-shabaab in Somalia operating beyond Somalia, the Insurgency Lord's Resistance Army (L.R.A) in Uganda which has been killing, kidnapping, raping women and involving children in war creates chaos in the region. The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) in Ethiopia has also been a bane to peace in the country and in the region. Al-shabaab the Al-Qaida affiliated terror group have been the major threat to the area.

Efforts done by IGAD to counter terrorism

To implement the UN Global Counter-terrorism Strategy in 2010, it established the IGAD Peace and Security Strategy (IPSS) which had

four pillars: Counter-terrorism, dealing with transnational organized crime, controls the maritime security and empowering institutions and capacity building within the region. Capital [14], the second initiative was the establishment of the IGAD security sector Program (ISSP) which was mainly meant to disrupt the operations of pirates and similar crimes on the coastal side of the region the project which was later supported by the East Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (EAPCCO) and the Joint Task force for The Horn of Africa (CJTFFHOA). They all offered capacity building policy, advance interrogation skills and other related training to equip the personnel engaged in intelligence activities to detect and dismantle terrorist operations. Travel and Financial bans on individual and groups of people suspected to finance terrorism, no fly zone imposed to some areas were to discourage the money laundering or financing the fighters on hostile outreach places suspected to host terrorist. Freezing assets and bank accounts whose owners are not properly identifiable were closed down. For instance the IGAD [13] revealed that the National bank of Ethiopia has blocked some accounts linked with Barakat International Companies (BICO) which is known to involve in financing of terror activities in 2011. In IGAD, more than any other Regional Integration organization, it has elaborated more actions to face terrorism. For the post war countries or regions experiencing war, the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of fighters has been a priority to transform former fighters into security agencies as they are acquainted with tricks and tactics employed by terrorism. The Nairobi Protocol on Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda established National Coordination Agencies and National Action Plan to adequately intervene in ways possible to counter-terrorism [15].

IGAD and its stakeholders in countering terrorism

IGAD alone can't face its security challenges which are more or less multidimensional compelling more organized and equipped bodies to render the place secure and conducive to investment, tourism and business. Alliances with multinationals, humanitarian agencies have sought to lessen IGAD's burden to assist in other fields not necessarily regarding security but also creating handicap to development. These are health sector, education, hunger fighting, dealing with drought, food shortage, social services delivery such as assisting great number of non-assisted refugees... UNODC, UNHCR, WFP, USAID etc. have been working in the region to deal with other issues posing a threat to livelihood. Fighting hunger in Darfur, Somalia; fighting the pandemic HIV/AIDS in Uganda did supplement the efforts of countries of the region. For instance, the UNODC has cooperated with IGAD in establishing the Sub regional Plans to control illicit drugs and smuggling of illegal products. This was done through the regional data collection and analysis mechanism on drugs and information sharing mechanisms. The UNDP signed a memorandum of understanding in 2008 to technically assist in good governance practice, anti-corruption, rule of law and criminal justice reforms. The UNAIDS and WHO, CARE International offered assistance to victims of drug abuse and HIV/AIDS patients while UNODC in collaboration with UN Security Council participated in the elaboration of counter-terrorism Implementation Task force (CTITF). These UN agencies and other nonprofit organizations were not only funding partners but also deploying human resources of high expertise and their logistics and equipment. In these efforts, IGAD was equipped to face three main challenges in security areas: First, Countering illicit trafficking, criminal acts and terrorism. Under this umbrella, strategic information and analysis, policy legislation and capacity building were achieved by national and international organizations; cross-border and regional

cooperation mechanisms to control porous borders where prioritized. The second area off attention was the combat against corruption and promotion of justice and integrity. This was done through empowering national programs to put in practices resolutions made on conventions, treaties, protocols to fight all sorts of abuses (to women and children), money laundering development of border control mechanisms. The last area was the health sector and human development [16].

Failure and weaknesses of IGAD in dealing with terrorism

Despite all efforts done by the IGAD and its partners and stakeholders to make the region a peaceful one, there are so many factors making this task unbearable. Some triggers are behind this failure and we can confidently name the following: The breakdown of Somalia government made the security in the region very poor and fragile. Its lawless state has prepared the grounds of militants and militias of Al-Shebaab, one of the major terrorist groups operating from Somalia. Despite the regular US intervention from its military base in Djibouti and the efforts of AMISOM, to abdicate and neutralize this group remain far beyond reach. The failure to successfully disarm, demobilize and reintegrate fighters is to be accounted for lack of capacity by the state. The lack of trust between countries of the organization makes implantation of regional security policies unsuccessful because members of the organizations are hosts or supporters of each other's enemies (rebel and terrorist groups). The competing national interests and the urging need of safeguarding national integrity makes it so chauvinistic and the common goal becomes unattainable. The definition and how members value terrorism is different and hence, the terms of cooperation remain theoretical. The most fatal barriers to make a joint operations against terrorism is that, some terror groups have been operating domestically and intervention in another country raise issues related to sovereignty and non-aggression. Also, sending troops to fight terrorist in another country has put some setbacks to some nations which are attacked for retaliation to their troops (Kenya and Uganda have suffered this situation due to their intervention in Somalia while Burundi has received some threats warnings for the same reason). The other worrisome fact here is that each nation has its own problems at home and going to intervene elsewhere may strengthen enemy at home. Besides, each nation's problem has nothing doing with the neighbor which is busy dealing with its own problems especially when they do not share borders. The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda has less impact in Eritrea, Ethiopia. Janjaweed in Sudan has no real threat to Uganda etc. the feeling of self-defense push countries to focus on their domestic problem in order not to lose power to control their own security by intervening elsewhere [17]. Other problems revealed by researchers on IGAD's failures to eradicate terrorism where concerning the perception nationals give to military intervention in their countries. It is most reviewed as clash of civilization instead of a help to bring about security and peace. The AMISON's troops are most of the time regarded by Somalis as a repressive force meant for exploitation not for any good. (Shinn, 2013) attests that they turn to be the threat not as a hand lent to them to evict enemies of progress to their nation, Unlike EAC, IGAD's mutual legal assistance, judicial system to reinforce the Law is not fully functional to deal with human Right abuses and extradition. Worst of all, the reluctance or total failure to apply the UN strategy to Counter-terrorism is virtually seen as a foreign mission with foreign terms difficult to relate to the local situation which may not really be the case [7]. Countries like Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, are dealing with nascent and terrifying criminal groups and the fact that the hostility between the two Sudan has not fully subdued and border conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia can't be said successfully settled. Terrorist find it easy to navigate through

the national ongoing insurgency to recruit, get arms and form new allegiances and allies with fighters from different countries and tighten their cooperation and get stronger on daily basis. The civil wars make proliferation of arms easy and efforts to fight a common enemy becomes difficult for countries of the region. Coordinating the national army to end internal problems may be easier in Uganda than it can be in Somalia where different factions fighting for different reasons are difficult to be controlled in as much as negotiations are quite impossible. Where things seem cooler, countries suffers ethnicity problems where minority groups are either oppressing majority groups or being undermined by the majority ethnic groups. This is caused by unequal share of resources and power. If a country suffer such an internal divide, it becomes difficult to unite and fight a common enemy. The tendency is that the oppressed group may facilitate attacks against the rest of the nation. What may not be forgotten here is the mass of refugees which are left unassisted and terrorism hide in this camp to train and arm impoverished refugees who prefer to go back and fight their government to claim equal share of resources or power [18]. It has been observed that, besides keeping each others' rebels, some countries of the region are accused of complicity in their historical or expressed backing up terrorism by many forms of support. Here is the case of Sudan that has been lenient in counter-terrorism activities both at home and outside its borders. Danye affirmed that Sudan has been offering support to terrorist groups operating on its soils by giving them a go ahead to train and create meeting places on its territory. He mentioned that Sudan has been a training hub for Al-Qaida for a long time and according to CRS Report Congress of January 2002, on Africa and War on terrorism, Khartoum was seen as a safe haven and training place of Hezbollah, Egyptian Islamic Groups, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, HAMAS and Abu Nidal Organization [19]. On various occasion, the Bush administration has failed to successfully make a joint operation with Sudan against these groups due to the passivity and reluctance of the government of Sudan. Its cold attitude was worsened by the Sudan's position on the attacks made against the Taliban and Al-Qaida in the Afghanistan, BBC online, October 8, 2001. Since the fall of Siad Barre government in 1991, Somalia has failed to bring about peace in the country. When the Somali National Movement (SNM) declared independent North-West region as Somali land, whereas down south, the multiple factions continued to claim legitimacy and firm control of the region, the government of transition was seen incapable and incompetent to deal with Islamic fundamentalist groups imposing the sharia Law in the region. This atmosphere gave rise to multifaceted fighters' groups creating chaos in Somalia and outside. It is funded by other globally known terror groups like Al-ittihad whose impacts have been dramatic in the lives of Somalis. Al-shebaab operating from South-central Somalia as an umbrella group of coalition of militias and insurgence vehemently opposing the existence of the Somali Transition federal Government (STFG) because all these groups seek to establish an Islamic state within the Horn of Africa by imposing the Sharia Law despite the operations of AMISOM. Linked with Al-Qaida and Boko Haram together with other terrorist groups in East and West Africa, Al-shebaab's tactics are getting tougher and difficult to dismantle. Their recent attacks in Kenya (on the Westgate Mall and Garissa University) leaving hundreds lives dead. IGAD's security status may worsen as the war in Yemen, the south Sudan's civil war, the continuous presence of Pirates in the Aden Gulf continue to make arms provisions possible [20].

Security and Terrorism in East African Community

"One People, One destiny" so goes the slogan of the East African Community (EAC). The region is attached to the Horn of Africa,

the most affected by terrorism and various forms of insecurity. East African problems can be traced to various historical and cultural issues but the majors factors fueling insecurity in the region: civil wars (Burundi, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo), intra-country border disputes, sophisticated well funded terror and criminal groups, long-lived unsolved problems of rebellions (Uganda and Kenya). The region is however one of the attractive place in Africa receiving a great number of western tourists and investors. The EAC are composed by Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. In their integration processes, the customs union and the common market launched in 2010 were visible indicators of success of their integration while Monetary and political federation are ongoing processes. In the areas of peace and security preservation, a 14-points goal has been drafted to be the cornerstone of their commitment to make the region a violence free one. Some of the most vital to mention here are, the exchange of criminal intelligence among partners, putting in place a common criminal data base accessible to researchers for collection and analysis. The creation of a joint operation and patrols to counter crime by a Criminal Intelligence Unit was set up in the same vision of controlling illegal practices in the region tempering with security of people and businesses, this was possible through the installation of communication facilities at the borders to control narcotics and human trafficking. Refugee's issues have drawn their attention as each most all the countries host populous refugee's camps. As piracy and terrorism have been the major challenges in the region, the organization had to join IGAD and COMESA, OIC's initiatives to elaborate proactive measures to tackle the issue from its grassroots. Since armed conflicts, civil wars, inter-ethnic massive killings, claim of over resources and power, are the few among many issues of security that need to be addressed on regular basis. Protection of human rights has taken the organization's resources by instituting the EAC's Human Rights Policy Forum both on national and regional levels. Harmonization of democratization processes of institutions and combating corruption, dealing with bad governance was tackled in the formation of the organization to ensure an easy flow of trade and investors by creating a conducive environment to promote tourism, one of the best revenue generating activity of most countries in the region.

Causes of insecurity in the EAC

Bryden [21] identified the following to be the real causes of insecurity to be tackled first: The prevailing of lawlessness in some countries, lack of freedom of press, the cross-border smuggling, cattle rustling between farmers and headsmen. Civil unrest, impunity, complicity of government officials in some criminal activities... The refugees displaced by wars in Burundi, Rwanda, Sudan, south Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, constituting a bane to development in the region. The high level of poverty of the rural farmers living on subsistence farming, the banditry and robbery are issues to immediately take care of. The region count 4 million people displaced by wars and climatic conditions who have not been fully assisted and the tendency to join criminal activities is high. This include "Child Soldier" and former fighters who have not been fully reintegrated in the normal life with support to live on their own after long years in war. The demobilization and reintegration has not offered visible empowerment to those leaving fighters groups. This is due to the delay in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) that leave continuous presence of arms and militias. It was found that some post electoral conflicts occurring in the region are due to the tribalization and politicization of the electoral processes lying corruptible electoral commissioners. The eternal political tag-of -war between minority-majority always manifests crashes over resource distribution. Fighting

for inclusion and recognition for those contested citizenship is common in the region. Last but not least, the region is the most populated area of the continent and land issues are creating chaos and unsolvable problems in the country side [21].

Foreign intervention in counter-terrorism in EAC

Africa is blessed with abundant natural resources upon which western industries are fed. Whoever harms Africa temper with Western Powers and their intervention is primarily to safeguard their interests on the continent. The United States of America has heavily indirectly invested in the counter-terrorism activities by declaring war on terrorism in various ways. France has been intervening in African wars by supporting national efforts to evict not only terrorists but also any armed groups in many nations (Central African Republic, Niger, Mali...). They backed up efforts made by regional integration organizations by training or equipping troops (AMISOM) in Somalia and MUJAO in Mali). These intervention efforts are made of US-led Counter-terrorism actions such as the State's Department in East Africa Regional Strategic Initiative (EARS) and the Military Joint task force in Horn of Africa (JTF-HOA) and their tremendous support to US African Command (AFRICOM). They have been offering intelligence services, information sharing and cooperation in implementing policies. This initiative started as early as the time of the Al-Qaida's bombing of its embassies in East Africa in 1998. The support given to AMISOM reaffirmed the commitment of foreign powers to defeat terrorism. Analysts' remain skeptical on this form of intervention retaliatory attacks are made on countries sending troops in Somalia. The US's commitment in the region is also manifested in their intervention East Africa and South-West Indian Ocean (EASWIO) where maritime security conference is helped in legislation of security measures and in monitoring of their implementation to secure the coast against piracy [22].

Efforts made by EAC to counter terrorism

Despite the multiples attacks made by terrorists in the region, there have been good initiatives to face this threat through diverse ways: The 2 IGAD's inter-governmental based organizations where the IGAD Capacity Building Program Against terrorism (ICBPAT) whose headquarters are based in Addis Ababa. It was put in place to enhance countries' legal capacity, promote inter-agencies cooperation, assist in border management, offering IT training to national personnel etc. The second was the Terrorism Prevention Branch of the UN office on drugs and crime (UNODC) based in Nairobi. These two institutions have helped in the implementation of policies especially the UN Security Council Registration (UNSCR) of 2001. Besides the efforts of AU in countering terrorism, a centre for research and Study on terrorism together with the South African Money Laundering Group (ASSAMLG) based in Dar-es-Salam. It was established in 1999 meant to assist the so called "40+9" recommendation of the Financial Task Force (TFT) made to help in controlling Terrorism financing through a " Mutual Evaluation" among member states [20]. This institution, helped by the IAEA they offered a tremendous help to the region to also deal with money laundering and terrorism financing. It also assisted in many sectors such as health, livestock, hydrology, agriculture, medicine, and industrial application of nuclear technology to help fighting the illicit drugs and trafficking data base ITDB) which controls the illegal trading of dangerous products and materials like radioactive and other highly explosive chemicals used in criminal activities.

Security and Terrorism Issues in ECOWAS

ECOWAS is the largest regional integration organization on the

African continent. Following the European Model, ECOWAS moved from mere economic to political union by establishing Custom Union, Common Policy with 8 technical committees: Trade, Customs, and Taxation, Statistics, and monetary payment, political and judicial affairs. The Protocol to non-aggression (PNA) of 1978 in Lagos forbade threatening and use of force to aggress and intimidate one another. The Protocol on mutual assistance and Defense (PMAD) was signed in Freetown in 1981 and the later came the protocol for establishing mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution, peace and security. The council of elders and security, mediation council, court of justice to address complaints from members' states on various issues, the Economic Community of West Africa Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was also set up as standby armed forces which was able to bring about peace in Liberia and Sierra Leone while the Protocol on free movement of persons abolished visa entry permits, Baafo (2013) ECOWAS as an organization has been going through many internal reorganization and transformation due to complexity of current affairs in the realm of security, trade, political events and it has been thriving hard to change the terms of cooperation in various areas on repetitive basis. Armed conflicts, growing insecurity, civil wars and terrorism are those dependant variables which are compelling the organization to rethink ways of better delivery through enhancing of capacities in all its areas. The conflict in the Mano River between Basin between 1990 and 2003 pushed the organization to find solutions to end wars enforcing the respect of specific democratic principles or human rights. In the area of security, the protocol on mechanism for conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping and security was fully adopted in December 1999. Other supplementary protocols on democracy and good governance were adopted in 2002 and laid clear objectives on conflict prevention and other inter-states relations. Since its foundations, the organization has been intervening in peace restoration and peace keeping by sending troops and mediators in the conflict areas, (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and elsewhere between 1990 and more recently in 2014 in Côte d'Ivoire and Mali. The Mediation and Security Council (MSC) has been receiving mandate and assignments in collaboration with ECOMOG, council of elders as either facilitators or mediators in the resolution of conflict. The ECOMOG was envisioned as a complex body made of both military and civilians ready to be deployed for immediate intervention in case of need. As mentioned above, their first mission was in Liberia under Charles Taylor regime, in Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau in 2005, and Togo and recently in Cote d'Ivoire.

Sources of insecurity in ECOWAS

As seen in most organizations in Africa, insecurity emanate from various sources. Let's mention beforehand that, the region is dominated by Islamic religion whereby within this Islamic community, cases of extremism and fanaticism (believes of jihadist ideologies) and a will of installing Sharia law which in most cases comes with measures which may hinder human rights and limit movements, freedom and democracy. This need to create a state abiding with Sharia law always brings about antagonism due to a total societal transformation. Residence is handling but repressive actions and it does not always end well when radicalization of young ones override the intrinsic values of the youth who may be engaged into other peaceful activities. Clash between religions in some part (Nigeria) of the region has left hundreds of people dead. Proliferation of arms due to the Arab Spring, smuggling of narcotics and human trafficking, environmental degradation, pandemic and influx of communicable diseases, droughts, heavy rains, unreliable power supply, unemployment, easy access to illicit drugs, large divide between the impoverished peasant and might

rich politician ... all these may be factors inciting people to enroll in terrorist activities

Terrorism in the region

Terrorism in West Africa can be manifested in various forms. Most of visible symptoms are jihadist fundamentalism and extremism in north Nigeria, in North Mali. It can take forms of insurgency of armed fighters creating independent territory, armed factionist (Delta Niger), separatists (Tuareg in Mali and Niger) and other terrorism groups taking hostages, kidnapping foreigners, perpetrating suicidal bombing etc. intergovernmental bodies besides the earlier cited were established to attempt dealing with terrorism in the region: Financial Action Task force (FATF) was conceived as an intergovernmental body that develops and promotes policies to protect the global financial system against money laundering, terrorism financing, proliferation of weapons and mass destruction. The second important group was the inter-governmental action group against Money Laundering in West Africa established as a special institution to strengthen the capacity of members States to keep an eye on money transfer to prevent possible terrorism financing. During the workshop organized by FATF and GIABA experts on money laundering and terrorism financing organized in Dakar from 12 to 28th November 2012, it was revealed how sophisticated are the means through which terrorism is financed, funded and supported. It was shown again how linked these West African terrorist groups are with other global terrorism organizations by use of legitimate and illegitimate means to recruit, upkeep and purchase ammunitions and weapons.

Fighting terrorism in ECOWAS

The counter-terrorism tools available in ECOWAS, we have the protocols and conventions signed between 1977 to date: the most important to these topics are: the protocol of Non-Aggression (1978). Convention on extradition (1994), protocol on democracy, good governance and the protocol regarding conflict prevention, management and resolution (2001), Convention on small Arms and Light Weapons in 2006, ECOWAS Conflict Prevention framework of 2008, convention to fight against corruption in 2001. Regarding terrorism, the organization has put in place a strategy and implantation plan made of 3 main objectives: First, to prevent terrorism by identifying and deterring possible keys elements inducing terror activities. Second, to deal with occurred terrorism acts (offer timely and effective response) to prevent escalation including funding, training, recruiting. Third, repair damages by reconstructing affected places (infrastructures) and bring back trust and confidence from victims by assisting and protecting [23].

Financing terrorism in West Africa

Terrorist groups are engaged into benign business like any other entity on local markets. They have many hidden ways of generating funds to buy arms, pay their fighters and equip themselves. The GIABA report revealed that Non-governmental organizations (NGO) are channels through funds and materials are conveyed to these groups. Bank Wire Transfer to non identifiable recipients has been found in many financial institutions where suspicious transactions have been recorded. Other sources showed how government officials help in these malefic funds drainage to terrorist groups' accounts. The most fruitful means to get funds is by taking hostages and kidnapping western nationals who can only be released in exchange of ransoms which in most cases, can amount to a huge sum of money. This auto-financing method has greatly enriched the AQIM in the Sahel region besides robbery, bank robbery and banditry. Charity organizations

have been pinpointed as facilitators in terrorism financing as they are tax exempted. They are used to carry goods containing weapons and other materials used by those groups. Drug trafficking (cocaine) has also been one way these groups can enrich themselves as they do it as a normal business with non terrorist business dealers. All this can be made possible by the protocol on free movements on people and goods where illicit products, malefic and harmful objects can easily pass through porous borders. The weakness of surveillance on small border entry between nations makes it easy to infiltrate illegal goods that may contain packages destined to terrorist groups.

The trigger of terrorist groups in West Africa

The '*Arab Spring*' which was a very rapid revolutionary movement in history from angry citizens to get rid of their leaders in northern African countries, had worsened security conditions in the whole West Africa. Libya was hosting many West African nationals working in various sectors in the country that were compelled to move and were collected by fighters. Egypt and Tunisia were also inhabited by many West Africans who had to lose jobs and find other ways of living after the war that ravaged this part of Africa. The political instability caused by fighters and armed groups in those countries have created clear grounds for terrorist groups especially AQIM. The scattered armed militants were recruited by AQIM and other West African terrorist groups who tried to gather all the arms and weapons to support their activities. The factions of AQIM and the proliferation of fighters in northern Mali, the insurgency terrorist group in Northern Nigeria, found it easy to get weapons as they created links among themselves to mutual support to perpetuate crimes in the region. Each terrorist group threatens national security of each country and defensive approaches are to be first and foremost be taken by individual countries to defend its integrity, sovereignty and dignity of its people. It becomes problematic when these groups operate in multiple countries where no regional intervention is envisioned. The uprising of Tuareg militants in Mali with National liberation movement of AZAWAD (MNLA) together with the Ansar Dine and AQIM's Sahel Branch, the Movement of Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO) have become a target of ECOWAS' intervention as their operation hinder not only national security of individual countries but handicap peace and security of the whole region. Recently, Boko Haram has gone international when it invaded Chad, Niger, Cameroon and having strong ties with Al-Qaida and many other Islamic fighters like Seleka in central Africa republic, Al-shebaab in Somalia etc. the war in Syrian made it easy for jihadist and other Islamic fighters in West Africa. Al-Qaida, Hezbollah and all Palestinian Jihadist fighters are benefiting from Syrian war for ammunitions.

The ECOWAS Counter-terrorism mechanisms include a whole range of policies and strategies made of 6 organs fully empowered to carry it mandate: ECOWAS Authority which is the supreme policy making body, the Executive Council as a policy Implementer organ, the Court of Justice to deal with legal issues and matters concerning Human Rights, ECOWAS different commissions made to monitor, evaluate and coordinate policy implementation. The WAPCCO empowered to deal with police coordination on criminal matters [24]. Despite all this, Terrorism in West Africa is difficult to dismantle due to many factors: The Sahara desert which is very arid, hostile area has been their terrain of operations. They have established ties and link among local population and it becomes difficult for intelligence work. Though their aspirations may be different, they support each other in their operations.

The tasks of the organization

It has been studied that apart from wars and civil unrests which constitute the greater part of insecurity in the region, a common threat to all countries remains terrorism in West Africa. Their current manifestation has brought about an urge to eradicate the terror groups. It put in place harsher measures aimed to faces their acts. Their composition, tactics, internal organization reveals their strength and commitment to perpetrate terror in the region and a more organized body has to reunite and stop frequent kidnapping, hostages taking, drug and arms smuggling, attacks on civilians and security personnel, kamikaze bombing... this groups whose power can go far to control parts of countries and claim their territory independent within a sovereign and united nation (Mali). Combating terrorism in West Africa is becoming a multidimensional tasks and experiences has shown that it can no longer be fought on military basis alone, but following the UN security Council's recommendation, the struggle must encompass a whole range of policy response, capacity building of bodies in charge, promotion of human rights in every country, promotion of the rule of law and enforce democratic practices especially in electoral processes. The other task of the region to deal with terrorism is to deal with terrorism at the grassroots level by identifying the very causes to minimize its occurrence. As in IGAD and EAST region, this organization has issues of inter-states unresolved issues, serious political insecurity in some nations due to poor governance, corruption and a very high level of poverty where the majority leaves below the poverty line. This has compelled each nation in the region to advance reliable institutional mechanisms and policies to create a stronger synergy in their domestic policies in order to do away with political fragility and hence, join hands to fight a more organized terrorist whose impact affect all countries of the region.

Case of Boho Haram

Boko Haram is one of the most violent Islamic groups in West Africa which has left many thousands of life dead since the year 2009. Boko Haram's tactics include suicide bombing, kidnapping, attacks on churches, civilians, security agencies and military bases. They grew and have been in northern Nigeria since 2009 and its imminent defying acts that had lead to the world indignation was the abduction of 200 Chibbok Girls in 2014. The sect has been present in Borno, Yobe, Adamawua, Maiduguri states where they had their strong hold. Boko Haram has been resilient as Nigerian military had not been successful in its operation to eradicate the sect before intervention of neighbouring countries. They continued bombing crowded areas in all the country using detonator and sophisticated weapons.

Causes: It has been arguably noted that economic and political marginalization of the majority Muslim community of Northern Nigeria where, owing to a historical education disadvantage had made the youth faces challenges of employment and lives in abject poverty. The youth living in misery were pruned to being radicalized and easily corrupted by some teachings of some violent Islamic sects which could recruit and pay them well. They were motivated by the notion that modern education alienates traditional Islamic values and their eagerness to establish an Islamic state governed by Sheria law and force Christian to adhere to Islam or be killed. They had nothing to lose but to fight a government they judge corrupt and insensible to their misery. In its early conception, Boko Haram was just a militant group fighting for rights and their integrity. The leaders believed that the modern education and modernization has taken away from people the values of traditional koranic system invaded by fast growing urbanization. The motives behind their insurgency as a violent sect

are to be investigated as factions within the sect kept changing focal point of the sect. Besides religious factors many think would have been the drive behind attacks, political and economical factors are vital in their claim which has never been formulated for a possible dialogue with the government since the early days of its creation. Kate [25] gives the account how inequality, unemployment, religious polarization whereby Muslim and Christian elites engage into competitive struggle to access to power and unequal sharing of national quake. These started ever since in 1980 where violence between Christian and Muslim predicated hard time ahead. Religious intolerance, fragmentation, radicalization and extremism are those factors linked with violence that made life difficult for some Nigerians. The poor governance and rampart corruption of government officials fuelled these tensions. Initially Boko Haram, emerged as a protest against this state of poor governance and corruption, appealing for a total adherence to a new state governed by Sharia law. The first leaders did not envision Boko Haram as we see it today. Factions and dispute among top leaders had made some branches go violent. All these started when their leader died in prison for unclear motives. Anger and all sorts of retaliatory actions were made to avenge their charismatic leader in 2009. Yussif Muhammad's death became a turning point to the sect that opted for violence throughout the country. Attacks on churches, modest Muslim, kidnapping of westerners, bombing in market places and kamikaze acts characterized the group since 2010. Their alliance with Al-Qaida made things complex as they could now use more sophisticated methods in their attacks, recruiting and setting bombs. Its forces were reduced by the civilian Joint Task Forces (CJTF) which helped to combat the sect in Borno States plus foreign military interventions from neighboring countries [26].

Boko Haram has been taken as the most dangerous terrorist organization whose exactions are seen as crimes against humanity. It is more or less as a network of criminal gangs though some analysts have been taking the sect as a political tool to create chaos: an anti-state organization capable of defying security agencies and creating a feeling of terror in the hearts of a nation. The kidnapping of 200 school girls and the failure of the government to trace their whereabouts have demonstrated the sect's force. Portrayed as an anti-Christian, anti-education, the terrorist group was classified by National Security adviser (NSA) as one of the dangerous terror organization linked with Al-Qaida. It is difficult to clearly determine the motives behind their attacks as they claim fighting against the westernization of education in the land of Islam believing that implementation of Sheria law can be done through the rapid change of democracy which they regard as opposite to God's will. Freedom of women and notion of liberty and freedom seem to resonate differently in their doctrines. Due to their welfare system, it attracted impoverished unemployed youth and other learned individuals who are easily radicalized by their jihadist moves to counter rampart corruption among northern government officials, injustice against those in economic and geographical periphery. Fighting Boko Haram was initially difficult as factions within the sects had different agenda. This was due to the fact that some of the leaders were more willing to negotiate while others opted for a total violent path.

Funding and financing: The main source of funds for the sects had been a multifaceted venture ranging from mere bank robbery, kidnapping of western nationals for ransom, hostages taking not only for ransom but also as a way to set free their fighters jailed in many parts of the country. It has shown that Boko Haram had links with global terrorist groups (AQIM, Al-Qaida, MUJAWO...) from whom they could get logistical support. Boko Haram is also supported by

wealthy individuals and some government officials through donations and dues. Yussif had in 2009, established a whole range of business and commercial relations from Maiduguri up to Diffa in the republic of Niger. Some members of security agencies could facilitate their attacks on prisons to flee their members and they showed how powerful they were when 200 girls easily taken from a school could not be traced for a year [27]. The local army demonstrated incapacity to deal with this sect till intervention from neighboring countries invaded their hideouts. The coming in power of a more committed military northern Muslim president has turned a new page of history of the sect as their strength were reduced

Case of Mali

Besides Bokoo Haram, ECOWAS is confronted with numerous series of terrorist groups causing serious security threats to the region. Mali has been a theatre of rebellion, armed militants and terrorist groups operating from outside and within the country, the impact of which is felt by the region in particular and the international community as a whole as these groups threaten western powers' interest in the region [28]. The roots of Mali's crisis can be traced back to the 1960 military coup which was followed by fragile democratic institutions till 1992. The Malian governments had been characterized by weak institutions where the corrupt elites did not advance a communal cause to unify and unite Malians. The resulting disorder and weakening of the central government galvanized Tuareg secessionists and allied Islamist groups, including Ansar Dine and MUJAO, to shake off government control and declare an independent Islamic state. The Tuaregs were subsequently largely pushed out of the Islamist coalition, which controlled a large area in northern Mali (Azawad) that includes the cities of Timbuktu, et al. [29]. This gave rise to ethnic-political tensions which resulted into riots and rebellions which were formed to fight the corrupt officials. This sentiment of rejection was first felt by northern ethnic groups (Tuareg) who are majority Muslim inhabitants of there northern region of Mali. What exacerbated the situation was lack of unity, discipline, logistics and equipment of the Malian army which failed to unite and fight for these insurgency threatening the security of the whole nation. Since 2012, northern Mali has been a prepared ground of AQIM and its factions, Ansar Dine, le Mouvement pour la Liberation de l'Azawad (MNL), Mouvement pour l'Unité et le Jihad dans l'Afrique de L'Ouest (MUJAO). Each of these militant groups fought the ill-equipped Malian army. It was when they started building their drug cartels, establish well organized terrorist body by taking hostages, kidnapping western nationals for ransom, operate cross-border human and drug trafficking that fighting the terrorism in Mali went global. The ECOWAS had initiated talks and negotiations with fighters but there has not been a compromise up to the time of French intervention, supported by other Western powers. The war on terrorism in Mali on the side of ECOWAS did not show an immediate response for reasons best known: Fighting terrorism in Eastern Africa had given lessons to nations as countries involved in fighting Al-shebaab were facing setbacks from this terrorist groups, the diplomacy was rather on the side of negotiations, talks and possibly engaging them into the amiable conflicts resolutions. On the side of UN and foreign intervention, eradicating terrorists in Mali seemed an urgent appeal to the world in as much as Malian territorial integrity was concerned. One more reason dialogue was initially the way to go, the AQIM's guerrilla nature was one of their difficult tactics to deal with as they could merge and disappear in the populations and one could lose their sight while still fighting in the background, the Tuareg were normal citizens who knew their regions and how to defend themselves. Military intervention was not a good option as each of

these groups had various reasons of fighting. The separatist Tuareg fought for their homeland, claiming territorial independence while Ansar Dine was just a mere religious fanatic terrorist group allied with AQIM to implement a state of terror in northern Mali and its environs. Other pro-dialogue analysts suggested proactive measures meant to advance good governance aimed to reduce poverty, inequality, underdevelopment and unemployment of the majority of marginalized youth joining fighters. Also, since the government's military was under equipped and trained, resourcing their activities and personnel was a key if it would not have been the urging nature of the situation which needed an immediate attention. The UN's prime conditions of dialogue were to reaffirm the territorial integrity of Mali, recognize the centrality of the 1992 constitution, deny any claim of autonomy by any group of fighters and allow humanitarian aid reach those who mostly need them. Whereas the diplomacy on ECOWAS and AU's seemed not to be so much effective, and since the regional response remained inadequate, the US and other powers suggested a well trained intelligence working from its base in Burkina Faso to monitor communications and flights to dismantle their trafficking networks. Algeria which had had a successful story in combating Islamic groups was to assist in this mission while neighboring countries were to be assisted for self-defense (Figure 1). The creation of regional force became ideal and countries in the region were to send their men while the UN had to start its *Mission Multidimensionnelle Intégrée des Nations Unies pour Stabilisation au Mali* (MINUSMA) mandated to provide logistics, intelligence, train and equip regional force (Oluwadare, 2013). The Malian army was to be supported by AU, ECOWAS and UN in their "strategic operational framework" to make the African led International Support Mission in Mali (AFSMA) for a joint operation to drive away militants in Gao, Kidal and Timbuktu. It was also mandated to equip, train and provide logistical support to the national army. Upon all that, no results were tangible till France forced UN Security Council to declare the war in Mali as a 'threat to international peace and security' to have grounds of intervening in its former colony. The success operations of French troops create a difference in Mali and thanks to their operations; Mali's overall security was ameliorated to better results [30,31].

Conclusion

Africa regional cooperation and integration in Africa is paramount to foster unity among nations. It is a prerequisite to joining forces to fight common security challenges, build up stronger economies and resilience in industrial cooperation's. Enlarging markets and securing good flee flow of goods and services among nations will advance trade

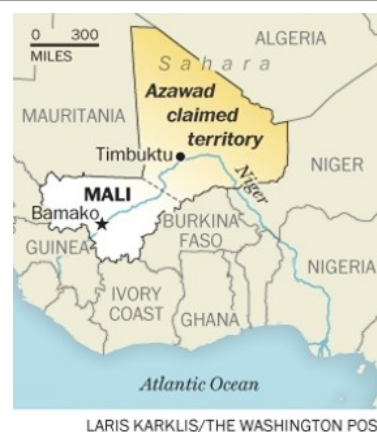


Figure 1: The Islamic groups of Algeria.

and commerce. In this paper, all these above cited tenets of African coming together to deal with common enemies will not fully materialize if current nascent terrorism is not well managed through a communal counter-terrorism mechanisms well laid down and effective. What has been done is lesser than the tasks ahead and suggestions from scholars and political scientists have been the call to fuse diplomatic and military intervention to find durable solutions to our ills. In each African integration organization, issues of national interests overriding regional interest will not help much. All the initiated efforts have been on the surface of issues and failed to dig deep into the grass roots causes of what occasioned situations Africa find herself in today. Resolutions on both international and national levels failed to tackle the real cause and give superficial remedy which ends up in nowhere. Inherent issues of good governance within nations, poverty eradication policies, wrong social policies, inequality and lack of participation in political arena of the citizens, discrimination and poor cross-border control mechanisms to track all kinds illegal tracking... continuously wound deep our continent. If African ill is foreign, all sorts of predatory elements hidden behind helps and aids given to some institutions, governments, all elements foreign to our securing our continent should be controlled. Free from western interference in vital internal matters may help regional autonomy while still keeping ties on matters related to technological and intellectual exchange to promote greater welfare of growing industries to create job opportunities for the non-employed and unemployable youth joining radicalized militants to perpetuate terror acts. Assisting Africans to go technological in industries (manufacturing and agriculture) education and security management may be a way out to free Africa from currently issues. Involving all people in the governance, making provision of a greater deal of participation of all citizens through observance of constitutions and legal texts laying foundation to peace and security of countries may also boost security. Promotion of human rights at all levels will make citizens feel integrated, women and children are the foundation of society, caring of the marginalized both politically and socially will let any African feel Africa as his or her home. Reviewing regional integration terms to accommodate new measures to control people and goods on borders and enhance security of business both on national and regional levels will help commerce while technology transfer will improve export oriented production. Solidarity and mutual assistance in security matters have to be a deal of every citizens and this may need to start from attitudinal change through conscientization and awareness made in various levels starting educating young ones to be proud of their African identity. Each nation will have a duty to inculcate in them a sense of patriotism where a common ill like terrorism can be fought together by a people of a common understanding of their common destiny.

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