UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

TERRORISM AND ITS EFFECTS ON DIPLOMACY: A CASE OF BOKO HARAM ON WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

BY

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THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY

JULY, 2019
DECLARATION

I, Agya Yaw Twumasi, hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Ken Ahorsu and that no part of it has been submitted anywhere else for any purpose.

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(STUDENT)                           (SUPERVISOR)

Date:..............................  Date:..............................................
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, Patrick and Nana Ama, without whom none of this would be possible.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research required a lot of hard work and I am grateful to a number of people whose guidance, support and encouragement made it achievable.

Firstly, I am grateful to my employers, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration for nominating me in the first place to participate in this academic programme.

Secondly, to my supervisor, Dr, Ken Ahorsu, for his patience and guidance. Without his direction the completion of the study would have been an arduous task. A special thanks to Ambassador William Awinador – Kanyirigi, who was a great source of information. I cannot leave out Mr. Francis Kwabena Atta, who served as a needed source of inspiration.

Finally, I take this opportunity to sincerely thank everyone who contributed in making this work a success.
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<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>AQIM</td>
<td>Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb</td>
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<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<td>ECCAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of Central African States</td>
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<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Commission of West African States</td>
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<td>EIRU</td>
<td>External Intelligence Response Unit</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>ICJ</td>
<td>International Court of Justice</td>
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<td>ISIS</td>
<td>Islamic State of Iraq and Syria</td>
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<td>LCBC</td>
<td>Lake Chad Basin Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>MNJTF</td>
<td>Multinational Joint Task Force</td>
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<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organisation of African Unity</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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ABSTRACT

Throughout history, major events have altered the way states relate with one another. These changes could be positive or the reverse, depending on the nature of the event. In recent times, terrorism is one such phenomenon, due to its far-reaching and devastating effects. The research provides an appraisal of how terrorism has affected diplomatic relations between states with a focus on the effects of the Boko Haram on the West and Central African sub-region. The activities of the Boko Haram have become increasingly alarming and it has caused countries to unite to find a solution to a common threat. The research discusses the diplomatic responses which have been instituted to realize this mission. The research through structured interviews discovered how terrorism affects diplomacy through the engendering of committees such as the Multinational Joint Task Force. The research further provided some recommendations in curtailing the menace of terrorism, recommendations which included the adoption of programmes such as youth employment schemes which would prevent idleness which can lead to even larger and more devastating problems. The research also concluded through observation that terrorism has the propensity to bring states together diplomatically because of the need to find a lasting solution to a shared challenge.
CHAPTER ONE

Research Design

1.0 Background to the problem

Major events and their currency in the international system often affect the international climate within which diplomacy is practised. Events such as, economic crisis, famine, political crisis, security threats and even natural disasters often influence the principles, norms and ethics of diplomacy. Sometimes the nature and source of these challenges force states to either reneg on traditional diplomatic practices or selectively apply them. The Cold War ideological divide was one such phenomenon that to a large extent paralysed the international system and critically influenced the art and practice of diplomacy.

Terrorism and its exigencies are one of the most significant phenomena that have influenced diplomacy and international relations. Terrorism is the unlawful use of intimidation as well as violence, particularly against non-combatants. It is also “the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence as a means to create terror among masses of people; or fear to achieve a religious or political aim” (Fortna, 2015, p. 2). The word emanated during in the 18th century during the French Revolution (Stevenson, 2010). According to the leader of the revolution, Maximilien de Robespierre, “terror is nothing more than speedy, severe, and inflexible justice, and it is applied to the most pressing needs of a homeland”. (Halsall, 1997). This quotation or ideology is the embodiment of what terrorism has developed into over the centuries.

Terrorism has always been present in the international system, whether conceptualized as political or religious nationalism or an ideological stance. The aim of terrorism has always been used to instil fear and panic into targeted people by causing mass
destruction. These acts have taken the forms of bombing civilian planes, kidnapping citizens or killing people through various modes. Since 9/11, terrorism has largely been associated with political Islam or extreme Salafi ideology that is aimed at creating panic by attacking western targets. However, since the emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), it became clear that Islamic militancy appears to have a “back to the future” agenda, that is creating a global Salafi Caliphate to contest the western political system of states.

Terrorism is not only exclusive to the Western world, the African continent has also experienced its share of terrorism before and after the September 11, 2001 attacks. For instance, Tanzania and Kenya endured concurrent terrorist attacks in 1998 (Bennett, 2011). Also in 2013, assailants armed with guns attacked a shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya which claimed the lives of 71 people (Okari, 2014). The attack was claimed by the extremist Islamic group al-shabaab. The attacks in the various parts of the world, specifically the United States of America and East Africa largely went unbothered and unheeded by most West and Central African governments, however recent events have drastically changed the situation. The materialization of terrorism in West and Central Africa has brought the menace of terrorism to the attention of governments and ordinary citizens within the sub-region.

In the West African sub-region one of the main threat of terrorism is “Jama atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda” popularly known as Boko Haram, which roughly translates as “Western education is forbidden”. This is a Jihadist militant organisation based in North-Eastern Nigeria, but also active in Chad, Niger and the northern parts of Cameroon which opposes secular authority (Amnesty International, Boko Haram at a glance 2015). They oppose anything they see as “influenced by the west”, which includes secular education and voting. The group began as a largely non-violent sect in 2002, under the initiative of Mohammed Yusuf, with its main aim to “purify Islam in northern Nigeria” (Onuoha, 2018). However, since the insurgency in 2009, its activities have intensified and become more frequent with
the group killing tens of thousands and displacing over two million people from their homes. (The New York Times, November 2015). The group is founded on the principles of Salafism, a reformist sect under the Sunni Islam (Haykel, 2009). The Salafi doctrine is primarily centred around the view of looking back to a previous historical period in an effort to comprehend how the contemporary world should be ordered (Turner, 2014). This inevitably makes the Salafi discard religious modernisation and advocate the implementation of ideals such as the Sharia law.

The group gained worldwide notoriety, in April 2014, when they kidnapped 276 school girls from Chibok, Borno State. Abubakr Shekau, Yusuf’s former deputy and current commander of the Boko Haram announced his intention of selling the girls into slavery. This event received widespread criticism within the international community, some of this from the then first lady of the United States, Michelle Obama and other dignitaries and celebrities alike. The groups’ acts of terror have spread to other parts of the continent, for instance, in Chad on July 11, 2015 a male suicide bomber dressed up as a woman detonated explosives in the central market of N’Djamena, and killed 15 people and injured 80 (Nako, 2015). Cameroon has experienced its own share of troubles; Boko Haram insurgents also besieged villages in northern Cameroon, leaving at least a dozen dead and several wounded on May 1, 2018 (Moki, 2018). With all these devastating attacks it is not surprising that the Boko Haram was ranked as the world’s most dangerous terrorist group in 2015 (Pisa, Hume 2015).

The threat to tranquillity, security and development posed by Boko Haram is becoming increasingly clear to Nigeria, her immediate neighbours, the Economic Community of West African States, the Economic Community of Central African States and the international community as a whole. This has led states within the West and Central African sub-region, specifically countries within the Lake Chad Basin area to seek bilateral and multilateral diplomatic solutions to the Boko Haram menace. For instance, in the know of the
threat that Boko Haram poses to French interest in the sub-region, demonstrated by the kidnapping of a French family by the insurgents in northern Cameroon, the French President spearheaded a summit for security with some African leaders in Paris in May 2014 (Paris Summit) (Onuoha, 2018).

Pursuant to the multilateral diplomatic summit, some of the outcomes which were further engendered included the reinvigorated Multinational Joint Task Force, which is a combined multinational formation, comprising units, from Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Benin and Niger (Musa, 2015). Also, the External Intelligence Response Unit which comprises of the five aforementioned countries plus the United Kingdom, United States and France. This unit is primarily responsible for the sharing of gathered intelligence information to quell potential attacks of terrorism, particularly the insurgency of the Boko Haram. Other diplomatic initiatives include the Joint Summit of ECOWAS and ECCAS on 30th July, 2018 which subsequently gave rise to the Lome declaration on peace, security, stability and fight against terrorism and also ECOWAS’ Political Declaration and Common Position Against Terrorism 2013.

1.1 Statement of the problem

As stated earlier, international diplomacy is influenced by international events. The activities of the Boko Haram insurgency have become increasingly alarming. It has promoted a large number of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy to find a lasting solution to the Boko Haram menace in particular and religious militancy in general. For instance, the Joint Summit of ECOWAS and ECCAS, the Political Declaration and Common Position Against Terrorism and the Paris and Niamey Summits on terrorism in 2014 which led to the creation of the External Intelligence Response Unit and the Multinational Joint Task Force. There have also been reports of animosities among members of the Multinational Joint Task Force. Literature
abounds on the Boko Haram phenomenon. The available literature largely focuses on the causes, manifestations, effects and possible solutions to the insurgency. However, the literature that focuses on the effects of the Boko Haram insurgency on diplomatic relations is very sparse. The research, therefore seeks to examine diplomatic relations among states fighting the Boko Haram, specifically states in the Lake Chad Basin area.

1.2 Research Questions

i) What are the factors that promoted the Boko Haram insurgency?

ii) What is the nature, effects and dynamic of the threat of Boko Haram in West and Central Africa?

iii) What is the nature of the bilateral and multilateral diplomatic response to the Boko Haram insurgency?

iv) How has the challenge of terrorism affected diplomatic relations among states fighting the Boko Haram, specifically between Nigeria and her neighbours?

1.3 Objectives of the study

Generally the research seeks to examine the effects of terrorism on diplomatic relations among states in West and Central Africa. Specifically, it seeks to achieve the following:

i) Examine the factors which led to the Boko Haram insurgency.

ii) Assess the nature, effects and dynamics of the Boko Haram on the west and central African society.

iii) Enumerate and assess the bilateral and multilateral diplomacy terrorism has engendered.

iv) Assess how the challenge of terrorism has affected diplomatic relations among states fighting the Boko Haram, specifically between Nigeria and her neighbours.
v) Make suggestions and solutions to challenges faced in containing the Boko Haram.

1.4 Hypothesis

Terrorism has positive effects on diplomatic relations among states in the Lake Chad Basin area.

1.5 Rationale of the Study

The activities of the Boko Haram militant group became unruly in the year 2009 and since then, the threat of Boko Haram has not diminished but is spreading to other parts of Africa, such as Niger, Chad and Cameroon. The study intends to shed light on some of the diplomatic responses and the by-products engendered, by doing so the research will highlight the strengths and weaknesses of those initiatives. This will ultimately and inevitably serve as a yardstick for subsequent diplomatic initiatives to replicate. It also hopes to propose measures that subsequent bilateral and multilateral diplomatic initiatives will adopt to combat the menace of terrorism.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The work, to a large extent, is limited to West and Central Africa specifically the Lake Chad Basin area, which comprises of Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon where Boko Haram operates mostly. The years under review are 2009 - July 2018 when activities of the sect intensified and the organisation gained worldwide notoriety.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

This study is based on the concept of collective security, which postulates that each state accepts that the security of one state is a concern for all and therefore commits to a
shared response to threats and breaches of peace. “It is a theory or practice of states pledging to defend one another in order to deter aggression or to exterminate the transgressor if international order has been breached” (Macmillan, 2015 p43). Collective security is an extremely important approach to maintaining peace in a region or sub-region. This concept was first proposed as far back as the seventeenth century in 1629 by Cardinal Richelieu and was also partially reflected in the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. Several institutions throughout history have alluded to this concept, for instance, the League of Nations and the United Nations.

The notion of a peaceful and unified community of states was outlined in Immanuel Kant’s 1795 “Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch” and also by proponents such as Martin Wight, Woodrow Wilson and Michael Joseph Savage (Yost, 1977). Collective Security uses the approach of universal interest for global peace. (Andreatta, 1966). The theory of collective security is based on five basic assumptions:

1. In an armed conflict, member nation states will be able to agree on which nation is the aggressor.

2. All member nation states are equally committed to contain and constrain the aggression, irrespective of its source of origin.

3. All member nation states have identical freedom of action and ability to join in proceedings against the aggressor.

4. The cumulative power of the cooperating members of the alliance for collective security will be adequate and sufficient to overpower the might of the aggressor.
5. In the light of the threat posed by the collective might of the nations of a collective security coalition, the aggressor nation will modify its policies, or if unwilling to do so, will be defeated’’. (Organski, 1960).

This concept is not without its criticisms, for instance it assumes that there is a complete international comprehension and acceptance with respect to the description of all threats or aggressions against international peace and security. Secondly, the concept of self-defence, as stipulated in the UN Charter, accepts that the right of states to commence war as a measure of self-defence against any form of aggression. In practice what this provision does is to give a legal basis to an aggression or war in the name of self–defence.

In Africa, since decolonisation various aspects have long called for a unified approach to deal with crises and armed conflict (Bach, 2014). For instance, Pan-Africanists favoured the political and military unification of Africa (Franke, 2008). The nationalists on the other hand were hesitant to cede their hard-earned sovereignty and thus, opposed the ideas of collective intervention, and this perspective became the predominant perspective since the establishment the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 and it followed a non-interventionist approach to African conflicts until 1993 (Domson-Lindsay, 2015). After, 1993, the international community and Africa’s regional and sub-regional bodies learnt lessons from the risks pertaining to casualties in peace operations in intense conflicts such as the internal conflicts in Somalia, and the immorality of inaction (non-interference) following the Rwandan Genocide (Vogt, 2009). African states subsequently moved from the principle of non-interference to a principle of non-indifference, which fundamentally means that the intervention in an intrastate conflict is justified when gross violations such as crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide are transpiring. This interestingly, coincided with the broader international shift towards a responsibility to protect (Engel and Porto, 2015). The OAU which morphed into the African Union in 2002, together with sub-regional bodies such
as the ECOWAS and ECCAS decided to establish a security architecture to deal with security emergencies in Africa (Mwanasali, 2008). The MNJTF and the EIRU are both sub-regional initiatives which also displays the elements of collective security. With regards to the MNJTF, the affected states within the Lake Chad Basin sub-region decided there was only one way to tackle a common problem, and that is to join forces.

The relevance of the concept of collective security to the research is that the complex nature of the Boko Haram in the Lake Chad area threatens the peace, security and development of all countries within the sub-region and beyond. The growing regionalism of the Boko Haram menace requires a unified and thorough response to defeat the militants.

1.8 Literature Review

There abound numerous literatures on scholarly views on terrorism, the Boko Haram and diplomacy. For instance, with regards to terrorism after the September 11 attacks the analytical literature on terrorism grew rapidly. These works expressed various views on the subject of terrorism from its fundamental definition, domestic factors which lead to its expansion and the tools employed to curtail the menace. Some of the works the researcher reviewed include that of Edward Halbozek’s *The Corporate Security Professional’s Handbook on Terrorism*, Boaz Ganor’s *Defining Terrorism: One Man’s Terrorist Another Man’s Freedom Fighter?*, Todd Sandler’s *The Analytical Study of Terrorism: Taking Stock*, Henar Criado’s *What Makes Terrorism Salient? Terrorist Strategies, Political Competition and Public Opinion*, Michael Freeman’s *Perspectives On Terrorism*, Peter Rose’s *Disciples of Religious Terrorism Share One Faith*, Abee Salam’s *The Psychological Makeup of Muhammed Yusuf*, Hakeem Onapago’s *Why Nigeria Is Not Winning The Anti-Boko Haram War*, Freedom C Onuoha’s *A Danger Not To Nigeria Alone: Boko Haram’s...*
1.8.1 Terrorism (Definition and broad concept)

Edward Halibozek in *The Corporate Security Professionals Handbook on Terrorism* begins by defining terrorism while introducing a fundamental and conventional motive of terrorists. According to Halibozek, the term terrorism is the coordinated use of violence or threat of violence against a civilian population with the aim of instilling fear, usually for a political end (Halibozek, 2007). Per this definition, to Halibozek, terrorism is not only the use of violence but the mere threat itself. He provides a wide range of instances with regards to terrorist activities. These stretch from actual bombings, beheadings, and kidnappings, to the threat of the aforementioned crimes. The author also makes the assertion that these acts are usually against civilians in order to instil a feeling of dread and trepidation within the general population. To Halibozek, these acts of terror were conventionally executed to achieve certain political aims or motives. However, contemporary terrorists are not only motivated by a political objective. For instance, presently there is the rise of religious fundamentalism, which is primarily against culture and a certain way of doing things (as mentioned earlier with regards to the Boko Haram being against all forms of western influence or education).

Halibozek also gives a range of how these terrorist sects are financed in order to carry out their activities. He enumerates activities such as robbery, fraud, extortion and also illicit drug businesses. He notes, while the aim of these acts are in furtherance of their “case”, these are in themselves terrorist acts. He observes that, while the term terrorism can be characterized in various ways, it is generally held that the underlying element that distinguishes terrorism is the intentional and definitive selection of non-combatants of a state as targets. He believes the selection of civilians as targets will gain much desired popularity,
for instance through the media specifically through newspapers, television and radio the political and religious message of the terrorists will be presented on a broader reach. To Halibozeck, there are several motives for the engagement in terrorism, some of which he posits are “normal” within traditional definitions of terrorism. Halibozeck explains that individuals or groups may engage in terrorism due to a host of reasons and may include the following; religion, extreme left or right - wing ideology, anarchist terrorism and also pressure groups may engage in terrorism.

With regards to terrorism motivated by religion, these terrorists use violence to further what they see as some divine purpose. Religion has served as a catalyst to a large number of conflicts over the last few decades. For instance, the Holy Wars and the infamous Israel/Palestine conflict. The author lists some classic examples of religious terrorist groups as, Al-Qaeda, who have become a global phenomenon, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, who operate primarily in Egypt and the Hezbollah (party of God), which is based in Lebanon amongst others. To Halibozeck, left-wing terrorism seeks to undermine or even destroy capitalism or right-wing dictatorship and eventually replace them with communism or socialism. He gives classic examples such as; the November 17 in Greece and also the Red Brigade in Italy.

Right-wing terrorist on the other hand are the reverse of the group just named above. This group according to Halibozeck, aims to destroy liberal democratic regimes and replace them with authoritarian ones. They often claim nationalist aims and are often both xenophobic and racist in nature. He gives examples of such sects as, Combat 18 in the United Kingdom and also the Ojo Pok Ojo (an eye for an eye) in Guatemala. The author goes on to mention Anarchist terrorism, he posits that they are of the view that all states are founded on violence. He notes, however that this mode of terrorism was most prevalent from the 1870s-1920s. However, present day anarchists are seen as participating with violent demonstrations

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against the G8, World Trade Organisation and also the International Monetary Fund. He gives examples of such terrorism as the Black Block, which is now global and also the Informal Anarchist Federation in Italy. In light of the above, the meaning and definition of terrorism has been discussed. The causes and targets of the phenomenon have been reviewed and a number of case studies have been used. The range in motivation to conduct terrorist acts and the scope of potential targets shows that it is possible to be affected by it at almost any time and at any location. This work is important to the study because it provides a foundation for understanding the basic concepts of terrorism.

In his article **Defining Terrorism: One Man’s Terrorist Another Man’s Freedom Fighter?** Boaz Ganor disputes the generally accepted notion in which most intellectuals tend to believe that it is impossible to achieve an internationally accepted definition of terrorism. The conditions for obtaining an objective and universally recognized definition of terrorism is the main focus of his paper. He further articulates that those who claim “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter” (Laquer, 1987 p34) are oversimplifying a complex situation and contribute nothing to the understanding of a very difficult issue. He further critique’s the definition provided by Halizobek in his *The Cooperate Security Professional Handbook on Terrorism* that “terrorism is the intentional use of, or threat to use, violence against civilians or against civilian targets in order to attain political aims.” Ganor alludes to the fact that this rationale is cemented on three crucial factors, which are, the essence of the activity, the objective of the action constantly being political and finally the targets of the terrorists always being civilians. However, he observes a glaring lacuna in the fact that the definition in this sense fails to include contemporary international laws and conventions. He writes that to achieve a wider acceptance as possible, the definition must include universally accepted legislation and convention. However, one of the weaknesses of the article is that it fails to provide an actual proposed definition of terrorism despite this limitation the book is
relevant to the study because it provides a broader understanding to the term terrorism and an emphasis on the importance to defining the term. This is because when the term is universally understood, task forces and other counter-terrorism groups will have a strong understanding of what particular entity they are fighting against and will take appropriate strategies to stifle the menace.

Todd Sandler, in his article The Analytical Study of Terrorism: Taking Stock, 2007 articulates that terrorism is the calculated use of brutality by individuals or subnational groups to attain a political or social objective through the intimidation of a large audience. (Enders & Sandler, 2012). This definition in which Sandler begins with is consistent with a host of other literature on the subject of terrorism. According to him, a trademark of terrorism is violence, in which terrorist groups employ to achieve far-reaching unease and aversion. A political motive, according to Sandler is a strong element for the act itself to be qualified as terrorism. The writer further goes on to analyse the economic consequences of terrorism in the countries in which the actions of terror groups take place. He placed a major emphasis on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country in which terrorism has occurred. For instance, post 9/11, the United States of America suffered a loss of GDP in an estimated 80 – 90 billion USA dollars (Busa et al, 2007). While Sandler rightly identifies GDP as a major macroeconomic consequence of the activities of terrorist groups, his overall emphasis on GDP stops short of analysing the consequence terrorist activities have on the foreign direct investment of any country. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is not always included to a country’s GDP and thus must be treated as a separate subject. Third world countries will depict the hazardous effects of terrorism but not largely in the form of GDP. For instance, FDI is an extremely crucial source of development for a country like Nigeria. However, the activities of the Boko Haram will inevitably scare potential investors away. The world investment report of the UNCTA estimated that the domestic economy of Nigeria has lost a
tremendous N 1.33 trillion due to the exertions of the Boko Haram (Okerocha, 2012). Despite this lacuna, the work is important because it provides a general understanding of the socio-economic damage acts of terror can inflict on a country.

In Henar Criado’s *What Makes Terrorism Salient? Terrorist Strategies, Political Competition, and Public Opinion* the author writes about the activities which propel the importance and relevance of terrorist groups. He begins by asserting that the act of compelling governments to succumb to political views and objectives is the main aim of the various terror groups and this is achieved through threatening the general populace. (Warldlow, 1984). The rational behind the combating of non-combatants, is that civilians, when under the threat of terrorist attack, will inevitably force their governments to alter the policies (Pape, 1987). According to Criado, terrorist are important because of the nature of their targets. Civilians and political figures are the main targets of terrorist groups as opposed to the security forces. The invulnerability of the non-combatants plays a role in long-lasting memory of the public opinion. In the case of West Africa, specifically in Nigeria, Boko Haram’s primary targets are the innocent civilians. The kidnapping of the 276 girls in Chibok received not only a backlash in Nigeria but from the international community as a whole. This article is relevant to the research because it provides an understanding of the saliency of terrorist groups in the 21st century and how they conspire to achieve it.

**1.8.2 Religious Terrorism**

Peter Rose in *Disciples of Religious Terrorism Share One Faith* begins his article with the age-old religious adage ‘‘Vengeance is mine says the Lord’’. However, continues with the statement that some overzealous members of the faith (almost any faith) feel compelled to pursue vengeance for Him. Some either ignore this sacred adage or feel a sense of doubt that the exact form of vengeance they desire will be meted out, and thus take it in their own hands. To Rose, some are promised “‘martyrdom’” in their respective religions, and thus
readily seek battles against perceived “infidels”. Rose alludes to Jessica Stern’s *Terror In The Name of God* which also examined killings by true believers, such as fanatical Christians, Muslims, and Jews. According to Rose, Stern even sought and received entry into the inner sanctums in a number of terrorist organisations in the USA as well as Palestine and Israel. She thus met with those who strongly believe in the necessity of violent actions to achieve their respective goals, and her probe proved enlightening (Rose, 2003). Rose alludes to Stern to provide an example of first-hand experience with respect to staunch and adamant beliefs in religious fundamentalism. Rose continues that in interviews with “holy” warriors from diverse religions, she soon came to realize a common argument and expression. She even found herself on occasion, empathizing with those who spoke frenziedly about their religious beliefs. Almost everyone Stern interviewed believed they were executing the will of God, protecting the pious against the deceit and nefarious actions of enemies (Rose, 2003).

In light of Rose’s article, it is evident that religious terrorism begins from a dogmatic ideology, which is very plausible is conceived at one’s formative years and thus cannot be defeated only physically (warfare), but by through a mental understanding of an acceptance of the views, traditions and cultures of the diverse societies in the world. Through the author’s engagement with individuals who strongly believe violence is necessary to achieve ones goals and that there is a possibility of martyrdom in death, she provides a foundation for the research to understand and analyse the actions of the Boko Haram insurgents.

1.8.3 Counter-Terrorism

In Michael Freeman’s *Perspectives On Terrorism, 2008* the author critically examines the nature of the role Britain played in the infamous Global War of Terrorism and how according to the author, the military component became the dominant theme of what should fundamentally be an ideological and political battle. He further juxtaposes Britain’s
framework (military) for conducting the war with al-Qaeda’s strategic framework for its political, religious and also military framework. This book is relevant to the research because it provides a starting point to analyse the over-reliance of military frameworks in combating terrorism. This situation is prevalent in Africa in general, where there is a tendency to use kinetic force solely to battle terrorism.

1.8.4 Boko Haram

In Abeeb Salaam’s *The Psychological Make-Up of ‘Muhammed Yusuf’* 2011 the main focus of this article is to understand and analyse the thinking of the founder and former commander of the Boko Haram. Saleem suggests that the will of Yusuf to preach and engage in religious radicalisation may have ensued from some form of a psychological deficiency. Per Salaam, this deficiency could range from ideological intolerance to delusional thinking. Saleem believes that dominant deficiency of Yusuf’s character could be that of religious intolerance. This is fundamentally where an individual refuses to accept the beliefs and practices of other individuals and groups. This can encompass dogmatism, bitterness and a strong hatred for those who merely disagree with their views and beliefs of the individual. Saleem goes on to make an alluring point that religious indifference can occur with those in the same religion. In this respect, Shia and Sunni Moslems can be illustrated as a classic example. Linking this to Saleem’s illustration of Yusuf, it must be mentioned that, prior to forming the ‘‘Jama’tu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda Awati Wal Jihad’’ Yusuf was part of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria in which the Shiiaite Ibrahim el-Zakzakky was the leader (Onuoha, 2010). It is appreciated that Sunnis and Shiiaite share fundamental Islamic beliefs, but they also have their differences. Saleem concludes by firmly placing Yusuf in the category of a religiously intolerant individual and also selfish in the fact that he vehemently preached against any form of western innovation but he himself embraced western technology such as
mobile phones, cars and AK-47 guns. This article is important to this research because it provides a basis for understanding the initial formation of the Boko Haram and the source of their religious intolerance.

In *Why Nigeria Is Not Winning The Anti – Boko Haram War*, Hakeem Onapajo articulates that the main reason Nigeria has struggled in its battle with Boko Haram is due to the shortcoming information on the Boko Haram. Onapago further notes that even five years after the Boko Haram insurgency in 2009, the government of Nigeria viewed the insurgents as faceless and largely unidentifiable. He proposes a solution of a national consensus in which both the government and the people, especially the northerners will be engaged in the battle against the Boko Haram. When this happens, Onapago believes there will be greater form of information to combat the insurgents and the over-reliance on the military framework will be minimized. The author failed to include a regional consensus in his analysis, however despite this limitation the article is important to the dissertation because it highlights one of the core reasons for Nigeria’s ineffectiveness to deal with the insurgency of the Boko Haram.

Claire Felter in *Nigeria’s Battle With Boko Haram* begins with a political and historical backdrop of the state of Nigeria. To Felter, the emergence of the Boko Haram was as a result of religious and ethnic divides that have troubled Nigeria over the past decades. For instance, the British during their fifty years rule combined diverse peoples as well as various territories. These people, other than a shared geography had very little in common. Felter notes that Nigeria has 350 ethnic groups, she lists a few namely; the Hausa and Fulani (29 percent), the Yoruba (21 percent), the Igbo (eighteen percent) and the Ijaw (10 percent) (Ukiwo, 2005). From the submission above, it is evident that Felter posits that the foundation in which the British rulers left the Nigerian soil was a major catalyst for a troubled society.
Furthermore, she continues that the country is also simultaneously divided into the north which is inhabited largely by Muslims and the south, largely occupied by Christians. These two of the largest religions have over the years abided by a very informal rotation of power consensus for the seat of the Presidency. The nature of this informality speaks volumes as to the volatile nature of the relationship between these two religious groups. Thus political friction remains a significant contributor in the on-going anxiety. Felter also notes that, despite Nigeria having the largest economy in Africa, Nigeria has one of the poorest populations. And this in her view leads to political corruption and also inequality specifically within the northern part of Nigeria. These factors, she believes has led to the group’s (Boko Haram) rise. Roughly half of its 200 million people live on less than 1.90 dollars a day; impoverishment is higher in the Muslim - dominated areas. (Felter , 2011) Furthermore, a small number of the elite have a tight-hold of their lucrative oil and several government ministers have allegedly embezzled millions of dollars from the government sector. She rightly quotes analyst, Chris Ngwodo “The group is a symptom of a failed decade of government and elite delinquency finally ripening into social chaos.’’ (Felter, 2011).

To Felter, during the formative years of the Boko Haram the vision of Yusuf was extreme for government of Nigeria, but not so much that it was actually quite bleary to the rest of Nigeria and the entire international community. However, radicalization of the group became evident amid periodic clashes between the Muslims and Christians. A turning point of the group occurred in 2009 during a police crackdown which set of a series of events which eventually led to an armed uprising in state of Bauchi and this uprising quickly spread to other parts of the northeast (Felter, 2011). Following this uprising Yusuf was executed extra-judicially while in the custody of the police. The sect is divided into at least two main offshoots, these are one headed by Abu-Bakr Shekau and the other led by Abu Musab al-barnawi, Yusuf’s son. To Felter, Shekau’s group appears to be primarily intent on clashes
with the government of Nigeria while the one led by al-Barnawi, posses a less stringent view on what actually comprises apostasy. To Felter, the declaration of allegiance by the group to the ISIS in 2015 seems to downplay the context within which the group emerged and even operates. However, she acknowledges that if the evidence of this affiliation to other groups is ignored it may also hinder the understanding of the insurgency.

The author makes a valid point and her work is important to the study because it provides the research with a historical understanding of the volatile foundations in which the geography of Nigeria was demarcated which led to a troubled and tensed society.

In Freedom C. Onuoha’s *A Danger Not To Nigeria Alone: Boko Haram’s Transnational Reach and Responses*, 2011 the author writes about understanding the threat posed by Boko Haram which has engendered adequate regional responses. He traces the roots of the group as far back as 1995, to Abubakr Lawan and the establishing of the ‘‘*Ahlusunna wal’ jama’ah hijra*’’ or Shabaab group (Muslim Youth Organisation) in Borno State (Onuoha, 2011). Onuoha goes on to articulate that the group flourished largely as an unaggressive sect in 2002 when Mohammed Yusuf assumed leadership. The author then analyses how the group’s activities have become a cross-border problem since its violent escalation in 2009. He enumerates the February 19, 2013 kidnapping of seven members of the Tanguy Moulin-Fournier family in Dananga, northern Cameroon, the April 4, 2014 kidnapping of two Italian priests in a small parish in north Cameroon and also the May 5, 2014 attack in Diffa, Niger on a military patrol team (Onuoha, 2018). According to him, all these cross-border threats have prompted a number of regional responses to combat the Boko Haram militant group, which is now not only a national phenomenon. He enumerated responses such as the MNJTF, the EIRU, the ECOWAS Political Declaration and Common Position against terrorism in 2013. When Onuoha lists these various responses, he rightly highlights its shortcomings for instance with respect to the ECOWAS Political Declaration.
and Common Position against terrorism he writes that this particular response lacks a soft approach, but where the author falls short is to specifically go into detail about how the shortcomings of each approach can be augmented, for example he cursorily mentions safeguarding of civilians as a soft approach to prevent an appeal to the Boko Haram militants, but failed to go into detail on how the various governments under ECOWAS and ECCAS can actually implement it. Even though, the author failed to elaborate on specific details, the article is important to the research because it provides information on the starting point of the Boko Haram insurgency and how its actions spilled over to other states in the Lake Chad Basin region.

1.8.5 Diplomacy

In the book, *ABC of diplomacy* edited by the Swedish Press in 2004, the book begins by defining diplomacy as the manner in which states in the international community conduct their affairs to safeguard peaceful relations. The book goes on to articulate that diplomacy can exist fundamentally in two settings, these are the bilateral and the multilateral. With regards to bilateral diplomacy the book explains that is a term used for communication between two states. Alternatively, multilateral diplomacy entails intercommunication between a host of states usually in the setting of an international organisation. Per the foregoing it is evident that states engage in diplomatic relations with each other in order to ensure and maintain a peaceful atmosphere within a region or sub-region. This book provides a general understanding of the term diplomacy to the research.

1.8.6 Bilateral Diplomacy

Kishan S. Rana in his *Inside Diplomacy* describes bilateral diplomacy as the manner in which relations between pairs of countries are managed. He writes that it differs from
multilateral diplomacy in the number of partners involved but not in its approach. To him, several decades of globalisation has augmented states’ interdependence toward each other and this has inevitably heightened bilateral diplomacy. To Rana, this ultimately leads to a continuous increase in the scope of topics now part of international discussion. These topics could range from climate change to counter-terrorism.

1.8.7 Multilateral Diplomacy

In G.R Berridge’s *Theory and Practice: Multilateral Diplomacy* he begins by giving a brief history of when conferences attended by two or more states became the status quo within the international community. This he says was in the 20th century and reached its pinnacle of influence in the meetings of the G8 countries and the secret caucuses of the P5 on the UN Security council following the end of the cold war. The main focus of Berridge’s work is the importance and characteristics of multilateral diplomacy. He postulates that multilateral diplomacy in particular circumstances presents the best alternative to achieving a successful negotiation and ultimately a rewarding end. To him, a multilateral diplomatic conference is subject – focused and concentrates the minds of participants on one or a series of issues, encourages informality in corridors this leads to fostering of friendly relations among countries which may not even have experienced such cordiality in the past and in doing so it unifies parties whose views and agreement is crucial.

Who should participate in multilateral conferences is an important characteristic enumerated by Berridge. To him, the rule of thumb for who should be invited should be a criterion of interest. This according to Berridge, is strictly those with a direct interest in the subject, however others might be accorded observer status also. He gives an example of the 1992 Arab-Israeli multilaterals, which were confined to the main parties involved in the conflict and the mediators. Also with regards to decision making, he makes an assertion that
multilateral diplomacy has turned into a consensus-decision making, that is the attempt to achieve agreement among all parties without the need for a divisive vote. Berridge makes excellent points with regards to the advantages of multilateral diplomacy and its most obvious characteristics, however where the book falls short is with the disadvantages to multilateral diplomacy. The only disadvantage he alludes to is the slow-decision making process due to the multiple numbers of participants. Also this large number of participants can lead to a wide range of contrasting ideas and suggestions which can lead to arguments and diplomatic muddles. Despite this limitation, the article is important to this research because it provides a foundation for understanding multilateral diplomacy and its advantage of how it can engender friendly relations between states.

1.9 Research Methodology and Sources of Data Collection

The study draws mainly from primary and secondary sources of data. Face to face unstructured interviews were adopted to answer specific areas of the research questions. In all five respondents were interviewed, these individuals were chosen because of their expertise and knowledge in the subject of the study. The respondents included Ambassadors, officials from Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Centre (KAIPC), Ghana Armed Forces Staff College (GAFSC), West African Centre for Counter-extremism Centre and the Nigerian Embassy in Ghana. The secondary sources of data include public works, articles, reports and other scholarly material relating to the subject of this dissertation were also used.

1.10 Arrangement of Chapters

The Study is divided into four chapters. The first chapter contains the research design. Chapter two presents a historical overview of terrorism in West and Central Africa. Chapter
three focuses on the diplomatic relations between Nigeria and her immediate neighbours. The fourth chapter comprises of findings, conclusions and recommendations.
CHAPTER TWO

An Overview of Terrorism in West and Central Africa

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of terrorism in West and Central Africa, tracing its evolution over the centuries up to the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. It further discusses the causes and socio-economic implications of terrorism in sub-region, with an emphasis on the Boko Haram. The objective of this chapter is to provide a context and framework in which to discuss the effects of the Boko Haram on diplomacy in the subsequent chapter.

2.1 History of Terrorism

Terrorism as an occurrence is not an unfamiliar phenomenon. It is widely appreciated that the starting point of terrorism can be traced to the first century AD Sicarii Zealots (Christian, 2004). This was a faction of Jewish fanatics, who vehemently opposed the Roman occupation of Judea and attempted to oust them as well as their sympathizers from the area (Goodman, 2008). This sect like modern day terrorists also employed unconventional methods and tactics in remaining relevant and sending their messages across. Some of the tactics they employed involved stabbing Romans and their various sympathizers at public gatherings in order to expel them from the area. The general recognition of the use of terrorism is to achieve a particular political aim and this was manifested in the infamous November 5, 1605 “gunpowder plot.” This scheme was led by Robert Catesby, in which the group planned clandestinely to detonate a large quantity of gunpowder in the Westminster Palace (Haynes, 2005). This would then kill king James I and wreck the English parliament. In addition to assassinating the King, it would have also killed thousands of residents in London. The ultimate goal of this “terrorism” attempt was to eliminate the King and subsequently secure
one of the children of the King as a mere figurehead and eventually coerce him to restore the
catholic faith in England (Fraser, 2005).

As stated earlier, the first official use of the term “terrorism” occurred during the French
revolutions’ reign of terror, when the Society of Jacobins, controlled the insurgent state, and
engaged in brutality and cruelty to coerce obedience to the state and further subdue foes to
the regime (Furstenburg, 2007). However, over the years, especially during the nineteenth
century, terrorism transformed and came to be associated with non-governmental groups
(BBC history, 2005). An example of such a group was the Russian revolutionary band known
as “Norodnya Volya” (the will of the people), which operated largely between 1878-1881
(Offord, 1986). This sect developed many ideas, that have become a trademark of ensuing
terrorism in contemporary times. For instance, they believed in the targeted killings of
“leaders of oppression” and also within the Soviet context they regarded that the Tsarist
establishment in which they were fighting was essentially loathsome and inefficient. (Offord,
1986). Their endeavours eventually led to the execution of Tsar Alexander II on March 13
1881. Also the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand by Gavrilo Princip is
a classic example of terrorism spurned on by the motivation to eliminate political leaders.

Again, there is no general agreement for what constitutes the term terrorism, however
for the purposes of this research, which is more West and Central African centred, the
definition by the AU specifically the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of
Terrorism is looked at. According to Article 1(3) (a) “Terrorism is any act which is a
violation of any criminal laws of states party, and which endanger the life, physical integrity
and freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to any person, any number or group of
persons or cause or may cause damage to any public or private property, natural resources,
environment or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to:
• Intimidate, put fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the
general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act or adopt or
abandon a particular standpoint, or to act according to certain principles; or

• Disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or create
a public emergency; or

• Create a general insurrection in the state (OAU Convention on the Prevention and
Combating of Terrorism, 1999).

There are several definitions and interpretations of the concept of terrorism. These varied
ideas from different scholars depicts the complexity and sensitive nature of the phenomenon.
In spite of there varied opinions of the term terrorism, one thing is for sure, terrorism is a big
threat to west Africa, and it’s atrocities are spilling over to certain areas in central Africa.

2.2 Terrorism in Africa

The catastrophic events of September 11, 2001 dramatically altered how the international
community perceived terrorism. It brought to light the extent to which political and religious
aggravated individuals would go. The activities of terrorist organizations continues to be a
major obstacle to both developed and third world countries. Africa in particular has been
widely recognized as an area requiring special counter terrorism attention. This special
attention is clearly not unwarranted because between the years of 1974 - 2008 a total of 4,993
acts of terror occurred in sub-Saharan Africa, and 261 terrorist groups claimed responsibility
(Price, 2012). Groups which have caused trepidation and unease within the African continent
include, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Jama’atu Ansaril Musulmin fi Biladis Sudan
popularly known as the Ansaru, and the Boko Haram.
2.3 Terrorism in West Africa

Terrorism in West Africa has gone through several phases. Going by the definition, given by the AU, above, and adopted in this research it is prudent to say that terrorism in West Africa began during the transatlantic slave trade. This was fundamentally the obtaining of individuals who will eventually be exerted as slaves from Africa to the Americas. Not only did the European powers engender the life and physical integrity of the West Africans but their freedom was also curtailed. During the three hundred year period over twenty million Africans were removed from their homes and shipped across the globe to work tirelessly in plantations (Curtain, 1969). This was executed by several European giants such as, Spain, Britain, Portugal and France. Going by the AU definition, the West Africans were clearly the victims during the transatlantic slave trade. The exact number of people from West Africa who were shipped to America has never been clear and thus has been a long object of speculation in numerous discourses (Manning 1995; Eltis 1983; Eltis 1987, Eltis & Walvin 1981). This form of terrorism ended not because of the awareness of the lack of morality of it, but with the emergence of the industrial revolution, which brought the realization that technology could perform certain tasks faster and better than the Africans.

The West African sub-region continued to experience its fair share of terrorism during the post-independence era. After the ‘flag independence’ in the 1960s, West African countries enjoyed some form of political stability. However, when some of the West African countries were confronted with challenges such as corruption and economic negligence it inevitably led to political and social instability. These forms of instability were a breeding ground for social unrest, coup d’états and internal conflicts in general. For example, Nigeria, Ghana, Mali, Togo and Sierra Leone all experienced numerous coup d’états, most of them violent and bloody, post-independence. Also, the world economic recession of the 1980s indirectly led to a rise in terrorism in the late 1980s. West African countries found themselves
in financial difficulties largely because of the economic recession. These states were forced to borrow from institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. However these loans came along with certain conditionalities before economic liberalization could be finally achieved. For instance, the Structural Adjustment Programme required deep cuts in public expenditure which would inevitably lead to laying off of public employees. This policy sent individuals to their homes as they were plunged into financial difficulties (Ellis, 2009). This idleness and impecuniousness led to frustration and some of the unemployed leaned towards classical religious groups which had links to already established religious terror groups in the Maghreb and Arab North Africa. Furthermore, the combination of economic hardship and religious fanaticism led to a creation of non-violent religious sects, who used their idle time propagating the word of their faith.

2.4 Emergence of 21ST Century Terrorism in West Africa

There are various terrorist groups within the West African sub-region, and they primarily display one intent, which is to do away with all forms of Western Civilization and restore classical Islam, which prevailed in the region during the 10th century (Nkiwi, 2013). These groups include, the Boko Haram, which operates largely in the Northern part of Nigeria, Niger and also parts of central Africa, specifically, Chad and the northern part of Cameroon. There is also the prevalence of the al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) which operates in Mali and Mauritania and also the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa. They strive to send their message across through various methods such as, kidnapping, bombing and generally attacking those who stand in their way. They have assumed some of the traits exhibited by more established and notorious terrorists in the various parts of the world for example, they claim responsibility for violent attacks, circulate
video messages of their objectives and goals, openly profess their support and endorsement of other extremist groups like the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and Al-Qaeda.

2.5 Causes of Terrorism in West Africa

There are several catalysts to the phenomenon of terrorism, however those peculiar to the West African sub-region have been discussed below.

2.5.1 Religion as a Source of Conflict

Religion is a powerful instrument which can be used in a wide variety of ways to attain an end result. These end results could vary from a certain power controlling the masses negatively or help establish an ethical way of thinking within a group of people. For instance, Adolf Hitler, used religion and conjured up teaching of Eschatology as a justification of his actions during his reign in the third Reich (Adejoh, 2008). Religion is a major feature of some of the most infamous historical conflicts (Woodlock, 2013) and it is prevalent in most recent waves of modern terrorism. Scholars such as, Richard Dawkins holds the view that because religion sanctifies martyrdom, it is more often than not the root cause of conflict. (Dawkins, 2017). This in most cases will inevitably lead to violence, because the perpetrators strongly hold the view that the self-destruction of their lives will result in rewards in the afterlife. Religious violence is fundamentally propelled by or in reply to religious doctrines or texts (Kirsch, 2005). This can include violence against organizations, objects, events and people when the violence is spurred on by the perception of the target or the attackers. Muslims, Christians, Buddhist and others have all engaged in violence in the name of religion. For instance with regards to Islam, the Quran recognizes that human beings are prone to violent acts and gives permission for defensive warfare (Woodlock, 2013). In West Africa, particularly Nigeria’s historical geographical foundation has unforeseeably set up the
Christian-Muslim strife we see in contemporary times. Nigeria as far back as the emergence of the Sokota Caliphate in the nineteenth century, was a Sunni caliphate in West Africa founded by Jihadist and Islamic Scholar, Usman Dan Fodio in 1904. (Mckay, Hill & Buckler, 2009). However, following the partitioning of Africa during the Berlin Conference, the British expanded Southern Nigeria and under the leadership of General Frederick Lugard, had begun plans to move into the Sokoto Caliphate (Rosenburg, 2019). Eventually, the British conquered the Caliphate in 1903 and placed them the under the protectorate of Northern Nigeria, which is largely what we see as modern day northern Nigeria. Even though northern Nigeria is an ethnically and religiously diverse region, it has an overwhelming amount of Muslims. And most of their basic Islamic tendencies are highly reminiscent of Fodio’s caliphate several centuries prior.

Christians, on the other hand are dominant in southern Nigeria. They comprise an estimated 40 percent of the entire Nigerian population (Akinyemi, 2012). 80 million people in Nigeria are Christians this makes Nigeria posses the largest Christian population country in Africa (Report On International Religious freedom, 2007). They include; Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians and Evangelics. The Christian-Muslim friction in contemporary Nigeria was first seen in 1953, during the Kano riot which broke out in the city of Kano (Ugoji, 2017). This riot was characterized by a clash between the Northerners who were largely against the independence of Nigeria and the Southerners who supported an immediate independence of Nigeria (Olawe, 1994). Modern - day religious violence in Nigeria is largely manifested by the insurgency of the Boko Haram. Until the advent of the sect and other Salafi religious militant groups, Christians and Muslims were largely co-existing without much violence. The main form of violent atrocities is issuing from Political Islam. This refers to the use of Islam as a source of concepts and ideology for understanding and explaining political positions (Krame, 2013). It represents an aspect of the Islamic revival that began in the 20th
century (Voll, 2013). A host of Muslim intellectuals since the colonial era and the commencement of the enduring domination of the West over Muslim countries, have been grieving the loss of Muslim empire and glory (Voll, Haddad & Espito, 2013). A classic example is the collapse of the Sokoto Caliphate by the General Lugard’s British forces. Furthermore, global examples include; the disappearance of the Ottoman Empire and also the abolishment of the Islamic Caliphate in 1924. Since then many Islamic movements have emerged with the explicitly stated objective of restoring them back to their glory.

It is widely accepted that the Muslim world has been on the downturn the past few centuries. There are numerous schools of thought for the reason of this decline. Some are of the opinion that Muslims lost their relevance primarily because of the abandonment path of Sharia law. The scholars of this particular school of thought posit that if Muslims implement the Sharia law, they will become grandiose like their forefathers. (Khan, 2014). They fundamentally believe that the Sharia law will urge an Islamic State to be relevant in the Global system again. Nigeria’s Boko Haram can be categorized as a group whose activities (violence) is motivated by Political Islam. The group as stated earlier, was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 and largely began as a non-belligerent sect whose primary intent was to “purify Islam in Northern Nigeria”. A place of worship and school was established by Yusuf. These religious complexes enticed and captivated poverty-stricken Muslims in Nigeria and other nearby countries. The centre had the primary objective of establishing an Islamic State and become a recruiting ground for Jihadists. (Cook, 2011) The group despises and is against all forms of Western education and the concentration of wealth among the elite, especially within the Christian south of the country (Barlotta, 2011). The 2016 pledge of allegiance to ISIS further goes to buttress the Boko Haram’s motivation by political Islam.
2.5.2 Human Needs and Poor Governance

The Scholars of the human needs theory such as, Abraham Maslow and John Burton would posit that one the major causes of the insurgency of Boko Haram is the people’s craving to satisfy their basic unmet needs within Nigeria. (Maslow, 1943). The intellectuals who have explained the Boko Haram phenomenon within this perspective point out that despite a per capita income of $2,700 (Nigeria rebasing GDP, 2015) and a remarkable annual GDP growth rate for over the past decade, northern Nigeria has the most impoverished populations in the country. The developmental balance between the two areas of divide is quite lopsided. A common theory for this lopsided nature of the two regions is attributed to adult literacy. There are more universities in the South than in the North. Adult literacy is widely recognized as a key to raising standards of living for the next generation. The gap in the universities sharpened after 1999 because of the proliferation of private universities in the South. (Gurr, 1970) Thus due to this unequal distribution, many of the individuals in the Northern part of Nigeria are either unemployed or underemployed and inevitably suffer from various forms of what Ted Gurr would call ‘relative deprivation’ (Gurr, 1970)

Some scholars also attribute the relative poverty of the Northern part of Nigeria to the bad governance of the governors of the states of the respective regions who are usually accused of misappropriating or embezzlement of the funds which have been allocated primarily for the development of these States. Governance is fundamentally about providing services for the populace, however in Northern Nigeria this was not the case. Analyst Chris Ngwodo writes “Boko Haram is a symptom of decades of failed government and elite delinquency finally ripening into social chaos” (Ngwodo, 2017 p 23). Existence of conditions such as unemployment, underemployment and poverty fuelled by ideals of political Islam is usually a very strong catalyst for idle youths to engage in all sorts of violence. As stated earlier the group’s activities began in 2002, as a non-belligerent sect
protesting against the economic and political injustice of the government’s corruption. It must be noted that this economic injustice on the part of the successive governments of Nigeria is not peculiar to Nigeria alone but it is quite common in many parts of West Africa, which has also bred its fair share of terrorist activities.

2.5.3 Frustration Aggression Theory

This can also be referred to as frustration aggression displacement theory (Dollard, 1939). This theory postulates that frustration is a cause aggression and when the cause or root of aggression cannot be easily reached the aggression gets directed on an approachable target (Dollard, 1939). There are a host of events which seem to perfectly fit into this rationale. For instance, over recent decades political power has been shared between the north and south of Nigeria. However the loss of Presidential power to the South from 1999-2003 during Olusegun Obasanjo’s Presidency and again in May 2010 following the death of Umara Yaradua, a Northerner and Muslim President can be viewed as frustrating element to the Muslims in northern Nigeria. These events can be largely considered as a loss of the balance of political authority. And it is widely believed that this caused frustrations in which the Boko Haram could tap into.

Also after the reinstitution of the Sharia law in the twelve states in Northern Nigeria (Olaniyi, 2011), there was a general feeling of displeasure in the manner it was implemented, and members of the sect simply tapped into the frustration. The displeasure of most of the Muslims rested on the fact that individuals could be punished severely for stealing a goat, however certain individuals were not similarly punished for stealing billions of naira (Adibe, 2017). The loss of political execution to the south, the displeasure in the execution of the Sharia coupled with extreme poverty and squalidness in the northern Nigeria can be viewed
as source of frustration, which eventually translated into extremely aggressive actions manifested in the 2009 insurgency of the Boko Haram.

2.5.4 Fundamentalism

Fundamentalism primarily indicates an unwavering attachment to a set of immutable beliefs (Nagata, 2001). The Islamic doctrine of Wahhabism is one such doctrine and has been widely described as being austere and ultraconservative (Juergensmeyer, 2015). The basic dogma of the Boko Haram, the ISIS and Al-Shabaab rests primarily on Wahhabism. The term Wahhabism itself is derived from the Sunni Muslim scholar Muhammed Ibn Abd al-wahhab who sermonized orthodox and inflexible ideals of Islam in Saudi Arabia in the 18th century (Sells, 2016). The doctrine observes the world primarily as black and white. It postulates that there are basically two types of people, these are, the winners or the chosen ones who have to go to ‘‘Jannah’’ because of their submission to the will of Allah and obedience to stringent Salafi rules and then the other people. (Schwartz, 2014). This form of thinking if interpreted loosely can condemn both Moslem and non-Moslems alike. Furthermore just like its founder, Al-wahhab this form of thinking rejects religious innovation. However as Wahhabism became much more extreme, Islam began losing its nature of tolerance (Radlicki 2015). This form of thinking makes it very easy for the Boko Haram to justify their various range of actions (rape girls and raid villages) which are even found unethical in the Quran. (Radlicki 2015)

2.6 History of Boko Haram

As stated earlier, ‘‘Jama, atu Ah'is Sunna Lidda, await Wa!- jihad’’ popularly referred to as Boko Haram is a jihadist terrorist group located in northeastern Nigeria, but also active in Chad, Niger and northern Cameroon (Bureau of Counter-terrorism, 2013). The
fighters associated with the group follow a strict adherence to the Salafi doctrine (Johnson, 2011). This doctrine basically rejects religious innovation, or bida and supports the implementation of Islamic Law (Sharia) (Onuoha, 2014). As a Salafi group the Boko Haram is committed to the propagation of Islamic state in Nigeria. In the local Hausa dialect, Boko Haram means ‘Western Education is forbidden’ (Bagery, 1934). This fundamentally means that all forms western education must be rejected, and if it has already been acquired it must be abandoned. To that extent, the group aims to overthrow the secular state. They are also all forms of injustice, corruption and the widening inequality between the rich and the poor. The first phase of Boko Haram was initiated by Mohammed Yusuf, an influential Islamic cleric from Borno State who founded the sect in Maiduguri, Borno State (Defamation League, 2011). The underlying goal of the group, which began as an offshoot of Salafi movement, is to secure a fundamentalist Islamic State with Sharia criminal courts (Ngowdo, 2011). The groups initial disciples comprised primarily of disgruntled youth from Northern Nigeria, who struggled to find any form of employment. Also this period was primarily focused on a disengagement from the community and setting up bases and schools, following from the precedent of Dan Fodio several centuries prior. This was primarily between the years of 2002-2005.

What made the Boko Haram striking in its early phase as juxtaposed to other groups in Nigeria was its stiff opposition to police pressure in 2004. The group then began practicing “‘al-amr bi-l-ma ruf wa-l-nahy ‘an al-munkar’” (enjoying the appropriate and destroying forbidden) (Cook, 2011). The final phase one of Boko Haram is characterized by a clash with Nigerian police, capture and extra-judicial killing of Muhammad Yusuf in 2009. It is evident that the killing of Yusuf was a turning point for the Boko Haram. Following his death their attacks became more frequent, violent and mainstream. These included, the Bauchi prison break, in which a reported fifty Boko Haram gunmen released 730 prisoners (Musa, 2014)
and also the series of bombings in Bauchi within a few hours after the inauguration of President Goodluck Johnathan. The group then gained global attention with they abducted the 276 school girls in Borno State 2014.

2.7 Activities in Central Africa

The group’s occupied territory has expanded not only to other parts of northern Nigeria, but also into Central Africa. For instance in January, 2015 two Tourou Cameroon area villages were raided by the Boko Haram. The insurgents torched houses, killed some residents and abducted between 60-80 people (BBC news, 2015). Again, on October 11, two suicide bombers killed 9 people in the town of Mora in the northern region of Cameroon (Lukong, 2015). Also, in June 2019 about 300 suspected Boko Haram militants swarmed onto an island on Lake Chad in Cameroon’s far north and killed 24 people, including 16 Cameroon soldiers stationed at military posts. (Reuters, 2019).

Chad have also suffered their share of attacks; in June 2015 its largest capital and city N’djamena suffered two suicide bombings near a police headquarters which claimed the lives of 38 people. (Yahoo News 8 July 2015). After the bombing, the Boko Haram issued a statement via twitter, claiming responsibility and signing as “Islamic State West African province”. Again in October, 2015 the group attacked the border region of Lake Chad in which 11 soldiers were killed and 14 wounded according to a Chadian army spokesman (AFP, 2015).

2.8 Modes of Operation

In order to remain salient, the Boko Haram employs varied modes. Some of these strategies are discussed below
2.8.1 Kidnapping as a Tool

Kidnapping is a major tool for most terrorist groups within the West and Central Africa sub-region and the Boko Haram is not an exception. Initially majority of the kidnapping were targeted against Westerners to obtain ransoms to further finance their various activities. According to David S. Cohen “Kidnapping for ransom has become today’s most significant source of terrorist financing.” (Lamb, 2016). The Boko Haram, in recent times has not limited its kidnapping to citizens of Western countries. Fellow Nigerians, Cameroonians and workers from other African countries have been also kidnapped. For example, in 2014 the group kidnapped 276 girls from a school in Chibok, Borno State (Busari, 2017). The group particularly opposes education in women, this is because according to their interpretation of Sharia law the place of the woman should be at home cooking and cleaning, not at school, learning to read and write. It is widely recognized that the group also particularly targets women and girls to abduct because they are always on the move to escape government crackdowns and as a result leave their wives at home. Thus the women and girls kidnapped perform the roles of their spouses according to Human Rights groups (Rafiu, 2018). The group also kidnap high level personalities, for instance the wife of Cameroon’s vice prime minister was abducted in a cross-border attack in July, 2014 (Blas, 2014).

2.8.2 Use of Suicide Bombing and Female Recruits

According to a US study, the Boko Haram militants primarily deploy women and children to engage in suicide bombings (Robin, 2017). The research analysed that out of the four hundred and thirty four suicide bombings executed by Nigeria’s insurgent group, Boko Haram since 2011, at least two hundred and forty four out of the three hundred and thirty eight attacks in which the gender of the bomber was identified was carried out by women (Robin, 2017). Jason Warner, also posits that “almost immediately after the Chibok girls
kidnapping, Boko Haram’s use of suicide bombers has skyrocketed.’’ This statement suggests that Boko Haram not only realizes the international attention and outcry received by the kidnapping of the Chibok students but also acknowledges the importance of young girls in serving as suicide bombers. No other group in the history of terrorism has used more women than men than the Boko Haram sect. The group is also a vanguard in deploying children as suicide bombers (Bloom, 2016).

Furthermore according to the report, out of the one hundred and thirty four suicide bombers whose ages could be determined, sixty percent were teenagers or children. The youngest bomber identified to date was just seven years old. The use of this strategy could be deduced from the recognition that women are seen as less assuming than their male counterparts and therefore more expendable by the Boko Haram militants, because they are less likely to be searched. The use of this tactic serves the insurgents because women can even conceal explosives under their handbags and dresses. The same assumption goes to children, who are also generally regarded as innocent. Hillary Mattess, also reported that even though it was true some members are willing to die for the cause of Boko Haram, the militant group also forces unwilling victims to carry explosives, they are either coerced verbally, physically and materially (Robin, 2017). On August 26, 2011 the first high profile suicide attack by the Boko Haram was marked. The terrorist group attacked a UN compound in Nigeria, killing twenty-three people and injuring seventy-six more (The Economist, 2011).

2.8.3 Funding

In spite of the impoverishment of the northern part of Nigeria, where seventy percent of the populace are living on less than a dollar a day, the Boko Haram on the other hand seems to have at its disposal an unending amount of quality weapons, vehicles and ammunition that it uses to carry out its violence (McCoy, 2014). In order to carry out the
activities Boko Haram executes it does not only require brutality and careful planning but also a consistent form of financial backing. For instance, Boko Haram militants raided the town with the use Ak47 rifles and improvised explosive devices (McCoy, 2014). Without a consistent form of lucre flowing into the organisation it would be an arduous task for the insurgents to execute such attacks with sophisticated weapons.

They receive funding through several modes. According to a survey, the funding of the Boko Haram is achieved through a varied and complex network of illicit dealings, regional and foreign contributors and ties to the al-Qaeda (Sommerlad, 2018). Analysts also say its fundraising is not clear and is secretive. Thus the first report of Boko Haram fundraising can be traced to 2002 in the aftermath of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and Pentagon attacks. Around that time it is reported that Osama bin Laden contributed aid to Nigeria a sum of three million US Dollars in local currency to be allocated to groups that shared al-Qaeda’s ideology to impose Islamic rule (McCoy, 2014). One of the “major beneficiaries” was Mohammed Yusuf’s Boko Haram reports the International Crises Group. It cannot be deduced up till now whether or not all the three million US dollars went to the Boko Haram, however several reports suggest there were huge sums of money flowing into northern Nigeria. The funding link between Boko Haram and al-Qaeda deepened when Yusuf fled to Saudi Arabia in order to escape the Nigerian government’s first crackdown on the terrorist group.

The Boko Haram view the Al-Qaeda as their elder brothers and this could be deduced from an interview with a spokesperson for the group in 2011 (Guardian Newspaper, 2011). Also in August 2011 Shekau travelled to Saudi Arabia and met with Al-Qaeda there and camaraderie was established there. It can be contended that the al-Qaeda are a major source of financial and technical support for the Boko Haram insurgents. (Akomera, 2013). Also the group reportedly receives funds from other Islamic terrorist groups such as Al-Shabaab and...
fellow local al-Qaeda branches. Furthermore, there is the issue of black market money. Apart from a vehement acrimony towards western education, fiscal drive led to the abduction of the Chibok girls. The existence of a well-structured slave market in Nigeria and nearby countries can easily serve as a medium of black market money. Also, kidnapping can also serve as a source of indirect concessions from the Nigerian government and other states in which their activities have spread. For instance the Boko Haram insurgents received an amount of three million US dollars for the releasing of a French family in 2014. (Chrissafis, 2013). The crime of bank robbery is also a source of funding to the militants, for instance in April 2013, the group robbed a bank in Nigeria’s Yobe province, in that single attack the sect netted an amount of 56, 000USD. This is just one example of an armed robbery among dozens carried out in that year. This fact demonstrated how armed robbery is a critical source of income to the Boko Haram.

2.9 Socio-economic Implications of Boko Haram

The insurgency of Boko Haram has negative socio-economic implications for Nigeria. For instance, the economy of Nigeria has been largely affected. In one way or the other every aspect of Nigeria’s economy has been disrupted by the groups persistence violence and continued cause of unease in the country. For instance, the ceaseless bombings and gun onslaughts in the Northern parts of the country have forced commercial banks to adjust their conventional banking hours of 8:00pm to 4:00pm to new operational hours of 9:00pm to 12:00pm (Mohammed, 2012). This change was made by the various financial institutions was an attempt to limit the possibility of any attack from the Boko Haram militants. The fewer the banking hours the less likely it is to be attacked. In addition to protecting their lives, the banks also wished to protect the premises of their respective businesses and prevent unwarranted losses. The new operational time may protect the workers of the various
financial institutions, however, it will ultimately serve as a challenge to the customers of the banks. For example, traders will find some difficulties in depositing their daily proceeds. This situation displays the atmosphere of unease and trepidation existing in Nigeria, especially the northern part. This trepidation has led to a mass exodus of many people, including businessmen. Apart from the effects in the north, the economy of the entire country has plummeted. For example, due to the activities of the Boko Haram the domestic economy lost a staggering N1.33 trillion in FDIs (Okereocha, 2012). The figure is huge, however it is unsurprising, because of the fear the Boko Haram have instilled into the Nigerian society, very few business men will gamble and invest in the country. Also the money accruing to tourism, estimated to be N80 billion annually has been disrupted by Boko Haram (Suleiman, 2012).

2.10 Security Implication

The security implications of the menace of the insurgency of the Boko Haram are far-reaching. The insecurity has affected not only Nigeria but some Central African states too. It is also not surprising that Nigeria has been identified as the least peaceful country in West Africa (Igbuzor, 2011). Unfortunately, there is a symbiotic relationship between security and development, and the threat to peace and security caused by the Boko Haram insurgents has resulted in a stagnation in the development of some areas in Nigeria. For instance, the terrorists destroy human lives and property. Boko Haram has killed tens of thousands of individuals who could have been utilised as a strong source of human resource to further develop the country. Furthermore, the Boko Haram group has destroyed several structures and the government of Nigeria has to finance all these projects. This huge amount of money is a drain on the country’s economy and could have been channelled to other areas.
CHAPTER THREE

Nigeria and Her Diplomatic Relations with Her Immediate Neighbours

3.0 Introduction

The preceding chapters identified causes, modes of operation and sources of funding of the Boko Haram militant group. The chapters also described the intensity and frequency of the group’s activities since its insurgency. In this chapter, the research is devoted to discussing the bilateral and multilateral diplomatic practices which have been engendered as a result of Boko Haram’s activities. The chapter will also highlight the history of the diplomatic relations between Nigeria and some of her immediate neighbours (Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Benin) prior to the Boko Haram insurgency. The chapter further goes on to analyse whether or not terrorism has caused some form of acrimony or actually aided diplomatic relations between Nigeria and her West and Central African neighbours. This chapter, therefore discusses the External Intelligence Response Unit (EIRU), the Political declaration and common position against terrorism (2013), the Joint Summit of ECOWAS and ECCAS, the Paris and Niamey Summits (2014) and the resulting Multinational Joint Task Force.

3.1 Historical Overview of Nigeria’s Relations with her immediate Neighbours.

Nigeria’s relationship with her mainly francophone neighbours is predicated on the historically ill defined and improper delimitation of boundaries by the European colonial masters (Omede, 2006). The boundaries of these countries are very spongelike and easily permeable, and this had inevitably led to a tepid and sometimes tensed relationship between Nigeria and her immediate neighbours. The colonial powers conclusively did not take into
consideration the eventual political, social and cultural implications of the demarcation exercise.

The perennial border disputes on the African continent are the result of the ambiguous and uncoordinated border demarcation by the Europeans and the main characteristics are listed below:

i) Occurrence of disputes between sovereign states

ii) Escalation of disputes into armed conflict, becoming a particular concern for both the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (now African Union)

iii) Involvement of claims by one party or the other on historical, cultural, ethnic or religious grounds to a segment of the territory presently under the jurisdiction of the other, a claim which the latter party regards as a threat to its sovereignty and territorial integrity (Andermichael, 1976). In addition to the characteristics described above, the dispute can further be characterized into four:

i) Territorial disputes-This involves a difference between states over which has the right of ownership of a particular piece of land,

ii) Positional disputes- This involves disagreement over the interpretation of documents describing the position of a boundary,

iii) Functional disputes-This concerns the ways in which states function much as customs and immigration control should be applied at interstate boundaries,

iv) Dispute over resource development (Prescott, 1965).
Nigeria’s relationship with most of her neighbours displays all the elements of the categories in the paragraph stated earlier. And they have been demonstrated in the various relationships illustrated below.

3.1.1 Nigeria-Cameroon Relations

The Nigerian-Cameroonian relationship has over the years been characterized by mistrust and tension resulting from the claims by both states to the disputed Bakassi Peninsular. As stated earlier, this boundary dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon can be alluded to a lapse of the European colonial masters in demarcating the boundaries. Unfortunately, after the respective independence of both countries in 1960, the boundary dispute between the two states remained a source of conflict and was evident in their direct bilateral diplomatic relations (Ate & Akinteriwa, 1992). The claim of the territory by the two countries have led to a series of verbal spats and also military manoeuvres. The climax of these tensions reached its peek in 1993, when there was a military face-off between the two countries. In 1994, after various incidents on the borders of the two countries, which incited shootings, after which many deaths had been recorded on both sides, Cameroon finally submitted the dispute to the International court of Justice, at The Hague for adjudication. After an eight year examination of the facts of the case, the court held in favour of Cameroon and ruled that they were the rightful owner of the peninsular. The decision was based on the Anglo-German treaty of 1913. (Baye, 2010). Consequently, Nigeria’s immediate reaction was a rhetoric that suggested a recourse to war (Friends of the earth, 2003).

However, measures were put in place to ensure an amicable settlement of the decision by the office of the UN Secretary General. One of such measures was the Greentree Agreement of June 2006, in which Nigeria accepted to transfer authority of the disputed territory to Cameroon (Gambari, 2007). Two months later, Nigeria withdrew over 3,000
troops but continued to control some parts of the peninsula until June, 2008 in line with the agreement. (The Washington Times, 2006). Even though a resolution for this perennial conflict had been made, the recollection of this longstanding dispute caused and transformed into some form diplomatic anxiety between the two countries in the subsequent years. This was reiterated in an interview with an official at the Nigerian High Commission in Ghana, and he confirmed that even after the resolution of the issue by the international court there were still elements of diplomatic tensions between the two countries. He said even post-2008 there were still elements of tension between Nigeria and Cameroon at various bilateral and multilateral summits. This allusion can be seen in the light that at various programmes, even sporting during events Nigeria and Cameroon were highly regarded as perennial enemies.

3.1.2 Nigeria-Niger Relations

Niger borders Nigeria to the north-western part of the country, with regards to their bilateral relations, both sides have pursued positive relations since their respective independence in 1960 (Omede, 2006). Furthermore, unlike the bilateral relations of Nigeria-Cameroon, there have been no serious border conflicts and thus no experience of the use of arms to settle border conflicts. However, with regards to an inpouring of refugees, Nigerien refugees have overwhelmed Nigeria. Aside this particular concern relationship between Nigeria and Niger is one which is relatively amicable. Both countries also share a common Hausa language which resulted in informal trade between the two countries during the colonial period (Miles, 1994). It is thus not surprising that since the independence of the respective countries in 1960 both countries enjoyed a relatively healthy diplomatic relationship, for instance during the Biafran war (1967 – 1970), Hamani Diori, the then President of Niger served as an active mediator in the conflict (Miles, 2005). Bilaterally, the two countries have also formed the Nigeria-Niger Joint Commission for Cooperation, which
was established in March, 1971. (MFA regional index, 2006). Thus, from the submission made above, it can be largely deduced that aside from an initial influx of refugees from Niger into Nigeria, the two countries have largely enjoyed a cordial diplomatic relationship.

3.1.3 Nigeria-Benin Relations

The relationship between Nigeria and Benin is alike that of Nigeria and Cameroon. One that was blighted by periodic instances of border clashes between the two states. For instance, the political relationship between the two countries spiralled downwards in the late 1970s. There are some events which have served as a catalyst for the strained relationship of the two countries and some include the issue of the Beninese military personnel who forcefully collected taxes from Nigerian citizens along the Nigerian-Benin border villages. And also the removal of the Nigerian flag and its subsequent replacement of the Republic of Benin flag, a foreshadowing of their future occupation. Thus, from the submission, one may conclude that:

The security relations between the two states has always centred on two issues - territorial and military relations, there is an overlap between the two. Territorial relations are crucial because of the ambiguity which characterized the demarcation exercise. This setting was further compounded by the issue of the exertions by the Beninese military men who attempted to force Nigerian’s residing along their borders under their duress.(Ate & Akinterinwa).

However the relationship between these two countries is not only characterized by border conflicts and military personnel acting beyond their areas of authority. Grave accusations have also tainted the bilateral relation of Nigeria and Benin, for instance during the Biafran War, the Beninese government during the Presidency of Emile Zinzou was accused of using Cotonou as a base for sending relief supplies to secessionists by the
Nigerian authorities (Aluko, 1977). Further, another catalyst for the tense relation between the two states is the issue of illegal migrants. There are tens of thousands of Beninese migrants residing in Nigeria and vice versa, but Benin has engaged in the mass extradition of Nigerian ‘illegal aliens’ back to their country, for example the December 1996 deportation of about one 1000 Nigerians. (Omede, 2006). There have been efforts to improve bilateral relations between the two countries, however the Republic of Benin’s close relationship with its colonial masters, France, represents a source of concern for Nigeria. This is because Nigeria views itself as the ‘‘big brother’’ within the region and as such exerts the most influence. However, the continuous economic and security relationship between Benin and France is largely seen as a threat to this status and is viewed with mistrust and suspicion. These factors have also ultimately transformed into some form of diplomatic muddles between the two countries in contemporary times.

3.1.4. Nigeria-Chad

Geographically, the Republic of Chad is located between Libya, Sudan, the Central African Republic, Nigeria and Cameroon. Nigeria and Chad experience military hostilities and like the other countries within the Lake Chad Basin area, the genesis of the conflict can be located within the context of the flawed demarcation exercise decades earlier. Nigeria and Chad also experience frequent border clashes, but this one taking a more serious form of an actual armed conflict. Also, the armed conflict between Nigeria and Chad can be attributed to the threat posed by the interest of Chad in the Lake Chad basin and other mineral rich villages and islands in bordering Nigeria and Chad (James, 1987). But its underlining reason can be traced to the ill markings of the boundaries devised by the colonial masters. Chad, which rightly feels most of the territory within the Lake Chad Basin area belongs to it,
viewed some expansionist policies from Nigeria as a threat to their territorial sovereignty. And this mistrust also led to bilateral diplomatic tensions between the two countries.

3.2 Nigeria’s Policies towards Her Neighbours

Francophone states surround Nigeria on all sides, and her foreign policy goals and leadership aspirations in West Africa receive perhaps the greatest challenges from these states (Ede, 1986). Ultimately, in order to avoid a clash with her neighbours, Nigeria’s foreign policy has largely been based on the following principles:

a) The sovereign equality of all African states
b) Respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of every African state.
c) Non-interference in the internal affairs of other African countries.
d) Commitment to the functional co-operation as a means of promoting African unity (Ogulu, 1967)

Due to the principles mentioned above, Nigeria has been largely indifferent to the internal political struggle of her immediate neighbours. However, this nonchalant attitude by the Nigerians towards her neighbours was later reviewed due to a few developments within both the West and Central African sub-region. These events include; the aid of neighbouring countries to rebel groups during the Biafran war, and also threats issued by the Francophone economic organization-The Exclusive Communauté Économique D’Afrique Occidentale (CEAO) in 1973. The creation itself of this organization was perceived by Nigeria as a French instrument used to counter-act the ‘big brother’ status Nigeria enjoyed in the sub-region.
3.3 Diplomacy over Boko Haram and the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF)

The MNJTF, was formed in 1994 as a solely Nigerian force during the rule of Sani Abacha to “checkmate banditry activities and to facilitate free movement” along it’s northern border (Musa, 2015). However, with an increase in the intensity of cross-border security issues within the Lake Chad region, the jurisdiction of the unit was gradually expanded to include units from other countries such as Chad and Niger in 1998. Subsequently, the groups’ mandate was also expanded to include counter-terrorism operations due to the insurgency of the Boko Haram insurgency.

3.3.1 Rejuvenation

After the kidnapping of the 276 Chibok boarding school girls in Borno State talks were held in Paris in May 2014 to discuss the growing threat of the Boko Haram. The event brought together Presidents of Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and Chad as well as representatives from US, UK and the EU in order to discuss strategies to deal with the security threat posed by the Boko Haram in West and Central Africa. (Onuoha, 2018). Speaking before the talks in Paris, William Hague, urged the leaders of the West and Central African states to put aside their differences to end the rebel attacks (Williams, 2014). He further stressed that the Nigerian security forces were not well equipped to deal with the threat of the Boko Haram alone. The French President, Francois Hollande, hosting the talks also emphasized that the threat of the Boko Haram is not only exclusive to Nigeria alone but also to Central Africa and even the West. This is because the group has links to the Al-qaeda, AQIM, and other deadly terrorist organisations (Onuoha, 2018).

Another multilateral diplomatic summit was held on October, 2014 in Niamey, Niger exclusively between countries in the Lake Chad Basin area affected by the activities of the
Boko Haram, there they agreed to resurrect and refocus accordingly the MNJTF to carry out an offensive and stabilization operations within the Lake Chad Basin area. Thus the mandate of the MNJTF-

“is to create a safe and secure environment in the areas affected by Boko Haram and other terrorist groups, facilitate the implementation of overall stabilization programmes by the LCBC Member States and Benin in the affected areas, including the full restoration of state authority and the return of internally displaced people and refugees; and facilitate, within the limit of capabilities, humanitarian operations and the delivery of assistance to affected populations.” (AU Report of the Chairperson, 2015).

The resultant effect of the multilateral diplomacies of the Paris and Niamey summits was a rejuvenated MNJTF. The European Council on February 9, 2015 also concluded that the growing expansion of the Boko Haram requires a unified, comprehensive and far-reaching response to defeat the insurgents. Also, in acknowledgement of the ongoing violation of human rights, the High Representative of the Union of Foreign Affairs and Security Policy announced a contribution to the African Peace Facility (AFP) in 2015. The beneficiary of this project was the MNJTF which is under the leadership of the Lake Chad Basin Commission and mandated by the African Union Peace and Security Council (AUPSC).

European Union support through the African Peace Facility reflects strong commitment to fighting the Boko Haram and to regional cooperation established under leadership of the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC). (African Union Fact Sheet, 2018).

In an interview with a security expert at the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAFSC), he explained that even though the Boko Haram brought these countries together, in the same vein it caused some level of bad blood. This is because the countries mentioned above came together to fight the menace of the Boko Haram, but had to quarrel among themselves as to how to fight the Boko Haram insurgents. Thus it brought them together, but in the same vein Boko Haram created a wedge, he gave an example of
Cameroon initially warning Nigeria not to pursue insurgents into its territory. Nigeria had also previously not allowed the Cameroonians to intervene into their territory (International Crises Group, 2016). With regards to this point, the historical tensions highlighted earlier can be viewed as a major catalyst for the initial mistrust of these two states. He concluded, that terrorism encourages community security but at the same time can tear it apart.

A respondent at the West African Centre for Counter-extremism (WACCE) shared the same sentiments as the respondent from GAFSC, in an interview with him he explained that the Boko Haram has ultimately brought countries together through responses such as the MNJTF. He further stated that the MNJTF is a well-intentioned and conceived organization that has conducted just a few operations and it is early days yet to conclude on its success. He thus made a good point, because despite the initial level of mistrust between the countries in the Lake Chad Basin area due the historical ill markings of borders and frequent border clashes, the countries in the region have been able to come together, hold multilateral diplomatic talks and subsequently establish the MNJTF. Also Nigeria has finally accepted Cameroon intervene on its territory. Consequently, the activities of the MNJTF has led to a decline of suicide attacks in Cameroon (International Crisis Group 2016). This goes to buttress the point raised by the respondent from WACCE, that it is definitely too early to conclude on the successes of the force however strides are being made.

Furthermore, an official at the Nigerian Embassy in Ghana, believes that terrorism has definitely brought states together and gave the example of Benin Republic which is not even directly affected by the activities of the Boko Haram insurgents but has ultimately joined the MNJTF. As mentioned earlier, Nigeria and Benin have endured bilateral diplomatic muddles due to historical territorial disputes and the latter’s close ties with France. However, with the advent of the Boko Haram these muddles were not present at the Extraordinary Summit of
the LCBC member states and Benin in Niamey, Niger in 2014. And this successful multilateral summit resulted in the rebirth of the MNJTF.

In an interview with, a counter terrorism expert, at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) he said terrorism has definitely brought Nigeria and her neighbours together because the problem of Boko Haram is no longer national but transnational, thus it has brought different countries together to find a solution to a common problem which affects them. These exact sentiments were echoed at both the Paris and Niamey summits, with both the diplomatic initiatives viewing the insurgency of the Boko Haram as a threat to the peace, security and development in West and Central Africa.

3.4 Diplomacy over Boko Haram and the Founding Of the External Intelligence Response Unit

Mindful of the peril that Boko Haram poses to the French interest in West and Central Africa, and confirmed when the Boko Haram abducted a French family in northern Cameroon, the French President spearheaded a summit on security with some African leaders, whose countries were directly affected by the menace of the Boko Haram in Paris in May, 2014. The event brought together the presidents of Nigeria, Niger, Cameroon, and Chad as well as representatives from the US, the UK and the EU (Onuoha, 2018). The main objective of this meeting was to discuss a well coordinated approach to deal with the security threat posed by the Boko Haram and other terrorist groups within the region. The Paris Summit decided on both bilateral and multilateral measures, such as an outline to permit the aforementioned countries to share intelligence, coordinate actions and monitor borders as well as assembling a team to coordinate how to equip the recognized plan of action. They further agreed on a number of initiatives to curtail the excesses of the insurgents as well as mobilise funds in support of women and girls in affected areas (Onuoha, 2018).
Further, in consonance with the objectives agreed upon at the Paris Summit, the United Kingdom and the United States have beefed up cooperation with Nigeria, to gather intelligence on Boko Haram in order to assist Nigeria stifle the insurgency of the Boko Haram. As part of the agreement which was reached at the Paris Summit on terrorism (2014), the US, the UK, France, Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and Chad (Onuoha, 2014) set up the EIRU. This followed the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding in which member countries committed themselves in sharing all forms of information on security challenges. (Ahmad, 2014). The underlying purpose of the new structure is to build up far-reaching records of information and pooling together the intelligence gathered by the various countries in a system of easy sharing. Therefore, the major intent of this intelligence unit is to equip the various countries involved in the EIRU to come up with an adequate security kickback to the imminent threat. According to the expert from WACCE, “as much as terrorism is a local problem for Nigeria, it is also now an international cross-border challenge so there is the importance to ensure intelligence gathering and sharing.”

3.5 Joint Summit of ECOWAS AND ECCAS Heads of States and Government

On 30th July, 2018 the Lome declaration on peace, security, stability and fight against terrorism was signed by 26 west and central African countries. The preamble to this document states “We the heads of states and heads of government of the Economic Community of West African States and the Economic Community of Central African States meeting in Lome, Togolese Republic on 30th July 2018 on the occasion of the Joint Summit on peace, security, stability and the fight against terrorism and violent extremism within our common space” the preamble concluded with a ‘commitment to strengthening collaboration and working jointly to define and implement a common approach on peace, security, stability and the fight against terrorism and violent extremism’. The combined effect and interpretation of preamble above suggests a unification of states within the west and central
African sub-region to combat terrorism and violent extremism, with the Boko Haram insurgents a classic example.

Furthermore, at the summit all forms of terrorism and violent extremism was strongly condemned in the region against civilian populations. The multilateral diplomatic summit was attended by all 26 member states of the west and central African sub-regions. Among the signatories were Presidents Muhammadu Buhari, Idriss Deby Itno and Patrice Talon representing Nigeria, the Republics of Chad and Benin respectively. The Prime Minister of Cameroon Philemon Yunji Yang also signed the declaration during the multilateral summit. The success of the joint summit of ECOWAS and ECCAS states and the resultant Lome declaration on peace, security, stability and fight against terrorism demonstrates how the diplomatic muddles prior to the advent of the Boko Haram has lightened and the menace of the Boko Haram is engendering countries which had historically ill relations which translated into bad diplomatic relations come together to seek solutions through diplomacy to curtail a common threat and enemy. In an interview a former Ghanaian Ambassador, he confirmed that such a summit has brought nations together to work diplomatically and the summit was devoid of diplomatic muddles and tensions.

### 3.6 Political Declaration and Common Position against Terrorism

With regards to the ECOWAS and its role as a regional economic community it has adopted the Political Declaration and Common Position against terrorism 2013. This document was enacted on 28\textsuperscript{th} February, 2013 in Yamoussoukro, Cote d’ivoire. (Onuoha, 2018). This document acknowledges that in order to develop a common strategic method to combat terrorism within the sub-region, it is extremely crucial to have an accepted notion of the threats the sub-region faces. The document recognizes the root causes to terrorism in West Africa, as waxed out earlier in chapter two of this research which are, environmental,
political, economic and socio-cultural factors which invariably ignite and harbour the
individuals who commit the gruesome acts. (Political Declaration and Common Position
against terrorism, 2013). In addition to the factors mentioned, the globalization and the
transnational nature of most contemporary criminal networks have contributed to the spread
of terrorism within the region. This was also affirmed by the respondent from GAFSC in an
interview.

The main factors which account for the vulnerabilities within the sub-region include;

- Presence of violent extremist groups and international terrorist organizations
- History of intractable conflicts, coup detats and collapsed states
- High urban criminality rate and organized crime

The document further made an alluring point that religion is not a cause of terrorism
and the main religious groups in West Africa have lived in peaceful coexistence for centuries,
but religious extremism is now being used as a tool. Realizing the threat posed by terrorism
to their respective countries, member states within the sub-region have taken personalized
measures to prevent and combat all forms of terrorism. Most of the countries within
ECOWAS have adopted national legislation and others have augmented crucial aspects of
their laws to criminalise the acts of terrorism. Most importantly, states within the sub-region
have signed bilateral and multilateral agreements with the international community to combat
terrorism. All the states in the sub-region have ratified at least seven of the eighteen universal
instruments (Political declaration and Common Position against terrorism 2013)

From the foregoing, it is evident that the main purpose of the political declaration and
common position against terrorism, 2013 is fundamentally to elevate fellowship among
member states especially in the fields intelligence, law enforcement, investigation and
prosecution and all terrorist acts. The gathering of intelligence, according to Dr. Antwi
Danso, should be the most vital aspect in preventing and combating terrorism. The Political Declaration and Common Position against Terrorism 2013 is also a classic instance of multilateral diplomacy brought about due to the rise of the Boko Haram and other terrorist groups within the sub-region.

3.7 G5-Sahel

This is an institutional framework for coordination of regional cooperation in the development of policies and security matters in the Sahel region. It was established on February 16, 2014 in Nouakchott, Mauritania (Chavez, 2014) at a summit of five Sahel countries, namely, Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger. The Sahel is an arid stretch of land south of the Sahara desert which runs across Africa from Mauritania in the West to Sudan to the East. President Mohammed Ould Abdel Aziz, then African Union Chairman addressed a summit with the five countries present stated “We have agreed to unite our efforts to tackle this double challenge of security and lasting development in the Sahel” (Reteurs, 2014). The primary objective of this organization is to jointly battle all forms of Jihadist threats within the sub-region which includes, the Boko Haram, the AQIM, the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJWA) and also the Al-Mourabiton (milliatant group). This G5-Sahel is funded by the European Union.

From the submissions made above, it is evident that the menace and threat of the Boko Haram have to some degree engendered diplomatic relations between countries in the west and central African sub-regions. Furthermore, it is also discernible that states within the two sub-regions have taken steps to prevent future catastrophes and simultaneously prevented the rise of some acts. The actions are highly commendable, however, they are not without its challenges. And through some interviews with some respondents, the challenges of the various joint declarations and task forces were brought to light.
3.8 Financial Challenges

According to the respondent from KAIPTC, the issue of lack of logistics and finance is a huge detriment to the fight against terrorism in the west and central African sub-regions. Even Nigeria, which is seen as a ‘big brother’ and further has the largest economy in the west African sub-region faces this challenge. He further explained during the interview that this is the major reason why even though excellent bilateral and multilateral agreements are made, there is an extremely low level of implementation, because they have to depend on western allies for logistical and financial support. ECOWAS which is the regional economic community (REC) responsible for the west African sub-region also suffers from this situation mainly because of its over reliance on the community levies of respective member states. And because of this lack of resources the focus has ultimately been on combating the insurgents kinetically and not addressing the root causes of the Boko Haram. This problem of funding was also raised by the representative from the Nigerian embassy in Ghana, when he explained that with regards to the Multinational Joint Task Force, the Nigerian government paid an initial 100m US Dollars for the force, however that same level of commitment has not been reciprocated by other members of the force. He gave an incident in which some countries may have more form of allegiance to other bodies such as the G5- Sahel. Countries such as Chad and Niger owe a double allegiance to both the G5-Sahel and the MJTF.

3.8.1 Lack of Collective Effort

According to the respondent from GAFSC, one of the major challenges to the west and central African fight against the terrorism is a lack of a collective effort that is the absence of a security community. For instance, ECOMOG was a very important form of community security, but unfortunately ECOMOG has ceased to operate. Thus it can be
deduced that the continued existence and presence of the ECOMOG within the west African sub-region would have served as a strong base to fight the Boko Haram.

3.8.2 Effectiveness of Transnational Organised Crime V Porousness of West and Central African Borders

He also explained that these forms of transnational organized crimes are highly effective because the borders between Central and West African states have extremely porous borders. Thus, Boko Haram insurgent can easily travel from country to country. For instance, from Northeastern Nigeria to Cameroon to attack innocent civilians. From this point, it is evident that the promotion of free movement of persons, if not managed properly could serve as a catalyst for promoting transnational organized crimes. With the recent promotion of free trade, open borders must definitely be managed properly.

3.8.3 Absence of Human Security

Human security is an emerging paradigm for understanding vulnerabilities whose elements challenge the fundamental idea of national security. The respondent from GAFSC explained that unfortunately there is a lack of human security in almost every country within Africa. And this fact has been affirmed by the 1994 human development report, which states that ‘’there are seven clusters of human security are needed for every country’’, but none of these are being adequately fulfilled in any of the west and central African countries. He stressed that human security involves a people centered type of governance, and this involves assuring food security, health security, political security, physical security and also community security. All these are elements which will make an individual content and prevent him or her to rise up against the existing establishment.
3.8.4 Undue Focus on Combat

Another point the respondent from KAIPTC raised during the interview, is the undue focus on a kinetic method. If forms of preventative approaches are also heavily utilized it leads to a comprehensive understanding of the underpinnings of terrorism. Thus, the battle will not only be won on the battle filed but also in the mindset of the local community and vulnerable groups. By that you are killing terrorism and not just terrorist.

3.8.5 Understanding the Conceptual Clarity of Terrorism

In an interview with the former Ghana Ambassador, he explained that there is no clear understanding of what terrorism is within the two sub-regions, and this has led to a very narrow way in which counter-terrorism itself is defined, that is very limiting. The task forces have to understand what exactly they are fighting. When the enemy is known and clearly outlined it makes combating easier. Secondly there is a lack of understanding of the roles assumed with regards to security. He explained, that even with regards to Ghana, there is a tendency of the citizens to disassociate themselves when it comes to being responsible for security threats. And there is a large tendency of citizens to derogate from this duty and further take themselves out of the equation. Ordinary citizens must rise up to the occasion of reporting suspicious behavior to the various security personnel. He gave an example of the Takoradi girls, several individuals at a nearby filling station saw the girls being taken, but failed to mention it until several weeks later. When citizens rise up to this task, it can give the security personnel an opportunity to act instantly and overwhelmingly. He also added another point which is Inter-intelligence cooperation, different institutions should provide already gathered information to quell the activities of the Boko Haram, which is not conventionally done in West and Central Africa.
3.9 Conclusion

It is worthy to note, that the engendering bilateral and multilateral diplomacies which have been enumerated above are definitely not without its challenges and internal tensions, however the fact remains that the insurgency of the Boko Haram has actually brought countries who prior to 2009 would not have come together diplomatically.
CHAPTER FOUR

Summary of Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

4.0 Introduction

This chapter captures the summary of the major findings of the study in relation to the objectives of this research. The chapter also deals with the conclusions drawn from the findings and presents some recommendations. They are discussed below.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The summary of the main findings of the study are as follows:

There are several causes to the insurgency of the Boko Haram militant group. However, the root cause can be attributed to the issue of frustration. This is also known as ‘’frustration aggression’’ as proposed by theorists such as John Dillard and Neal Miller. This theory posits that aggression is a cause of frustration and when the cause of frustration is not easily and readily addressed, the aggression is focused on an innocent target. With regards to north-eastern Nigeria, specifically the Borno State, there are several events which were found during this research to fit perfectly within the propounded ‘’frustration aggression theory’’. For instance, the developmental balance between northern and southern Nigeria is glaringly lopsided. This balance had reached a point where it was not only open to criticism but also various sections of idle unemployed individuals felt it was time to vent their displeasure and dissatisfaction on easily accessible targets such as the police force in Bauchi State in July 2009. These individuals unemployed youth displayed their frustration of the imbalance of the distribution of resources in its first major attack against the police. The obvious target were the various governors of the states.
With regards to the nature and effects of the Boko Haram, the research found that the threat of the activities of the insurgent group is not only a national problem but also a transnational one. The group possess as a threat to the peace, security and development of the west and central African sub-region, specifically countries within the Lake Chad Basin area. Countries such as, Cameroon, Chad and Niger have all suffered their fair share of deadly attacks from the Boko Haram militant group. These attacks have ranged from kidnappings, suicide bombings and also raiding of villages. With regards to the socio-economic effects of the activities of the Boko Haram, Nigeria is the most affected, losing a whopping N1.33 trillion in Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) as a result of the atrocities of the Boko Haram since its rise in 2009 (Okereocha, 2012). With reference to security implications, the effects should only be imagined rather than felt. There is a symbiotic relationship between security and development and the widespread insecurity in the north has caused a decline in the development of the country. For example, most of the terrorists destroy human lives and property. Tens of thousands have been killed since the Boko Haram insurgency in 2009 (Umar, 2019). This enormous loss of lives is inevitably a loss of human resource. With regards to property Boko Haram has destroyed more than N1.9 trillion naira ($5.2 billion) since its ten-year insurgency (Gaffey, 2017). The huge amount of money that is being released to rebuild these structures will inevitably be a drain on the country’s treasury. This amount could have been channelled to other areas requiring development.

The study also found a number of bilateral and multilateral diplomacies which have been engendered due to the advent of terrorism and Boko Haram. One of them being the Paris Summit on Terrorism (2014), present at this summit were Presidents of Nigeria, Niger, Cameroon, Chad and representatives from US, UK and France. These countries engaged in diplomatic talks to find solutions to the Boko Haram and prevent future catastrophes from occurring. Another diplomatic summit in which terrorism and Boko Haram engendered
occurred five months later in Niamey, Niger. Participants of this summit included the countries in the Lake Chad Basin area directly affected by the activities of the Boko Haram and the Republic of Benin. The resultant effects of the Paris and Niamey Summits were the External Intelligence Response Unit and the Multinational Joint Task Force.

The Boko Haram and terrorism in general brought these countries together to find a solution to a common threat. However, the study also found that there were initial quarrels among each other on how exactly to combat the threat of the Boko Haram. This was initially evident within the Multinational Joint Task Force. However, these verbal spats have died down and the aforementioned countries are engaged in amicable talks and engagements to stop the menace. Another form of diplomacy the study also found was the Joint Summit of ECOWAS and ECCAS which gave rise to the Lome Declaration on peace, security, stability and fight against terrorism. This summit was attended by the 26 heads of States and Government in the west and central African sub-region. These leaders came together to discusses strategies to combat terrorism and also sign the declaration mentioned above.

4.2 Conclusion

The activities of the Boko Haram in West and Central Africa is becoming increasingly alarming and is a great concern to all in the sub-region and the entire world. This has necessitated the need for countries who prior to the Boko Haram insurgency had little or no hearty diplomatic relations to unify and find a lasting solution to the threat of the Boko Haram. The research, therefore set out to assess the causes and nature of the threat of Boko Haram. In doing so, the study gave an overview of Boko Haram, discussing its history and how far reaching its threat is in contemporary times. The research went on to discuss the history of the relations of countries in west and central Africa, specifically Nigeria and her immediate neighbours. Waxing out the turbulent historic nature of most of the relationships,
due to frequent border clashes and how it transformed into tense diplomatic relations over the ensuing decades. Lastly, the research enumerated and discussed the various diplomatic responses which have arisen due to terrorism and Boko Haram and assessed some of the shortcomings of these responses.

The information gathered from the research leads to the conclusion that terrorism, specifically Boko Haram has brought countries together. This is because prior to the advent of the Boko Haram some of these countries were widely regarded as perennial enemies. For instance, Nigeria and Cameroon. However, the recognition of a common threat has brought these countries diplomatically to deal with the menace, even though sometimes they quarrel among themselves on how to execute specific modes of operations. The hypothesis of the study that “Terrorism has positive effects on diplomatic relations among states in the Lake Chad Basin area” can therefore be accepted. From the analysis derived from the research it can be concluded that terrorism has positive effects on diplomacy.

4.3 Recommendations

The attempts made by forces such as the Multinational joint Task Force are definitely laudable, however there is an over-reliance of a kinetic - method which is currently being used to combat the insurgents. Assuming all of the insurgents are killed or imprisoned the threat of terrorism will still prevail in the west and central African sub-region. This is fundamentally because the root causes have not been adequately addressed. As a long term measure various governments, not only within west and central Africa need to address fundamental issues which are the root causes to terrorism. Factors such as unemployment, poverty, political and economic marginalization are issues which should be primarily looked at. In line with this, various governments within the sub-region can adopt schemes which will alleviate the level of unemployment in the various countries. Schemes such as Youth
Employment schemes, can be utilized to include and engage a large section of the youth and prevent idleness which can lead to even larger problems. Regarding economic and political marginalization, the various government can adopt policies which can have a very inclusive government. Secondly, distribution of resources can not always be equal, despite this the various governments must make an effort not to make the gap of distribution obviously wide.

Furthermore, there are various religions which entail diverse beliefs and practices in the world. Children at a very early age, should be made to understand, respect and tolerate the beliefs and practices of other religions. This can be achieved through the various governments organising peace education in their respective countries. When this is done, the dichotomy of moderates and extremists will be bridged. And in the subsequent decades to come moderates of diverse religions in the world will be living in harmony devoid of religious radicalism.

A short term recommendation is the recognition by ordinary civilians to also be engaged in the security of his or her respective nation. The governments of the countries within the sub-region can educate the ordinary citizens on how to report suspicious looking individuals to the police and other available security agencies. This will prevent the threat of the terrorist from intensifying and reaching its deadly height. Security institutions are obviously responsible for the safety of all individuals within a country, however they can not do it all, ordinary individuals must take up the mantle of reporting strange incidents before they spiral up.
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