

**NEW SECURITY THREATS IN WEST AFRICA:
TERRORISM AND ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION**

*Nouvelles menaces pour la sécurité en Afrique de l'Ouest :
terrorisme et immigration clandestine*

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abstract:

The paper examines the phenomena of terrorism and illegal migration among the good security threats that threaten the African continent as a whole and the West African region in particular. A series of approaches and theories have been applied to understand the phenomena to be studied and identified in West Africa, Which has been exacerbated in the current years by the continuation of these causative movements, where a number of studies, especially the United States, confirm that the regions of North and West Africa are a fertile area for the growth and development of African terrorism, especially with the emergence of a set of indicators of growing development And the existence of a number of advocacy groups. Some of these hypotheses lend credence to the weak capacity of West African States to control border and security management of their territory, given the weak potential and the geographical space of these asymmetrical threats as well as the effectiveness Economic problems that have led to widespread poverty and corruption.

Keywords : *asymmetric threats; security; stability; regional security; national state.*

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Résumé :

Le document examine les phénomènes de terrorisme et d'immigration clandestine parmi les menaces sérieuses à la sécurité qui menacent le continent africain dans son ensemble et la région de l'Afrique de l'Ouest en particulier. Une série d'approches et de théories ont été appliquées pour comprendre les phénomènes à étudier et identifier en Afrique de l'Ouest, Ce qui a été exacerbé ces dernières années par la poursuite de ces mouvements de causalité, où de nombreuses études, notamment aux États-Unis, confirment que les régions de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Ouest constituent un terrain fertile pour la croissance et le développement du terrorisme africain, notamment avec l'émergence d'un ensemble d'indicateurs du développement croissant. Et l'existence d'un certain nombre de groupes de pression, dont certaines supposent la faible capacité des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest à contrôler la gestion des frontières et de la sécurité de leur territoire, compte tenu du faible potentiel et de l'espace géographique de ces menaces asymétriques, ainsi que de l'efficacité Les problèmes économiques qui ont conduit à la pauvreté généralisée et à la corruption.

Mots clés : *menaces asymétriques ; la sécurité ; la stabilité ; la sécurité régionale ; l'Etat national.*

Introduction:

The issues of building a modern national state have received great attention as one of the major issues facing the African countries, because of many conflicts that were either in the form of historical deposits produced by the colonizer or ethnic or developmental problems as well as security ones, which we focus on in this speech by highlighting the nature of the threats and its impact on the tracks of state-building as well as ways of resolving it. In addition, we focus on the contextual threats and we mean by that; the threats stemming from weak positive interaction within the political context (the internal structure of the state in West Africa) and the role of sub-regional or regional (African) region, especially in light of the Arab mobility and its endless influences within the state. Among these non-conventional threats are terrorist phenomena, illegal immigration, and the negative effects of these crimes on the economic, social and security fabric within the state, and highlighting the overlap between national and

international networks (inside the state and with various terrorist organizations outside the state) Its relations with international organizations, especially terrorism and migration as transnational phenomena which are characterized at the nodal and operational levels by their intellectual and material links and even membership with global terrorism.

Problematic :

-What are the implications of asymmetric threats on the process of nation-building in West Africa?

Sub-questions :

-What is the nature of the asymmetric threats experienced by the state in West Africa?

-How have these threats affected the stability and security of the State and its construction in West Africa?

-What are the mechanisms to address these threats based on African privacy?

Hypotheses :

We proceed from the premise that the nature of the asymmetric threats that the State did not understand besides its weak capacity, as well as outside intervention and the use of threats to maintain the status quo in West Africa have affected the path of state-building and stability.

The theoretical framework of the study:

We decided to divide the theoretical framework into three sections:

Theories :

Realistic theory: We can use it to understand the behavior of the state in West Africa towards the security situation internally and in the region and how to secure its objectives within this region and achieve stability

Critical Security Theory: Through the use of this theory we have been able to understand the nature of the threat and how to deal with it and the overall outlook of security policy and how the national security and human security and community security all linked to each other to protect the stability of the state.

Approaches :

Comprehensive Security Approach: Using the comprehensive security approach, we have gone beyond the traditional (but indispensable) determinants of security, focusing on non-conventional threats and how to counter them

Curriculum :

Case Study Methodology: We used it to understand and to address the different situations of countries that have the same nature of threats as well as how to deal with them.

To address these forms, we suggest the following plan :

To address these shapes, we offer the following plan :

-The first theme: The nature of asymmetric threats in West Africa.

-The second axis: the impact of asymmetric threats on the stability and construction of the state.

-The third axis: the role of internal forces in the face of terrorist threats and external factor

.Fourth axis: mechanisms for solving terrorist threats.

.2The first theme: The nature of asymmetric threats in West Africa.

1.2Terrorist threats.

Jihadi movements in the Sahel and West Africa.

A – “Al Qaeda” in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)

In more than a decade, Al Qaeda has been deeply rooted in communities in Somalia, Mali, Niger, Sudan, Nigeria and Algeria and to a lesser extent in Kenya, Chad, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Mauritania and Burkina Faso. It also controlled the most important corridors and smuggling crossings in the region stretching from Senegal and Guinea on the Atlantic coast to the Horn of Africa on the coast of the Indian Ocean 1

Most of the Sahel countries suffer from political failure, corruption, lack of education services and a lack of economic opportunities. Their governments are unable to impose their authority outside major cities, opening the door to widespread human trafficking, drug trafficking and arms smuggling. Al-Qaeda has thus been able to exploit these loopholes and the ability to move freely in the region by forging alliances with local communities and using the Tuareg tribes and the rebel tribes of "Azouad" to rule Mali.

Al Qaeda exploited the deteriorating situation in sub-Saharan African countries to infiltrate and spread among African communities until it became an integral part of the states of "Kamali", Somalia and northern Nigeria.

In the north-west of Sudan and Sinai in Egypt and formed sleeper cells in Mauritania, Senegal, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Sudan, northern Chad, Central Africa, Kenya and Uganda. 2

The collapse of the security institutions in Libya (following the fall of the Qadhafi regime) and the terrible decline in border control have

transformed Libya into a repository for arms to expand the activity of armed Islamist groups, which now have a huge arsenal of weapons, including anti-tank missiles and even aircraft³.

Another element that contributed to the expansion of armed Islamic groups in the Sahelian belt was self-financing. "The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime estimates that the organized crime of these groups amounts to approximately \$ 3,000 million Ransom in exchange for the release of hostages and the protection of smuggling of goods, drugs and weapons and the use of these huge resources to finance training and the establishment of safe havens and the conduct of armed operations", which will turn the African continent to a good starting point for the development of bases of terrorism and to launch armed attacks around the world⁴.

B: The organization of "Boko Haram ."

The organization is one of the most dangerous organizations after al-Qaeda. It is called the Nigerian Islamic Armed Group, which means "Prohibition of Western Education." It was established in 2004 by Muhammad Yusuf. The group established a base in "Kanama" village in the state of "Bhopa", northeast Nigeria.

Boko Haram focuses on a number of intellectual assets, like other terrorist groups:

-Ruling, and the atonement of positive rule and democracy and considering it as a religion contrary to Islam and out of it⁵.

-The belief of the surviving band and that they are the victorious sect preached in the prophecies of the last time

-Prohibition of Western education from schools to the university.

-The need to establish the "Islamic State" and the allegiance to the Imam.⁶

-Loyalty and innocence and anti-violators, both "Almstgrabin" or other sectarian trends such as Sufism and Shiism

One of the reasons for the outbreak of violence in the country is the religious element, according to some African thinkers, especially the Nigerians, as well as the competition for power. Economic factors also play an important role. There is no policy of fair distribution of wealth, which is linked to ethnic and religious prejudices and the spread of corruption in the country⁷.

The shift to the allegation of "da'ash" gave greater impetus to the growing organization in Nigeria and its neighbours, and will find a measure of the stability of the "Dahesh state" in southern Libya nearby, which was expressed by Nigerian President Mohamed Bukhari before the European Parliament on February 3, 2015, "Time bomb" for Africa as well as for Europe⁸.

After the fall of Al-Qaeda and the awakening of the "Da'sh", "Shikawa's" conversion to "Al-Da'eeh" in March 2015 was a very encouraging and important step for Al-Baghdadi, who accepted it in the hope of further expansion in Africa and pulling the rug from under Al-Qaeda's feet. The interviewer hopes that Boko Haram of this pledge will receive more financial, logistical and information support that "Shikawa" seems to be capable of⁹.

Many of Darcy's "Boko Haram" scholars, such as Dr. Hamdi Abdulrahman, "Omar Citi", and "Rotman" and others, insist that the economic and social constraints, state fragility and services in Nigeria have helped this extremist movement to inflation and ideological presence and influence in northern Nigeria and neighboring countries, Of non-Muslims, representing 40 per cent of the total population¹⁰

The internal and external groups of the two groups continue to come together to explain the emergence of various extremist phenomena and organizations, but the ideological factor remains stronger than others, attracting foreign fighters from the liberal and other Western countries, as well as by Muhammad Yusuf and his group later on¹¹.

2.2 Illegal immigration.

Definition of illegal immigration :

*It is also known as illegal immigration, clandestine migration, the illegal movement of individuals and groups between States, and breaches the laws and procedures of the abandoned country; migrants enter without a visa .
¹²*

-Causes of illegal immigration in West Africa

Economic situation, where poverty and unemployment are growing in the societies of West Africa. Some countries seem unable to meet the needs and ambitions of a group of young people who have graduated from universities, institutes and higher schools and have not been absorbed by the labor market. Real development projects, the application of structural adjustment programs, the increase of monopolies, the existence of a serious imbalance in the distribution of wealth, or the fall in the fruits of development, affecting the dominant base of the population¹³.

Political: where the troubles that severely hit many of the countries of the South Mediterranean and Africa, as a result of the power struggle on the one hand, and the attempt of social sectors to rebel against the unjust conditions existing on the other, all because of the incomplete process of producing a modern civil state that arranges voluntary means of transfer of power , And ensure political representation of the interests of all social groups and segments, and protect public freedoms in thought, expression and management. On the other hand, migrants know that they are going to countries where they find a foothold that will change their lives altogether .
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- Social: Sometimes linked to the continued marginalization and the phenomenon of city Treif, and sometimes the flow of exciting and mythical tales about the process of migration and its consequences, in particular that there are actual success stories, which are widely circulated, both traditional ways or through social networking sites. As long as young people who wish to migrate are drawn to one success story of a migrant, they deliberately throw out countless failures, ending in tragedy and tragedy15 .

Because of the spread of organized crime and terrorism in the West African region, where the growth of thought and various terrorist groups and easy access to weapons and the spread of all kinds of criminality to the rise of the level of crime within the state in Africa as well as levels of human security such as health, environmental and food almost non-existent in some countries Such as Sierra Leone and Togo 16 .

3. The second axis: the impact of asymmetric threats on state building.

1.3 Influence at the political level.

The issue of nation-building is central to West Africa and is essential to any stage of political institutional building. It requires a kind of security stability so that this stability will be reflected at the social and economic level, because security stability necessarily creates an environment that encourages investment and economic performance. Of the phenomena of extremism within society on the other hand and this part of what the state suffers, especially with the growing phenomenon of terrorism and the presence of new forms of threat 17 .

There is no doubt that the structural crisis experienced by the state to varying degrees, leaves its negative effects on the performance of the state and the effectiveness of its organs on the one hand and the nature of its relations with communities on the other hand and in the manner of its relations with the outside world on the third. The most important dimensions of the structural crisis are: the failure to complete the process of institutional building of the state, the influx of state apparatuses, the weakening of the state's relations with society, the shaking of the legitimacy of the state as a political entity, and the traditional aspects that impede the building of the state; state-building requires a social, political, economic, Continuing and growing in a way that is far from falling and falling, and historical and social heritage play a vital role in this construction.¹² As for the political and social requirements for building a democratic state, this means two groups of factors, Tia, which had to move its objectives and values that are struggling to achieve and change the objective reality itself to reach him. On the other hand, the objective factors that no movement is distinct and organized without any economic, social, cultural and political structures that create the movement and require its development and the prospects of its work together.¹⁸

2.3 Impact on the economic and social side.

The West African region is economically one of the largest areas where commercial exchanges and oil pipelines occur, with the Gulf of Guinea one of the richest areas with the world's primary wealth. Nigeria is one of the largest oil exporters in Africa, ranking first, and the proliferation of asymmetric threats has destabilized the region.

The divergence of economic policies in West African countries, as well as the similarity in the economic institutional structure of these countries, led to the deterioration of the social situation, where the phenomenon of poverty increased as a result of fiscal policies affecting the income level, which contributed directly to Re-division of society into two classes, rich and poor, with the disappearance of the middle class that was the foundation of Western society in the course of its economic and social development. Unemployment is a phenomenon that is a serious challenge for Western African countries.¹⁹

In the absence of democracy, corrupt autocratic governments spend considerable money on the requirements of protecting and sustaining their political systems, which will maximize the potential for human development

in West African countries. The fragmentation of African regimes has diminished its national sovereignty, which has been reinforced by the presence of foreign military bases on its territory and the resulting imbalance, as well as the influence of the domestic policies of some countries in West Africa, particularly rentiers.20

The overlap between the security and political sides, and the achievement of security stability helps the success of institutional building. The success of a democratic building that achieves social justice eliminates the security crises in the region21.

.4th axis: the role of internal forces in the face of terrorist threats and external factors.

We will address the role of internal forces by addressing the political development crises in West Africa by highlighting the ways of building a modern state and highlighting the problems that Lucian Bay is experiencing and employing in the study area22 .

Building a modern civil state. The basic characteristics of a modern civil state are based on a civil order based on peace, tolerance, acceptance of the other and equality of rights and duties, as well as the affirmation of the principle of democracy and citizenship, and the existence of a minimum of rules that constitute red lines Must not be exceeded, especially respect for the law and sovereignty.23

The strengthening of the rule of law and the state of law creates a degree of popular satisfaction. This is what Ted Jarar calls a consensus between possibilities and aspirations, 16 with the promotion of political participation of all sectors of society and activating the role of an effective and financially independent civil society. West Africa, fights poverty and achieves all the foundations of human security, the lack of which has led to the emergence of asymmetrical threats and extremism as well as the gap between nations and society24 .

The state of West Africa is in a state of collapse, and the stage of construction requires the integration of all elements of society and the participation of all its spectrum. This will be only a table of dialogue and the abandonment of the passion for power for the benefit of the nation as a whole. The internal political solution is the best approach adopted by the various factions within the state, Niger, Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire,

which are experiencing the same structural crisis, and working to establish institutional foundations that deal with the problems of political development and crises, and that our separation in crises :

4.1 Legal crisis :

Since the beginning of political crises and military interventions do not stop in West Africa, for example Mali in 2013 and before Côte d'Ivoire with Gbagbo in 2009 and Burkina Faso in the recent coup in 2016, the conflicting groups could not determine the internal road map respects African privacy, especially as the state in West Africa And the separation of powers that allow for political participation, representation, and an effective and independent civil society that ensures control over the government and the preservation of the functions established by the constitution for the establishment of a state. And the lack of interference in politics (especially in light of the ambition to reach power), in light of the intervention of international forces in the internal affairs of West African States²⁵

4.2 Identity crisis :

In this context, Samuel Huntington explains to us the role of identity in the success of democratic transformation and fighting it with extreme thought and its inability to embrace terrorist groups through its analysis and interpretation of the nature of the modern state. The reasons for the emergence of problematic identity include the advantages of the modern state. Politics, and affected by large-scale political units, and these were the most important aspects of political modernization, the participation of large social groups in politics above the level of the village and the city to the level of state and loyalty to the homeland and not only loyalty to the least social organizations in the picture This is what both foreign powers and terrorist groups benefit from. The external gap between the state and the society is exploited against the building of the modern state with democratic foundations that allow the West African society to emerge from its political, security and economic crises²⁶ .

4.3 Breakout crisis :

For the success of any political building, the state must be permeated in all its territorial parts. This is reflected positively on the political system which can reach its development and development to any spot in the

national territory. The penetration highlights the effective existence of the central authority that controls the society and publishes its public policies. In West Africa, in countries such as Mali, Niger and Nigeria, the country has not been able to penetrate its territory and this control of the region reduces threats to the success of democratic transformation²⁶.

. .5-Fourth axis: mechanisms for solving terrorist threats.

5.1Regional Security Composite

The regional security compound is a suitable solution to reduce or eliminate terrorist threats, especially as these threats are shared by the North African, Sahel and West African countries. As Barry Bouzan said, the regional security component is shared by a group of nations that are under threat and given a range of measures Which is shared by the countries sharing the threat, namely, the West and North Africa region, which is geographical convergence and secondly the same nature of the threat, that is, a group that uses the full geographical space mentioned and also has common characteristics in several areas²⁶,

The security boat came as a solution because these countries suffer from the burden of terrorist groups and various other asymmetric threats such as migration, the drug and weapons trade, as well as the various types of new regional transformations of security. This has led to a state of security instability which the West Bank countries see as a result of social, economic and political problems, By associating the terrorist groups with Islam as an intellectual, religious and ideological cover in which the West fights within its regimes from the south, without forgetting that these threats harm economic interests and strategic partnerships with al-Ghar As stated in the statement of the French ambassador in Algeria, the former «John Oodibar»: We need a stable South and the development of bilateral relations in the long term .²⁷

As part of his handling of the security vehicles, Barry Poznan and Olli Weaver believe that regionalism can take a more important place in terms of security, given that national borders have lost their function as a buffer for the various security threats that are today transboundary and national, , But depending on the privacy of the private intervention and should not interfere with Western powers only logistical support on the one hand to undermine the Western military intervention on the other hand to gain Arab countries a kind of experience to address these threats²⁸.

5.2 Promoting Ethnic Integration :

The inclusion of all elements of society in the political and economic life of the state is essential to the success of the democratic process of the state. The exclusion of any component of society will necessarily be exploited externally by international and even regional powers that seek to create a system that will help them maintain their objectives in the region, Society has a variety of privacy and that one of the characteristics of the tribal character of the presence of about 500 tribes in West Africa and any wrong employment or bad treatment by existing regimes, especially in the face of internal political debate will lead to security chaos through which terrorist groups And members of criminal organizations are a safe haven for their pursuit²⁹

Conclusion

Asymmetric threats to the state-building process have greatly affected West Africa, especially in light of the security instability created by the terrorist organizations and the large number of assassinations and attacks in Burkina Faso, Nigeria and other countries, as well as economically as investors fled and foreign firms were affected by the And lack of investment climate due to administrative obstacles.

With regard to illegal immigration, the State of West Africa has the greatest responsibility in the face of inequality, social justice, poverty, epidemics and the absence of strong economies of their countries, creating a great gap between the state and society.

The great forms that exist are that the elimination of these organizations is by building a strong state based on a legitimate legal basis that guarantees the rights and freedoms of members of its society and with its participation in policies that of course organize all the components of society in West Africa. This is what has not happened. The political authority is still in West Africa. The lack of agreement and popular dissatisfaction undermines the process of transformation and preoccupation with the various crises facing it. These are political development crises related to legitimacy, infiltration and identity, as we mentioned earlier Forget other distribution-related crises.

The solutions remain a small amount for the actors. With regard to the security fence, it can not activate the regional security complex with the African countries, since each country has its own view of the complex according to the nature of its objectives without putting the personal interest first.

As for the international side, the ambitions are great and all countries are directing their policies towards the region either by imposing military

interventions on the ground. These countries give one of the conflicting groups precedence in the field to the other groups, without forgetting the political strategies through the agreements such as France and the United States of America.

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