## Terrorism as an Asymmetric Threat in the Sahel: Causes of Expansion and Implications

الإرهاب كتهديد غير متماثل في منطقة الساحل: أسباب التوسع والتداعيات



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#### Abstract:

new threats have emerged in the region other than those that threatened the countries of the region during the Cold War period, such as marginalization, ethnicity, borders and the external enemy in light of the dominance of a conflicting ideological thought east-west, but the current time has produced new security threats. They are in line with the transformations that the world knows, especially after the events of September 11, 2001, which are characterized by ness, globalism and the comprehensive difficulty of controlling them. They are known as asymmetric or asymmetric security threats, and terrorism is classified at the forefront of these threats, as it burdened the African Sahel region as a whole, due to the effects it produces.

**Keywords:** security threats; the African coast; the cold war; terrorism; asymmetry.

#### ملخص

تعتبر منطقة الساحل الأفريقي من أكثر المناطق هشاشة في العالم ، حيث ظهرت تهديدات جديدة في المنطقة غير تلك التي هددت دول المنطقة خلال فترة الحرب الباردة، مثل التهميش والعرق والحدود والخارجية. العدو في ظل هيمنة فكر أيديولوجي متضارب شرقي غربي ، لكن الوقت الحالي أنتج تهديدات أمنية جديدة. إنها تتماشى مع التحولات التي يعرفها العالم ، خاصة بعد أحداث 11 سبتمبر 2001 ، التي اتسمت بالعولمة والعولمة والصعوبة

الشاملة للسيطرة عليها. تُعرف بالتهديدات الأمنية غير المتكافئة أو غير المتكافئة ، ويصنف الإرهاب في طليعة هذه التهديدات ، لأنه يثقل كاهل منطقة الساحل الإفريقي ككل ، بسبب الأثار التي يخلفها.

كلمات مفتاحية: التهديدات الأمنية، الساحل الأفريقي، الحرب الباردة، الإرهاب، الإرهاب.

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### INTRODUCTION

The international system after the Cold War witnessed profound transformations that affected many of its aspects, notably the actors and values prevailing in it. It is fueled by horizontal inequalities, extreme poverty and climate change.In fact, the inability of the state to assume its sovereign functions provides an environment conducive to the spread of terrorism, just as the tendency of some ruling elites to politicize ethnic and religious identity for political purposes contributes to the escalation of the terrorist tide, which failed to explain the phenomenon of violence and extremism in general and terrorism in particular, especially when it relates to The matter is with underdeveloped countries like the African Sahel, then trying to define the gelatinous concept of terrorism that is distinguished from one country to another with some scrutiny, impartiality and balance, and we also shed light on the most important terrorist organizations in the African Sahel region and its development and repercussions on the region as a whole, in addition to the historical approach, and accordingly our article aims This is knowing the conceptual context of terrorism, and the most important terrorist organizations that are active in the African

Sahel region, and from it the main problem is determined as follows:

To what extent can the phenomenon of terrorism be considered a major and serious threat to the African Sahel countries?

The following sub-questions branch out from the main problem:

- What is meant by terrorism?
- What are the contexts for the evolution of the phenomenonTerrorism in the African coast?
- What are the most important terrorist organizations in the African Sahel?
  - How effectterrorismOn the African coast?

In order to answer the main problem with its branches, we formulate the following hypothesis:

The more terrorist threats grow in the African Sahel region, the more they will have a negative impact on the security and stability of the countries of the region.

The first axis: the theoretical framework for the phenomenon of terrorism in the African coast

## 1. Concept of terrorism:

The term terrorism is distinguished in terms of defining the conceptual framework from one party to another and from one country to another, and therefore the definition of terrorism:

Intermediate Lexicon: Derived from the meaning of terror, panic, and fear, although awe in the Arabic language is a term usually used when expressing fear tinged with respect, not the fear of panic resulting from the threat of physical, animal, or natural forces.

In the Oxford dictionary: We find that word terrorism Terrorist It means a policy or method that is considered terror and intimidation of opponents or opponents of a government, and the word "terrorist" generally refers to anyone who tries to support his views by coercion, threat or intimidation<sup>1</sup>.

In the Political Encyclopedia: Terrorism is defined as the use of illegal violence or the threat of it in its various forms, such as assassination, mutilation, torture, sabotage and bombing, in order to achieve a specific political goal, such as breaking the spirit of resistance and commitment among individuals, demoralizing organizations and institutions, or as a means of obtaining information or Money and in general the use of coercion to subjugate an opposing party to the will of the terrorist<sup>2</sup>.

The global encyclopediaWe find that the terrorist is that person who practices violence and he does not work alone but is involved in the framework of a specific group or system, according to a specific strategy<sup>3</sup>.

At the level of some bodies, one of the most prominent contributions in this regard:

Definition of the United Nations Committee on International TerrorismWhen drafting a draft unified convention on measures to confront international terrorism in

1980, it mentioned after international terrorism an act of serious violence or the threat of it emanating from an individual or a group, whether it was against persons, organizations, residential, governmental, or diplomatic sites, or an attempt to commit or Complicity in the commission or instigation of the commission of offenses also constitutes the offense of international terrorism<sup>4</sup>.

**Definition of the Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism**Terrorism is every act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that takes place in implementation of an individual or collective criminal project and aims to sow terror among people or terrorize them by harming them or endangering their lives, freedom or security, or causing damage to the environment or to one of the public facilities or property. own, occupying, seizing, or endangering one of the national resources<sup>5</sup>.

Definition of the 1999 African Convention on the Prevention and Combating of TerrorismIt established a definition of terrorism based on considering any act that constitutes a violation of the criminal laws of Member States and threatens the life, physical integrity or freedom, or causes serious injury or death, to any person or a number of individuals or groups of individuals or may cause destruction to public or private property, Or natural resources or intercultural or cultural heritage, and it is purposeful and deliberate, and includes within the terrorist acts all of the following: smuggling, intimidation, coercion, coercion, or pushing any government, body, institution, the general public, or any sector, to do or refrain from doing any act or To adopt or refrain from a certain position, or to act

according to certain principles. Or sabotaging any public services or the means of delivering any basic service to the public, or creating a public emergency or creating a state of armed insurrection in the country.<sup>6</sup>

### 2. Forms of terrorism:

Terrorism has multiple forms that are divided according to the field, or the level that is relied upon in analysis, study, and even combat, and this last point, that is, combating or fighting, is what the study focuses on.

### A/ Domestic terrorism:

It is the terrorist activity carried out by terrorist groups in the same country, for limited goals within the scope of this country, its activity does not exceed the borders of the country, and it has no external link, and therefore it depends mainly on the local effort in implementation and preparation, and its victims are from the same country And the results are within it, and it does not depend on funding from foreign parties.<sup>7</sup>

## B/ International terrorism:

The terrorist crime takes on the character of an international crime: if one of its parties is international through the different nationalities of the victims from the perpetrators or the perpetrators among them, or through the place of execution of the terrorist crime, or planning it in one country and executing it in another country, or obtaining foreign financing or sheltering and Being on foreign territory, or attacking a public international service such as aircraft, ships, and TIR means, or attacking

persons protected by international law, such as heads of state and members of diplomatic corps.<sup>8</sup>

In 1980, the Committee of Experts emanating from the International Union for the Unification of Criminal Law dealt with terrorism, giving it the international character in the following cases:

- Causing turmoil in international relations
- Directing the crime to a country other than the one in which it began
- That the preparation takes place in a country other than the country concerned with its commission, or that its commission takes place in a country other than the country concerned
  - The actors must be refugees from abroad.9

## 3. The evolution of the phenomenon of terrorism in the African coast:

There is no doubt that the African Sahel region is a region of crisis because of the widespread deterioration of security in this region, which greatly affected the belt countries and their simple and nomadic societies that do not enjoy a system of protection in this vast region or, as some researchers in anthropology call it, the Great Sahara. In addition to this, the Sahel countries are among the poorest countries in the world in the international and classifications ofinternational institutions development reports, despite the available natural resources, including oil, gold, and other natural materials of strategic importance. What draws the attention of observers of security

affairs in those areas is the wide spread of all activities parallel to terrorist acts, such as arms and drug trafficking and illegal immigration, which makes them intertwined networks in their formation between strict fundamentalist tendencies and local economic backgrounds and interests that have regional and international extensions that extend their repercussions on the international arena.<sup>10</sup>

# The second axis: terrorist organizations and the factors of their emergence in the African Sahel region

Through the second axis, we will try to list the most prominent terrorist organizations that have spread in the African Sahel region, and that have affected the stability and security of the region in general..

# 1. The most prominent terrorist organizations in the African Sahel region

## Al-Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb:

This organization appeared as an extension of the extremist jihadist movements in Algeria through the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat, which declared its conversion and allegiance to Al-Qaeda in 2006 to bear this name on: 01-24-2007. They went to the Azawad region by virtue of their knowledge of it before, through their purchase of weapons during the black decade in Algeria, and then another figure came, Ammar Saifi, nicknamed "Abdel-Razzak El Para", where in 2003 he kidnapped 30 European tourists.<sup>11</sup>

This organization has its own structure consisting of an emir, a council of elders, heads of committees, and a Shura Council. It is also based on the idea of allegiance, which includes all the countries of the Maghreb and the countries of the Sahel.<sup>12</sup>

## **Ansar Dine Movement:**

The movement of Ansar al-Din represents the Salafist jihadist movement in the Tawaraq in northern Mali, and seeks to establish Islamic law. Its leaders are Iyad Agha Ghali, nicknamed "Abu al-Fadl" in 2011. This group did not agree with the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad, which was seeking to establish a civil state, which prompted Iyad brother The highest orientation towards the base and here began communication and work under the slogan of empowerment for reform in the land of Azawad.<sup>13</sup>

It was founded in November 2011 by the Tuareg leader Iyad Agha Ghali, who enjoys great influence in the northern Mali region and among the Tuaregs..<sup>14</sup>

## Movement of Jihad and Monotheism:MOJWA))

It was established in July 2011 after its defection from Al-Qaeda. Its members are descended from the Al-Amhar tribe in the city of Namawar. The founder is Sultan Weld Badi, known as "Abu Ali" and Ahmed Weld Amer, known as "Ahmed Al-Talmini"." Arabic origin. 15

The Movement for Jihad and Monotheism in West Africa is known as an Arabic version of the movement of Ansar al-Din, which is dominated by the Tariq party, especially since these elements wanted to establish their own battalions in al-Qaeda, but their request was rejected, and this prompted them to establish this terrorist organization. <sup>16</sup>This movement It is ambiguous, as it

carries out operations against Algeria only, despite calling it West Africa, as it accused Morocco of being behind its establishment <sup>17</sup>.

## Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS): ISIS))

The flow of terrorists has increased dramatically from the hotspots in the Middle East, especially Syria and Iraq, to the countries of the African Sahel region, as happened in Algeria with Abd al-Malik Ghouri, the leader of Jund al-Khilafah, who was eliminated by the Algerian security forces after he tried to introduce ISIS into Algeria, and in Morocco, the government security services arrested Ali, the French recruit associated with the al-Nusra Front in Syria and Ansar al-Sharia in Libya<sup>18</sup>

In 2015, the same organization was able to establish a basic base for jihad training in Libya, taking advantage of the instability and the absence of a unified government, where 6,500 terrorist extremists were trained to carry out terrorist attacks in the future. He participated in a major attack on the luxurious "Corinthia Hotel" in the capital, which resulted in heavy human losses among Libyans and foreigners. This was a response to the arrest of Abu Anas al-Libi in 2013 by US Special Forces, who is accused of involvement in the bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, which 224 people were killed as the Islamic State claimed responsibility for a car bomb explosion outside the Diplomatic Security building in Tripoli. 20

## **Boko Haram organization:**

The Ahl al-Sunna wal Jihad group known as Hausa, under the name of Boko Haram, meaning Western education is forbidden, and it is an armed Nigerian Islamic group that claims to work to implement Islamic law in all states of Nigeria, just as most local and foreign media suggest the beginning of the emergence of Boko Haram to 2002, however, Its true historical roots go back to 1995, when it was founded by Muhammad Yusuf, and this group considers everything that is Western to be contrary to Islam..<sup>21</sup>

# 2. Factors producing terrorism In the African Sahel region:

can also be interpretedFactorsSpread in the region as follows:

**a-Weakness and fragility of the countries of the African Sahel region:**considered as abase in the Islamic MaghrebabsenceThe state in this region is a blessing because it strengthens its presence in the region in a way that enables it to destabilize the region and create a state of chaos in order to be able to work comfortably., AndCarrying out terrorist acts against these countries, institutions and citizens, and against neighboring countries and foreign nationals<sup>22</sup>.

**B**Absence and poor development:considered as The development indicators for countries at the heart of terrorist groups' operations in the Sahel region of Africa are among the lowest in the world, and three of these countries suffer from poverty. In the World Development Index, Mauritania ranked 159, Mali ranked 175, and Niger ranked 186. This allowed terrorist movements to reside permanently and benefit from chaos<sup>23</sup>.

T- Democratic deficit and the absence of good governance: Chronic bad governance of ineffective social and

economic policies has exacerbated the terrorist threat and its tributaries. This inability is demonstrated primarily by the political regimes in terms of respect for democratic principles, good governance and the rule of law, making protection weak and even illusory against combating all criminal activities and terrorist activities that have emerged in the region. African coast countries mnHara, where power has become in the hands of political and ethnic militias instead of regular forces that have no power, which has contributed to widespread insecurity, and roads and streets have become in the hands of outlaws<sup>24</sup>.

wInternational competition in the region: There is a relationship between foreign infiltration and terrorist infiltration into the Sahel countries. If it has been proven repeatedly that the first employs the second, the second now employs the first foreign presence to rally around it, so the growing geo-economic importance of the African coast and the increase in the size of the bet that it involves in relation to local and external forces, which is reflected in the foreign presence that bears the appearance of Force for the military presence and the establishment of military bases .... under the pretext of cooperation and alliance, which encouraged terrorist groups to be present in this region and made it a target for their operations<sup>25</sup>.

The third axis: the repercussions and repercussions of terrorist organizations on the African Sahel region

1- The political repercussions of terrorism in the African Sahel region:

The most prominent political challenges posed by the phenomenon of terrorism on the coast are the undermining of democracy within the state, as a result of the lack of security associated with the presence of armed terrorist organizations and groups, which leads to the spread and return of authoritarian practices in governance. Perhaps the most prominent of these evidences is what the military coup that took place led to. In Mali, in August 2020, President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita resigned, as he was replaced by the army, then followed by a military coup again by Colonel Asimsi Guita in May 2021<sup>26</sup>.

# 2- The security repercussions of terrorism in the African Sahel region:

The coastal countries are still suffering from the security and military repercussions as a result of the widespread spread of armed and terrorist groups, as they impose many repressive and exhaustive policies, as well as terrorist practices that affect the state of peace in the region, and they also pose a threat that extends to neighboring countries, especially the coastal countries. Currently fighting against jihadists in the so-called "three borders" region straddling Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso, the terrorist threat also worries coastal countries. To neighboring countries that are not members of the G5 Sahel, including (Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, and Togo) <sup>27</sup>.

**3- The economic repercussions**For terrorism in the African Sahel region:

Threats arising from the spread of terrorist acts greatly affect economic activities in the countries of the African Sahel region, as they lead to the depletion of a huge amount of state resources, and thus terrorism negatively affects the wheel of economic development in the countries of the region. As for the situation in the countries of the African Sahel region, the countries of the region are considered the most vulnerable to the threat of terrorist and criminal networks in the world, which pose a real threat to their national economies<sup>28</sup>.

#### **Conclusion:**

Finally, the study concludes that the phenomenon of terrorism within the African Sahel region has become one of the most prominent challenges and cross-border threats facing the region, especially since it is one of the regions most affected by the practices of armed groups and organizations in the world.Regarding the results of the study, they can be summarized as follows:

- aAn environment on the African coast is conducive to the continuation, escalation, and incursion of terrorist movements.
- The terrorist threats afflicting the African Sahel region are characterized by expansion and spread, which creates dire security repercussions that are not limited to the countries of terrorist activity, but also to neighboring countries.
- The African Sahel region is considered a crisis region, as it contains many inflamed security crises, which affect the survival

and stability of the region's regimes on the one hand, and the exacerbation of the interference of external parties in it on the other hand.

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