Terrorism – The Threat to Democracy, Peace and Security

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The world has been faced with the scourge of terrorism and terrorist threats for a while. The Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism tracked the number of international terrorist incidents from 1968 to 2006. There were 97 incidents of international terrorism in 1968, rising to 220 in 1978, and peaking to 433 incidents in 1985. In 2000, the numbers fell to a low point of just over 100 incidents, before sharply increasing, peaking in 2004 at 395 incidents.

There have been terrorist attacks and threats in several parts of the world, with the nature and number of these changing over time. There have been increasing threats that terrorists may adopt deadlier weapons to meet their objectives. The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and Pentagon in September 2001 led to a significant upsurge in terrorist threats all over the world. The attacks have been deliberate, violent and lethal and have been inflicted on people of all nationalities, faiths, and backgrounds. In recent years, several terrorist groups and their affiliates have emerged including Al Qaeda, Al Shabaab, Boko Haram etc. These groups have carried out attacks on several countries including: Egypt, Kenya (1998), India, Indonesia, Morocco, Tanzania (1998), Nigeria (2012), Uganda (July 2010), Saudi Arabia, UK, USA (9/11), Spain (2004 train bombings in Madrid) etc.

It should be noted that the terrorist attacks and terrorist threats have come at a great cost for both human life and property. There have been serious challenges to peace, democracy, political stability, economic growth and development and security of governments and peoples in several parts of the world. Overtime, governments have realized the need for cooperation and collective security in combating the present threats posed by terrorism and terrorism threats. Consequently, several frameworks have been built and partnerships established at different levels (both domestic and international) to counter the scourge of terrorism. There has been greater cooperation, renewed vigor and momentum at regional and international levels, to fight terrorism in all its aspects and manifestations.

2.0 TERRORISM – THREATS TO DEMOCRACY, PEACE AND SECURITY

2.1 Definitions: Terrorism, Democracy, Peace and Security
Terrorism

The term is ambiguous and subjective, making it difficult and contentious task to find a widely acceptable definition. Today the term seems to be synonymous with ‘evil’, even though it remains as complex and diverse as the people who engage in it. However, for the sake of this paper, two definitions shall be adopted i.e.

- **The UN definition**: “any action that is intended to cause death or serious harm to civilians or non-combatants, when the purpose of such an act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act”.

- **The U.S. Code definition**: “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience”.

Democracy

This term is also highly subjective and its definition may widely vary. However, the following definition shall be adopted:

- A condition in which the vast numbers of people who comprise a nation submit themselves to institutions of law of their own making, and in which they care about each other and the planet on which they live. It is a set of values (freedom, equality and brotherhood) and a way of governing.

- Politically speaking and for our purpose in this paper however, democracy means and entails the system of government in which the people freely choose those that will govern them.

Peace and ‘threat to peace’:

can be defined either negatively (narrowly) or positively (widely).

- In the **negative sense**, refers to the absence of organised use of armed force. Therefore, in order to constitute a threat to peace, the situation in question must have the potential of provoking armed conflict between states in the short or medium term.

- The **positive concept** of peace is wider and includes friendly relations between states, as well as other political, economic, social, and environmental conditions that are needed for a conflict-free international community.
Peace also means a situation, period, time or atmosphere when there is no disturbance or disruption such as war or violence.

**Security** Something that gives or assures safety as: measures adopted by a government to prevent espionage, sabotage or attack.

For purposes of this paper of our discussion in this paper, security refers to safety of persons and their property or wealth. It is the feeling of protection from any danger or threat.

### 2.2 Forms of terrorism

Terrorism threats and attacks take many forms including the ‘conventional terrorism’ (involving political and religious extremism), cyber-terrorism and risks of proliferation and use of weapons of mass destruction, WMD (e.g. chemical, biological and nuclear weapons).

**Trends:** trends in terrorism appear to be toward loosely organized, self-financed, international networks of terrorists including radical Islamist groups, or groups using religion as a pretext. Further more, there is concern over the growing political participation of extremist Islamist parties in foreign nations. Also the growth of cross-national links among different terrorist organizations, which may involve combinations of military training, funding, technology transfer, or political advice.

Terrorism may be domestic or international terrorism.

- **Domestic terrorism**: contained within one country and typically propagated by residents of that territory

- **International terrorism**: involves individuals and/or territory from more than one country; threat posed by international terrorism i.e. the credible threat by foreign, non-state actors to carry out violent and destructive acts against residents of a particular country.

### 2.3 Causes of terrorism:

Terror has been attributed to many factors including: poverty and impovishment; political and economic corruption; social exclusion; racial hatred; injustice; slow economic, social and political change etc.

However, the trend however is changing with the ideologies playing a strong part in the present terrorism threats (as seen in the well-planned and execute terror attacks on the WTC 2001; London bombings; and other terrorist networks across the world).

### 3.0 THREATS TO DEMOCRACY, PEACE AND SECURITY
Terrorism poses great threats to democracy, peace and security, though the threats vary from country to country. The threats may be evidenced by the effects of terrorism acts and threats on societies. These threats may be direct or indirect.

- **Direct threats:** terrorism has the capacity to undermine the fundamental peace and security that nations are supposed to provide their citizens, which is the foundation for democracy and legitimacy of governments. Terrorist threats and acts directly threaten basic human rights of life and property given the consequences of such actions.

- **Indirect threats:** in a bid to counter terrorism and terror threats, governments use several approaches, some of which involve extreme and excessive military measures. Consequently, these actions may threaten the ability of citizens to hold the state accountable, undermine the democratic institutions of the nations, and their ability to ensure the security of their citizens without harming innocent people.

3.1 **Undermining the power of democratic governments:** terrorism acts and threats undermine the power and abilities of governments to provide adequate security to society. The terrorist actions and threats of terror a serious impediment to nurturing viable, democratic states. Democracy is traditionally seen as a panacea to provide security and civil liberties and avoid political extremism or terrorism provoked by unaddressed grievances.

3.2 **Insecurity:** the terrorists acts lead to increased incidences of insecurity and pose a direct threat to the security of both humans and property. The selected terrorist targets often inflict the greatest pain and suffering in the societies. These threats and acts also tend to create a general fear and sense of insecurity in society. Countering these threats poses serious demands on the security demands

3.3 **Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction WMD:** there is a real threat that terrorist may obtain WMDs or the means to make them. This is a concern given that the officially designated state sponsors of terrorism (i.e. Cuba, Iran, Korea, Sudan, and Syria) are known or suspected to have had one or more WMD-related programs. Two of these states — Iran and North Korea — have, or have had, nuclear weapons-oriented programs in varying stages of development.

3.4 **Terrorist-sponsored activities:** terrorist sympathisers have resources to sponsor activities that would undermine democracy, peace and security. Terrorists have been able to develop their own sources of financing, which range from NGOs and charities to illegal enterprises such as narcotics, extortion, and kidnapping. Al Qaeda depends on a formidable array of fundraising operations including moslem charities and wealthy
well-wishers, legitimate-seeming businesses, and banking connections in the Persian Gulf, as well as various smuggling and fraud activities.

3.5 **Countering terrorism**: the approaches used to counter terrorism have varied from state to state. However, it should be noted that some countries have adopted extreme measures under the pretext of fighting terrorism including the repression of political opponents or enactment of regulations that restrict human rights.

4.0 **Countering terrorism**

There is no single universally acceptable method for tackling terrorism, with disagreements over the most suitable approach (including the least destructive; use of an exclusive method or a combination of several methods etc). In many instances, the fight against terrorism is a difficult one because there are no geographic boundaries and the enemy is difficult to identify. No matter what approach is used, it is important to analyze and determine the best means through which to contest the identified threats. Some of the approaches that can be used to counter terrorism include the following:

- **Diplomacy/constructive engagement**: lack of democratic attributes has been linked to fomenting sympathies for terrorism as it often results into certain groups and ideologues being seen as alternatives to corrupt and brutal political elites. Therefore, governments that genuinely seek to bring freedom, build and strengthen democracy in societies (including respect for faith, beliefs, culture, race etc; promotion of freedom of speech and media; right to peaceably assemble) should be encouraged.

- **Isolating extremism**: governments can identify extremism in its various manifestations (the extremist groups, networks and individuals etc), with the aim to weakening and disrupting their activities. This way it would deprive terrorism of a shelter, recruitment grounds, and foot soldiers.

- **Strengthening the legal framework** with which to contest terrorism: through legal and other means e.g. outlawing certain groups and activities etc the terrorists can be dealt with.

- **Infiltration at border crossings**: terrorists have taken advantage of the porous border crossings to enter other countries. It is important to find means to control borders and secure them better (e.g. by harmonizing biometric data on passports; visas; ID cards; driving licenses etc).

- **Public diplomacy**: through the media to mobilise public opinion i.e. winning hearts and minds. This method has been used in the U.S in its war on terror.
Economic sanctions targeting assets of terrorist groups and governments actively supporting terrorist organisations. These measures have been used against Cuba and Iran.

Military force: this method has been used widely by the US in the wake of the 2001 WTC bombings. However, this method has its limitations and has been the cause of many public outcries.

5.0 FRAMEWORKS AND RELATED EFFORTS TO COUNTER TERROR

5.1 East African Community (EAC)

Establishment of counterterrorism mandate: the three EAC founding heads' of state (Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda) agreed in a 1999 memorandum of understanding to set up a mechanism to deal with terrorism in the region\textsuperscript{viii}. This memorandum formed the basis for all counter terrorism action in the region to date.

Intergovernmental Counterterrorism Committee: The EAC created a terrorism and counterterrorism task force to study the national, regional, and international legal frameworks relating to counterterrorism and the protection of human rights in the region. Due to the divergence of laws and policies among the EAC partner states, the task force proposed the development of a framework that would harmonize them.

Establishment of robust governance mechanisms: the EAC has encouraged partner states to establish robust governance structures that enable the rule of law and democracy in their various countries. A draft EAC Protocol on good governance was agreed upon in May 2011. It is hoped that the protocol would enhance security, stability and development and ultimately counter terrorism in the region, given that terrorism has been linked with poor governance and structures. The EAC plans to establish a directorate of peace and security at its secretariat that would include a "fully-fledged unit to deal with issues of counterterrorism in the region".

Counterterrorism programs: the EAC has developed a number of counterterrorism programs under the aegis of cooperation on "political matters, and legal and judicial affairs" and devised an "East African Community Strategy on Combating Terrorism in East Africa." The strategy has enabled member states to exchange information on terrorism, enhance border security, and establish a regional forensic center.

Cooperation on defence/policing: the EAC member states signed a Memorandum of Understanding on Co-operation in defence matters on 30 April 1998 (revised on 30 November 2001). Through this agreement, regular
meetings have been held among regional defence chiefs, military intelligence heads and ministers. Likewise joint field training exercises (in disaster management, counterterrorism and peace support operations) involving defence forces of the EAC member states have been regularly held in order to enhance mutual understanding on how to handle similar challenges in a typical East African situation. An EAC joint military exercise, ONGOZA NJIA, was held in Monduli, Arusha, Tanzania in February 2005, to build capacity on peace support operations in the East African region. Another joint exercise, TREND MARKER, was organized to comprehensively equip the military with capacity to deal with terrorism in the region and involved anti-terrorism, mainly preventive measures, and counter-terrorism, enforcement measures to fight terrorism when it arose. The EAC chiefs of police regularly meet, under the auspices of combating terrorism, improving regional police cooperation in combating cross-border crime and countering the trafficking and proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

**Human rights cooperation:** the Heads of National Human Rights Commissions of the EAC member states met in February 2008. The meeting was aimed at promoting and protecting human rights within the region and put forth a strategic 3-year plan of action that included an EAC Bill of Rights with mechanisms for enforcement and a call for greater capacity-building efforts for national institutions. These efforts to address human rights and other security-related issues are expected to work to combat some of the conditions conducive to terrorism.

### 5.2 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)\textsuperscript{iix}

**Democracy and elections:** the ECOWAS election observation missions are involved in election monitoring in member states and have impacted on governance and the election outcomes in several countries e.g.in Benin 2008; Ghana 2008; Mali 2007; Nigeria 2007 and 2011 and Guinea 2007. These teams were involved in the stabilisation of the situations in Guinea Bissau, Mali and the restoration of democracy in Togo after the death of President Gnassingbe Eyadema.

**Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance:** ECOWAS member states are required to subscribe to this protocol in order to be seen to be practicing good and accountable governance. The protocol has provisions on the conduct of elections, constitutional convergence principles, human rights etc. This way it would be unlikely that the states would foster terrorism through bad governance and leadership.

**Inter-Governmental Action Group against Money Laundering (GIABA):** GIABA is an agency of the ECOWAS Commission that undertakes actions to stop the financing of terrorism in West Africa by helping to build the capacity of states and networking with other international organizations.
**ECOWAS Council of Elders:** the ECOWAS Council of the Wise has mediated in conflicts in the region to prevent them from degenerating to full-fledged war. Such situations could result into terrorism and are effectively prevented from degenerating through this approach.  

**ECOWAS peace building/keeping operations:** ECOWAS has a standby peace mission that coordinates the region’s efforts to maintain and support peace operation activities. This is often undertaken in conjunction with the United Nations and African Union.  

**ECOWAS defense cooperation:** ECOWAS defence chiefs periodically meet over matters of defence and security of the region. Consequently, the region has created an ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF). Likewise, the region has instituted a moratorium against Importation and Exportation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in 1998 (renewed in 2001).

### 5.3 IGAD

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in Eastern Africa was created in 1996 to supersede the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) which was founded in 1986. In April 1995 in Addis Ababa, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government made a Declaration to revitalise IGADD and expand cooperation among member states. And this was to be premier regional organization for achieving peace, prosperity and regional integration in the IGAD region. The objective was to assist and complement the efforts of the Member States to achieve, through increased cooperation:

- Food Security and environmental protection
- Promotion and maintenance of peace and security and humanitarian affairs, and,
- Economic cooperation and integration

### 5.4 African Union (AU)

**The AU normative framework to combat terrorism:** The AU has adopted a broad-based continental normative framework to combat terrorism. This framework includes: the 1999 OAU counterterrorism convention, adopted as part of the continent’s reaction to the 1998 al-Qaeda attacks in Kenya and Tanzania; the AU’s 2002 counterterrorism plan of action; and the AU’s 2004 protocol to the convention. These instruments contain important provisions on extradition, the exchange of information, capacity building, and other elements, which if implemented, have the potential to strengthen counterterrorism cooperation across the continent.

**Organisation of African Unity (OAU) resolutions:** In 1992, the OAU, at its 28th Ordinary Summit in Dakar, Senegal, adopted resolution AHG/Res. 213 (XXVIII), aimed at enhancing cooperation and coordination among member
states in order to fight the phenomenon of extremism. In 1994, at its 30th Ordinary Summit, in Tunis, Tunisia, the OAU Assembly adopted the declaration AHG/Decl. 2 (XXX) on the code of conduct for Inter-African relations, which unequivocally rejected fanaticism and extremism or the use of religion to commit acts of violence including terrorist acts.

**OAU Convention on the prevention and combating of terrorism:** this OAU convention was held in 1999, in Algiers, Algeria. The Convention provided the legislative framework for combating terrorism at the continental level. Some of the provisions of the Convention included: a definition of terrorism in Africa; areas of cooperation among states; extradition and scope of state's jurisdiction. The Convention entered into force on 6 December 2002 and had been ratified by 27 countries (as at 19 November 2003).

**The African Summit against Terrorism:** the summit was held on 17 October 2001 in Senegal. The summit adopted the Dakar Declaration against Terrorism, which strongly condemned the attacks on 9/11 and called for the need to strengthen the 1999 Algiers Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism through an additional protocol: taking into consideration the new global realities of international terrorism.

**Africa Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT):** The AU established the ACSRT in 2004 as its technical arm on matters related to terrorism and implementation of the AU counterterrorism program. It charged the ACSRT with a number of important functions aimed at enhancing the counterterrorism capacities of and cooperation among its members. In addition, it has organized a few training seminars at its well-equipped facility in Algiers. With its focus on training, information exchange, alerts and prevention, and its recently adopted cooperation agreement with the EU aimed at promoting the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1373 among its members, it is well-placed to contribute to the implementation of the preventative and capacity-building elements of the UN Strategy.

**The Fifth Extraordinary Session of the Central Organ (OAU) of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution:** the session was held at Ministerial level on 11 November 2001, in New York. It adopted a Communiqué, which reaffirmed the concerns and recommendations of the African Summit against Terrorism and called for member states, which had not yet done so to sign and ratify both the 1999 Algiers Convention and other relevant international conventions and protocols against terrorism.

**The Inter-Governmental high level meeting on the prevention and combating of terrorism in Africa:** the meeting was held in Algiers, 11 - 14 September 2002. The meeting adopted the Plan of Action on the
Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in Africa. The Plan of Action has since been endorsed by the African Union as the policy guideline for action against terrorism in Africa. Later a meeting of experts to consider modalities for the implementation of the AU Plan of Action on the prevention and combating of terrorism in Africa was held in Addis Ababa 28-29 October 2003. The meeting made recommendations for developing a roadmap on the operationalization of the plan of action. The plan of action obligates member states to take into consideration the intimate relationship between terrorism and related scourges such as drug trafficking, illicit proliferation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons, corruption, and money laundering.

The Draft Protocol to the OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism: The Draft Protocol provides for an implementation mechanism for the Convention, as well as an update to the Convention on the new global counter-terrorism measures, as recommended by the Dakar Summit and the Inter-Governmental High Level Meeting.

African Union Missions: African union peace keeping missions have been operated in several African countries where there has been a threat to peace, security and good governance that might have resulted in instability on the continent. Recently, African union peace keeping missions have been dispatched to Burundi, Congo, Somalia, Ivory Coast, Darfur etc, often in collaboration with the UN. Uganda and Burundi have provided the bulk of the 9,000 African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) that has helped to restore stability in Somalia. Recently Kenya, Djibouti and Ethiopia are actively involved in fighting the Al-Shabaab terrorist movement inside Somalia.

Adoption of international instruments against terrorism: Africa has over the years promoted and supported international instruments that regulate practices that could contribute to terrorism such as: the Palermo Convention on transnational organized crime; the Ottawa Convention on anti-personnel landmines; the UN plan of action on the illicit trade in small arms; and the UN Conventional arms register.

Adoption of African common positions on terrorism: Africa has considered and developed common positions, to counter and regulate activities associated with terrorism such as drug trafficking, arms trafficking, illegal human trafficking, mercenaries, organized crime, corruption and money-laundering and weapons of mass destruction. Consequently, African countries have adopted the following: the 1996 Yaoundé Declaration and plan of action on drug control, abuse and illicit drug trafficking in Africa; the 1998 Dakar Declaration on the prevention and control of organized transnational crime and corruption; the 2000 Bamako Declaration on an African common position on the illicit proliferation, circulation and trafficking of small arms and light
weapons; and the 1998 Pelindaba treaty establishing a nuclear-weapons free zone in Africa.

5.5 United Nations (UN)

UN strategyx helping member states to counter terrorism: combating terrorism is integral to the entire mandate of the United Nations. The UN Charter states, among the purposes of the organization: the maintenance of international peace and security; taking collective measures to prevent threats to peace and suppression of aggression; the promotion of human rights and economic development. As an assault on the principles of law and order, human rights and the peaceful settlement of disputes, terrorism runs counter to the principles and purposes that define the United Nations.

The UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategyxi: The UN global counter-terrorism strategy was adopted by member states on 8 September 2006 and calls for a holistic and inclusive approach to counter-terrorism. The strategy is a unique global instrument that enhances national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism. It includes practical measures such as strengthening state capacity to counter terrorist threats; better coordinating the United Nations system’s counter-terrorism activities; creates a focused plan of action; and addresses underlying conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism e.g. poverty, lack of good governance, and social and economic marginalization. The strategy addresses both real and perceived and the grievances and underlying social, economic, and political conditions that would forment terrorism.

The UN counter-terrorism committee/counter-terrorism Executive Directorate: The Security Council’s Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), with the support of its expert group, the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED), is charged with monitoring the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001), which imposed a range of law enforcement and other security-related counter-terrorism obligations on all UN member states. Among other things, the CTC/CTED is responsible for facilitating the delivery of counter-terrorism technical assistance to states that it has identified as needing help implementing the provisions of the resolution. The CTC/CTED is also responsible for engaging with and coordinating the counterterrorism activities of international, regional, and sub-regional bodies.

Addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism: most countries have recognized that the fight against terrorism must include an approach that also looks at its long-term components: the agreement is reflected in the global counter-terrorism strategy that addresses the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism. Its near universal membership and its global mandate make the United Nations a tool for Member States through
which to address the complex, longer term aspects of terrorism. The UN programs and specialized agencies work to address conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism including: prolonged unresolved conflicts; dehumanization of victims of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations; lack of the rule of law; violations of human rights; ethnic, national and religious discrimination; political exclusion; socio-economic marginalization and lack of good governance.

**Curbing terrorist financing:** UN member states have created and strengthened the legal foundations for the fight against terrorism; increased practical measures of cooperation to restrict terrorists in their actions by denying them the financial means for their actions; and denied them the freedom to move about to commit their acts and denying them the weapons to use in committing terrorist acts. The International Convention for Suppression of Terrorist Financing requires all countries that have ratified the convention to deny all financial possibilities to potential terrorists. Security Council resolution 1373 makes it mandatory for all states to eliminate the financing of terrorism, while resolution 1267 along with subsequent related resolutions freezes all the financial assets of Al Qaida and Taliban associates. For example, under the Al-Qaida and Taliban sanctions regime, 34 States have frozen at least $93.4 million in assets as of January 2006.

**International conventions and relevant Security Council resolutions:** such have created a restrictive environment not only for terrorists but also for states that may intend to support terrorism. All states are required to prevent terrorist groups from operating on their territory or using it as a training centre to prepare or launch an attack on another country. The Security Council has the means to impose strict punitive measures on states who disregard this obligation. In the past, Sudan, Libya and Afghanistan were targeted by sanctions for harboring and/or assisting terrorist groups.

**Developing state capacity to counter terrorism:** UN offices and agencies have provided assistance for states to be better able to fulfill the obligations to counter terrorism both individually and collectively. The work has been aimed at providing practical help to build state capacity to prevent terrorism e.g. through drafting appropriate national counter-terrorism legislation and promotion of the rule of law and good governance.

**UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)**: The UNODC provides counter-terrorism technical assistance whose purpose is to support requesting member states in achieving a functional universal legal regime against terrorism in accordance with the principles of the rule of law, under the framework of an ongoing UNODC global project on strengthening the legal regime against terrorism that was launched in January 2003. To answer to the requests made by countries, and to provide effective support, UNODC is providing tailored
training and technical assistance to them. National, bilateral and regional activities aiming at building national counter-terrorism capacities on the legal aspects of counter-terrorism are therefore undertaken. Those activities include training of criminal justice officials and sensitization workshops for policymakers on the importance of the ratification and implementation of the universal instruments against terrorism.

**UN Functional Organizations:** UN functional organizations such as the International Maritime Organization (IMO), the International Civilian Aviation Organization (ICAO), and the World Customs Organization (WCO) propagate international counterterrorism standards and best practices, monitor their implementation, and work to varying degrees with their member states to provide assistance and otherwise improve implementation of those standards.

### 6.0 CHALLENGES

- **Financial commitment:** the fight against terror requires financial commitments that many of the African states are lacking. Most African countries do not possess the resources and required technology to individually fight terrorism and piracy. This has affected the effectiveness of the fight against terror on the continent.

- **Poor governance structures:** Africa’s litany of bad governance and economic disarticulation, has led to conflicts, war and proliferation of criminal groups in several parts of the continent which has led to war and weak governance in several parts of Africa. Consequently, there have been criminal networks that have proved themselves ready to collaborate with terrorists in order to undermine security in Africa. Terrorism has chances of blossoming in Africa in the next decades due to: its multifarious “ungoverned spaces”; unresolved “national questions”; bad governance; the non-transparent resource management; and political selection (rather than election) which results from failure to deepen democratic governance.

- **Tension between state sovereignty and the common will:** the inherent tension between state sovereignty and the common-will upon which regional cooperation is founded – namely that effective collaborative action necessarily requires individual member countries to cede some of their national independence to the wider group collective. Likewise, there is significant political sensitivity surrounding the issue of counterterrorism which has led to difficulties in garnering support for initiatives labeled as such.

- **Personalized nature of governance and politics:** The highly personalized nature of governance and politics in Africa has not only
hindered the development of institutionalized forms of cooperation but also made these efforts contingent on the nature of the individual relationships that exist between what are often overly powerful presidents.

- **Underdeveloped security architecture:** the region is faced with lack of a well developed security apparatus that would effectively tackle the terrorism menace. The region would require a framework for integrating good governance and collective security strategies in the region’s effort to prevent terrorism. There is a general absence of integrated national counter-terrorist structures through which to channel and direct wider regional responses.

- **Lack of commitment from stakeholders:** Case in point is the ARMSOM where, until recently, only Uganda and Burundi troops were involved in the peace keeping efforts in spite of promises from the UN and AU to commit more troops. Lately, the governments of Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya have become actively involved in the fight against the Al-Shabaab.

Conclusion:
Given what we have seen above, one can surmise that where there is terrorism, then democracy, peace, security hence development cannot survive.

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