STRATEGY FOR DEFEATING TERRORISM IN NIGERIA AND THE SAHEL

© 2023   Stephen Osaherumwen Idahosa, Solomon Ijeweimen Ikhidero,
Blessing Chimanpa Egesi[1]

The purpose of this paper is to provide a counter-ideology framework as an alternative strategy to defeat terrorists, as military force has never been proven enough to defeat any terrorist group. The analysis relies on secondary information for systematic examination and descriptive analysis resulting in the use of Counter Terrorism Strategy (CTS) model to evaluate key assumption that acts of terrorist recruits are connected to deep politics and ideology. The paper therefore posits that the use of genuine religious messages to isolate terrorists from communities and ultimately make them short of new recruits should be considered. This finding has critical implications for institutions, governments, intelligence communities, regulators and policymakers, that the military crackdown would not yield the needed result, hence the need for a counter-ideology as a strategy to fight terrorism, particularly in the Sahel region.

Keywords: Counter Ideology, Terrorism, Islam, Insurgence, Military measure, CTS

СТРАТЕГИЯ ПОБЕДЫ НАД ТЕРРОРИЗМОМ В НИГЕРИИ И САХЕЛЕ

Идахоса Стефен Осахерумвен, Икхидеро Соломон Иджевеймен, Эгеси Блессинг Чиманпа

Цель статьи — предложить систему контр-идеологии в качестве альтернативной стратегии для победы над террористами, поскольку военная сила оказалась для этой цели недостаточной. В основе — вторичная информация для систематического исследования и дескриптивный анализ, результатом которых является выработка контртеррористической стратегии (КТС) для оценки вывода о том, что рекрутирование террористов связано с глубинными политическими и идеологическими факторами. Статья утверждает, что использование подлинных религиозных посланий может стать полезным для того, чтобы изолировать террористов от сообществ и лишить их возможности вербовать новичков. Это

---

[1] Idahosa Stephen Osaherumwen PhD Researcher, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University); idahosa8@gmail.com
Идахоса Стефен Осахерумвен, кандидат исторических наук, научный сотрудник, Российский университет Дружбы народов (РУДН); idahosa8@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000–0002–9085–0070

Ikhidero Solomon Ijeweimen, PhD, Lecturer, Ambrose Alli University, Nigeria; solomonikhidero@yahoo.com
Икхидеро Соломон Иджевеймен, кандидат исторических наук, преподаватель, университет Эмброус Алли, Нигерия; solomonikhidero@yahoo.com. ORCID: 0000–0002–5375–4952

Egesi Blessing Chimanpa, PhD Candidate, People's Friendship University Russia (RUDN University); blessingegesi1@gmail.com
Эгеси Блессинг Чиманпа, аспирант, Российский университет Дружбы народов (РУДН); blessingegesi1@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000–0003–3075–9950

может быть критически важно для организаций, правительств, спецслужб, законодателей и политиков, и поскольку военные меры не дают результата, необходима контр-идеология для борьбы с терроризмом, особенно в регионе Сахел.

INTRODUCTION

Ideology is a powerful message that motivates and propels ordinary human beings into action. Ideology, a dynamic and an evolving belief system, is shaped by the interpretation of occurrences by ideologues [Rohan 2005]. It is is used to attract and retain recruits as members, supporters and sympathizers. Jihadi ideologues and group leaders craft their ideology by interpreting, reinterpreting or misinterpreting religion and politics.

For terrorists, ideology provides them with a justification for their acts of violence. In other words, terrorist groups rationalize their actions within a framework of an ideological orientation to attract potential recruits [Mark, 2007; Shuki, et. al., 2018]. As Idahosa et. al, argued that counterterrorism and security approach that has so far been used in the Sahel, has failed to sustainably strengthen the Sahelian states [Idahosa et al., 2018]. Efforts by the government of Nigeria, G5 Sahel countries[2], etc. to halt the increasing violence of Boko Haram and other terrorist groups have so far been based on two major approaches which are the carrot and stick strategies that seek to negotiate with terrorist groups in the region.

For example, military spending in Nigeria increased to 1907 USD million in 2018 from 1621 USD million in 2017. In 2019, Nigeria's parliament increased the 2019 budget to ₦[3]8.91 trillion ($29 billion) from N8.83 trillion ($24.4 billion). This was done to accommodate more funds to facilitate the fight against terrorism and to combat rising militancy and kidnapping in the country [Joy & Stephen, 2021]. Similarly, the intensity of Chadian combat operations attacks against terrorists in Lake Chad Basin in 2020 is another example, as the Chadian military launched an offensive led by President Idriss Déby to clear the insurgents from its territory and environs [Daniel, 2020]. However, Institute for Security Studies argued that this could open a new chapter in counter-terrorism efforts and fears of history repeating itself, noting that failure to hold the conquered spaces and win the hearts and minds of the communities means that the terrorist groups were never totally eradicated [Remadji, 2020].

How states conduct counterterrorism can change over time, as such, it would seem rather defeatist not to try to explore the potential for emancipatory counterterrorism — especially when counterterrorism currently impacts the real security of a vast number of people. In Horkheimer's own words: 'to give voice to what one knows and thereby perhaps to avert new terror remain the right of a man who is still really alive' [Max, 1972].

This paper therefore, leverages on Sondre Lindahl Counter Terrorism Strategy (CTS) (encapsulates the principles of means/ends relationship, non-violence and holism, by extension positive counterterrorism) model, as well as Louise Richardson, counter terrorism position, to model counter

---

[2] The Group of Five (G5) Sahel countries was founded in 2014 as a regional, intergovernmental organization. It provides an institutional framework to promote development and security within its five member countries: Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger.

[3] ₦ (naira) stands fo Nigerian currency symbols.

ideology measures in addressing terrorism [Sondre, 2017; Louise, 2006]. This is an important point as Counter Terrorism Strategy model can make use of empirical research, to support the key assumption that acts of terrorist recruits are connected to deep politics and Ideology which is used to attract and retain recruits as members, supporters and sympathizers. For instance, research indicates that the majority of all terrorist casualties occur in areas with ongoing conflicts [Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015].

Trusting on counter ideological approach as a strategy for defeating terrorists', ideology is therefore key in this process [Ayima, 2019, p.3]. In the opinion of former President Obama, 'military force alone was not enough to defeat any terrorist group because ideologies cannot be defeated with weapons' [Haliru, 2017]. A former British Foreign Minister said, 'the war on terror was wrong', and it brought 'more harm than good' [Ilesanmi, 2016]. The Paper argues that Jihadi ideologues and group leaders craft their ideology by interpreting, reinterpreting or misinterpreting religion and politics. Stressing that this is used to attract and retain recruits as members, supporters and sympathizers. Hence, pertinent questions that deserve attention in this paper include: how effective ideological response could help defeat global terrorism and radicalization? The need to explore international cooperation in counter ideological response in addressing terrorism? How should the root causes of misinterpretations and misrepresentation of messages and sermons be addressed?

OBJECTIVE OF THIS PAPER

The first objective of this paper is to utilize Lindahl 's conceptual framework of Counter Terrorism Strategy (CTS) to analyze the extent to which non-violence strategy could be explore to counter terrorism in the Sahel and West Africa. The second objective is to analyze how Morocco has successfully utilized non-violence strategy (policies) to combat terrorism and study how, for instance, the reliance on non-violence can be productive in the fight against terrorism.

This cross-analyze is significant in that violence counterterrorism approach has over the years not be able to reduce terrorist activities and ensure peace and security in the Sahel region.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK/CONCEPTUALIZATION

There has been an extended and intense debate within the scholastic literature regarding the nature and effect of ideology, both as a theoretical construct and as a heuristic device for understanding the dynamics of social change [John et. al., 2009]. According to Kenneth Payne, the concept of ideology is often associated with the work of Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) and Karl Marx (1818–1883) [Kenneth, 2009]. Stressing that: 'the ideological fault-line is extremists versus the moderates'. Worthy of note is the measure of consensus between Jeni Mitchell, Kenneth Payne, John Turner, and Heather S. Gregg, on global jihadist ideology [Jeni, 2008; Kenneth, 2009; John, 2010; Heather, 2010]. For the purpose of this paper, an ideology is that upshot of man's needs for imposing intellectual order on the globe. The need for an ideology is an intensification of the necessity for a cognitive and moral map of the universe, which during a less intense and more intermittent form is fundamental, although asymmetrically distributed — the disposition of man.

According to Edward Shils, an ideology of movements borne by a small circle of persons is categorized into what he called 'quasi-ideological primary group', the 'proto-ideological group' — 'The 'world' is the enemy with which they are at war»'. According to Edward Shils, they are 'rebels without a cause'. (The boys' gangs of the great cities of the Western world are typical of these proto-ideological

formations; as such, they contrast with the more ideological youth groups which flourished in Germany from the last years of the nineteenth century to the coming of World War II.). The proto-ideological group is aggressively at war with an enemy and lacks an intellectual doctrine. The views of terrorist groups in carrying out their activities is the declaration of war upon their enemy (the order, society from which they are alienated). Joseph S. Roucek, argue that every ideological formation involves the projection of a particular ideal into the future, into the evaluation of the contemporaneous, and into the historical. These patterns of thought are «ideologies — the formation and projection of a particular ideal into the future, by evaluating the contemporary and the historical. Consequently, Arne Naess, Jens A. Christophersen, Kjell Kvalø and Pia-Maria Niemi, Saija Benjamin, Arniika Kuusisto & Liam Gearon, posit that, there is the need to plan counter-terrorism strategies in line with national educational policies [Arne, Jens, & Kjell 1956; Niemi, Saija, Arniika & Liam, 2018].

On the proper understanding of Islamic faith, Islamic scholars such as Abdul Ghany Jahengeer Khan (n. d.), argued that despite hypocritical claim to the contrary, peace is actually the cornerstone of the Islamic faith, the word Islam is derived from the Arabic word «*Al-Salaam*» which means peace. Tal'at Kiani, Rasoul Kiani, Naeim Karimpour, Seiyed Abedin Khodadadi & Samad Yousefi, argue that the negative portrayal of Islam as synonymous with violence may not help in the quest to win the war against terrorism [Tal'at, Rasoul, Naeim, Seiyed & Samad, 2017]. Ghulam Ghaus Siddiqi, posits that the rulings of classical Islamic Sharia are based on four main sources; the *Quran*, the *Sunnah*, *Ijma* (Consensus) and *Qiyas* (analogy) [Ghulam, 2022]. This is to avoid crisis of interpretation that tend to justify violent and terrorist acts. Historian, De Lacy O'Leary, in his work, *Islam at the Crossroads*, refutes the notion that Islam is spread by means of violence [De Lacy, 2016]. Prof. Muhammad Tahir ul Qadri explains that Islam seeks to establish societies based on justice and equity: societies in which no one encroaches on the rights of others or seeks to wield his or her strength, authority, wealth or status unjustly and terrorism does not represent the true face of Islam [Muhammad, 2010].

Thus, the existing gap this study wishes to fill is the vacuum created by Counter Terrorism Strategy (CTS) on dealing with terrorism from the source without using military power. This gap is the use of counter ideological measure of genuine messages of Islam (non-violence strategy) to denial terrorist groups of potential recruits, by implication isolate the terrorists from the communities and inoculate their potential recruits against them.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The paper adopts qualitative and research-based approach utilizing primary and secondary sources of information. Its theoretical framework is basically derived from the works of Lindahl Sondre and Richardson on counterterrorism. Both authors' work, have all been critical to the application and understanding of this framework. Sources of information also include press releases and official statements from both the Sahel and West Africa, reports by academic observers, journal articles, newspaper articles, web pages and conference/working papers. Whilst a wealth of literature exists in regards to Counter Terrorism Strategy (CTS) and Sub-Saharan-Sahel and West Africa, the limitation of the study is consequent on the reason that literature on the collaboration of G5 Sahel and West Africa on the use of military power in collaboration with counter ideological measure of genuine messages of Islam to denial terrorist groups of potential recruits has been harder to come by. As countering terrorism cannot come at the cost of another if the goal is to prevent attacks from happening in the future. However, the future scope or plan of study is the securitization of the Sahel region.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Terrorism has unarguably become an unprecedented threat to international peace, security and development. Unfortunately, it has been with us in various forms across ages and continents and notable for its geographic span as no country can claim to be immune. Given the increase in the number of terrorist attacks in African countries, a better understanding of non-violent counter terrorism measure in addressing terrorism is essential for policymakers.

Consequently, some of the important questions to consider in the analysis of Counter Terrorism Strategy (CTS) and the evaluation of key assumption that acts of terrorist recruits are connected to deep politics and ideology as a powerful means used by terrorists to motivates, attract and retain young recruit include:

To what extent can counter-ideology strategies be initiated to defeat terrorist groups?

To what extent can non-violent means prevent youths from developing false «sympathy» toward extremism?

COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGY (CTS) MODEL

The paper adopts Counter Terrorism Strategy (CTS) model by Lindahl Sondre and Richardson on counterterrorism as a lens of analysis and thus, fill in the existing gap, which is the lack of counter ideological measure counter terrorism e. g. the use of genuine messages as a means to fight terrorism from the source. Constructing a model rooted in emancipation according to Lindahl could be one way of reconstructing counterterrorism.

Emancipation as its guiding principle, according to Booth's definition: emancipation seeks the securing of people from those oppressions that stop them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do, compatible with the freedom of others. It provides a three-fold framework for politics: a philosophical anchorage for knowledge, a theory of progress for society, and a practice of resistance against oppression [Ken, 2007, p. 112, in Sondre, 2017]. Emancipation is an understanding that one's own security cannot come at the cost of another if we are to enjoy what Booth calls «security plus» [Ken, 2007, p. 102]. As Richardson posits that «we must isolate the terrorists and inoculate their potential recruits against them» [Louise, 2007, p.204]. Emancipation is the main normative and ethical principle of the model of Sondre Lindahl, that encapsulates the principles of means/ends relationship, non-violence and holism. Prevention according to Lindahl, is positive counterterrorism, which can be likened to the notion of positive peace [Johan, 1969].

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Counter Ideological Narratives to Combating Terrorism: CST Model — *Emancipation, Means/ends Relationship, Non-Violence — Prevention of Terrorism*

The key underlying assumption is that terrorism and counterterrorism derive from deep politics, … [Ken, 2007]. In a Coxian vein we may say that our understanding of terrorism and how to counter it come *from* somewhere, *for* someone, and *for* some purpose (added emphasis). Thus, Investigating the deep politics of a context would reveal how political logics, practices and subjectivities constitute actors and make violence possible.

For example, since the fall of Ghaddafi, terrorist activities have increased in no small measure in the Sahel and Lake Chad Basin, Nigeria and countries in the Sahel region has formed various

collaborations to combat terrorism at both local and regional levels, and huge amount of money has been spent to finance the «war against terrorism». The destructions in Libya and its grave implications on the global World remains a time bomb [Groupson-Paul, 2012], as NATO failed to protect the Libyan population in its entirety (Matthew, 2019) and the Libyan intervention appears as just another iteration in the familiar idea of realpolitik [David 2011], directly impacting the Sahel by security threats and economic spill over emanating from Libya's instability — making it an attractive operating environment for violent extremist organizations [Marcel & Tim 2019]. As the 2012 coup in Mali was triggered by the instability in Libya, which ultimately spread to neighbouring countries and other part of the region [Stephen and Ejike 2020a; Stephen and Ilesanmi, 2020b].

Similarly, Terrorism also has wide-ranging economic consequences that have the potential to spread quickly through the global economy with significant social ramifications. The ten countries with the utmost impact of terrorism are all engaged in at least one-armed conflict (see fig. 1) and the total global economic impact of violence was estimated at $14.1 trillion for 2018, or 11.2 per cent of global GDP (see fig 2.). According to Institute for Economics & Peace (2019, in analyzing the impact of terrorism posited that between 2002 and 2018, South Asia, MENA and sub-Saharan Africa accounted for 93 per cent of all deaths from terrorism and that the global economic impact of terrorism was US$33 billion in 2018 [Institute for Economics & Peace 2019, p. 36].

The ten most affected countries by the economic cost of terrorism, 2019

Nine of the ten countries with the highest economic impacts of terrorism are suffering from ongoing conflict.

Country	Economic Cost of Terrorism as Percentage of GDP	GTI 2020 Rank
Afghanistan	16.7%	1
Syria	3.4%	4
Nigeria	2.4%	3
Burkina Faso	1.9%	12
Mali	1.9%	11
Somalia	1.2%	5
Iraq	1.1%	2
Yemen	1.0%	6
Sri Lanka	1.0%	20
Central African Republic	0.9%	17

Source: IEP

Fig 1. Ten most affected countries for economic cost of terrorism in 2019 [Institute for Economics & Peace, 2020, p. 32]

The economic impact of terrorism, US$ billions, 2000–2018

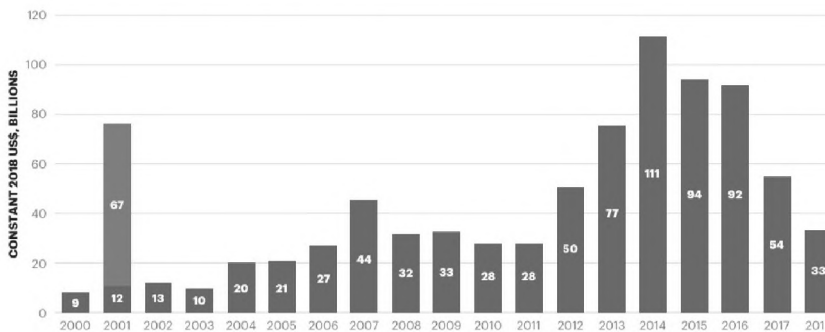The global economic impact of terrorism peaked in 2014.

Fig 2. The economic impact of terrorism 2000–2018 [Institute for Economics & Peace, 2019, p. 31]

59

On the application of the **concept emancipation**, the goal of counter ideological measure is to prevent attacks and young recruit from happening in the future. So, if the ideology of terrorists is to maim, kill and destroy lives and property, this by implication contradicts the teaching of Islam, as noted by Hassan, Azmi, & Abubakar, 2017, in Mohd et al., 2020. Therefore, to prevent attacks and young recruit from happening in the future, resistance to the ideological motives of the terrorist organizations, such as Boko Haram, ISIS, Al-Qaida, etc. should be based on counter ideology and a genuine understanding of Islam is imperative. They misinterpret Islamic scriptures — Quran and Hadith — for their ideological motives. As it is stated in the Quran: «But whoever kills a believer intentionally — hid recompense is Hell, wherein he will abide eternally, and Allah has become angry with him and has cursed him and has prepared for him a great punishment» — Q4:93 [Adnan, Anas & Isyaku, 2020].

For example, Boko Haram terrorist group resilience is linked to its ideology which is based on the radical Salafist philosophy. Given that the terrorist ideology is a critical factor in the radicalization of both individuals and groups, it is important that any strategy to defeat any terrorist group should first dismantle the group's ideology. Consistent counter-ideology strategy is necessary for eliminating terrorist ideologies. For this reason, counterterrorism efforts that do not include a counter- ideology strategy cannot defeat the group's resilience. For example, Kwesi Ayima, argued that, efforts by the Nigerian government to defeat Boko Haram terrorist group have been majorly focused on military counterinsurgency operations and intelligence-driven counterterrorism strategies. This in return has not yielded the country's needed result [Kwesi, 2019]. Experts have argued that it is necessary to counter terrorist groups' ideological narratives by replacing them with compelling alternative messages, in comparison to the military approach that is currently in use by MNJTF and the G5 Sahel Forces [Ladbury, et. al., *2016;* Laurie, et. al. 2011). As religious radicalization cannot be prevented through military means alone [Stephen et al., 2018].

The ethical principle of this model that encapsulates the principles of means/ends relationship, non-violence and holism. The main assumption is that technologies are neutral tools ready to serve their purposes when called upon [Sondre, 2017]. The means is counter ideological measure and the end is to counter ideological measures used to recruit. Religious leaders such as Sudan, Emirs, Sheikhs, Imam, etc. can be subjects for the dissemination of a counter ideological messages based on genuine understanding and tolerance of Islam and Islamic law, through media (both print, internet, etc.), debates, lectures and more. For example, Stephen Idahosa posits that one of the counter measures used by the United States Delta Force to free 70 Kurdish prisoners held by ISIS in Iraq. He noted that the forces promoted through six different Twitter accounts that are specialized in countering ISIS in social media which had earlier released videos of the U.S. raid against ISIS on Twitter, the force added the Arabic hashtags used by ISIS in their communications. Stressing that according to data provided by the Twitter analysis software Tweet binder, the six Twitter accounts published 843 tweets in one week with the Kurdish prisoner video, reaching an audience of 711,313 Twitter users. These brought extremely powerful voices, as this was the first time that Arabs and Muslims express in public the atrocities of ISIS [Stephen, 2017]. For example, see Figure 3.

Terrorism carried out by individuals who were self-radicalised or radicalized ideologically primarily via the Internet, rather than by in-person contact with other far-right individuals or groups. IEP analysis of the 32 far-right terrorist attacks since 2011 that caused at least one fatality found that less than a quarter of the perpetrators had definite in-person contact with other far-right individuals or groups, and over a third appear to have been primarily radicalised online. This shows the proportionality

of recruit and redicalisation associated with ideology [Institute for Economics & Peace «*Global Terrorism Index*», *2019*].

Proportion of affiliated and unaffiliated attacks by ideology

Around 60 per cent of both far-right and Islamist attacks are unaffiliated.
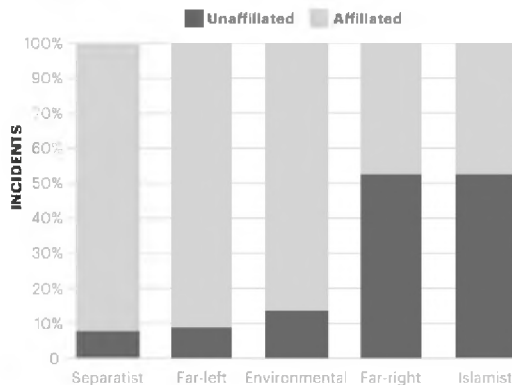
Fig. 3 [Global Terrorism Index/Database by IEP, November, 2019]

Feenberg, however, argues that means and subjects are dialectically intertwined. Therefore, subjects — like armies, states or individuals — and means, are related. The army for instance, is not accidently related to its weapons, but it is structured around the activities they support [Sondre, 2017], so principled non-violence, or a view of non-violence as a way of life, is «characterized by a commitment to methods of nonviolent actions for ethical reasons, [and] a view of means and ends as inseparable» [Sondre, 2017]. Therefore, there is the need to evaluate approaches through which misguided ideology of terrorist groups could be defeated based on ideological response from Islamic perspective, especially with an effective communication of true message of Islam [Al-Hilaii & Khan n. d., 2003]. The concepts discussed in this paper could advance Nigeria and the Sahelian countries' Institutional and Governmental understanding of the approaches to addressing and combating the imprudent ideology of terrorist organizations, the Sahelian jihadist groups that are shifting the dynamics of conflicts and violence in the region [Maiangwa B. 2014]. As Deming argues, «it is quite possible to frustrate another's action without doing him injury» [Sondre, 2017].

COOPERATION WITH MOROCCO ON COUNTERING IDEOLOGICAL MEASURE: PREVENTION OF TERRORISM

The violence in Western counterterrorism approach is itself a pathology of deception or of the world order [Sondre, 2017] in the way that it creates and constitutes both terrorism and counterterrorism. An example is the US AFRICOM, France 4500 boots on the ground including drone bases in the Sahel, the argument on both terrorism and counterterrorism relates to the forces on the ground, including the forces of G5 and MNJTF as well as France and US which constitutes counterterrorism, has over the years not be able to reduce terrorist activities and ensure peace and security in the Sahel region. Violence counterterrorism approach has over the years not be able to reduce terrorist activities and ensure peace and security as explicitly acknowledged in the National Strategy for Counterterrorism of the United States of America (October 2018) which stated that, 'over the past seventeen years, we (the

United States) have built a strong counterterrorism architecture to stop attacks and eliminate terrorists, but we (the United States) have not developed a prevention architecture to thwart terrorist radicalization and recruitment [Haroro, 2018]. Similarly, Fatima Kyari Mohammed, Permanent Observer of the African Union, said that, in addition to the Sahel, Lake Chad Basin and Horn of Africa, terrorism is now spreading to parts of Africa that had been spared of such menace. Stressing that these regions are at war in which dozens of soldiers and civilians are killed almost every week. A greater focus must be placed on prevention, root causes and understanding why young people join terrorist groups or espouse extremist views [United Nations 11 March, 2020].

Hence, the ideal-type of counterterrorism therefore, is a much broader and longitudinal approach that seeks to prevent terrorism by putting in place such policies that will reduce terrorism by realizing concrete utopias, and enhancing the emancipatory space for individuals and communities around the world [Sondre, 2017]. In application, it is worth noting that no nation could guarantee the safety of her citizens without cooperation with the international community [Olusegun, 2014, cited in Ilesanmi, 2016]. Hence, the need to evaluate Cooperation with Morocco as a counter ideological measure in the fight against terrorism. The point is to locate acts of terrorism in a broader context and study how, for instance, the reliance on non-violence can be productive. To this end, Rabat emphasizes the country's moderate Maliki school of Islam, in opposition to AQIM's Wahhabi vision of Islam [Julien, 2014].

The prevention of terrorism model which focuses on an emancipatory, or positive approach to preventing terrorism (in this context exploiting Morocco's approach) which asks: what can be done to reduce the pathologies of this world that are conducive to terrorism in the first place? Prevention therefore is a matter of addressing the causes of terrorism, regardless of whether there is an attack or not. Applying positive approach to preventing terrorism, Morocco promoting spiritual and tolerant brand of Islam, known as the Sufi-Maliki tradition, which bills as an alternative to the extremist, Wahhabi-inspired tendencies encroaching on the Sahel. The multimillion-dollar Mohammed VI Institute for Training Imams, inaugurated in 2015, and its Foundation for African Ulema, constructed in 2016, are cases of Rabat's efforts to remodel Islam in Africa [Anouar, 2017].

Some of the strategies use by Morocco is to arrange for Imams to learn Sunni Maliki jurisprudence and Achaari theology, as well as promote programs that arrange for literacy classes in mosques nationwide in order to raise the general educational levels of her people about the values of religious beliefs and morals. Islamic messages in this context, if genuinely communicated would expose the danger of terrorism and prevent others having such erroneous ideology. The effect in the Morocco non-violent strategy to preventing terrorism could be seen in fig 4 in comparison with fig 5. Morocco overall ranking is 92 and its change between 2002–2018 was 1.215, between 2017–2018 is 1.177 while Nigeria overall ranking is 3, its change between 2002–2018 is 5.089, between 2017–2018 is .0.063, follow by Mali's overall ranking of 13, change between 2002–2018–6.653, change between 2017–2018–0.638, Niger overall ranking — 23, change between 2002–2018–5.329, 2017–2018 — .0.408 as well as Chad's overall ranking — 28, its change between 2002–2018–3.754, 2017–2018–0.010 [Institute for Economics & Peace «Global Terrorism Index» 2019, p. 41]. The success of Morocco's approach is arguable recommendable in reducing the menace of terrorism.

Middle East and North Africa GTI score, rank and change in score, 2002–2018

COUNTRY	OVERALL SCORE	OVERALL RANK	CHANGE 2002-2018	CHANGE 2017-2018
Iraq	9.241	2	5.535	-0.505
Syria	8.006	4	7.996	-0.309
Yemen	7.259	8	4.391	-0.275
Egypt	6.794	11	6.417	-0.551
Libya	6.766	12	6.766	-0.221
Sudan	5.807	20	-0.757	-0.371
Saudi Arabia	5.238	30	3.233	-0.241
Palestine	5.177	32	0.869	-0.153
Iran	4.717	39	2.423	0.318
Israel	4.525	40	-2.285	-0.053
Lebanon	4.395	43	1.178	-0.759
Tunisia	3.938	51	0.359	-0.150
Algeria	3.409	57	-3.754	-0.354
Bahrain	3.201	61	3.201	-0.682
Jordan	3.091	64	1.074	-0.313
Kuwait	2.487	75	2.143	-0.639
Morocco	1.215	92	1.215	1.177
United Arab Emirates	0.048	130	0.048	-0.057
Qatar	0.029	133	0.029	-0.028
Oman	0.000	138	0.000	0.000

Fig 4. Middle East and North Africa GTI score, rank and change in score, 2002–2018 [Institute for Economics & Peace, 2019, p. 41]

Sub-Saharan Africa GTI score, rank and change in score, 2002–2018

COUNTRY	OVERALL SCORE	OVERALL RANK	CHANGE 2002-2018	CHANGE 2017-2018
Nigeria	8.597	3	5.089	-0.063
Somalia	7.800	6	4.727	-0.220
Democratic Republic of the Congo	7.039	10	2.983	-0.016
Mali	6.653	13	6.653	0.538
Central African Republic	6.622	14	6.622	-0.097
Cameroon	6.620	15	5.572	0.005
South Sudan	6.316	17	6.316	0.440
Kenya	5.756	21	1.124	-0.358
Niger	5.596	23	5.329	0.408
Mozambique	5.542	25	5.456	0.963
Burkina Faso	5.418	27	5.418	0.607
Ethiopia	5.345	29	3.965	-0.288
Burundi	5.102	33	-0.395	-0.214
Chad	4.762	38	3.754	0.010
South Africa	4.511	41	1.426	0.248
Uganda	3.957	49	-1.711	0.031
Angola	3.784	52	-2.571	-0.689
Tanzania	3.272	60	-0.322	-0.096
Rwanda	2.948	66	0.588	0.771

Fig 5. Sub-Saharan Africa GTI score, rank and change in score, 2002–2018 [Institute for Economics & Peace, 2019, p. 41]

Countries that have shown interest with Morocco on the need to apply such measures and signed a cooperation agreement includes Mali in September 2013 targeted at training 500 Malian imams over a 6-year period — a 2-year training programme already started in November 2013 [Julien, 2014]. Tunisia, Libya, Guinea. Burkina Faso also requested Morocco to share its experiences in the

education of Imams, and thus, several cooperation agreements concluded. While similar terms of cooperation were also sought for by Senegal. The training program of Imams was also mentioned when the Moroccan King visited Côte d'Ivoire in March 2013 [Ilesanmi, A. 2016]. Framing its religious cooperation as a fight against radicalization, Morocco thus seeks to deploy religion/counter ideology approach as an instrument of stabilization and to counter and weaken terrorism and jihadist groups. Then counterterrorism would aim to separate terrorists from their communities. Thus, the focus is on potential recruits, and the communities from which the various groups derive their support. The logic is that once they are isolated, terrorists become weaker; as they become weaker, they become dependent upon crime, and this makes them more exposed. They also cannot travel as safely and freely, and as their freedom and choices are frustrated, the group is caught in a downward spiral (Richardson, 2006). This strategy has the potential to convince other countries to emphasize their cooperation with Morocco and adopt counter ideological measure in addressing terrorism [Julien, 2014].

DISCUSSION/ANALYSIS

The analysis in this section is based on Counter Terrorism Strategy (CTS) — theoretical model by Sondre Lindahl and Louise Richardson submissions [Sondre, 2017 and Louise, 2006]. However, before discussing Lindahl CTS model and Richardson in relation to counter ideological measures, it would be useful to provide an overview of the Message of Islam as a Counter Terrorism Measure.

OVERVIEW OF THE MESSAGE OF ISLAM AS A COUNTER TERRORISM MEASURE

Stemming the tide of global terrorism through a counter-ideological approach demands a reevaluation of the message of Islam anchored on injunctions of the Islamic holy writ — Quran. Indeed, many Islamic scholars have agreed that despite hypocritical claim to the contrary, peace is actually the cornerstone of the Islamic faith [Tal'at, et al. 2017]. Tal'at Kiani, Rasoul Kiani, Naeim Karimpour, Seiyed Abedin Khodadadi & Samad Yousefi argue that the media, especially Western one, highlights and dramatizes some negative behaviors of Muslims even though they do not represent whole Islamic world and Islamic theology. The negative portrayal of Islam as synonymous with violence they argue further may not help in the quest to win the war against terrorism [Tal'at, et al. 2017].

According to the assertion of Abdul Ghany Jahengeer Khan (n. d.) above on Islam and peace as well as the noble teaching of peace associated with Islam. It is observed that the aim of which is to establish peace between man and Allah, the Creator of all; between man and man; and between man and the rest of Allah's creation. This is aptly captured in the Quran in Surah Al-Baqarah 2:208 that;

«O You who believe! Enter absolutely into peace (Islam). Do not follow in the footsteps of satan. He is an outright enemy to you.»

Ghulam Ghaus Siddiqi, in his analysis of Quranic Verses that counter violent-extremism and terrorism reiterates that, the rulings of classical Islamic Sharia are based on four main sources; the *Quran*, the *Sunnah, Ijma* (Consensus) and *Qiyas* (analogy) [Ghulam, 2017]. This is to avoid crisis of interpretation that tend to justify violent and terrorist acts, as Islam is spread by means of violence and tolerance and coexistence with people of other religious traditions have been the hallmark of Muslim societies in history [De Lacy, 2016]. The killing of innocent civilians by suicide bombers and terrorists according to is strongly condemned in the Quran [Khan, 2003].

ANALYSIS CENTERED ON CTS — MODEL BY LINDAHL AND RICHARDSON SUBMISSIONS

Being able to assess counterterrorism is imperative to any model of counterterrorism, and the ideal-type evaluation is primarily based on the three tests of proportionality, effectiveness, and legitimacy [Sondre 2017]. Proportionality and effectiveness utilize empirical means to evaluate counterterrorism, while legitimacy is rooted and anchored in emancipation. Since 9/11 it has been the application of the use of force and military crackdown [Angel, et. al. 2004] rather than targeting the root causes and how recruits are conducted and the increase in the number combatants, etc. In contrast, this model adopts a straight-forward cost-benefit and risk-analytic procedure to evaluate both effectiveness and proportionality, as suggested by Sondre Lindahl [Sondre, 2017].

This calculation can be used to assess both the efficiency and proportionality of counterterrorism measures. In short, the calculation is a function of three elements: possibility of successfully dissemination of genuine counter ideological messages, inoculate potential recruits, and separate terrorists from their communities, which aimed to reduce terrorist groups, and to ultimately caught the group in a downward spiral [Louise, 2006; Muhammad & Kenneth, 2006]. This straight-forward, accepted cost-benefit analysis, based on actual numbers is essential to begin to mitigate the epistemological crises of counterterrorism. It provides us with a way of evaluating the efficiency and proportionality of counterterrorism and these cost-benefit calculations are based on factors that are known, and not abstract scenarios and imagination.

Empirical evaluation is useful to determine whether certain practices are effective and proportionate. However, counterterrorism should also be evaluated on whether they are legitimate or not. In an effective and through legitimate means, religious leaders (Sultans, Emirs, Sheikhs, Imam, etc.) can be legitimate subjects for the dissemination of a counter ideological messages based on genuine understanding and tolerance of Islam and Islamic law [Muhammad & Kenneth, 2006], through media (both print, internet, etc.), debates, lectures and more. As discussed earlier in this article, by conceptualizing the counter ideological measure and in agreement with the emancipatory project as a possible solution to avoidable human suffering in the world, the marriage between CTS model of Sondre Lindahl and Louise Richardson as well as contributions on counter ideological measure by Muhammad Haniff Bin Hassan & Kenneth George Pereire, Ilesanmi Bakare, Pia-Maria Niemi, Saija Benjamin, Arniika Kuusisto & Liam Gearon, Kwesi Ayima, and Adnan Tawfiq Mohd, Anas Mohd Yunus, Isyaku Hassan posited in this paper, introduces its own legitimacy [Sondre, 2017; Louise, 2006; Muhammad & Kenneth, 2006; Ilesanmi 2016; Pia-Maria, Saija, Arniika & Liam, 2018; Kwesi, 2019; Adnan, Anas & Isyaku, 2020]. A central tenet of the model is that only by honouring means/ends through genuine counter ideological measures consistency could counterterrorism be truly emancipatory and prevent terrorism.

The Richardson approach which states that «isolating terrorists and inoculate their potential recruits» is understood by Sondre Lindahl as to contain the threat from Islamic terrorists through repressive measures. This paper examines it through the lens of applying counter ideological measures [Kwesi, 2019; Adnan, Anas & Isyaku, 2020] targeting one of the main sources of terrorist group — potential recruits. The focus is on potential recruit, were communities and young recruit would begin to isolate terrorist and they (terrorists) become weaker, as posited by Richardson, (2006). However, this paper added that the «dare to know» principle investigates how recruit are conducted through ideological means, filling the above existing missing gap of CTS model of Sondre Lindahl and Louise Richardson to suit this analysis — which is the use of counter ideological measure of genuine messages of Islam to denial terrorist groups of potential recruits, by implication isolate the terrorists from the communities and inoculate their potential recruits against them.

Consequently, there is the need to de-radicalize terrorists and insurgents through an intensive counter-ideological approach. According to Prof. Muhammad Tahir ul Qadri, Islam by virtue of its Quranic injunction condemns acts of terrorism. As Prof. Dr. Muhammad Tahir ul Qadri puts it, Terrorism does not represent the true face of Islam.

CONCLUSION

This article has sought to fill an important gap (lack of counter ideological measure to counter terrorism e. g. the use of genuine 'religious' messages) in the existing counterterrorism literature by carefully examining Morocco countering ideological measure alongside the counter terrorism strategy model by Lindahl and Richardson, articulating a systematic CTS model of counterterrorism. This paper systematically applies Counter Terrorism Strategy (CTS) model by Lindahl and Richardson to proffer an analysis of counter ideological measure in addressing the source of terrorism, which is «recruit». The analysis in this work constitutes an attempt to provide a positive alternative to the inherently flawed, and incredibly violent global war on terror. Thus, its plan brought together two models of counterterrorism in that the main goal is to prevent terrorism by addressing underlying root causes — counter means of recruit. Counterterrorism practices and policies enacted out of principles of non-violence, or emancipation, enjoy an ethical and normative supremacy compared to violent counterterrorism because, among others, they respect the dignity of others, and presuppose their equality.

Never before in history has the statement «anyone can become a terrorist» been more true or easier to attain than with and since the advent of social media and the use of propaganda, as well as with the weapon — ideology. This pervasive, asymmetrical threat is proliferating through the use of diverse conduits, including social media tools; bringing about long-term security challenges for intelligence organizations and domestic law/regional forces and enforcement agencies; and raising the domestic threat of unpredictable, small-scale surgical strikes by homegrown terrorists using vehicle-borne, person-borne, and leave-behind IEDs-the terrorist's weapon of choice.

The overall objective is to prevent the youths from developing a false «sympathy» toward extremism; misinterpret religious scriptures, especially Quranic texts. As well as to assist countries particularly the Sahel and Nigeria to address the wide-ranging economic consequences of terrorism that have the potential to spread quickly through the global economy with significant social ramifications. In this regard, the paper submits that root causes of these misinterpretations could be addressed as follows: by disseminating the genuine teaching of Islam through various strategies, such as online media, public lectures, debates and online programs; Military operations against terrorism should be accompanied by a digital communication strategy that provides debates, lectures, discussions, audiovisual material to be shared on social medial, radio/television channels; Counter-narrative campaigns against terrorists' groups should be based on true preaching and stories of Christianity, Islam, Arabs and Muslims who have experienced firsthand experience of the suffering caused by terrorism. The application of Morocco distinctive method in the fight against terrorism which work to drain terrorist networks' resources and reduce all non-physical drives that has the capacity to motivate young people to embrace the doctrines of terrorist violence is unarguably imperative in the fight against terrorism.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Terrorism is the central dilemma in most African countries. This paper, its analysis and submissions are important for both policymakers and academics as they fill a gap in the literature and

analyze the direct and indirect channels and methods in the relationship between the fight against terrorism and terrorist activity in countries, particularly African countries, which are vulnerable to terrorism. In addition, this work can be used by researchers seeking to adopt a theoretical/hypothetical point of view in the pursuit of such a research, as well as to integrate non-violent instruments into a broader asset base portfolio in the fight against and preventing terrorism.

LIMITATION AND STUDY FORWARD

The limitation of this study is that it only employs and relies solely on secondary information for data generation and analysis, as counter ideological measure of counterterrorism is very diverse, whereas interviews could be explored. Further research could examine data generation from the field and the relationship of other variables of Counter Terrorism Strategy (CTS) model on counter ideology, by exploring some variables that might probably address the gap between the society and the government in counterterrorism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Литература/ References

Макпа Д. О., Идахоса С. О. Дилемма рецидива мятежей и проблем безопасности в Нигерии: перспективы Боко Харам. *Современная научная мысль.* 2021. № 3. С. 126–138.

Abortion S. E., & Ezeh, C. I. Terrorism/insurgency and the welfare of the African child: The case of Boko Haram in Nigeria. *International Journal of Social & Management Sciences, Madonna University,* 2017. No. 1. http://www.gojamss.net (assessed: 29.03.2020).

Adnan Tawfiq Mohd, Anas Mohd Yunus, Isyaku Hassan. Ideology, Communication, and Response to Terrorism: A Sharia-based Perspective. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences.* 2020. Vol. 10. No. 3. Pp. 124–130.

Arne Naess, Jens A. Christophersen, Kjell Kvalø. *Democracy, Ideology, and Objectivity: Studies in the Semantics and Cognitive Analysis of Ideological Controversy.* Part B, Chapter 1, section 4. Oslo, 1956. Pp. 161–172.

Bakare I. A. Soft Power as a Means of Fighting International Terrorism: A Case Study of Nigeria's Boko Haram. *Vestnik RUDN, International Relations.* 2016. No. 2. Pp. 285–295.

Baker J., Lynch K., Cantillon S., & Walsh J. Ideology and Resistance. *Equality.* 2009. Pp. 212–228.

Bello H. D. The ideologies of Boko Haram and evolving insecurity in 21st Century Nigeria. *Buletinul Universitatii Nationale De Aparare 'Carol I' [Bulletin of the 'Carol I' National Defence University].* 2017. Vol. 33. No. 2. Pp. 99–105.

Booth, K. *Theory of World Security.* Cambridge, 2007.

Boukhars Anouar. Overcoming the Barriers to Regional Security Cooperation in West Africa and the Sahel. *World Politics Review.* 2017. May 30.

Cohen S. J., Kruglanski A., Gelfand M. J., Webber D. & Gunaratna, R. Al Qaeda's Propaganda Decoded: A Psycholinguistic System for Detecting Variations in Terrorism Ideology. *Terrorism and Political Violence.* 2016. Vol. 30. No. 1. Pp. 142–171.

Daemers Julien. Maghreb–Sahel security cooperation: from mirage to reality? C. Barrios and T. Koepf (dir.). *Re-mapping the Sahel: transnational security challenges and international responses, EU Institute for Security Studies.* 2014. Report No. 19, June.

Daniel Eizenga. Chad's Escalating Fight against Boko Haram. *African Center for Strategic Studies.* 2020. April 20.

Dirsus Marcel & Eaton Tim. Instability in Libya: Assessing the Regional Impacts. *Open Publications.* 2019. Vol. 3. Pt 1. Pp. 1–21.

Fenstermacher, Laurie, Leventhal, Todd & Canna, Sarah. *Countering violent extremism: Scientific methods & strategies.* Air Force Research Lab Wright-Patterson AFBOH. 2011.

Galtung J. Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research.* 1969. Vol. 6. No. 3. Pp. 91–167.

Green, Matthew. To What Extent Was the NATO Intervention in Libya a Humanitarian Intervention? *E-International Relations Students.* 2019. February 06.

Gregg H. S. Fighting the Jihad of the pen: countering revolutionary Islam's ideology. *Terrorism and Political Violence.* 2010. Vol. 22. Pp. 292–314.

Gunaratna Rohan. *Ideology in Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: Lessons from combating Al Qaeda and Al Jemaah Al Islamiyah in Southeast Asia, 2005* https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228370908_Ideology_in_Terrorism_and_Counter_Terrorism_Lessons_from_combating_Al_Qaeda_and_Al_Jemaah_Al_Islamiyah_in_Southeast_Asia (assessed: 02.04.2020).

Haroro J. Ingram. Terrorism Prevention in the United States: A Policy Framework for Filling the CVE Void. *Program on Extremism Policy Paper.* 2020. November 2018. https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2191/f/Terrorism%20Prevention%20Policy%20Paper.pdf (accessed: 06.09.2020).

Horkheimer, M. *Critical Theory, Selected Essays.* New York, 1972.

Idahosa Stephen O. and Bakare Ilesanmi A. Conceptualisation of regional instability in Sahel: modelling ABM–AfriLand-Rebel Approach. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies.* 2020. 10 September.

Idahosa Stephen Osaherumwen and Chukujekwu, Ejike Sam-Festus. Domino theory for the promulgation of instability in the sahel region: post Gadhafi era in perspective. *Revista Inclusiones.* 2020. Vol. 7. No. Especial. Pp. 240–250.

Idahosa Stephen. International Terrorism: The Influence of Social Media in Perspective. *World Wide Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development.* 2017. No. 3. Pp. 86–91.

Idahosa Stephen Osaherumwen, Denis Degterev & Rasheed Olasunkanmi Abidoye. Strategic Fight Against Terrorism: A Narrative of its Implication in the Sahel Region. *International Journal of Engineering & Technology.* 2018. Vol. 7. No. 4(38). Pp. 727–731.

Institute for Economics & Peace. *Global Terrorism Index 2019: Measuring the Impact of Terrorism,* Sydney, 2019, November, Available from: http://visionofhumanity.org/reports (accessed: 09.09.2020).

Institute for Economics & Peace. *Global Terrorism Index: Measuring the Impact of Terrorism,* Sydney, 2020, November, Available from: http://visionofhumanity.org/reports (accessed: 28.02.2021).

Institute for Economics and Peace. *Global Terrorism Index 2015: Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism, 2016* http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2015.pdf.

Isyaku Hassan, Mohd N. L. Azmi & Usman I. Abubakar. Framing Islam in news reporting: A Comparative content analysis. *Asian Social Science.* 2017. Vol. 13. No. 10. Pp. 112–119.

Kwesi Ayima, *Counter-Ideology as a Wider Strategy for Defeating the Boko Haram Terrorist Group* (PhD diss., Walden University, 2019). https://scholarworks.waldenu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=9455&context=dissertations (accessed: 02.04.2020).

Ladbury Sarah, Hamsatu Allamin, Chitra Nagarajan, Paul Francis, Ukoha Okorafor Ukiwo, Jihadi Groups and State-Building: The Case of Boko Haram in Nigeria. *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development.* 2016. Vol. 5. No. 1. Pp. 1–19.

Lerner M. Obama says to fight ISIS with Ideas. *Tikkun.* 2016. Vol. 31. No. 2. Pp. 5–6.

Maiangwa B. Jihadism in West Africa: Adopting a Three-Dimensional Approach to Counterterrorism. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development.* 2014. Vol. 9. No. 3. Pp. 17–32.

Mitchell J. The contradictory effects of ideology on Jihadist war-fighting: the Bosnia precedent. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism.* 2008. Vol. 31. Pp. 808–828.

Muhammad Haniff Bin Hassan & Kenneth George Pereire. An Ideological Response to Combating Terrorism — The Singapore Perspective. *Small Wars & Insurgencies.* 2006. Vol. 17. No. 4. Pp. 458–477.

Niemi Pia-Maria, Saija Benjamin, Arniika Kuusisto & Liam Gearon. How and Why Education Counters Ideological Extremism in Finland. *Religions.* 2018. Vol. 9. No. 12. Pp. 1–16.

O'Leary De L. *Islam at the Cross Road.* London, 2016.

Okechukwu Groupson-Paul. Oil Politics and War in Libya: Arming of Rebels and the New Phase of Neo-Democracy Evaluated. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences.* 2012. Vol. 3. No. 4. Pp. 827–870.

Omoluwa Olusegun. Functional education: a tool for combating terrorism in Nigeria. *International Journal of Technical Research and Applications.* 2014. Vol. 2. No. 7. Pp. 35–39.

Payne K. Winning the battle of ideas: propaganda, ideology, and terror. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism.* 2009. Vol. 32. Pp. 109–128.

Richardson Louise. *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Terrorist Threat.* London, 2006.

Roucek J. S. A History of the Concept of Ideology. *Journal of the History of Ideas.* 1944. Vol. 5. No. 4. Pp. 479–488.

Sedgwick M. Inspiration and the origins of global waves of terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism.* 2007. Vol. 30. No 2. Pp. 97–112.

Shils E. The conceptual function of Ideology. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.* New York, 1968. Vol. VII. P. 74.

Sondre Lindahl. A CTS model of counterterrorism. *Critical Studies on Terrorism.* 2017. Vol. 10. No. 3. Pp. 523–541.

Tahir ul Qadri M. *FATWA on Terrorism and Suicide Bombing.* London: Minhaj-Ul-Quran, 2010.

Tal'at Kiani, Rasoul Kiani, Naeim Karimpour, Seiyed Abedin Khodadadi & Samad Yousefi. Principles and Bases of Peaceful Coexistence in Light of Quran. *Journal of History Culture and Art Research.* 2017. No. 6(4). Pp. 1123–1131. http://dx.doi.org/10.7596/taksad.v6i4.1134

Turner, J. From cottage industry to international organisation: the evolution of Salafi-Jihadism and the emergence of the Al Qaeda ideology. *Terrorism and Political Violence.* 2010. No. 22(4). Pp. 541–558.

United Nations. *Security Council Issues Presidential Statement Calling for Greater Efforts to Help Africa Fight Terrorism, as Delegates Denounce 'Insufficient' Current Approaches.* Security Council 8743RD Meeting (AM), 2020, 11 March. https://www.un.org/press/en/2020/sc14140.doc.htm.

Online Sources

Ghulam Ghaus Siddiqi. Conflicting Perspectives on Blasphemy and the Practice of Taking the Law into One's Own Hands, Which Is Illegal and Punishable Under Islamic Sharia — Concluding Part 2. New Age Islam. 18 August 2022. https://www.newageislam.com/islamic-ideology/ghulam-ghaus-siddiqi-new-age-islam/conflicting-perspectives-on-blasphemy-and-the-practice-of-taking-the-law-into-one-s-own-hands-which-is-illegal-and-punishable-under-islamic-sharia-%E2%80%93-concluding-part-2/d/127735.

Gibbs David N. Power Politics, NATO, and the Libyan Intervention. *Counter Punch.* 2011, September 15. https://www.counterpunch.org/2011/09/15/power-politics-nato-and-the-libyan-intervention/.

Jahengeer Khan, A. Gh. (n. d.), Islam's Response to Terrorism. *Al Islam.* https://www.alislam.org/articles/islams-response-terrorism/.

Ojekunle A. *5 countries with the biggest and smallest Military budgets in Africa, Business Insider by Pulse.* 2019. September 8. https://www.pulse.ng/bi/politics/5-countries-with-the-biggest-and-smallest-military-budgets-in-africa/1q3lbm1.

Remadji Hoinathy. *Is counter-terrorism history repeating itself in Lake Chad Basin? ISS.* 2020, April 15. https://issafrica.org/iss-today/is-counter-terrorism-history-repeating-itself-in-lake-chad-basin.

Siddiqi Gh. Gh. The Sixteen Quranic Verses That Counter Violent-Extremism and Terrorism. *New Age Islam.* 2017, October 03. https://newageislam.com/radical-islamism-and-jihad/the-sixteen-quranic-verses-that-counter-violent-extremism-and-terrorism/d/112752.