

THE PROBLEM OF TERRORISM IN FRAGILE STATES OF AFRICA. CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF PHENOMENON

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Abstract

The manifesting new threats for the global safety are the *signum temporis* of the beginning of the 21 century. Those threats refer to the economic, cultural and political areas. One of the largest and most relevant issues are the so called “fragile states”. The lack of stability on the territories of those countries determines numerous local and global threats. One of the most relevant ones of those is the terrorism. Terrorists, aware of fragile states weakness, use the chaos and overall lack of the control of the state apparatus; they organize easily and train new members so that they can operate on the given territory and beyond.

Key words: *Sub-Saharan Africa, fragile states, international terrorism, global security*

INTRODUCTION

The much lately observed erosion of the state, that is usually the result of the ever growing globalization processes, creates a conducive atmosphere for the change of the configuration and the proportions of the power between the countries and many other subjects such as the international corporations and non-governmental organizations. Unfortunately it also changes the proportions and the power structure between the country and the subjects that bring the asymmetric threat into the picture – the terrorist organizations. The evolution mentioned works to the advantage of the latter [Kuzniar, 2000].

One of the most characteristic elements of the international global arena of the beginning of the XXI century are the internal conflicts that are ever-growing in numbers. Their nature is one of the „commune wars” as they are widely based on the ethnic, cultural or religious differences [Lizak, 2015]. Unfortunately those

conflicts last fairly long meaning that the country structures are severely encumbered that leads to the atrophy of the country that results in transforming the given country into the territory of the so called fragile states (also called “failed states”) ¹. Difficulty affects the Black Land significantly, especially the Sub-Saharan Africa, and this is why this particular region will be the object of exploration in this article.

The author hypothesizes that it is the African fragile states where social, economic and political structures were demolished, that are presently one of the most important problems and pose a threat to global security. Destabilization in those states determines a number of local and international hazards of which terrorism is the toughest and the most imperative to be fought against. Poverty, hunger, the feeling of deprivation, downturn of trust to country authorities etc., weaken the civil society and lead to criminalization and delegitimization of a state. An unsatisfied society begins looking for new leaders who may guarantee the security and betterment of existence. Local insurgents appear and they rapidly gain the support of society. Public service disappears, black market forms. The authority is being taken over by the terrorist organizations – which are relatively safe, due to lack of any kind of control. They organize easily and train new members, so that they may function not only in a country, but also abroad.

To verify the hypothesis, particular components of fragile states will be analyzed in this article. The author is going to scrutinize the quality of fragile states authorities, political, economic and social situation and the level of security.

1. AFRICAN STATES FRAGILITY AND ITS SYMBIOSYS WITH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

As it was mentioned before, majority of fragile states are located in the area of the African continent what is evidenced by the fact that among 50 states with the highest level of fragility two thirds are the African countries. An affirmative proof of this may be the annually elaborated (since 2005) *Fragile States Index* from which it arises that in 2017 out of first 25 states on the list, 19 are the African ones. And so,

¹ The term fragile state is often used by political commentators and journalists to describe a state perceived as having failed at some of the basic conditions and responsibilities of a sovereign government. In order to make this definition more precise, the following attributes, proposed by the Fund for Peace, are often used to characterize a failed state: loss of control of its territory, or of the monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force therein, erosion of legitimate authority to make collective decisions, an inability to provide public services, and an inability to interact with other states as a full member of the international community. Often a failed nation is characterized by social, political, and/or economic failure. Common characteristics of a failing state include a central government so weak or ineffective that it has little practical control over much of its territory; non-provision of public services; widespread corruption and criminality; refugees and involuntary movement of populations; and sharp economic decline. Definition of *Crisis States Research Centre - **Crisis States Research Centre*** - a research unit created at *Development Studies Institute (DESTIN)* na *London School of Economics*, financed from the budget of The Department of International Development (ID). That Department was established in 1990 as the Development Studies Institute (DESTIN) to promote interdisciplinary post-graduate teaching and research on processes of social, political and economic development and change. (DFID) brytyjskiego rządu. **Crisis States Research Centre**, <http://www.crisisstates.com/index.htm>; *Crisis, Fragile and Failed States Definitions* used by CSRS, www.crisisstates.com/download/drc/FailedState.pdf

to the most instable states classified are: the Republic of South Sudan (the youngest country in the world), the Federal Republic of Somalia, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of Chad, whereas in the second ten of the list 8 African countries can be found: the Republic of Guinea, the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Republic of Zimbabwe, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the republic of Guinea-Bissau, the Republic of Burundi, the State of Eritrea and the Republic of Niger. Just after them: the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, the Republic of Kenya, the Republic of Uganda, the Libya, the Republic of Cameroon, the Republic of Liberia, and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. ²

In all the above mentioned states providing and controlling the security and safety is one of the most basic problems. The sub-border territories, the slums of the great metropolises are beyond any control whatsoever. The security services, the state apparatus are almost totally and entirely corrupt. They are influenced by the criminal and separatist organizations. Due to the scale of the advance of the situation the control of the official state apparatus is completely impossible. In addition to that the difficult economic situation, the ever-present economic problems, severely advanced corruption result in the situation where all the consumer goods, financial transactions, the humanitarian aid or the arms are taken over by the privileged groups that control those states (the terrorist – the local warlords) [Milewski, 2009].

Due to the fall of the country's ability to supervise and regulate the social processes and the political life of its territory more non-state trans-national structures are developed that also result in the more advanced criminal activities (there is a higher risk of such criminal and illegal activities as the smuggling, slavery and other) [Madej, 2007]. This can be extremely important in the case of especially weak states that are in the permanent crisis or classified as the failed states [Zajadło, 2005a]³. Those countries are classified as such where the central authorities have lost any power of providing safety and providing the basic functioning of the given state. The presented situation does not necessarily have to be the result of the globalization tendencies. In many instances though the very tendencies influenced the fall of the states and thus resulted in multiplying the scale of the menaces such as: the organized crime, corruption, the arms trade, the drug trade, the modern day slavery or the international terrorism [Kuźniar, 2000].

The former UN General Secretary – *Boutros Ghali*, claims that the Fragile States are invariably the product of a collapse of the power structures providing political support for law and order, a process generally triggered and accompanied by “anarchic” forms of internal violence. He also claims that a feature of such conflicts is the collapse of state institutions, especially the police and judiciary, with resulting paralysis of governance, a breakdown of law and order, and general

² *Fragile States Index 2017*, <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/>(22.06.2017)

³ The process of the degradation of the states comes in certain stages: *weak state* i.e. Bolivia, Ecuador, Ghana, Nigeria or Paraguay), to the *fragile state*, to the *crisis state*, then to the *failing state* i.e. Haiti, Columbia, Iraq, North Korea.), *failed state* i.e.. Sudan, Ruanda, Afghanistan) to finally the *collapsed state* i.e.Somalia, the South Sudan) J. Zajadło, *Dylematy humanitarnej interwencji. Historia – etyka – polityka - prawo*, Arche, Gdańsk 2005a, p. 151.

banditry and chaos. Not only are the functions of government suspended, but its assets are destroyed or looted and experienced officials are killed or flee the country. This is rarely the case in inter-state wars. It means that international intervention must extend beyond military and humanitarian tasks and must include the promotion of international reconciliation and the re-establishment of effective government [Wolejko, 2011].⁴

According to the *Fragile States Index* – FSI elaborated by the Washington based organization *Fund for Peace, FP* and the "Foreign Policy" magazine, the classification of the given country as the failed one is based on the three basic *Indicators of instability*. They concern the social, economical and political issues. They take into the account the mounting demographic pressures. massive displacement of refugees, creating severe humanitarian emergencies; widespread vengeance-seeking group grievance; uneven economic development along group lines; criminalization and/or delegitimization of the state.; deterioration of public services; suspension or arbitrary application of law; widespread human rights abuses.; security apparatus operating as a "state within a state"; rise of factionalized elites; intervention of external political agents.

Process of the degradation to the state usually starts with corruption within the borders of the given country [Balcerzak, 2010]⁵, it continues with the delegitimacy of the legal powers and the failure of the economy. The governments engage in more and more drastic ways of exercising authority that lead to the erosion of the civil society [Kłosowicz, 2014]. The phenomenon of so called kleptarchy government subject to control fraud that takes advantage of governmental corruption to extend the personal wealth and political power of government officials and the ruling class (collectively, kleptocrats), via the embezzlement of state funds at the expense of the wider population, sometimes without even the pretense of honest service. The term means "rule by thieves". Not an official form of government such as a democracy, republic, monarchy, or theocracy; a kleptocracy is rather a pejorative for a government perceived to have a particularly severe and systemic problem with the selfish misappropriation of public funds by those in power [Rose-Ackermann, 2001]. According to *Corruption Perceptions Index 2016* it is the African continent that

⁴ An exemplification may be the South Sudan, which corruption or embezzlement problems have started right after gaining independence that was so looked forward to (09.07.2011). Spring 2012, Reuters Agency has published a letter to over 70 South Sudan's politicians, submitted by Salva Kiir, the President of Republic of South Sudan, laying claims to return of money defrauded by them (approximately 4 billion dollars – equivalent of 2 – year GPD). President highlighted also, that such a significant amount of money would facilitate the repair of social situation in country. It has to be remembered, that out of 8.5 million society, 90 per cent live on the verge of poverty. Salva Kiir in his appeal to demoralized authorities promised the amnesty for all those who will return the money of their own accord. Unfortunately, there is a justified fear that great majority of those financial means had been already invested and located on foreign bank accounts. *Sudan Pld.: z budżetu nowego państwa wyparowały 4mld dolarów*, <http://konflikty.wp.pl/kat,132874,title,Sudan-Pld-z-budzetu-nowego-panstwa-wyparowaly-4-miliardy-dolarow,wid,14548653,wiadomosc.html>,<http://inf8.wyborcza.pl/temat/wyborcza/agencja+reutera> (17.08.2015).

⁵ A large part of the African States is plagued by corruption that directly affects the economy, the financial loses. The financial aid of the external factors is usually transferred directly to private accounts of the small groups in control of the failed state.

excels on the global scale, in the presence of the corruption. Average score for whole Africa is less than 28 (on a scale of 1 to 100, where 100 is a perfect situation without the problem of corruption). The countries that indicate with the worst scores are: Somalia (10 points), South Sudan (11 points), Sudan (14 points) and Libya (14 points), Angola (18 points). The countries that stand out positively are: Botswana (which reached surprisingly high position – 60 points, what gives it 35th place of 176 countries) and Namibia (52 points, 53rd place) [*Corruption Perceptions Index 2016*].

From scientific research, that were carried out in 28 Sub-Saharan African countries, by *Transparency International* it arises, that corruption is a problem that still not only affects Africa, but also grows on, and the most susceptible group are the wealthiest citizens. Rich investors and policemen are considered to be the most corrupted. Apart from those two categories, Africans consider also civil servants, tax collectors, judges and members of parliament as corrupted groups. Almost 70 per cent of Africans are of the opinion that the phenomenon of corruption grows on every single year, and the governments are not only incapable of fighting against it, but also they hardly ever do consider it as a problem. (*Business Insider Polska 2015*, archiwum.business.insider.com.pl). According to the *Transparency International* report, the poorest Africans are the most harmed by the corruption group, who are forced to bribe in order to get access to most basic rights and goods. Merely, 1 out of 10 who bribe is brave enough to report their disservice. Rest does not reveal such processes in fear of their own security and possible repressions or because of lack of faith in justice or compensation [Stańczyk–Minkiewicz, 2014].

In fragile states it usually it comes up to the criminalization and the development of the so called „black market”. Very often due to such situation the autonomic tendencies occur leading to the secession of the given territories of such countries. The fall of the country structures and apparatus directly leads to the human rights violation [Czubocha, 2012].

In order to precisely define the degree of the crisis of the country one must inspect the given state according to the range of the function this state takes upon and how does the state realizes those functions in relations to its own citizens. The weak failed countries not only take on very limited functions, but they also are not capable of supporting even those very limited ones in relations to the citizens. The most likely are deprived of the strong central power centre that would prevent the processes of the anarchisation of the public life. Those kinds of countries are also incapable of controlling major social conflicts. The central authorities lose the ability to control the whole territory of the given country. Very often it results in the situation where the central authority is severely limited to the capital only [Kłosowicz, 2009].

The listed given arguments prove that nowadays it is the fragile states that are one of the greatest challenges in terms of the international safety. It is truly a paradox that formerly the participants on the global arena were more afraid of the strong superpowers that were using aggression as the main argument in their activities.

Nowadays these are the weak, failed states that become the greatest challenge and that have the power to destabilize the international affairs⁶.

The proof of it may be the fact that the territory of fragile states is usually the area where multiple terrorist and criminal organizations find advantageous conditions to thrive. In the countries where the probability of the intervention of the local authorities in terms of controlling the mentioned subjects is extremely limited, the extremist and terrorist organizations have very broad possibilities of benefiting from the ever-present chaos by profiting from the natural resources of the country; those organizations can also develop the criminal activities without any threat whatsoever. Sometimes the local authorities instead of fighting the terrorist organization it becomes the supporter of it, thus leading to its rise in power. Moreover, even if in those countries the legal authorities still can be found, though they cannot fully execute their supremacy, they still manage to maintain formal external attributes of sovereignty. And thus according to the international law they are capable of resisting the international ingeneration. It does severely affect the possibility of liquidating the terrorist fundamentalist and extremist organizations on the territory of the given country [Madej, 2007]. On the territories of the failed countries, the extremist organizations have extremely favorable conditions to develop their own structures, the recruitment centers, the training military bases and to create the safe command centers [Menkhaus, 2004].

What else is it that makes the territories of the failed states in times of crisis so attractive for the extremist organizations? It can be easily observed and concluded that all the above mentioned factors – that are the indicators of the failed state are the elements that support the terrorist activities.

2. THE PROBLEMS IN FUNCTIONING OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND SECURITY APPARATUS AND THE LEVEL OF SOCIAL DISCONTENT

The most visible and accurate symptom indicating the weakness or fragility of state is the loss of the monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force within its borders. The very often case scenario in those states is the „privatization” of the authority [Kaldor, 2000]. The fragmentation of the society follows. The citizens no longer identify with the authorities and they fail to engage in the internal matters of the country and/or nation. They then begin to identify more with the clan or the specific ethnic group [Zajadło, 2005b]. As they view the state institutions as the incapable to rule, they tend to seek the new leaders who seem to be the promise of the guarantee of safety and the basic existence. A very often scenario is the one ethnic, religious or clan group taking over the power and abusing it favoring only the members of the given group. Then the group gaining gradually power on a certain area, no longer wishes to subject itself to the central authorities. The policy of such groups leads to the bigger and bigger independence and thus leading to the separatist movements [Kłosowicz, 2009]. The lack of possibility of providing the basic social functions or the economic and cultural ones is directly translated to the economic indicators such as GDP and GDP *per capita*, which very often leads to the

⁶ Due to the increasing threat of the global safety due to the rapid emerge of failed states the world powers decided to rebuild their safety strategies. One major example is the safety strategy of US, that was a direct answer of the 9/11 attacks.

growth of the grey zone. In this situation a large part of the finance is directed and spent on financing the functioning and activity of the terrorist organizations. Moreover, the other equally important argument that makes the territories of the fragile states fairly attractive for the activity of the extremist organizations is the obvious lack of control of the state of its territory and within its borders. In this case it is the army that influences the state's policies to a very large extent. The public functions are mostly served by the active soldiers. For instance in Central African Republic it is Francois Bozize, while in Burma it is Thana Shwe [Żukrowska, 2011]. The local leaders of the „private armies called the warlords seem to be viewed as the ones who guarantee the ostensible safety. Their main income source is the drug, diamond trade, the arms trade and the terrorist activity. They use the natural resources and the wealth of the given country for their own benefit, they take over the transports of the humanitarian aid and they often rob the citizens of the country they govern [Munkler, 2004]. According to the 2011 report of the *United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime* (UNODC) the main smuggling channel from Afghanistan and Pakistan to Europe leads through the East Africa. Formerly it leads through the Middle East. Even though the road is longer than the traditional one, the main reason to choose the different route is the fact that the African anti-narcotics police are very poorly prepared and the local authorities are incredibly easy to corrupt⁷. For example, in first quarter of 2011 two major transports of heroine of the more than 200 kg altogether were captured on the territory of Kenya and Tanzania⁸.

Quite often the activities of the local warlords lead to the overall rebellion in the given state. In order to conduct such plans they use the local animosities between the clans or tribes. That usually is just the cover up of the real actions and objectives. As a result they only are used as the tool to break the state and legal authority and they usually give away the power and resources to the other corporations [Kapuściński, 1998].

The malfunctioning state security apparatus in the fragile countries allows the terrorist organization to function on a very large scale. The weak state structures and the ever-present chaos that reigns result in a unpunished activities of the extremist organizations on such territories. The activity of the Islamic extremists on the territory of the South Africa serves as a very good example. The expert on the issues of safety and terrorism agree that the relation between the terrorism and the corruption is a very strong one. According to the *Associated Press Agency*, the Islamic terrorists use the corruption in this given country especially to get the new false documents and so the new identity. ⁹

On the territories of the failed states the terrorists have more possibilities of obtaining the arms. Using the conflict in Libya by Al-Qaeda to gather arms few years ago can be seen as a prime example of such situation. According to the Reuters a convoy carrying arms from western Libya through Chad and Niger to Al-Qaeda headquarters in Mali was stopped in Algeria then. In the convoy several kinds of modern weapons were found, e.g. machine guns, anti-missile rockets,

⁷ http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/WDR2011/World_Drug_Report_2011_ebook.pdf (23.07.2015)

⁸ <http://afryka.org/ShowNewsPlus>, Afgańska heroina płynie przez Afrykę, (3.08.2014)

⁹ <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Terrorists-exploit-SA-corruption> (15.06.2014)

anti-tank missiles and many other explosives and ammunition. The Algerian based Reuters informer also stated that a lot of other weapons were captured by Al-Qaeda that used the unstable situation in Libya during the recent conflict.¹⁰

Since arms and weapons are not listed among the widely available, it is mainly the states responsibility to control their export and the targeted allocation. The lack of the properly functioning state organs and the weak security apparatus make it impossible to fully control the procedures and to prevent the distribution of the weapons among the terrorist and extremist organizations [Dal Ferro, 1995].

3. MIGRATIONS AS A CHALLENGE FOR AFRICAN FRAGILE STATES

The phenomenon of migration is each time related to the greater challenge regarding the integrity and safety of the country towards which the people migrate. For the extremist one of the positive aspects of acting on the territories of the failed states is the scale of the flow of the illegal goods and the level of migration of the poor citizens of those failed states [Kozłowski, 2008]. As the globalization processes rise and the modern transport infrastructures are developed the costs of the goods transportation and travelling are decreasing. As the result the trade related transportation and the passenger traffic increased widely. The minimalisation of the geographic distance influenced the incredible rise of the spread of the international organized crime and the terrorism. First of all it is because the lack of the strong territorial control does not allow the state authorities to fully control the human traffic and migration according to their origin, social affiliation and the general believes. Very often the immigrants with no properties, no family and no perspectives migrate onto the territories of the fragile states. The emergence of the immigrant societies very often supports the trans-nationalization of the structures of the terrorist groups. The immigrants that flow into the territory of the failed state have usually nothing to lose thus they easily decide to join the terrorist organizations. They view such move as a clear chance of simply surviving, gaining the income and the possibility of adapting in the new society. The very procedure of preparing and conducting the terrorist attack is much easier, too. In addition, the lack of the border controls creates a perfect environment for the development of any kind of illegal activities (the arms, drug trade and other procedures that generate the income financing the terrorist organization). It must also be noticed and mentioned that the modern days' extremists are very often well educated and wealthy people. They themselves need not necessarily come from the territory of the failed states. They can be German, British or other European citizens.

The other problem that is related to the phenomenon of migration is the so called loss of the potential – the human resources. The territories of the fragile countries are usually inhabited after the large waves of migration by the people who are uneducated, with no perspectives of work and education, no perspective of improving their living standards that are aware of their hopeless situation. The others who are capable of changing their fate, improving their situation usually

¹⁰ Agencja Reuters, *Transporty broni do bazy terrorystów. Powstanie w Libii wzmacnia al-Kaide, Reuters Agency*
<http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/340386,Transporty-broni-do-bazy-terrorystow-Powstanie-w-Libii-wzmacnia-alKaide>, (27.04.2017)

decide to migrate from the territories of the fragile states [Cross, 2006]. We should also state and remember that more than 40 % of Africans live on less than a dollar a day. Approximately 500 mln people of the continent do not earn enough to feed their families and most of those people work in conditions that do not meet any decent humanitarian standards.

The other problem and the factor that mainly encourages migration moves are the very common wars in Africa. In the course of the last decade 40% of all military conflicts took place at this continent. They were both national and internal conflicts – and they both resulted in grave violation of the human rights [Stańczyk–Minkiewicz, 2014]. From the UNHCR report from 2015, it comes out, that the decision about migration is under the influence of 3 basic elements. First ones, are long-lasting conflicts (at least few decades) that are not predicted to end in the nearest future, because of their scale (e.g. in Somalia or in Afghanistan). Second ones are relatively young and intensively growing up conflicts. Quick tempo of their evolution, scale of damages and the risk of loss of life force the citizens to fleeing for their own lives (e.g. from Syria, South Sudan, Burundi, Republic of South Africa, Yemen or Ukraine). The last reason is that possibilities of coping with those conflicts are constantly decreasing. At the level of country as well as on the international level eventuality of solving those problems seems to be more problematic every single year.¹¹ In addition to the above mentioned motivations we can also mention the problem of the degradation of the natural environment that makes the not so easy existence even harsher [Barrios et al., 2010]. The climatic changes (the droughts and the related lack of drinking water, the desertification of the land, the forest fires, etc.) all force the Africans to migrate to more fertile and more attractive territories [Wittleler-Stiepelmann, 2009]. That is seen as the main reason why we observe the large migration moves from the sub-Saharan Africa to the countries of Maghreb. The countries like Tunisia, Morocco or Algeria have become the destination point or the transition point for the illegal immigrants from the sub-Saharan areas. Nowadays it is actually the sub-Saharan and not the Maghreb immigrants that are a majority of the illegal immigrants stopped by the EU immigration services. In the very beginning the immigration from the sub-Saharan territories was mainly caused by the political changes and the civil wars in the area. The migration waves would come to Maghreb after the abolition of Mobutu - Sese Seko in the Democratic Republic of Congo (1997), during the Sierra Leone war (1991-2001), Liberia (1989-1996, 1999-2003) or the Ivory Coast conflicts (1999). In the last decade we could see the rise of migration waves from Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia and the countries of the West Africa. It is estimated that every third African with the high education degree works outside Africa [Mussette, 2006]. That is why the citizens that decide to stay in the failed countries decide also very often to join the local criminal groups, support the warlords, terrorist organization as they view such moves as the only possibility of the stable income and survival.

¹¹ <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/6/5763b65a4/global-forced-displacement-hits-record-high.html> , *Global forced displacement hits record high*, (06.06.2017)

4. THE LEVEL OF CRIMINALISATION OF THE FRAGILE STATES AND THE PROBLEM OF INTERNAL CONFLICTS IN THOSE STATES

Due to the above mentioned and discussed lack of the state apparatus control, the failed states territories are very often the scene that encourages the development of all kinds of the criminal character (production and trade of drugs, weapons trade, smuggling, etc.). Each such dealing is directly linked with the financial base and that is the existence of the terrorist organizations. One of the greatest dilemmas for the terrorist organizations is always finding the sources of the financing of their activity. The operational abilities of such terrorist organizations are directly linked to their abilities of organizing a steady financing. A very good example of such activity is the Sierra Leone „diamond conflict”. The problem that was initially marginalized as a result strengthened the financial situation of the organization [Mair, 2003]. Al-Qaeda actually benefited from the diamond mines based in the country and some of the precious stones were actually exchanged for the weapons abroad [Wannenburg, 2003]. According to the *UNODC* report, the degree of the criminalization of the country is notably visible in the countries that are in the state of the internal conflict. There are certain proves that both Liberia and Sierra Leone in the last periods have been ruled as the matter of fact by the criminal organizations. The United Revolutionary Front and the linked Armed Forces Revolutionary Council once were even capable of guarantee the post of the vice-president of the country for their representative.¹²

Criminal activities that are the sources of a relatively high income for the terrorists can be viewed by them as a useful tool. The degree of engagement of the extremist organization in the criminal actions can vary. Sometimes it is the part of the main activity, but much more often it is viewed as the finance providing base for the main activity which is very often a political one. Besides the earlier mentioned, the bank robberies and the extortion racketeering or enforcing the so called „revolution taxes” are the main source of financing for the organization apart from the obvious sponsorship of the countries and the legal economic activities [Serrano, 2004]. What is important is that financing the terrorism of the criminal activities means that the negative aspects of activities of such an organization is not only limited to the particular terrorist actions but also expands onto other criminal activities. Some of the terrorist organizations tend to interpret their engagement in criminal activity as an additional factor – they view it as a method of building a strong position in the region.

What also makes those organizations stronger is the degree of the conflicts on a certain territory among certain groups – both between the nations and the tribes. A very complicated ethnic structure of the sub-Saharan countries is rather a frequent situation. This part of the world is very often torn by the predominant tribal and ethnic structures (the Democratic Republic of Congo can be a very good example as it is inhabited by no less than 250 tribal groups. This problem is only aggravated by the fact that the countries still have to deal with the burdens of the colonial past [Kłosowicz, 2014, Kapuściński, 2011]. The European powers did not pay attention to the cultural and tribal differences when making the territories of their influences.

¹² <http://www.talkingdrugs.org/pl/afryka-zachodnia-korupcja-i-narkotyki>, Afryka Zachodnia. Korupcja i narkotyki, (01.08.2011)

After the states regained independency, the lack of the political elites and modern shaped political state institutions of the civil society, resulted in the conflicts between different ethnic groups fighting for supremacy [Davidson, 2011, Bartnicki, 2006].

A suitable example may be the mentioned before, the youngest country in the world - South Sudan. At the very beginning of its existence, it hadn't built its stable foundations that could have been the base for the safe and well-balanced development of the country. But for the flag and its own name it hadn't had any features of a state. Problems appeared in the most crucial and elementary spheres of state's functioning. Obviously, it has to be marked that the time needed for fortification of a state is at least one generation, but only under the condition that wise, rational and overthought decisions are taken from the beginning. Meanwhile, in the Republic of South Sudan, during last year it occurred that although creating of the fundamentals of the state should be the ultimate priority and goal, it was pushed into the background because of the politics of revenge and violence. Past animosities projected their voice. The inhabitants of the south, who integrated earlier in the combat with their common enemy from the North, now in the face of "freedom", they returned to old claims and aversions what generated series of next problems and conflicts [Taft, 2014, Stańczyk –Minkiewicz, 2012].

Unfortunately, internal military conflicts in Africa, usually take a long-term, bloody form with low intensity. It is the sort of a Hobbes-like fight where everyone fights everyone for everything¹³. On the territories of the dysfunctional states the war very often has a non-state character. The main objective of such a war is not the stabilization or the return to the former status quo but the intended sustaining of the state of organized anarchy. It is also quite difficult to view such conflict as the typical ones. It is rather a long lasting process of the interpenetration of the paramilitary groups and the organized crime. In the case of the typical destabilization of the state apparatus introducing back the law and order is usually about achieving the national compromise, whilst in the territory of the failed states the war and peace is in the hands of those who possess the largest military arsenal and a given readiness to use and abuse the power and violence. The society itself cannot influence the situation by any means. The end of the Cold War officially marked the end of the era of so called sponsoring of the local conflicts. With the

¹³ T. Hobbes - Thomas Hobbes (5 April 1588-4 December 1679) was a philosopher from England. His most famous book is *Leviathan* (1651). Hobbes mainly wrote about government and law -- he was a political philosopher. He tried to show that the best kind of government has one leader with total power. But the most interesting thing about Hobbes was the way he argued. He started by looking at human nature. He said that humans are very selfish and that we are willing to hurt each other if we think it will help us. He also said that, naturally, humans are all equal because we are all strong enough to kill each other—even a child can kill a strong man while he sleeps. Then he imagined what things would be like without a government. He said that it would be terrible—a "state of war". There would not be enough stuff for everyone, and people would disagree about who got what. Some people would fight each other, and everyone else would be very worried about their own safety. No one would be able to trust anyone else or make plans for the future. Life would be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" (people would be alone, poor, mean, and would not live for long)., http://www.edupedia.pl/map/dictionary/id/13_slownik_filozoficzny.html

rationalization of the costs of such conflicts came the system that we can refer to as the privatization of the military operation. The local warlords (that are the main beneficiary of each given conflict) and their opponents (the paramilitary organizations, the local militias) „save” each other at the expense of the local citizens that, when deprived of perspectives, kill each other [Piatkowski, 2004, Munkler, 2002].

5. THE PROBLEMS OF FRAGILE STATES DEVELOPMENT AND LIMITED POSSIBILITIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY

The asymmetry of the world today is directly linked to the factors that shape the global order. The existing divisions and stratifications that influence the shape of the global safety influence greatly the character and scale of such asymmetry-linked threats as the international terrorism. The globalization processes are directly responsible for the increasing scale of disproportion between the given subjects. The distance between the unquestionable leaders of the unification process and the outsiders of globalization is ever-growing. The societies that are clearly not competitive enough in the technological and economic sphere are viewed now as the passive observers of the unification and globalization processes. They are almost completely deprived of the possibility of influencing the share of the benefits of the globalization processes but they also pay all the consequences of those [Hoffman, 2002, Czaputowicz, 2001]. Depending on the economic capabilities, the countries can benefit from the technological changes on a different scale. The asymmetry between the countries in terms of the economic and social development leads to the obvious conflicts between those who possess and those who do not win in the global village. It is directly reflected in the feeling of deprivation of the citizens of the less economically developed regions – that leads directly to the aggression and can lead to the extremist activities.

All the above mentioned factors of instability that are in favor of the terrorists that benefit from the situation on the territories of the failed countries are even more grave once you take into the account the very last factor and that is the lack of the possibility of the external intervention of the international community. This situation means that the terrorist on those territories have the feeling of impunity. When there is any sort of the legal power and state apparatus on the territory of the fragile state, even if it cannot execute its laws and supremacy, the country is still viewed as the sovereign one. Thus according to the international law such country may oppose the external intervention of the international community. That greatly limits the possibilities of any reaction towards the active extremist and terrorist organizations that are present at the territory of such state [Madej, 2007].

CONCLUSION

Terrorism in Africa is not a new phenomenon. In the 1950s it was mainly linked to the revolutionary movements. It was well manifested as the rebellion of the liberation movements against the European colonization. With time it has transformed into the religious-fundamentalist terrorism [Dziekan, 2007]. Another stage of its evolution was the ideologisation of the terrorism that was based on the growing popularity of the radical political thought (nihilism, anarchism, Marxist

ideology) [Hoffman, 1999]. Since then terrorism was no longer viewed as the tool - the technique that leads to the given objective but as the idea that glorifies the violence as the value itself [Szymczycha, 2006].

Nowadays the whole African continent is a territory marked by the actions of the terrorist organizations and groups. Their activities can be viewed as the sort of a quiet constant war. All the extremist organizations employ similar methods and techniques. They are based on destabilization of the region, threatening the society, destruction of the local economy and destruction of the politics in the region. The differences can be noticed in the ideology used for the combat. It may take form of a religious one (Islamic fundamentalism) or it may be dominated by the nationalistic, ethnic or tribal ideas [Zwoliński, 2009]. But what is especially crucial is that every single day organizations such as ISIS, Al-Shabab, Boko – Haram or Al – Kaida prepare new massive attacks and the information about them is being given by media almost unceasingly.

Unfortunately, problem of terrorism in Africa is perceived in a very superficial way. It is defined stereotypically – usually as a fundamentalist’s activity. Hardly ever it is defined as a result of poverty, chaos, large scale of criminal acts and all the other problems that were instanced in this article before, and these ones are the true cause and at the same time consequence of phenomenon of terrorism in Africa. Neglect for the fragile states problems means giving those territories to the terrorists that realize their particular interests in Africa.

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