



## The Causes of the Rising Incidence of Terrorism Occasioning Deprivation of the Right to Life in Nigeria

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**Abstract.** Municipal and international laws prohibit killing a human being except where it is excused by law. However, the unfortunate monster of terrorism, which is currently ravaging the world, has turned many human societies within the global environment into slaughtering grounds where human lives are terminated with reckless abandon almost daily, especially in Nigeria. Though there are laws enacted to curb this heinous act, it has remained unabated. It is in this regard this study adopts a hybrid research method, which includes a doctrinal and non-doctrinal approach. Therefore, an online questionnaire survey was sent to 243 respondents (randomly selected) who live in Nigeria to ascertain the causes of the rising incidence of terrorism occasioning deprivation of the right to life in Nigeria and possible solutions. Therefore, the study found that a defective state policing system, poverty, illiteracy, and bad leadership are the causes of the current increase in terrorism in Nigeria. The study therefore concludes and recommends that the Nigerian government's reliance on legislation and the battle of arms may prove to be effective in tackling terrorism in the short run, but it will not completely subdue it. In this regard, eradication of extreme poverty, state policing effective policing system, and good leadership will aid in curtailing the monster of terrorism in the long run.

**Keywords:** Domestic terrorism, Freedom, Justice, Inequality, Liberation, The right to life, Terrorism.

### 1. Introduction

Africa, from Luanda to Mali, Maputo, Rwanda, Angola, Somali, and Sudan, to mention but a few, in recent times, has become a theatre of an act of termination of life and one of the most unstable environments in terms of insecurity to human lives and properties. Nigeria, which, hitherto, seemed immune to terrorist activities, is now witnessing horrendous acts of terrorism masterminded by various organizations like the Niger Delta militant groups, bandits, Fulani herdsmen, and, importantly, the dreaded Boko Haram, with deleterious consequences for the country's image, economy, general wellbeing and the right to life of the people (Aidonjje et al., 2021). It is important to state that countries of the world have, over the times, been encouraged to respect the right to life which is the most important of all the human rights that man enjoys through the standard of human behavior to one another as regulated and controlled by international and municipal laws since man needs to remain alive before any right can be useful to him (Egielewa and Aidonjje, 2021).

Section 14(2)(b) of the Nigerian Constitution provides that welfare and security of life rank first among the duties and responsibilities of a government in a civilized society. This is so since the government possesses the military capacity and the threat of force that members of the society have not. The task of protecting lives places on the shoulders of the government the responsibility to prevent the termination of the life of individuals and people, at all times, either by State or non-State agents (Aidonjio and Egielewa, 2020). To achieve this, a conducive atmosphere for law and order, justice, fairness, and the right environment for people to freely aspire for personal development needs to be put in place. Law enforcement agencies also need to be properly structured for effective functioning and adequately equipped to effectively deal with security challenges that may arise from time to time. There is also the responsibility to ensure that the country's military is professional and battle-ready to combat internal conflicts and ward off external aggressions.

It is the responsibility of any government to be proactive and take steps to prevent arbitrary deprivation of life, and where unauthorised death occurs, the State has a further responsibility to investigate it transparently, thoroughly, impartially, and ascertain its cause, and where any individual or group are found to be responsible for it in any way whatsoever, the State must hold such perpetrator accountable.

## 2. Methodology

In this study, we adopt a hybrid method of research which doctrinal and non-doctrinal research analytical methods. The doctrinal research method will enable the researcher to critically examine the issues and relevant legal framework as it concerns the current terrorism in Nigeria. In this regard, the researcher analyse laws, various literature such as; journal articles, textbooks, internet articles, and relevant materials as they relate to this study.

However, with regard to the non-doctrinal methods, the researchers used questionnaire surveys to collate extensive data. The study further adopts an analytical and descriptive method to statistical, mathematically and numerical analysing the data obtained through the questionnaire. The essence of non-doctrinal research is to enable the researcher to ascertain the causes and possible remedies as they relate to domestic violence in Nigeria.

## 3. Terrorist Acts Occasioning Deprivation of the Right to Life

The world, all over, is currently faced with horrendous acts of terrorism, and this has

significantly constituted a threat to the enjoyment of the right to life - The evils that nature will not do to us are done by our fellow men!. Various organizations such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Taliban, Al-Qaida, Al-Shabaab, and recently, Boko Haram are masterminding various acts of terrorism in many countries of the world. Every country in the world, either developed or developing, has a share of an act of terrorism to varying degrees at one time or the other. The area of difference is how a country responds to it, especially through management of internal security through effective state policing and socio-economic re-engineering, which reduces want and neutralises abject poverty. In Nigeria, Boko Haram has documented a spate of attacks and killings (Aidonjio et al., 2021), ranging from the detonation of explosives to sporadic raids and shootings of people in high-level operations. Their activities also include the kidnapping of men and women, especially young school girls.

Banditry has also become a new phenomenon in Nigeria. Activities of Bandits have been particularly worrisome in states like Zamfara, Sokoto, Katsina, Niger, Kaduna, and Kebbi, with kidnapping, violent attacks, robbery, rape, cattle-rustling resulting in wanton deprivation of the right to life. Millions of people living in these states have been exposed to the danger of attack. Several children have been orphaned, women are becoming widows overnight, and more than 210,000 people have been internally displaced as of January 2021 (Odinakalu, 2021). In the Niger Delta, likes of the Ogonis and the Ijaws are dissatisfied with the operations of the foreign and local oil companies, who are alleged to be destroying the vast tracks of their farmland in the process of exploration and production of oil (Aidonjio et al, 2020). There is always, therefore, tension and volatility in the area leading to fuelled violence in the area causing militarization of nearly the entire region by ethnic militia groups, the Nigerian military, and the Nigerian Mobile Police, leading to wanton termination of lives (Obi, 2004).

Terrorism and wanton deprivation of the right to life have continued unabated despite the adoption of several international treaties and a series of enacted local laws to combat it. For instance, the United Kingdom has its anti-terrorism Act with constant updates to match emerging security challenges. There has been the Terrorism Act 2000, the Anti-Terrorism, Crime, and Security Act of 2001, the Terrorism Act 2006, and the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act of 2015. The United States of America also has its version of the anti-terrorism law, which is known as the Patriot Act. It is aimed at strengthening America

by providing appropriate tools required to intercept and obstruct terrorism acts. It also aims at deterring and punishing terrorist acts in the United States, across global environment, to enhance law enforcement investigatory tools and other matters connected thereto.

Nigeria's law for combating terrorism is the Terrorism (Prevention) Act of 2011 (as amended). The Act gives an all-encompassing definition of terrorism and prescribes severe varying penalties for different offenses under the Act. The penalties for terrorism range from imprisonment between five and twenty years to the death penalty. In *Adamu Ali Karumi v. the Federal Republic of Nigeria (2018) LPELR-40473 (CA)*, the Court of Appeal ruled that the courts have the power to exercise discretion in matters of a sentence, even death sentence, in respect of charges of an act of terrorism, and an appellate court will not interfere with the exercise of such discretion.

Where a person is standing trial for any action relating to terrorism, he will not be admitted to bail pending trial. This underscores the magnitude of the threat that terrorism constitutes to the nation's security. In the case of *Dokubo Asari v. the Federal Republic of Nigeria (2007) 12 NWLR (1048) 322, 358-359* the Supreme Court gave its nod of approval to the refusal to grant bail pending trial to the appellant on the ground of threat to national security. The court in Nigeria has also ruled in the case of *Ogwu Achem v. the Federal Republic of Nigeria (2014) LPELR-24202(CA)*, that where a person is found guilty of the act of terrorism by a court even though he retains his right to appeal such decision of the court against him, he loses his presumption of innocence guaranteed him under section 36(5) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended). He is, therefore, not entitled to bail pending the determination of his appeal except in very exceptional circumstances. Where a person declared as a suspected international terrorist is a Nigerian citizen other than by birth, such a person may be deprived of his Nigerian citizenship. The section 13 of the Act also contains provisions for the seizure of cash reasonably suspected to be intended for the use of terrorism or belonging to a terrorist.

As robust and comprehensive as Nigeria's anti-terrorism law is, it has not, in any way, deterred terrorism and carnage of deprivation of the right to life of the Nigerian people as activities of Boko-Haram terrorist group, bandits, especially in the northern region, and militancy have become nightmares. This is so because the fundamental causes of the heinous acts are yet to be addressed and given the serious attention that they truly deserve.

This paper seeks to interrogate factors such as poverty and systemic failure manifesting in ineffective state policing systems as the root causes of terrorism, especially domestic ones.

#### 4. Terrorism, a function of poverty

Understanding how terrorism evolves in a particular setting and at a given period of time will go a long way in knowing how to fight and subdue it. This work, therefore, looks at the cause of terrorism from the angle of socio-economic factors and a defective state policing system. Some scholars (Abadie, 2005) find it difficult to see a direct link between terrorism and the above named societal factors. They rather consider factors such as political power play, political instability, extremism of ideas, personal beliefs, values, and struggle for control of resources as important causes of terrorism. For instance, Krueger, B. Alan and Laitin (Alan and Laitin, 2004) find no evidence suggesting poverty may generate terrorism. Their work suggests that among countries with similar levels of civil liberties, poor countries do not generate more terrorism than rich countries. Rather, richer countries seem to be preferred targets for transnational terrorist attacks.

Many scholars like Alberto Alesina (1996) and prominent personalities, especially in Africa, however, agree that it is difficult to discuss terrorism without sparring thought for socio-economic factors in the form of societal deprivation and uneven wealth distribution; and that many of these terrorist organisations are products of economic hardship and societal inequality. Former Ethiopian president, Girma Wolde-Giorgis, commented that poverty, injustice, instability, and absence of democratic governance are the primary causes of terrorism (Shinn, 2018). Poverty creates marginalized people who then become useful tools and fertile ground for terrorism. It is the same with former Mauritanian president, Maaouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, who also noted that the cause of terrorism is, most times, the result of the frustration brought about in men by poverty and ignorance.

In a place like Nigeria, as is the case in most African countries, where the vicious cycle of poverty ravages to the extent that the majority of the citizens cannot afford three square meals per day, fundamental rights, including the right to life, do not mean much. The vast majority are illiterates, dwelling in rural communities and completely absorbed in the daily rigors of the struggle for survival. More than seventy percent of the population live in abjectly poor conditions and are actually starving. They have

houses shelters unsuitable for poultry or piggery and are neglected and almost forgotten (Awolowo, 1981). While many are poor at one time or another during their lives, many Africans are poor all of their lives (Oputa, 1981). How can there be practical actualization and sustenance of peace, order, and human rights, including the right of citizens to live where there is so much volatility resulting from living below poverty and starvation level of millions which has subjected the majority to live in almost subhuman existence with their lives being one long unbroken story of want and destitution. Their only hope and aspiration are to witness a new socio-economic order in which there is a redistribution of opportunities and public wealth so that the substance of fundamental rights may become meaningful. Hard biting scourge of poverty has made many things, including life, mean nothing to millions of people in Africa who are or whose children are suffering and in some cases, dying of malnutrition and other preventable diseases associated with the poor. They, therefore, may be willing and ready to do anything, including being used as an instrument of terror killings and genocide in order to either survive or escape from their horrible existence to live beyond. For instance, just on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April, 2021, an online news link revealed that one Adama Umar, a Nigerian, was apprehended by the Nigerian security agents in Taraba State following an intelligent report by security linking him as being the agent secretly procuring narcotics and other kinds of hard drugs for the Boko-haram insurgents in Nigeria.

The above situation is consistent with the observation of Alberto Alesina (1996) that poor economic conditions increase the possibility of political unrest, and that the people of the country may be induced to take to vices, including killings and the use of naked force, where they are denied the means to satisfy their basic human needs.

### **5. Ineffective System of Policing the Country**

The system of policing in some countries, such as Nigeria, is complicated, myopic, grossly ineffective, lacks cohesion, and is highly lopsided. There is centralization and concentration of the control of the police and the army in the central government. The executive power of the federation is vested in the President. That of a state is vested in the state governor. That makes the president the chief security officer of the whole federation and a state governor the chief security officer of his state. Such executive powers may either be exercised by them or on their behalf. The President is also the Head of State, the Chief Executive of the Federation, and Commander-

in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federation, while the governor of a state is the Chief Executive of his state.

However, while the Nigeria Police Force is under the command of the Inspector-General of Police and an appointee of the president to whom he reports and is accountable, the same cannot be said of a state governor who does not have control over a state commissioner of police in his state despite been constitutionally the chief executive of his state. The governor of a state, though may give lawful direction to the commissioner of police in his state with respect to the maintenance and securing of public safety and public order within the state as he may consider necessary, and the commissioner of police has to comply with such directions or cause them to be complied with. However, before carrying out any such directions, the commissioner of police may request that the matter be referred to the president or any other federal government official acting on behalf of the president before such direction is complied with.

The implication of this is that if a state governor gives a direction to the commissioner of police for security purposes, the commissioner of police may have to clear with the Inspector-General of Police, who is an appointee of the president, before complying with such direction. This has made the security architecture of the country to be lopsided and centralized, with only the president of the federation having the power to police the entire country. This undoubtedly is one of the reasons the nation is witnessing the level of insecurity all over the country. This has made it difficult for the government to deal with the huge upsurge of terrorism leading to wanton termination of life in the country.

Over the years, state governors in Nigeria have come under heavy criticism over their inability to provide solutions to the fast declining insecurity in their various states making up the country. The criticism has been hinged on the argument that governors are the Chief Security Officers of their states and that, by virtue of their oaths of office, they have the responsibility to secure the lives and property of citizens and residents alike as the buck stops on their tables as long as securing the lives and property of residents of their states is concerned. A careful study of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999(as amended), which allocates executive powers between the president and state governors, will reveal that governors, being referred to as the title Chief Security Officer in his state, is a mere nomenclature that has no practical meaning since a commissioner of police in a state may

lawfully disobey the directive of a state governor on securing the state if such directive given by the governor does not have the blessing of the federal authorities. The effect of this is that a state governor is incapable of quickly resolving urgent security challenges in his domain before such snowball into full-blown terrorism because he lacks control over the security apparatus even of his state.

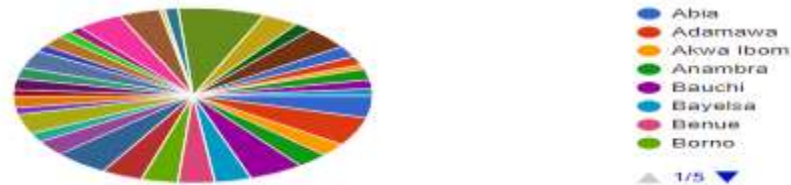
In *AG Ogun State v. AG Federation [1982] LPELR-11 (SC) p. 34-36, paras. a-b*, Fatayi-Williams, J.S.C, while considering the provisions of section 195 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979 with respect to the power of the commissioner of police to control the command of the Nigeria Police Force in his state, opined that the governor does not have the final say in that before carrying out directions of the governor, the commissioner of police concerned may request that the matter be referred to the president or the duly authorised minister for further directions. What this means is that a governor of a state has no exclusive power to give a commissioner of police in his state directions with respect to the maintenance and securing of public safety and public order within his State. He is actually at the mercy of the federal authority, which may disagree with such direction given by the governor. Once the federal authority does not agree with a governor's direction to the commissioner of police, such direction is stalled. The result of this is that the security of lives and properties in Nigeria become unfortunate and ineffective as the country is too big for only the president to police; hence the country becoming fertile soil in which seeds of terrorism are planted, and fruits of wanton deprivation of the right to life are harvested with reckless abandon.

**6.2 Data Analysis**

The data obtained through the online questionnaire (given the convenience of disseminating the questionnaire to the respondents) is, at this moment, analysed as follows:

**Research Question One**

What State do you reside in, Nigeria?  
243 responses



**Figure 1:** Identification of the various states the respondents reside in Nigeria

**6. Presentation and Analysis of Data**

Given the data generated from the online questionnaire, the following data is at this moment analysed as follows:

**6.1 Sample Size and Techniques**

The study utilised an online survey questionnaire generated through the use of Google Forms. The use of an online Google form will enable the researchers to disseminate the questionnaire (through various means of social media) to the randomly selected respondents residing in the various states in Nigeria. The respondents were selected by using a simple random sampling technique. The essence of adopting a simple random technique is a result of the fact that Aidonjio et al., in several of their studies (Aidonjio et al., 2021; Aidonjio et al., 2020; Aidonjio et al., 2022; Aidonjio et al., 2021), have argued that it is appropriate in selecting respondents from a heterogeneous nation like Nigeria. Furthermore, it has been argued that a simple random sampling technique has the following advantages:

- That it is a technique that is hassle-free in sampling a heterogeneous population.
- The researcher has little or no chance of being biased to influence or manipulate the outcome of the result as it reflects the respondents' response.

With regard to the sample size, 243 of respondents residing in the Federal Republic of Nigeria were randomly selected to respond to the questionnaire.

S/N	States in Nigeria	Responses of Respondents	Percent
1	Abia	10	4.1%
2	Adamawa	13	5.3%
3	Akwa Ibom	6	2.5%
4	Anambra	7	2.7%
5	Bauchi	12	4.9%
6	Bayelsa	8	3.3%
7	Benue	8	3.3%
8	Borno	8	3.3%
9	Cross River	9	3.7%
10	Delta	12	4.9%
11	Ebonyi	7	2.9%
12	Edo	4	1.6%
13	Ekiti	9	3.7%
14	Enugu	3	1.2%
15	(FCT) Abuja	5	2.1%
16	Gombe	Nil	Nil
17	Imo	5	2.1%
18	Jigawa	5	2.1%
19	Kaduna	8	3.3%
20	Kano	3	1.2%
21	Katsina	5	2.1%
22	Kebbi	Nil	Nil
23	Kogi	3	1.2%
24	Kwara	10	4.1%
25	Lagos	9	3.7%
26	Nassarawa	Nil	Nil
27	Niger	3	1.2%
28	Ogun	19	7.8%
29	Ondo	8	3.3%
30	Osun	4	1.3%
31	Oyo	10	4.1%
32	Plateau	5	2.1%
33	Rivers	4	1.6%
34	Sokoto	2	0.8%
35	Taraba	5	2.1%
36	Yobe	4	1.6%
37	Zamfara	3	1.2%

**Table 1:** Valid responses of respondents identifying the states residing in Nigeria

**Figure 1 and Table 1** above is a data presentation representing the valid responses of respondents identifying the various states they reside in Nigeria.

**Research Question Two**

Do you agree that there is a current increase in terrorism in Nigeria?  
213 responses



**Figure 2:** Respondents' identifying if they are cognizant of the rise of terrorism in Nigeria

	Response	Percent
Valid Yes	205	96.2%
Valid No	8	3.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 2:** Respondents' if they are cognizant of the rise of terrorism in Nigeria

Figure 2 and Table 2 above are respondents identifying if they are aware of the rising cases of terrorism in Nigeria.

**Research Question Three**

What are the significant causes of the increase in terrorism in Nigeria? You can tick more than one option

239 responses

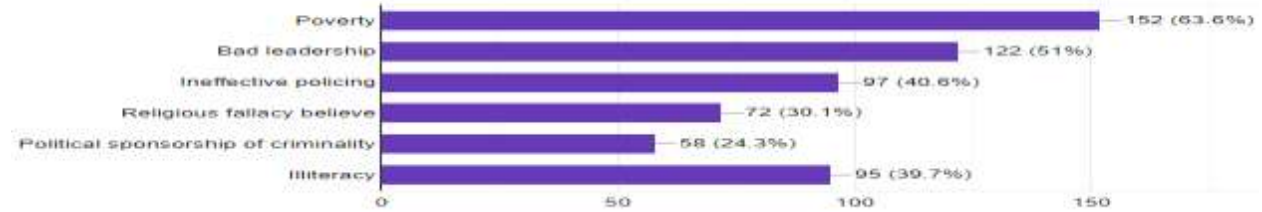


Figure 3: Respondents' cluster or responses in identifying the causes of the rising incidence of terrorism in Nigeria

Reasons for terrorism in Nigeria	Cluster of Response	Percentage
Poverty	152	63.6%
Bad leadership	122	51%
Ineffective policing	97	40.6%
Religious fallacy believe	72	30.1%
Political sponsorship of criminality	58	24.3%
Illiteracy	95	39.7%

Table 3: Valid Respondents' cluster responses in identifying the causes of the rising incidence of terrorism in Nigeria

Figure 3 and Table 3 are a cluster of responses by respondents identifying some of the causes of the rising incidence of terrorism in Nigeria.

**Research Question Four:**

Has the Nigerian government been able to curb terrorism over the years?

228 responses

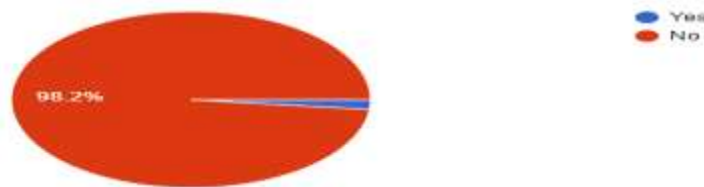


Figure 4: Respondents identifying if the Nigeria government has been able to curb the rate of terrorism

	Response	Percent
Valid Yes	4	1.8%
Valid No	224	98.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>228</b>	<b>100%</b>

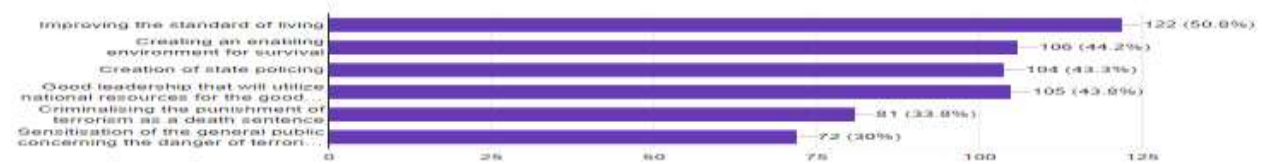
Table 4: Valid respondents' response stating if the Nigeria government have been able to curb the rate of terrorism

Figure 4 and Table 4 are valid respondents' responses identifying that the Nigerians have not been able to curb or curtail the rate of terrorism in Nigeria.

**Research Question 5**

What are the possible solutions to savage incidence of terrorism? You can tick more than one option

240 responses



**Figure 5:** Identification of possible remedies in curtailing the risen incidence of terrorism in Nigeria

Possible remedy in curbing terrorism in Nigeria	Cluster of Responses	Percentage
Improving the standard of living	122	50.8%
Creating an enabling environment for survival	106	44.2%
Creation of state policing	104	43.3%
Good leadership that will utilize national resources for the good of all	105	43.8%
Criminalising the punishment of terrorism as a death sentence	81	33.8%
Sensitisation of the general public concerning the danger of terrorism	72	30%

**Table 5:** Valid cluster of respondents identification of some possible remedies in curtailing terrorism in Nigeria

**Figure 5 and Table 5** represent respondents' valid cluster of responses in stating some of the possible remedies in curtailing the risen incidence of terrorism in Nigeria.

**7. Discussion of Findings**

Concerning the presentation and analysis of data above, figure 1 and table 1 aimed at determining if the respondents reside in the various states in Nigeria. The essence of research question one is aimed at ensuring that the respondents are well knowledgeable concerning the happening of terrorism in Nigeria. Also, it will enable the respondent to give reliable and informed responses to the questions.

However, in ascertaining if the respondents are aware of the current rising case of terrorism in Nigeria, a significant 96.2% of the respondents, as presented above in figure 2 and table 2, responded yes. These findings reflect the current issues of terrorism happening in Nigeria. This is concerning the fact that currently, kidnapping, banditry, book haram, ritual killings, etc. have become an easy mode of operation in Nigeria. However, figure 3 and table 3 represent the respondents' identification of Nigeria's major causes of terrorism. Some of the major reasons for terrorism in Nigeria, as identified by the respondents, are as follows:

- 63.6% of the respondents identify poverty as one of the major causes of terrorism in Nigeria
- 51% of the respondents stated bad leadership
- 40.6% of the respondents identify that there is an ineffective policing to curtail the incidence of terrorism
- 30.1% of the respondent stated that terrorism is also a result of religious fallacy belief of most Nigeria
- 24.3% further stated that the elite in Nigeria politically sponsors most terrorist acts
- 39.7% also stated that illiteracy is also contributing to the increased rate of terrorism in Nigeria.

Given the above findings, it is apt to state that in a country where terrorism has almost taken over a country or where there is an incidence of terrorism ravaging a country, it is expected that the country's government must or should be to curtail such

terrorism. In this regard, in figure 4 and table 4, as represented above, 98.2% of the respondents representing a significant number of the respondents, identify the Nigerian government has not been able to curtail the incidence of terrorism, thereby leading to the rise of terrorism. However, the respondents were asked what the possible solutions to savage the rising incidence of terrorism in Nigeria are; in figure 5 and table 5 above, and the respondents identified the possible solution to curtailing terrorism in Nigeria as follows:

- 50.8% of the respondents stated that improving the standard of living will aid in curtailing the incidence of terrorism
- 44.2% of the respondents identify that creating an enabling environment for survival
- 43.3% stated creation of state policing
- 43.8% of the respondents stated that there is a need for good leadership that will utilize national resources for the good of all, which in essence will aid in curtailing terrorism in Nigeria
- 33.8% of the respondents stated that criminalising the punishment of terrorism as a death sentence will curtail the incidence of terrorism
- Also 30% stated that sensitisation of the general public concerning the danger of terrorism

Given the above discussion of the findings, it suffices to state that the Nigerian government has a fundamental role in curtailing the incidence of terrorism in Nigeria. This is concerning the fact that it is not just a mere political manifesto to keep and ensure the nation is at peace at all times. Still, it is their constitutional responsibility to ensure peace, stability, and a conducive environment for the people of Nigeria.

**8. Conclusion**

War on terror is a battle of arms and a battle of ideas. In the short run, and in response to assaults from terrorists, the State may adopt the use of arms to

combat terror with an application of all instruments of national power and influence to kill or capture the terrorists; deny them safe haven and control over any part of a nation; dislodge and prevent them from communicating to one another; render potential terrorist targets less attractive by strengthening security, and cut off their sources of funding and other resources they need to operate and survive. In the long run, a successful fight against acts of terror will mean winning the battle of ideas through the advancement of effective democracy, submitting to the will of the people, enthronement of human rights, preservation of human dignity, provision of basic human needs in the society, freedom of religion, conscience, speech, assembly, association, and press, addressing causes of the conflict peacefully and sincerely by the government and authorised bodies, protecting independent and impartial systems of justice, punishing crime appropriately for deterrence, embracing the rule of law, resisting corruption and protecting the institutions of civil society.

There is a need for the nations and International Communities to take some concepts such as “justice,” “freedom,” and “liberation” very seriously. The majority of the crises bedeviling nations and the world as a whole are traceable to some groups’ feelings or sense of deprivation of one or all of these concepts. This is one of the reasons it is very difficult to give a consensual definition to the word “terrorism” as one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter. For some, the very idea of “terrorism” is a snare and delusion. It is a way of diverting the public attention from the failure of governments, a slick way of transforming the victims of injustice into its perpetrators.

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