

GLOBALIZATION, TRANSNATIONAL TERRORISM: A CONSTRUCTIVE INVESTIGATION**Ojinnaka Ify Evaristus PhD**

Research Scholar, Geopolitics (International Relations), Peace and Conflict Studies, Ignatius Ajuru
University of Education, Port Harcourt Nigeria.
einndoprojects@gmail.com

Abstract

This study is a constructive investigation of the extent globalization has aided transnational terrorism, and how transnational terrorism has posed serious challenge to the peace and security of the international system. The paper argues that the unhindered globalization of the international system have facilitated the operational capacity of terrorists organizations and have made it possible for them to operate with mechanical efficiency, a situation that have undermined the peace and security of the international system. The paper maintains that the widespread of transnational terrorism has been due to the unhindered influence of globalization. In particular, the study posits that advanced Information and Communication Technology, as a product of the globalization has engendered wide spread of terrorist activities in the world. The Paper finds that the availability and accessibility of Internet facilities has enhanced the ability of terrorist organizations to recruit members all over the world and carryout coordinated attacks across global geographical space. The paper recommends among others: the global community to utilize the resources at its disposal for a coordinated and systematic approach against transnational terrorism; for synergy in global counter terrorism efforts; for governments to partner to reduce poverty, provide education infrastructures, and for restructuring of the global social/ economic system that makes for inequality in the world system. It also argues for a broad base approach in intelligence gathering to effectively counter transnational terrorism.

Keywords

*Globalization,
Transnational Terrorism,
International Security,
Global Geographical Space, and
Information and Communication
Technology.*

1. Introduction**Background to the Study**

Since the end of the Second World War there have been some fundamental changes in the nature and character of Transnational Terrorism. The consequences of Transnational Terrorism on the world are incalculable and its aftermath has continued to deepen in complexity (Momah, 1995). The act of terrorism is the use of violence to achieve political purposes, or change state ideology or by the representation of either minority groups, conducted for different reasons altogether (James 2008). However, there is great difference in the value structures between secular and religious terrorists (James 2008). Many terrorist organizations in the contemporary times, particularly, the global Jihadists are driven by religious reasons to kill as many of the non-believers and unfaithful as possible (Laqueur 1996). This new form of transnational terrorism is perceived by some scholars and experts as a reaction to the perceived oppression of the Muslims worldwide and the spiritual bankruptcy of the west (James, 2008). While the secular terrorists had as their goals the pursuit of power in order to correct flows within society, but retain the overarching system. Cronin (2003) in his "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Security" contends that in contrast, religious terrorists do not seek to modify but, rather to replace the narrative structure of society. Consequently, violence by religious terrorist is anchored on religion as a motivator to provide justification to kill non-combatants. At the same time, modern militant Islamic violence is applied in obtaining political power in order to conduct political, social, economic and religious reform according to Sharia law (James, 2008; Ojinnaka, 2022a).

The advancement in Information and Communication Technology, particularly the development of Internet network systems has enhanced the operations of terrorist organizations. The increasing operations of some terrorist groups like Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), and Daesh, a transnational Salafi Jihadist militant organization, Hamas, Hezbollah and Al Qaeda Network in the Middle East and Sahel region of West Africa, and elsewhere, Harakat al Shabaab Mujahideen, simply known as AL Shabaabe (the Islamic Emirate of Somalia) a Sunni Islamist militant and political movement based in Somalia, East Africa, and Boko Haram, Fulani Herdsmen, and Bandits in Northern Nigeria, are parts of the process of globalization which have significantly changed the nature and character of terrorism in the international system. Nevertheless, this typifies the instrumentality of terror which tremendously impacts and has far-reaching consequences for the international system.

Be it as it may, the advancement in Information and Communication Technologies engendered by globalization has enhanced the ability of terrorist organizations to conduct their operations effectively and efficiently (James; 2008; Pillars, 2001). In particular, Information and Communication Technologies have improved the ability of terrorist groups to work in synergy, share information and reach out to previously unavailable audience (James, 2008). Any computer of modest capabilities can be used by members of terrorist groups to create propaganda, circulate leaflet and posters at a very low cost in large quantities. Therefore, technologies associated with globalization has helped to create the mobility of terrorist groups and enable them to generate propaganda materials and making them more difficult to locate (James, 2008; Pillars, 2001). Propaganda has proved to be very useful to terrorist groups in inspiring potential recruits and soliciting for financial assistance. Propaganda reaches widest audience possible (Ojinnaka, 2022a).

Today, the emerging trend in the space, magnitude, sophistication and strategies of transnational terrorist organizations resulting from erosive power of globalization has raised concerns of insecurity in the world, and threats to cooperate existence of states in the international system. Thus the international system has witness protracted conflicts as terrorist operations escalates in the recent years and has been of serious threat to international peace and security. Again, developments in countries like Nigeria, Libya, Iraq, Sudan, Syria, Iran, Lebanon, Yemen, Sahel region of the West Africa and other countries known to be state sponsors of terrorism has been of troubling concerns to the International Community. In the 1980s, Libya under Murmur Kaddafi sponsored several terrorists' attacks against the US, United Kingdom, France and other western interests. This was an open threat to international peace and security and constituted a negation to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of many countries in Africa and Middle East. Equally, since 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran, the Islamic Republic of Iran has sponsored and aided several terrorist attacks against America and other Western interests.

Against the background of these grand narratives, this Paper tends to investigate how globalization has enhanced the ability of terrorist organizations to conduct their operations effectively and efficiently across the world.

2. Statement of the Problem

Terrorism is often regarded as the major causes of instability in the international system. The United Nations Organization regards terrorism as undermining global peace and security as such constitutes a threat to global system. Considering the disastrous nature and widespread dimensions of terrorist attacks in the North America, Europe, Middle East, Asia, West Africa, East Africa, and Central Africa etc terrorism in the era of globalization have shaken off the world economy and must be rooted out in the interest of peace and security of the international system. Though, terrorism is derived from feeling of animosity, marginalization and political domination of a group versus other group (Banjo. 2001, as cited in Ojinnaka, 2022a), the time has come for both the state actors and non- state actors to work collaboratively to prevent terrorist attacks on innocent civilians and its effect on global financial and institutional structures.

Terrorist attack has shaken the foundation of the world economy and social systems. Some of the world's terrorists have the tendency of using Islam to justify their heinous acts thereby throwing the world into turmoil (Abdisaid, 2016). The growth of Salafist ideology in East Africa has challenged long established norms of tolerance and interfaith cooperation in the region. This is an outcome of a combination of external and internal factors which includes a decades-long effort by religious foundations in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states to promulgate ultraconservative interpretations of Islam throughout East Africa's mosques, madrass as, and Muslim youth and cultural centers (Abdisaid, 2016).

This intolerant expression in the name of religion is rooted within a particular Arab cultural identity and ideology, which has fostered more exclusive and polarizing religious relations in the region and has contributed to an increase in violent attacks. These tensions have been amplified by socio-

economic differences and often heavy-handed government responses that are perceived to punish entire communities for the actions of a few (Abdisaid, 2016).

Redressing the challenges of terrorism will require sustained strategies to rebuild tolerance and solidarity domestically, as well as curb the external influence of extremist ideology and actors. The risk of Islamist extremism frequently focuses on the Middle East, Northern Nigeria, East Africa; Somalia and particularly, the violent actions of Al Shabaab, Fulani terrorist Herdsmen, Boko Haram, ISIS, Al Qaeda and their affiliate terrorist organizations across the world. Now local adherents to extremist versions of Islam can now be found throughout East Africa and West Africa. This is worst in a state like Nigeria that exhibits the symptoms of a failed state, where the state institutions has shown lack of capacity to stem the terrorist activities of bandits, Fulani Herdsmen, Boko Haram and other terrorist organizations in the Northern Nigeria. As a result, tensions both within Muslim communities and between certain Islamist groups and the broader society have been growing in recent years.

Accordingly, these issues and tensions of terrorism have not emerged suddenly or spontaneously, rather, they reflect an accumulation of pressure over decades (Abdisaid, 2016). The genesis of this is largely the externally driven diffusion of Salafist ideology from the Gulf States owing to pressures of globalization (Abdisaid, 2016). For instance in 1989, Bin Laden and his ally Muhammad Atef founded Al Qaeda, an international terrorist group dedicated to opposing non-Islamic governments everywhere in the world, by any means possible including the use of force and violence. Al Qaeda maintains a command and control structure which included a majlis al shura (or consultation council) which discussed and approved major undertakings, including terrorist operations. Both Atef and Bin Laden are members of the council (<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/>).

Al Qaeda, as one of the most infamous international terrorist organizations is networking with other terrorist organizations including: the al Jihad group based in Egypt, the Islamic Group, formerly led by Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, and other jihad groups in other countries. Al Qaeda also forged alliances with the National Islamic Front in Sudan and with representatives of the government of Iran, and its associated terrorist group Hezbollah, for the purpose of working together against their perceived common enemies in Israel and the West, particularly the United States. One of the principal goals of Al Qaeda is to target American interests, particularly, to dismantle the influence of Western civilization in Muslim countries, and to drive the United States armed forces out of Saudi Arabia, elsewhere on the Saudi Arabian peninsula and Somalia by violence. Working with its affiliate groups and terror infrastructures in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia and Kenya and Middle East, Al Qaeda conspired and confederated to kill America and Western nationals. Its leader Bin Laden provided financial support and weapons to associated terrorist groups opposing Western interest across the World (<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/>).

Consequently as it were, in 1991, Bin Laden issued a number of fatwahs (rulings on Islamic law) directing members of Al Qaeda network and his followers that the US forces stationed in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and the Horn of Africa, including Somalia, should be attacked. Thus on October 3 and 4, 1993, in Mogadishu, Somalia, Al Qaeda trained elements attacked United States military personnel serving in Somalia as part of Operation Restore Hope (ORH), which resulted in the killing of 18 United States Army personnel. Again, Osama bin Laden together with other Islamic terrorists including: Atef, Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, Odeh, al-'Owhali. Mustafa Mohamed Fadhil, Khalfan Khamis Mohamed, Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani, Fahid Mohammed Ally Msalam and Sheikh Ahmed Salim Swedann, planned and masterminded the attack that destroyed the United States Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, caused the deaths of at least 213 persons, including Kenyan, American and Tanzanian citizens (FRONTLINE, 1998).

In November 1998, the US government issued an indictment alleging that Osama bin Laden heads an international terrorist network called "Al Qaeda," an Arabic word meaning "the base." The government's allegations and subsequent indictments concerning Al Qaeda include the aforementioned attacks on American and other Western interests (<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/>).

However, on 11th September, 2001, Al Qaeda unleashed an unprecedented terror on the United States of America (USA), leading to thousands of deaths and destruction of property running into hundreds of millions of dollars. The avoidable incident led to mass evacuations in New York and Washington and Pennsylvania after four aircraft were severely hijacked, two of them crashed into the 110 storey World Trade Centre (WTC) in New York, another at the Pentagon (Defense Ministry) and the other in Pennsylvania. This incident was confirmed by American airline that they carried 156 individuals on board. All of them and several thousand others are feared to have perished in the attack.

Consequently, trading was suspended at the New York stock exchange (NYSE) because of the

monumental disaster caused by the terrorist attack. In the same vein, other vulnerable targets and strategic institutions; the White House, United Nations, Capitol Hill, Pentagon and State Department were all evacuated in an emergency moves to avert attacks. Evidently, terrorism is today a sophisticated threat to both the weak and strong states in the international system. It signifies a wakeup call to all for concerted international efforts to save mankind from this scourge of terrorism.

Against the background of the foregoing, this paper is a constructive study of how globalization has aided terrorism in the international system. The outcome of the study will be useful to both states and non-state actors that are synergizing in counter terrorism efforts. Considering the geostrategic and economic impacts of terrorist attacks, it is imperative for the research findings be used in the concerted efforts to forestall the incidences of terrorism in the globalized world.

Conceptualizing Globalization

The concept of globalization is a recurrent scholarly discourse. Ojinnaka (2001) conceptualizes globalization as a historical process that started many centuries ago, as result of which led to the present day integration of the world into a single economic, socio-cultural and political unit. Ojinnaka further argues that scholars across disciplines as diverse as political Science, international relations, sociology, philosophy, economics, communication and cultural studies conceive globalization as a new epoch in the historical development of capitalism.

Immanuel Wallerstein in his world system theory sees the emergence of globalization as a result of the triumph of capitalist world economy, tied together by the logic of capital accumulation (Wallerstein, 1979). Onimode (2000) posits that globalization is promoted by the openness of most countries to international trade, international investment and international finance. Nnoli Okwudibe in his widely read book "Globalization and democracy in Africa" conceive globalization as a complex social phenomenon that interfaces with various elements of social life and is suffused with ambiguities, variations, uncertainties and incompatibilities. Nnoli maintains that the core of globalization is the inevitable expansion of capitalism worldwide including the spread of its values central to the phenomenon of globalization is financial flow (Nnoli, 2000).

In his analysis of globalization Okafor (2008) said that globalization has no doubt changed the course of history. It has remained the only single phenomenon that has affected everything not excepting those secretive things that were hitherto unperturbed by the realities of their environments. The scholar argues that from the realities of the social, economic, political and religious dimensions of life, globalization has been so permeating and on the supersonic fast lane of events in perpetual motion.

Again, stating how globalization affects all aspects of human endeavor and has permeated into every form of interaction across national borders, regions, sub-regions and continents, Ohiorhenuan (1998) in his work- *The South in an era of globalization*, argues that globalization is a phenomenon that is principally aimed at the universal homogenization of ideas, cultures, values, and even life, styles as well as the villagization of the world.

Similarly, Oluwabunwa (1999) cited in Egonu (2016) argues that globalization is an evolution which is systematically restructuring interactive phases among nations by breaking down barriers in areas of culture, commerce, communication and several other fields of endeavor. Egonu (2016) observe that globalization is almost all embracing phenomenon, touching the entire political social, cultural, economic, and technological areas including the information communication technology fabric of the international system. He maintains that the history of the world is replete with the emergence and influence of different social, political and economic developments whose effects affected and sometimes changed the course of human history.

Lawal (2006) in his work "Globalization and development: The implications for African economy" notes that the term globalization has been used various times among academia, business world, social scientists, even journalists with more or less effectiveness in an attempt to explain or interpret issues in this changing and complex world. Igwe (2010) had thorough conceptualization of globalization and states that over the past two decades, nothing short of a revolution may be said to have occurred to the speed of communication, which has fundamentally impacted on the globe, besides its impact on how business is conducted.

An erudite and seasoned scholar of International Relations, Professor Lysias Dodd Gilbert in his very impressive work on "International Relations" opines that with the globalization of Western democracy and Human Rights and the emergence of terrorism, the threat of Islamic fundamentalism and the intensification of socio-economic cum technological globalization there is still no single dominant approach for interpreting the world. The scholar maintains that the globalization or internationalization of our lives is largely due to major technological breakthrough in transportation, information and

communication sectors within the contemporary international system. Professor Gilbert agrees that in this era of globalization accentuated by technological advancement, complex interdependence, transportation and commerce, the world has virtually become a global village. Gilbert further notes that the phenomenal revolution in communications and transportations technologies, increased interdependence and globalization in economic sphere has led to expansion in transnational challenges like international terrorism. Gilbert maintains that the current move in the global system is the universal ideologies of globalization and their violence for an audience far beyond the immediate geographical local of their respective struggle (Gilbert, 2013).

James (2008) argues that there are links between globalization, its impacts and the wide spread of terrorism in the contemporary international system. James opines that technologies allow the transfer of goods, services and information almost anywhere quickly and efficiently. In the case of information, the transfer can be and is nearly instantaneous. The scholar observes that the extent of social, cultural and political change brought on by globalization, including increasing interconnectedness and homogeneity in the international system remain a subject of much disagreement and debate. The disagreement he agree strongly, have in turn influenced discussion of the extent to which globalization has contributed to the rise of modern terrorism. James contain that though global terrorism has been explained in cultural, economic and religious terms liked to globalization, technologies associated to globalization has enable terrorists to conduct operations that are deadlier, more distributed and more difficult to combat than they were in the past. He further explain that technological advantage is not one sided, and state can use technology to diminish the global impacts of terrorism.

Equally, Paul Pillar a former Brookings expert argues that several trends associated with globalization such as greater ease of moving people, resources, and information across borders, the greater transnational reach of institutional structure thus have sustained or worsen international terrorism. He argues that in today's globalized world, terrorists can reach their targets more easily, their targets are exposed in more places, and new ideas that inflame people to resort to terrorism has spread more widely and rapidly than in the past (Pillar (2001). According to Paul Pillers today's globalized terrorism is exemplified by Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, the mastermind of the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center and later an abortive plot to bomb a dozen US Airliners out of the sky in the far East. He observe that terrorism have extended their reach by building global circling infrastructures, the infrastructures extend the geographic options for attack, also further recruitment , fund raising, movement of materials and support functions and take advantage of social services, transportation and communication. Thus enhanced their greater mobility. The scholar argues forcefully that advances in information and communication technology have facilitated worldwide terrorist operations.

Pillar states that satellite phones are now standard equipotent for terrorist leaders, who can remain otherwise inaccessible, while influencing events thousands of miles away. Terrorist also use the Internet for long distance operational direction, with some large groups using it for propaganda and proselytization as well. Pillar maintains that information technology's biggest impact on terrorism has involved the everyday task of organizing and communicating rather than their former methods of attacks. He concludes that the vulnerability associated with globalization have made western culture and economic influence to be resented elsewhere in the world (Pillar, 2001) and have engendered terrorism more than any single factor (Ojinnaka, 2001).

Thus some scholars have vehemently argued that globalization have greatly engendered terrorist operations in the world. As a result of globalization terrorist operations/attacks has escalated in the recent years, and have been a significant threat, and serious security concerns to the international community. As globalization spreads and societies become increasingly interconnected, activities become at global reach, as its impacts and consequences aftermath of globalization (Ojinnaka, 2022a; James, 2008). Burgees (2015) contend that the increasing interconnectedness and homogeneity in the international system remains a critical factor of how globalization has contributed to the new wave of transnational terrorism. The terrorist have quickly learned to exploit the burgeoning globalization of the world media (Burgees, 2015) and recognized the publicity inherent in terrorism and channeled their violence for an audience far beyond the immediate geographical local of their respective struggle (Gilbert, 2013).

Conceptualizing Terrorism

Sam Momah in his book "Global disorders and the new world order" argues that the term terrorism is viewed according which side of the fence one is sitting and defined according to the methods used in achieving the objectives, not necessarily the intention. Simply put, Momah maintain that terrorism is the use or the threat of the use of violence to intimidate innocent population for political end (Momah,

1995). In the same vein, James (2008) argues that reaching consensus on what constitutes terrorism is difficult. The legitimacy of terrorist means and methods is the foremost source of the disagreement. He argues that some view terrorist acts as legitimate only if they meet the criteria associated with the "just war" tradition. He further stated that these criteria which apply to all application of force have been expanded to include a just cause, proportional use of violence, and the use of force as a last resort. He added that realists suggest that the political violence used by terrorists group is illegitimate on the basis that states alone have a monopoly on the legitimate use of forces.

Similarly, the former United States President, George Bush constructively attempted differentiation of terrorists and freedom fighters. As Vice-President and head of task force on terrorism, Bush opined that terrorists deliberately attack noncombatants for their own cynical purposes, while freedom fighters, by contrast, seek to adhere to international laws and civilized code of conduct. He maintains that freedom fighters attack military targets not defenseless civilians. While the terrorists attack the innocent, the guerrilla attacks mainly military targets with occasional attacks on nonmilitary targets, but a sincere freedom fighter should attack only military targets (Bush, 2011). Consenting with the above view, Momah (1995) notes that virtually all cases, selfish or personal motive cannot be ruled out in the application of violence. Momah states for instance that the Abu Nidal terrorist seem nothing more than a gang of pathological killers ready to murder for the richest purse.

Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks On the United States President George W. Bush developed a wide-ranging plan to seek out and stop terrorists around the world. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were part of the Global War on Terror, (GWOT), but the term was also used to describe diplomatic, financial, and other actions taken to deny financing or safe harbor to terrorists, Coalition partners from around the world also participated in the GWOT (Bush, 2011).

However, President George W. Bush's approach to the Global War on Terror involved a clear differentiation between terrorists and freedom fighters. He emphasized that the U.S. would make no distinction between the terrorists who committed acts of violence and those who harbored them. This policy was initially applied to the Taliban-controlled Afghanistan, where the U.S. invaded after the Taliban refused to hand over Osama bin Laden, the leader of al-Qaeda. Bush's administration believed that any nation that harbors or supports terrorism will be regarded as a hostile regime. This policy was part of a broader strategy to combat international terrorism and promote democracy and freedom globally. Following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks On the United States President George W. Bush developed a wide-ranging plan to seek out and stop terrorists around the world. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were part of the Global War on Terror, (GWOT), but the term was also used to describe diplomatic, financial, and other actions taken to deny financing or safe harbor to terrorists, Coalition partners from around the world also participated in the GWOT(Bush,2011). President George W. Bush stated thus:

The attack took place on American soil, but it was an attack on the heart and soul of the civilized world. And the world has come together to fight a new and different war, the first, and we hope the only one, of the 21st century. A war against all those who seek to export terror, and a war against those governments that support or shelter them (Bush, 2011).

According to the United States government official definition of terrorism for statistical and analytical purposes, the term terrorism means premeditated, and political motivated violence perpetuated against noncombatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents (US Annual Country Report on Terrorism, 1990). Jonathan Netanyahu Institute (JNI) in Israel which specializes in terrorism defined terrorism as a deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent in order to instill fear for political ends (Jonathan Netanyahu Institute JNI, 1989). James (2008) submit that terrorism is the use of violence by sub-state groups to inspire fear, attacking civilians and/or symbolic target for purpose such as drawing widespread attention to a grievance provoking a severe response or wearing down their opponents moral resolve to effect political change.

Anatole and John (1990) contend that terrorism is an act of kidnapping of innocent people to hold for a ransom until demands are met. And often hostages are killed when governments refuse to grant terrorist demands. Crenshaw (1990) in Elemanya (2018) posits that the term terrorism was coined to describe the systemic inducement of fear and anxiety to control and direct a civilian population and the phenomenon of terrorism as a challenge to the authority of the State. Elemanya (2018) in a broader perspective argue that terrorism could be seen as a psychological strategy of war for going political or religious end by deliberately creating a climate of fear among the population of a state.

Onyeneho (2006) asserts that terrorist organizations have assumed renewed importance in the contemporary international system. He notes that assassinations and high jacking have become a global

concern and an indispensable fact or issue in the state system. Onyeneho observes that some of these groups play more important roles in international politics than some sovereign states. In the same vein, Momah (1995) posits that terrorism acquired an international dimension in 1968, as a result of coincidence of events. The first was the Israeli defeat of the Arabs nations in the six Days war in June 1967, which made the PLO to take to terrorism as the only alternative. Then the coalescence of various students' radical groups in Europe and America into terrorist gangs was the second motivator. According to Momah, the student's objectives ranged from serious issues, such as human rights, the Vietnam War, the Marxist – Leninist ideology, abhorrence of the crass materialism of the capitalist world, emancipation of womanhood and liberation of the oppressed. Momah argues that the situation at that time was further inflamed by Irish Republican Army (IRA) uprising, the demise of General Franco of Spain and the upsurge of enthusiasm to the freedom of Basque Homeland whose specialty was killing of Generals. Momah strongly argues that the coup detect that brought Muammar Gaddafi to power in Libya in September, 1969, further incense the situation. Momah maintains that these events were the catalyst that fuelled the upsurge of terrorism in the late 1960s.

Furthermore, Crenshaw Martha in her work: Terrorism legitimacy and power on the morality of the use of force by either the state or terrorists note that morality can be judged in two ways; Morality of the end and the morality of the means. First are the goals of the terrorist democratic or nondemocratic that is, their aim to erect or perpetuate a regime of privilege and inequality; to deny liberty to other people, or to further the ends of justice, freedom and equality. Crenshaw states that terrorism must not be tolerated, as the terrorist activities can result in worse injustice than the condition the terrorists oppose. Crenshaw (1983) maintains that the morality of the means of terrorism is also open to judgment. The scholar added that the targets of terrorism are morally significant witness to the difference between material objects and human. In the same vein, Ronke and Boyer (2004) in their book international politics on the world stage maintains that those who resort to violence (terrorism) see it as a legitimate instrument of struggle against perceived oppressors.

Conceptualizing Transnational Terrorism

Legal Clarity (2026) in its definition and highlight of key features of transnational terrorism, defined transnational terrorism as terrorist activity that transcends national boundaries in planning, execution, or impact, distinguishing it from domestic terrorism. It typically involves non-state actors motivated by political, ideological, or religious goals who use violence or the threat of violence against civilians or governments to create fear and achieve objectives. The United States Code refers to such acts as violent actions intended to intimidate populations or coerce governments across borders. Legal Clarity contend that in its organizational methods Transnational terrorist groups often adopt decentralized, cellular structures, allowing them to remain resilient even if individual cells are disrupted. They exploit geographic dispersion and jurisdictional gaps, establishing safe havens in regions with weak governance, recruiting members internationally, and coordinating operations using advanced communication technologies, including encrypted messaging and the internet. Legal Clarity notes that this globalized approach enables rapid movement of operatives and resources, making these groups difficult to track and counter (legal Clarity 2026). In similar vein, Copilot (2026) posits that transnational terrorism involves politically motivated acts that cross national borders, leveraging global networks to target civilians or governments for ideological objectives.

Wright and D'Amato (2023) argue that transnational terrorism is often portrayed as a force that can clandestinely threaten enemies across oceans and borders. This portrayal, or caricature, simplifies the motives, and intricate methods for terrorist organizations choosing to expand their area of operations or alliances. Wright and D'Amato posits that the trans-nationality of terrorist organizations, including fundraising, communications, alliance-forming, as well as movement and target selection. The scholars' states that by completing this exercise and its trans-nationality, the true threat that terrorism 'going global' poses can be better understood.

Arguing on the historical and contemporary context of the rise of Transnational terrorism Britannica (2026) states that the rise of transnational terrorism accelerated in the late 20th century due to advances in transportation and telecommunications, which allowed groups like the Palestine Liberation Organization and later al-Qaeda to operate internationally. Britannica maintains that modern transnational terrorism often intersects with civil wars and state weakness, where local conflicts provide openings for global terrorist networks to exploit, extending their reach beyond the immediate conflict zone. Attacks may be carried out by local actors against foreign targets or by transnational networks against targets outside the combat zone (Britannica, 2026).

Calléja, Lucie, a Doctoral researcher at the Institute for Political Studies of Universidade Católica

Portuguesa, Lisbon (Portugal) and also the International Relations Executive Coordinator at Católica Global School of Law of Lisbon, argues that the beginning of the twenty-first century is characterized by the emergence of a new political landscape significantly influenced by globalization (Calléja, 2021). The rising interconnectivity that results from this phenomenon implies the need to redefine the concepts of international politics, strategies, threats, and security. Calléja notes that in parallel, new technologies have enabled transnational threats to develop and come up as a primary concern for the great powers and global governance (Calléja, 2021).

Again, in the context of global security analysis and its implications, transnational terrorism scholars like Brown (2017), Bannelier-Christakis (2016), Jones, Pascual, & Stedman, (2009) and Ojinnaka (2022), Garcia (2006) has in their previous scholarly works explored the emergence of transnational terrorism and geographical expansion of religious extremism as major threats for states and personal security which in the contemporary times calls measures against terrorism and violent extremism in a context of global insecurity. Calléja, Lucie, maintains that the increasing interdependency between internal and external security has called states to develop new strategies to maintain stability and order which emphasizes the needs to build partnerships and enhance collaboration at all levels to meet the challenges posed by transnational terrorism. Calléja maintains that this growing insecurity requires nations to cooperate with different actors to protect their sovereignty and strengthen human security in the contemporary international political landscape characterized by insecurity and disorder (Calléja, 2021).

Legal Clarity further states that countering transnational terrorism requires international cooperation and comprehensive legal frameworks. It notes that this can be achieved by Governments designating terrorist groups, monitor cross-border financing, and implement intelligence-sharing mechanisms. It posits that the United States has shifted focus over time, recently prioritizing threats from narco-terrorists and transnational criminal organizations, while still recognizing the ongoing risk from Islamist terrorist networks. Legal Clarity maintains that whatever, motivations for transnational terrorism, be it political, philosophical, or religious, do not justify violent acts under international law. Legal Clarity agree that the implications of Transnational terrorism remains a complex global security challenge, exploiting globalization, weak governance, and technological connectivity. Its international dimension necessitates coordinated counterterrorism strategies, combining military, intelligence, law enforcement, and diplomatic efforts to prevent attacks and dismantle networks. Thus, Legal Clarity argues strongly that understanding the operational methods and historical evolution of transnational terrorism is critical for developing effective policies and mitigating risks to civilian populations and national security.

Defining transnational terrorism as a threat to the United States of Haleigh Bartos and Sydney Laite of Modern War Institute, West Point, notes that the 2025 Annual Threat Assessment (a document published by the US intelligence community that reflects its collective interpretations of the most pressing threats to the United States), acknowledges the direct threat transnational Islamist terrorism presents to the United States. The scholars observed that transnational terrorism has not disappeared from the purview of Washington entirely. Indeed, the Trump administration used Iran's state sponsor of terrorism status to justify strikes on its nuclear program, seemingly in recognition of the potential threat extending beyond Tehran's nuclear ambitions (Haleigh & Sydney, 2026).

Haleigh & Sydney contend that the sub-Saharan Africa has arguably become the epicenter of transnational Islamist terrorism. In 2014, of the countries with the most terrorist attacks and related fatalities, Nigeria was the only African nation on the list with Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, and Syria. And by 2024, most of the countries within the top ten for terrorist activity were African. Haleigh & Sydney maintains that since 2015, the total terrorism deaths have decreased by 31 percent, according to the Global Terrorism Index. However, this overall decline is largely due to significant drops in Iraq; if those numbers are removed, then terrorist-related deaths have increased slightly. They further states that terrorism-related deaths in the Sahel are continuing to rise at alarming levels and, in 2024, accounted for more than half of all terrorism-related deaths. Haleigh & Sydney posits the Sahel region is now a hotbed for terrorism and this comes at a time during which the Trump administration is looking to disengage from the region, including considering dismantling US Africa Command.

Haleigh & Sydney Further argue that terrorist groups have demonstrated their intent to continue targeting the West, while their potential capabilities continue to grow. For instance, recently, al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula's leader released a video address calling on jihadist sympathizers, particularly in the United States and Europe, to mount attacks on companies that support the US military or Israel, naming several specific companies as examples. The sustained intent also comes at a time during which

terrorist groups are poised to exponentially increase their capabilities. Furthermore, the scholars warn that the ever-increasing capabilities offered by artificial intelligence have the potential to significantly enhance terrorists' weapons and targeting capabilities, with some AI experts warning that any user with a computer might, within a few years, be able to create chemical or biological weapons in a garage.

Haleigh & Sydney posits that the October 7 attack in Israel and the surge of terrorist activity in Africa are stark reminders that the threat of transnational Islamist terrorism remains potent and unpredictable. They advise that the US intelligence community and policymakers must maintain resources and focus on developing terrorist threats, even if they are not yet transnational, to avoid future surprise. According to Haleigh & Sydney, global threats are too interconnected to tackle separately and by fostering robust alliances, investing in intelligence, and remaining vigilant against the evolving tactics and technologies of terrorist organizations, the United States, indeed, the world can prevent future surprises and uphold its security commitments. The cost of complacency is too high in a world where a single attack can reshape both domestic and regional dynamics and reverberate across the globe for years (Haleigh & Sydney, 2026).

Martha Crenshaw is senior fellow emerita at the Center for International Security and Cooperation, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University, explaining Terrorism, the causes, processes, and its consequences notes that Transnational terrorism poses a threat to all countries, but is of immediate concern to the US government. Crenshaw notes that terrorist organizations have stepped-up use of social media for recruiting and propaganda purposes. Supported by the Policy, Learning, and Strategy Center at the United States Institute of Peace, Crenshaw considers civil war, and military interventions by foreign powers, Civil War, Territory, Resources, and Ideological Messaging, as drivers of and rationales for transnational terrorism. The scholar states that the response of the United States and its key security partners should be coordinated not only across governments, but across the agencies of a specific state and should entail policy coordination of defense agencies, humanitarian aid provision, the development of effective communications strategies, a well-thought-out plan for the use of force, if needed, and advance planning of post-conflict stabilization strategies.

Crenshaw posits that appropriate response to transnational terrorism requires first understanding the complex interlink ages among civil war, transnational terrorism, and weak governance. According to Crenshaw, conflicts in Mali, Chechnya, Syria, and other fragile states disrupted by civil war and facing actions from global terrorist networks suggest the different ways in which these factors may interact and the different paths to a solution, including bi- or trilateral negotiations that include extremist groups at the negotiations table.

However, the scholar state that governments supporting weak states should not wait for critical events entailing loss of life to occur before offering multidimensional assistance. Crenshaw argue strongly that recognizing the conditions under which extremist threats emerge allows governments to take defensive and mitigating measures before a crisis takes shape. The scholar concludes that adopting a long view of regional developments greatly aid in assessing and responding to global jihadist threats (Crenshaw, 2020).

Historical Perspectives of Terrorism

Historically, the term terrorism was first used to denote state violence against the citizens during the French revolution which began in 1793 (James 2008). According to Burgees (2015) during the French revolution, the term terrorism was always value-laden, in positive terms that the French revolutionary leader Maxmillien Robespierre stated thus:

"vital if the new French Republic was to survive its infancy proclaiming in 1794 that terror is nothing other than justice, prompt, severe, inflexible, it is therefore, an emanation of virtue, it is not so much a special principle as it is consequences of the principle of democracy applied to our country most urgent needs".

The political and social climate that prevailed under the French revolution considered terror as a vital instrument of the state, necessary for consolidating the power of the newly installed revolutionary government and to protect it from subversive elements (Burgees, 2015). Indeed, it was the terrorist assassination of Archduke Ferdinand that caused the First World War, since then, its aftermath has continued to deepen in complexity (Momah, 1995).

However, the writings of Edmund Burke, a British political philosopher popularized the English concept of terrorism, while demonizing its French revolutionary practitioners (Burgees, 2015). Since 1960 and 1970s, the number of terrorist organization swells to include not only nationalists, but those motivated by ethnic, religious and ideological interests. These include groups like Palestine People Liberation Organization (PLO) and many of its affiliates, the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA), and the Italian Red Brigades (Waiter, 1999, as cited in Ojinnaka, 2022a). Though the PLO has been declassified

by the International Community, particularly, the Western democracies as terrorist organization. It provided inspiration, mentorship and training of many new generation terrorist organizations in the Middle East in particular and Muslim world in general (Ojinnaka, 2022a). The Black September Group that seized and murdered Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games gained enormous informational publicity (Burgees, 2015). It had the gravest and far-reaching implications for the spread of international terrorism. Hence terrorist organizations assumed renewed significance as non-State actors in the international system (Onyeneho, 2006).

In the other hand, the Irish Republican Army campaign was the longest and the most vicious and violent in the Western Europe. Ever since 1969, over 3000 people were killed and 2,500 badly injured in their violent campaign to unit Northern Island with the Irish Republic. The IRA bombing in Birmingham in November 1974, the murder of Lord Louis Mountbatten at the age of 78 years, and a relatives of the Queen, the Gibraltar killings, and the series of bombing in London in 1981. Equally, in 1984, the IRA narrowly missed killing the Prime Minister, Margret Thatcher at the Brighton, by bombing the Grand Hotel, the venue of the conservative party conference.

In September, 1989, it killed ten Royal Mariners of the School of Music, regarded as "soft target". And in January, 1992, it bombed even the Whitehall causing serious damage (Momah, 1995; James, 2008). Apart from killing people and bombing rail stations, pubs and other recreational facilities, the terrorists in the Northern Ireland specialized in what they call "kneecapping" which means shooting away, or destroying with an electric drill, a victim's kneecap (Momah, 2008).

Nevertheless, the disturbing carnage in the Northern Island made the British Government to consider the IRA demand of unifying the Northern and Southern Ireland, to consent to the Irish right to self-determination. Prime Minister Margret Thatcher and her Irish counterpart, Garrete Fitzgerald in the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1985 institutionalize power sharing between the Catholics and Protestants in the Northern Island (Momah, 1995). The IRA cease fire initiatives of 1994 paved way for the end of terrorism and sectarian conflict in the Northern Ireland. The IRA violent campaign was motivated by political considerations. It enabled the IRA to gain important psychological advantage over the British Government.

In the contemporary times, terrorism has in some respect come full circle, with many of its contemporary practitioners motivated by religious convictions and often possessed a political dimension (Burgess, 2015). Today, terrorism has inflicted on the world far more physical causalities than road accident in the ratio of about 1:500, the trauma caused by terrorism and consequences of such acts on the world are incalculable (Momah, 1995).

State Sponsored Terrorism

According to James Burgees long before the outbreak of World War 1 in Europe in 1914, what would later be termed state sponsored terrorism had already started to manifest itself (Burgees, 2015). For instance, many officials in the Serbian government and military were involved in supporting, training and arming the various Balkan groups which were active prior to the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo (Burgees, 2015).

Again, state sponsored terrorism is not new, the formation and sustenance of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (MRO) by Bulgarian government was basically because it was used as a tool against Yugoslavia and others considered domestic enemies of the state (Walter, 1990). Hence, available evidences illustrates that state sponsor of terrorism is not a new phenomenon (Burgee, 2015). Some totalitarian regimes like Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Monarchist Spain, Stalinist Russia, Britain/Nigeria under Gowon terrorism against the Biafrans during the Nigeria Biafra war, which led to the death of millions of innocent Children and non-combatants, Britain/Nigeria terrorism/mass murder against Biafrans was of genocidal proportion. Nigeria under Buhari/Idiagon military dictatorships, and Abacha Brutal military rule in Nigeria; President Buhari administration 2015-2023, military dictatorships in Africa, South America and Asia used state machineries to perpetuate unjust violence and terrorism against regime enemies and sustain hold on power.

Jessica Stern in her work: "The ultimate terrorist" holds that at some point the western democracies have resorted to terrorism, such instances include not only the Allied strategic bombing campaigns of World War II, but the American dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki that ended the pacific phase of the conflict (Stern, 2001). However, in the mid-1980s, the world saw the re-emergence of state sponsored terrorism which was a catalyst for the series of attack against the United States and other Western targets in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world. In particular, countries such as Iran, Iraqi, Libya and Syria came to the fore as chief sponsors of terrorism in the world, (Burgees 2015; Adrian, 1998). The success of Islamic revolution in Iran led to the re-emergence of religiously

inspire terrorism as the Islamic Republic supports terrorism as a state policy and a means of propagating its ideals of jihadism beyond its own borders (Bruce, 1988, as cited in Burgees, 2015). The Oklahoma bombing in 1995 and the Al Qaeda attacks in the United State of September 11, 2001, brought home to the world particularly the United States, just how dangerous this late mutation of terrorism is (Burgees 2015).

Political Scientist Ojinnaka Ify Evaristus, in his emergent theory of the Murderous State chronicled States he classified as terrorist States which includes: Nigeria, Iran, Afghanistan under Taliban's rule, Russia under Josef Stalin, Uganda under Idi Aminu, colonial Britain, colonial France, Germany under Hitler and host of others. According to the scholar these states had one time in their history carried out murderous crimes against humanity. For instance between 1920-1953, Russia under Josef Stalin, the Communist Party Secretary introduced five years program of agricultural collectivization, an estimated nine million peasants were shot or starved to death or died while being hauled to labor camps in Siberia.

The forced collectivization of agriculture, led to widespread famine and the deaths of millions. In his cleansing of the party and government apparatus he embarked on bloody purge of his political opponents using the Red Army for complete control of the government and his paranoia (Ojinnaka 2022a). The regime also engaged in political repression, including the purges of the Communist Party and the mass mobilization of the population (<https://www.britannica.com › place › Russia>). His victims were from all walks of life and those declared enemies of the state were hunted down and harshly punished by the government henchmen and NKVD (the secret police) Douglas and Michael (2004). The purge was a phantom of Stalin's paranoid imagination and the victims were mostly people suspected of being against his leadership. He elevated the state machineries to instruments of terrorism. His victims include former Premier A.I. Rykov, two former Presidents of the Communist International, many former diplomats, Cabinet Ministers, Economic Executives, several Red Army Generals and thousands of other officers Douglas and Michael (2004).

Records from Soviet archives show that the NKVD arrested, summarily tried and executed millions of Russians in the Civil Services, Party members and members of the Armed Forces suspected of being enemies of the state. Torture was commonly used and enemies of the state were shot by firing squads, or exiled to Siberian labour Camp to slowly die by starvation or freezing cold and cruel treatment. Thus the Russian society was gripped by terror of the state machinery. It is on record that during Stalin's reign of terror in Russia about eight million Russians were arrested, one million of them were executed by firing squads, as many as two millions died in concentration camps. Equally, millions that were arrested by NKVD died before and after the major purges (Douglas and Michael, 2004). Russia under Stalin's reign of terror was indeed a murderous State (Ojinnaka, 2022a). Stalin's policies and actions had lasting impacts on Soviet society and the global political landscape, shaping the course of the Cold War and influencing the course of history (<https://www.britannica.com › place › Russia>).

According to Ojinnaka (2022a) after the Second World War, America became more involved in the Middle East to stop the Soviet Union from spreading its influence. Oil had become very important to global power. America strengthened its relationship with Iran because of Iran's oil, as oil was the propelling engine of American economy. In 1951, Mohammad Mossadegh came to power, took control of Iran's oil and nationalized the oil industry. This was during the Cold War era when America and the Soviet Union were competing against each other for global power and influence (Ojinnaka, 2022a). Following the nationalization of Iranian Oil by the Mohammad Mossadegh regime in 1951, the policy of economic nationalism was considered to be against American interests. Consequently, in 1953, America aided Mohammad Reza Pahlavi to power in a coup. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi the dictator ruled Iran for 26 years. Reza Pahlavi was corrupt, an American puppet and ruled Iran with dictatorial tendencies. His harsh rule and bad human rights records were ignored by the United States because his regime supported American imperialist economic interests in the country. However, at this time, not only that Reza Pahlavi government was pro-west, but it had good relations with Israel.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a very senior Muslim leader in Iran was one of the strong critics of the Mohammad Reza Pahlavi government. Equally, he was against Western influence, particularly, America's imperial role in Iran. Hence, he was compelled into exile to France in the 1960s. While in exile, Khomeini motivated Iranians to oppose the government of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shah.

Overtime, the Islamic State of Iran since 1979 is known to be one of the key sponsors of transnational terrorism in the world. Indeed, for nearly half a century, the Islamic Republic has been the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism against the western interests and has killed and maimed American citizens and service members through its own forces and proxy militias. Iran has attacked

many US and Western facilities and abducted many of their nationals. Thus since 1979, Islamic Revolution, Iran has done some incalculable damage against the United States and its western allies. It is on record that more Americans have been killed by Iran than any other terrorist regime on earth, as the Islamic revolutionary leaders and its regime's declared bloody war on the United State (<https://www.state.gov/reports/country-reports-on-terrorism-2023/>).

According to Ojinnaka (2022a) Iran since 1979 Islamic revolution has been a classical example of a murderous state and uses terror as an instrument of state policy. Iran increasingly became a great player in the Middle East affairs after the Islamic revolution. The revolution and developments in the region there after, gave the Islamic State the opportunity to play a major role in the Middle East affairs. Iranian proxy terror organizations include Hezbollah, Hamas, Houthi rebels and Shitte Militants in Nigeria. Since then, Iran became a major military power in the Oil rich region of the Persian Gulf. Many Iranians who are supporters of the Islamic revolution are extremists seeking to counter western influence in the in the region of the Persian Gulf in particular and Muslim world in general.

Ayatollah Khomeini the leader of the Islamic revolution was an avowed hater of the West. On November 4, 1979, the Islamic State sponsored terrorists invaded and captured the US Embassy in Tehran and seized more than 50 American hostages (Anatole and John, 1990). The American hostages were release in 1981, after 444 days. The international community condemned Iran's terrorist actions which demarketed it as a terrorist state. The hostage taking and the diplomatic crisis that followed became one of the most critical issues of international security in late 1970s and 1980s. The Islamic State's sponsorship of terrorism portrayed Iran as a state that uses terror as an official state policy. The US embassy hostage taking was the first evidence of the Islamic Republic State sponsorship of terrorism. While the diplomatic relations between the U.S and Iran became strained after the hostage crisis, Israel, a long term American ally was threatened by the Islamic Republic as a Western creation in the Middle East, and was a pronounced target of obliteration by the Islamic State.

Geographically, Middle East is actually between Israel and Iran. Israel depends on its strong army and support from the United States. Israel sees Iran as a serious threat. The Islamic State first threats against Israel were made as early as 1979, by Iran's first Supreme Leader, who has threatened to destroy the state of Israel. At the center of the Israel-Iran conflict is the belief among hardliner Iranian leaders that Israel should not exist as a country. This perception beclouded the reasoning of many leaders of Iran, and shaped the Islamic State policy toward Israel. For years, the Islamic Republic shouted death to America and Death to Israel. It became the official policy of the Islamic state to obliterate the State of Israel and wiped out the Jewish state from the Map of the world. For almost 50 years, these wicked extremists have been attacking the United States and its harmony of nations, while chanting the slogan, "Death to America," or "Death to Israel," or both. They are the world's number one state sponsor of terror. (<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/tag/donald-trump>; <https://www.whitehouse.gov/>; U.S. Mission 2026). Iran as a terror state desperately wants to acquire nuclear weapons capability to destroy the state of Israel and the United States. It has been supporting Palestine terrorists' organizations and their incessant attacks on Israel. These internationally outlawed terrorist organizations like Hamas and Hezbollah receives money, weapons, training and other logistics from Iran (<https://www.whitehouse.gov/>; U.S. Mission in China, 2026).

Ojinnaka (2022a) contends that Iran under Ayatollah Khamenei, the supreme leader favored the use of terrorism to force America and its western allies to grant its demand, the repressive terrorist measures embarked by Iran was destructive and counterproductive. This policy was continued by Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who came to power 1989, after the death of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. He had the blood of hundreds and even thousands of Americans on his hands, and was responsible for the slaughter of countless thousands of innocent people, all across many countries of the world (Trump, 2026).

Over time, in the Persian Gulf, there has been geopolitical struggle between Saudi Arabia and Iran. The two countries has been in constant struggle for regional power supremacy, politically, economically and religiously dominance. Religiously, Islam has two main denominations Shia and Sunni; Iran is mostly Shia and Saudi Arabia is mostly Sunni. This have over the years made them the biggest rivalry in the region. Regularly, Iran has terrorized many moderate Muslim states in the Middle East such as Dubai, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain and other non-violent states within the gulf region and killed innocent people without provocation. Iran planned and funded the massacre of 1200 Muslims, Jews, Christians, and non-faith persons and abducted over 280 persons on October 7 2024 attack against Israel.

Table 1: The Islamic State of Iran sponsored Terrorist Organization



Source: Einno projects reports on state sponsors of terrorism (2024)

Table 1 show the Iran top proxy terror organizations Hezbollah, Hamas, Houthis, Palistian Islamic Jihads. These Iran proxy terror organizations has wreaked havoc and killed many civilians across the world. In 2026, Iran murdered over 30,000 Iranian citizens protesting against the continuation of terror by the Islamic State. The violent crackdown of the protesters generated significant international attention as a US-based Human Rights Activists , News Agency and a Norway-based Iran Human Rights (IHR), says they has confirmed the killing of more than 6,300 people since the unrest began in late December 2025, and is investigating another 17,000 reported deaths (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cy8y2jxx9ppo>). According to BBC, the the lethal crackdown of the Protesters by the security forces was unlike anything witnessed before. The protesters were accused by the Supreme Leader Khamenei, of attacking police, the IRGC and other facilities including banks and mosques (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cy8y2jxx9ppo>).

Table 11: Chronical of Iran sponsored terrorism against America and other western interests number of victims. Place of attack. Year and the name of the terrorist groups

66 Americans were taken hostage for 444-days	seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran	In November 1979: Iranian terrorists backed by the regime
Killed 17 Americans	A suicide car bombing at the U.S. Embassy in Beirut	In April 1983, the Iran sponsored Islamic Jihad, terrorist groups,
killed 241 U.S. military	Truck bombing at a Marine	In October 1983, Iran sponsored

personnel including 220 U.S. Marines and 21 other service personnel	compound in Beirut.	Hezbollah terrorists
kidnapped and killed CIA station Chief William Buckley	on his way to work in Beirut,	On March 1984 Iran-backed Islamic Jihad terrorists kidnapped and killed him in 1985 CIA Chief
killed 23 people including two US service members	In a car bomb attack at the U.S. Embassy annex in Beirut.	In September 1984, Hezbollah terrorists
brutally dehumanized, tortured and murdered two American officials	hijacked Kuwait Airways Flight 221 en route to Pakistan, diverting it to Tehran	In December 1984 Hezbollah terrorists
shot a U.S. Navy diver in the head and tossed his body onto the Beirut airport tarmac	hijacked TWA Flight 847 on its way from Athens to Rome	In June 1985, Hezbollah terrorists
killed U.S. Marine Col. William Higgins	Kidnapping in 1988 while serving with a United Nations peacekeeping force in Lebanon	In July 1989: Iran-backed Hezbollah terrorists
killed eight people including one American citizen	In a car bomb attack in the Gaza Strip.	April 1995: Iran-backed Islamic Jihad terrorists
killing an American and three other passengers, and wounding more than 100 others	In a suicide bomber blew up a bus in Jerusalem	August 1995: An Iran-backed Hamas .
killing three Americans and wounding three other Americans	Hamas suicide bomber blew up a bus in Jerusalem	February 1996: An Iran-backed Hamas suicide
killed 20 people including two Americans	In a suicide bombing at a Tel Aviv shopping center.	March 1996: A suicide bomber linked to the Iran-backed Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad terrorist groups
killed an American-Israeli dual citizen and wounded another American citizen	In the West Bank	May 1996: Iran-backed terrorists
killed 19 U.S. Airmen and wounded nearly 500	In a truck bombing at a U.S. Air Force housing complex in Saudi Arabia.	June 1996: Hezbollah Al-Hijaz terrorists -

killing an American-Israeli dual citizen and wounding seven other	blew themselves up at a shopping mall in Jerusalem,	September 1997: Iran-backed Hamas suicide bombers
killing 224 people including a dozen American citizens	simultaneously bombed U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania	August 1998: Al-Qaeda suicide bombers, facilitated by Iran-backed Hezbollah,
killing three Americans	blew up a bus in Jerusalem pizzeria	August 2001: An Iran-backed Hamas terrorist
killing five Americans and wounding one other American.	blew up a bus in Jerusalem,.	August 2003: An Iran-backed Hamas terrorist
killed five U.S. soldiers and wounded three others	In Karbala, Iraq, after disguising themselves as U.S.	January 2007: A dozen men affiliated with Iran's Islamic Revolutionary

	soldiers and entering the Provincial Joint Coordination Center	Guard Corps' Quds Force
killed at least 603 U.S. troops ,roughly one in every six American combat fatalities in Iraq.	In Iraq.	Between 2003 and 2011: Iran-backed militias
killed three U.S. diplomatic personnel	In a bombing in Gaza.	October 2003: Iran-backed Popular Resistance Committees terrorists
killed 17 people including an American citizen	In a bus in Jerusalem.	June 2003: An Iran-backed Hamas suicide bomber
Terrorist killed an American-Israeli dual citizen.	in the West Bank.	January 2002: An Iran-backed al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade terrorist
Killed five Americans.	in a bombing at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.	January 2002: An Iran-backed al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade terrorist
killed American citizen and Israel Defense Forces (IDF) soldier Michael Levin, the only American to die in the conflict.	during the Second Lebanon War	August 2006: Iran-backed Hezbollah
Former FBI Agent Robert Levinson disappeared not seen again since then	In the Islamic Republic of Iran,	In March 2007: Kidnapped by Iranian government agents
Killed two American citizens serving in the IDF.	In Israel	July 2014: Iran-backed Hamas terrorists
killed an American citizen and his wife	In a drive-by shooting in the West Bank.	October 2015: Iran-backed Hamas terrorists
killed an American civilian contractor and wounded several U.S. Service members	in a rocket attack at K1 Air Base in Kirkuk, Iraq.	December 2019: Iran-backed Kataib Hezbollah terrorists
109 U.S. troops suffered traumatic brain injuries	on the Ain al-Asad airbase in Iraq.	January 2020: In an Iranian ballistic missile attack
Plotting to assassinate the U.S. Ambassador	In South Africa.	September 2020: U.S. intelligence indicated the Iranian regime
Wounding a U.S. Service member and four U.S. civilian contractors.	fired a rocket at coalition forces in Erbil, Iraq,	February 2021: An Iran-backed militia
wounded two U.S. Service members in a series of rocket and drone attacks	Against U.S. forces in Iraq and Syria.	July 2021: Iranian-backed militias
attack killed an American citizen	In Iraqi Kurdistan	September 2022: : An Iranian rocket attack
orchestrated the killing of an American citizen	In Baghdad	November 2022: An IRGC Captain
Killed an American contractor and wounded five U.S. Service members and another contractor in a strike	On a coalition base in Syria.	March 2023: An Iranian drone attack
Killed 46 Americans and kidnapped at least 12 Americans in the October	In Israel	October 2023: Iran-backed Hamas terrorists

7th massacre.		
wounded three U.S. Service members	in an attack on Erbil Air Base in Iraq	December 2023: Iran-backed militias
killed three U.S. Service members and wounded more than 40 other Service members	In a drone attack against the Tower 22 military base in Jordan.	January 2024: Iran-backed Kataib Hezbollah terrorists
wounding more than 180 U.S. Service members and killing three Service members	in the Middle East,	Between October 2023 and November 2024: Iran and its proxies
was charged for plotting to assassinate President Trump.	In America	November 2024: An Iranian national and IRGC asset
----- three U.S. bases in Syria and two U.S. bases	in Syria and in Iraq.	June 2025: Iran-backed militias attacked at least

Sources: Ojinnaka (2022a), <https://www.fdd.org/iranattacksusforces/>, <https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2024/02/13/70-of-casualties-from-recent-middle-east-attacks-are-brain-injuries/>

Statistics from Table 11, a chronicle of Iran sponsored terrorism against America, Israel and other western interests shows that between 1979 and 2006, Iran and its proxy terror organizations, gravely wounded and killed thousands of people, including many Americans. Iran and its proxy terror organizations killed over 1, 257 people,, wounded over 946 and kidnapped over 75 people, mostly Americans and other western nationals. However, reacting to the Iranian terrorist activities against the United States and its allies, President Trump on Feb 28, 2026 stated thus:

Iran and its menacing activities directly endanger the United States, our troops, our bases overseas, and our allies throughout the world. For 47 years, the Iranian regime has chanted Death to America and waged an unending campaign of bloodshed and mass murder, targeting the United States, our troops and the innocent people in many, many countries. Among the regime's very first acts was to back a violent takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, holding dozens of American hostages for 444 days. In 1983, Iran's proxies carried out the marine barracks bombing in Beirut that killed 241 American military personnel. In 2000, they knew and were probably involved with the attack on the USS Cole. Many died. Iranian forces killed and maimed hundreds of American Service members in Iraq. The regime's proxies have continued to launch countless attacks against American forces stationed in the Middle East in recent years, as well as U.S. naval and commercial vessels and international shipping lines. It's been mass terror, and we're not going to put up with it any longer (Trump, 2026).

However, the Trump administration is of the view that an Iranian Islamic regime has been a dire threat to American and rest of the world. Hence, Trumps new geopolitical strategy and actions is predicated on the needs to ensure that Americans will never have to face a radical, bloodthirsty terrorist regimes armed with nuclear weapons sophisticated long-range missiles and its means of delivery (Trump, 2026).

In the same vein, the Nigerian state is of great strategic important to the United States and other world powers, and cannot be ignored in the game of geo-political struggle among great powers. According to records, Nigeria has an estimated population of over 230 million people. Presently, Nigeria is the Sixth largest nation on earth and it is estimated to be the third largest country in the world by two decades. Also, Nigeria is the world's top five oil producer, and the country has over a trillion dollars in untapped mineral resources (Arnold, 2026). Above all, it has the youngest population of people in the world. Brookings Fieldwork conservatively estimates that there will be 10 to 12 million radicalized terrorist fighters by 2030, and from that pool, 5 to 6 million potential jihadis, young men and boys can be prime recruits for the deadliest ideology on earth, A jihadi-controlled Nigeria would command more money, more people, and more resources than ISIS ever dreamed of. The largest terror state in history, on track to happen unless someone stops it (Arnold, 2026).

According to the commander of United States Africa Command (AFRICOM), General Dagvin R.M. Anderson in the recent times, Nigeria has been the epicenter of terrorism on the globe (Arnold, 2026). It has been a breeding ground for Islamic terrorism and genocide targeting Judo-Christians and none-

Muslim indigenous communities leading to systemic and organized mass killings and displacement of the people. Nigeria is today considered as a "terrorist state" by major interests in the international system, and is recognized as melting point of violent terrorism in the Sub-Saharan Africa, and currently rank 6th on the 2025 Global Terrorism Index (Global Terrorism Index, 2025).

Evidently, due to its internal dynamics and systemic contradictions, Nigeria is grappling with a Severe, multifaceted security crisis, extremist groups like Boko Haram and Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP), Ansaru and Fulani terrorists, among other terrorist organizations poses major threat and security challenges across the country; primarily in the North-East and North-West, and middle belt regions. The activities of these terrorists affects the entire Lake Chad Basin, has become a great security challenge to the country resulting in the death and injuries to thousands of people, often mass abductions of women and girls of school age, destruction of property and displacement of over four million civilian population thereby creating an unprecedented humanitarian crisis across the affected regions (Nnadi, 2025).

Muhammdu Buhari, a Jihadist and well known terrorist sympathizer came to power in Nigeria in 2015, as President and Commander In-Chief of Nigeria Armed Forces. During his period in office 2015-2023, the security situation in the country escalated. Nigeria witnessed wide spread of terrorism and Jihadist activities across the country. And there was high profile attacks by terrorist organizations. Terrorist groups: ISIS-WA and Boko Haram and Fulani terrorists carried out hundreds of attacks in Nigeria using small arms, captured military equipment, IEDs, ambushes, and kidnapping many people (https://www.state.gov/reports/country-reports-on-terrorism-2023/nigeria#_content). This Jihadist and terrorist activities is part of the calculated plan to capture the entire Nigeria and turn it into an Islamic State. Some Nigeria top government officials are either known terrorist sympathizers.

The late President Muhammadu Buhari was at the head of this Islamic agenda, and continued by President Tinubu administration whose Joint Muslim ticket is part of the calculated plan to Islamize Nigeria. To further this grand plan, Late Muhammadu Buhari recruited Boko Haram terrorists and their sympathizers into the Nigeria Armed Forces, the Police, Directorate of State Security Services and other allied security organizations, and the Tinubu government has continued the process of terrorists recruitment into Nigeria state organizations, a situation that has emboldened the terrorists and their sympathizers as they scheme to bring to nothing the fight against terrorism in Nigeria. Thus the Nigerian people has faced over 15 Years of unchecked violence and the situation has led to growing international spotlight on the crisis, with calls for urgent protection of vulnerable populations and accountability for the bloodshed that has turned once-thriving rural areas into ghost towns (Barbir, 2026).

Consequently, for over a decade, more than two hundred and fifty thousand (250,000) Judo-Christians and non-faith people has been killed in Nigeria, as many communities are abandoned with homes burned and ancestral lands taken over by the state sponsored terrorist organizations like the Fulani terrorists (Ojinnaka, 2022b). This has made Nigeria to be categorized as one of the most dangerous countries to live in. Ground evidence is bound of coordinated and systematic killings of Christians and ethnic nationalities in Nigeria by the armed Fulani terrorists groups supported by the Nigeria government, and Miyetti Allah. More recently, the Office of the National Security Advisor (NSA) of Nigeria armed the Fulani terrorist groups with AK47 assault rifles as vigilantes, under the pretence to secure the same region of the Northern Nigeria, which they have brought havoc, destruction and disordered insecurity upon (Ojinnaka, 2022b).

Mike Arnold, the founder of Africa Arise International, and the renowned author of EPICENTER, in a recent MEMORANDUM to President D. Trump of the United States on the terrorists killing of Christians in Nigeria states that right now, the jihadist are slaughtering Christians and the government covers it up. The Nigeria's constitution is a fraud. It was written by Muslim military dictators in 1999, and imposed by decree, no vote, no referendum, no consent. It opens with "We the People" but the people never saw it. It mentions Sharia 73 times and Christianity zero. It centralizes all wealth under Northern Islamic control. It's not a democracy. It's a caliphate with a rubber-stamp parliament. Arnold maintains that the terrorists in the bush and the politicians in Abuja are not enemies; they are in the same operation. One clears the land. The other hides the bodies and pockets the minerals (Arnold, 2026). Nigeria is indeed, a country of particular concern to the international community.

The complicity and collaborations of people in high authorities with terror groups have complicated the security situation and emboldened the terrorist organizations. Nigeria former Army Chiefs, Retired General T.Y Danjima has publicly accused Nigeria Armed Forces of complicity and collaborating with terrorist groups and warned the civilian populations not rely on the Army for protection, but to take measures to protect themselves from the terrorist onslaught. Also, Retired Admiral

Ola Ibrahim, Nigeria's former Chief of Defense Staff, 2012- 2014, while speaking at the reunion of the 42nd Regular Course of the Nigerian Defense Academy in Abuja, warned that powerful forces are still working to Islamize the country and push it toward disintegration. Admiral Ola contends that insecurity in Nigeria is no accident. According to him, the nation's resources, weak borders, and deep internal divisions have made it a target for both external and internal threats (Ola, 2026). Admiral Ola notes that Nigeria's size and economic potential continue to attract people who want to benefit from the country without contributing to its growth (Ola, 2026). Thus, the key elements in the Nigeria government, security agencies, and Politicians are complicit to the terrorist killings of Nigerians, as a strategy for Islamization of the whole country.

Table111: Major terrorist attacks in Nigeria since 2025

Date targets & location victims and outcome

March 28, 2026	passenger train on the Abuja-Kaduna route	Official Reports States that eight (8) persons were killed and 62 persons kidnapped, All kidnap victims were eventually released after their families paid ransom.
On May 29, ISIS-WA claimed responsibility	attack on a Bar in Kabba, Kogi State.	an IED attack an unspecified number of casualty
On June 5, 2025, ISIS-WA attacked	large group of assailants attacked the St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church in Ondo State in southwest Nigeria	killed more than 40 people, including children. .
On July 5, 2025 ISIS-WA carried an armed attack on Kuje Medium Security Prison,	an armed attack on Kuje Medium Security Prison, located 27 miles from Embassies, Abuja and 14 miles from Abuja's international airport.	They realized all the prison inmate of about 1,000, including more than 60 known terrorists. opened all the holding cells and released hundreds of prisoners
On July 28, 2025 ISIS-WA	Conducted an attack on the Abuja-Niger highway, Suleja, Niger State, near Zuma Rock, about 18 miles from Abuja.	There was an unspecified number of victims of the attack
On March 1, 2026	In Chiloye village, Borno, ISIS-WA attacked alleged Boko Haram members and their families	In AN INTER TERROR GROUP ATTACK, ISIS-WA attacked alleged Boko Haram members and their families and killed some 200 people.
On March 8, 2026	In Gerere village, Borno, ISIS-WA attacked alleged Boko Haram.	The attack alleged killed about 100 people.
In April 30, 2026	In Bena village, Kebbi State, violent extremists riding on motorcycles attacked a convoy of law enforcement officers,	The attack killing 20 police officers and 10 villagers.

Einno Projects Reports (2026)

Similarly, evidence are bound of the persecution of Judo-Christians and non-Muslim ethnic nationality of Biafra in the South- East Nigeria .This has taken a new turn across the length and breadth of Biafra Land , as thousands of churches are burnt by Islamic terrorists, as relentless pattern of targeted killings and kidnappings of Judo-Christians across has escalated in the region. The most affected areas of Fulani terrorist attack are the predominantly Christian's communities in the North Central Nigeria and South East (Biafra land) and South West Nigeria (Arnold, 2026). The documented evidences of Judo-Christian massacres in Nigeria, portrays Nigeria as a murderous State (Ojinnaka, 2022b). Today, the Nigeria Christians are facing existential threats with members of their families murdered, homes burnt, and their ancestral lands taken over by terrorists supported by some elements in government. The recent multiple attacks in Kwande Local Government Area of Benue State, including areas like Udeku Maav-Ya in Turan left many people dead and communities fleeing (Barbir, 2026), and more recent kidnapping of School underage Children and their teachers, in Oyo, Kwara, and Taraba States, Nigeria by the Fulani terrorists, and beheading of the teachers and torturing of the children have sent shock wave across the bewildered world.

The United States confirms that the Islamic State of the West African Province (ISWAP), Boko Haram & Fulani terrorist elements is coordinating to establish Islamic Caliphate in Nigeria. The United States Bureau of Counterterrorism has explained that the escalating violence against Judo-Christians in Nigeria, particularly in the Southeast, North and Central Nigeria is not due to land disputes. President Donald Trump is fully aware that the attacks are part of a coordinated jihadist campaign to carve out an Islamic caliphate in West Africa (United States Bureau of Counterterrorism, 2026). The United States Bureau of Counterterrorism identified the Islamic State of West African Province (ISWAP), Boko Haram, and armed Fulani terrorists as the leading perpetrators of mass killings, abductions, and targeted assaults against Christian populations. The report confirms that these terrorist groups are exploiting weak Nigeria security structures and have expanded their operations across the Northeast, North-Central, and border communities (United States Bureau of Counter-terrorism, 2026).

The pattern of these coordinated attacks, ranging from church burnings to the systematic annihilation of farming communities, reflects a coordinated effort aimed at territorial dominance and religious cleansing, not mere resource conflicts (United States Bureau of Counterterrorism, 2026). This reflects the recent comprehensive congressional report submitted to the White House by US Congressman Riley Moore, which outlined 11 key demands for Nigeria, including the repeal of Sharia law, sanctions on perpetrators, and blocking beef exports as leverage to disarm Fulani militants among others.

Globalization and Transnational Terrorism

Globalization marked the transformation, redefinition of the meaning and perception of terrorism. According to the UNDP (2010) report since the era of globalization, terrorist attacks all over the world rank among the highest man made tragedies in the history of mankind. The world has been sickened by horror of terrorist attacks on a scale unparalleled by the organized method of the attacks, sophistication and the amount of collateral damage inflicted. Terrorism as a multidimensional phenomenon in a globalizing age had undisputed influence and appeal in the international boundaries. Contemporary efforts to explain, the vitality of global terrorism is focused on three areas linked to aspects of globalization; cultural, economics and religion (James, 2008).

According to the Courier News of September 27, 2001 as cited in (Ojinnaka, 2022a) the International Monetary Fund (IMF) compared the terrorist attacks on the United States on 11th September, 2001, to the costliest natural disaster in modern history, the 1995 earthquake in Kobe, Japan which reportedly caused over 6,400 death, 35,000 injuries and property of \$120 billion. Psychologically, the terrorists have created fears in the minds of people in some countries of the world. Most people are scared to go to movies, sports events, and various artists or even to go on tourism out of fear of possible terrorist attack (Ojinnaka 2022a).

Equally, the major readings of consumer sentiment done by the conference board in New York and the University of Michigan show that since the era of globalization confidence has been jolted badly by terrorist attacks, particularly the September 11,th 2001, attacks on the United States. This has been heightened by fear of possible chemical and bioterrorism (Courier News, 2001). Furthermore, at the present time, trillions of dollars have been lost due to psychological fear. Some experts have projected that it would take many more years before the world economy would fully recover from devastating effects of terrorism (Daily Herald, 2001).

Intelligent analysis indicate that culture is the reason why extremist organizations like A1 Qaeda, EL Shaba and Islamic State (ISIS) call for armed struggle and terrorist attacks had been successful in developed countries. These groups strongly believe that violence is the only method to traditions and values against tsunami of western products and materialism (James, 2008). The fundamentalist reactions to modern culture interacted with technology to create new options for terrorism and for asymmetrical warfare (Nye, 2002). In other words, the perceived threat from the western secular materialist values, otherwise seen as cultural imperialism are strongly opposed by people or groups trying to regain, preserve or protect their cultural identities. In reality, the social changes associated with globalization and the spread of free market ideology which capitalism represents pervasively erodes the identity and values of groups in the international system. At both Local level and International system, these cultural frictions sometimes translate into conflicts divided along religious, or ethnic lines to safeguard community or cultural identity (James, 2008;, Momah 1995).

Studies by Samuel Huntington on the Clash of Civilization explain that when weak, insecure and stagnant civilization interact with strong civilization, conflict may be inevitable. Major fault line exists between the Western Liberal Civilization and an Islamic one, humiliated and resentful of the west's military presence in the Persian Gulf, the west's overwhelming military dominance (Huntington, 1993). Some military analysts and some independent reporters believe that terrorist organizations, particularly

Islamic militant groups and Jihadists like El Shabab, Islamic State, Islamic Republic of Iran, Boko Haram, and Al Qaeda affiliates and splinter groups, and Fulani terrorists have effectively exploited clash of civilization in their acts of terrorism and violent extremism which today is assuming unprecedented scales of expansion and intensity not only in Africa, but in other parts of the world (Mohammed; 2020).

In the recent times the tools used by terrorists are becoming sophisticated, they have also perfected the art of recruitment, facilitated by the use of cyber platforms (Mohammed, 2020). This has greatly enhanced the globalization of terrorist violence. According to David Rapport (1984) before the 19th century, religion provided the only acceptable justification for terror. It is important to note that in the wider understanding of terrorism, religious inspires terrorism reemerged a little over 20 years ago (Burgess, 2015). However, there are arguments by some scholars that disparities' resulting from economic globalization provides breeding ground for terrorism and a motivating factor for globalized terrorist violence. Though lack of access to quality education, empowerment opportunities, and poverty and government corruption provides the opportunity for terrorist organizations to recruit vulnerable people and terrorist ideology to appeal to them.

Economic concerns can be a motivating factor for globalize violence, as James Kiras suggests globalization is received as a form of western economic imperialism. The United States and Post Industrial States of Western Europe form the global North or economic "core" which dominate the international economic institutions such as the World Bank, set exchange rates and determine fiscal policies. These policies can be unfavorable to the global South or the order European countries (James, 2008). This may led to unpalatable consequences as the domestic economic mplications of globalization may lead to violence or terrorism. Segman (2004,) in his work; Understanding terror network observe that alienation and lack of opportunity among some Muslim males is a contributing factor for the decision to turn to violence globally. Thus economic imbalance and structural inequality is the international economic system creates economic disparity between the developed west and rest of the developing countries. Terrorist violence is motivated by inequalities of the global economy. Therefore, terrorist attacks against the world Trade Centre in 1993 and 2001, were not reactions against the policies of the United States per se, but rather a blow against an icon of global capitalism (James, 2008).

Conversely, James, (2008) have argued that explanation that recent terrorist violence is an outcome of economic globalization is flown for a number of reasons. These reasons include the personal wealth and social up bring of a number of members of global terrorist groups as well as trends in regional pattern of terrorist recruitment. Many former leaders and members of transnational terrorist groups, including the Germany Red Army faction, and the Italian Red Brigades come from respectable families. He note that the same is true of a number of modern-day anti-globalization anarchists within militant Islamic groups, most of their leaders and senior operatives attended graduate schools around the globe in fields as diverse as engineering and theology and were neither poor nor downtrodden (James 2008; Segman 2004). To say the least, the links between poverty, lack of education and insecurity is not clearly defined because the most less developed regions in the world are not the worst infected by terrorism. James maintain that despite the conditions that favour the outbreak of terrorist violence in Sub Sahara Africa against economic imperialism and global capitalism, the region have not provide a breeding ground for terrorism (James, 2008).

It has been strongly argued by scholars of international relations, conflicts and security studies that terrorism has become more pervasive worldwide due to the processes and technologies of globalization (Ojinnaka, 2022a). The technological advances associated with globalization have improved the capabilities of terrorist groups to plan and conduct operations with far more devastation and coordination than their predecessors could have imagined. In particular, technologies have improved the capability of groups and cells in the following areas: proselytizing, coordination, security, mobility and lethality (James, 2008). Again, James (2008) in his case study of three generations of militant Islamic terrorists maintains that advanced technologies of globalization have helped some hard core terrorists in their technical acumen for hacking websites, circumventing online surveillance technologies, posting militant Islamic training and propaganda videos.

Traditionally, nation state actors have the monopoly of control of information flows against non-state actors or terrorist groups. However, the Internet has changed the dynamics of media and global communication (Ojinnaka, 2023). The continued expansion of the number of Internet service providers, especially in States with relaxed or ambivalent content policies or laws, combined with capable and cheap computer software, peripherals, and wireless technologies, has empowered individuals and groups with the ability to post tracts on or send messages throughout the World Wide Web (James, 2008). Technologies of globalization also enticed the volume range and sophistication of propaganda materials.

Hitherto, terrorist groups were limited to mimeographed manifestos and typed communiqués. Today, due to Internet revolution engendered by globalization, messages files, and polemics can be dispatched to almost anywhere on the globe via the Internet or text messages almost instantaneously (James 2008).

Also technologies associated with globalization have made easy terrorist coordination owing to easing of border control for convenience of businessmen, and tourism has also made it easier for terrorists to reach tempting targets and willing collaborators (Pillar, 2001). Technological advancement made possible by globalization have made it possible for terrorist groups to enhance their ability to mount coordinated attacks in different geographical locations. James (2008) consent that a hallmark of Islamic militant groups is their ability to conduct multiple attacks in different locations. The simultaneous bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, the synchronized detonator of 10 of 13 bombs on packed commute train in March, 2004, and three of the floor July 2005. London underground bombings are examples of coordinated terrorist attacks in the world (James, 2008; Pillars, 2001).

Globalization technologies like handheld radios, phones, emails, Global System Mobile (GSM) communications enhances contacts among geographically separated people and make it possible for them to conduct attacks in different locations on their agreed time frame. Thus global militant Islamic organizations like Al Qaeda, ISIS and others have continued to evolve notwithstanding pressure from aggressive counter terrorist measures (Momah, 1995; James 2008, Pillars 2001). Gunaratna (2002) in his Inside Al Qaeda global network of terror maintains that terrorist groups have been able to leverage technological development to circumvent electronics surveillance and shield user's identity. Technologies associated with globalization, otherwise known as technological enablers of globalization have enhanced the mobility of members of terrorist organizations. James (2008) acknowledges that mobility has always been a crucial consideration for terrorists in open societies with well-developed infrastructure, it have been easy for terrorists to move rapidly within and between borders. Also as the volume of air travel and goods that pass through parts increased exponentially, globalization of commerce and tourism improves terrorist mobility. Redressing these challenges will require sustained strategies to rebuild tolerance and solidarity domestically, as well as curb the external influence of extremist ideology and actors.

Hitherto, the risk of Islamist extremism in Africa frequently focuses on Somalia and the violent actions of Al Shabaab. Yet local adherents to extremist versions of Islam can now be found throughout Africa. As a result, tensions both within Muslim communities and between certain Islamist groups and the broader society have been growing spontaneously; rather, they reflect an accumulation of pressure over decades. The genesis of this tension is largely externally induced by terrorist elements and influence from across borders. These tensions and security challenges as seen across African countries have not emerged suddenly or driven diffusion of Salafist ideology from the Gulf States, but owing to pressures of globalization.

In the meantime, high unemployment, lack of equal opportunities, poverty, inequality, too many guns, bad governance and corruption spread by globalization provides the fertile ground for violent extremism to grow. Hence armed insurgencies and terrorist groups feed on wide spread frustration, especially among the young people (Anto due and Anja, 2020). The problematic non-state actors such as terrorist organizations have flourished in the era of globalizations due to aforementioned factors. The era of globalization which have seen increasing interconnected and complex world has clear shown that security and development are inextricable linked, hence terrorism can have social economic root, including contest over natural resources, spillover effects of environmental degradation, economic and social inequality, economic and political migration among others (Anto due and Anja, 2020).

However, regional and states policies and measures like European Shengen Agreement, and ECOWAS protocols to enhance economic activities by relaxing boarder security measures, ease the flow of goods and services, ensure efficiency of supply, manufacture, delivery and cost, has made it difficult to track terrorists and undermine the efforts of states to effectively prevent members of terrorist groups from carryout their illicit activities within their territories (James, 2008; Aja 2006; Okere 2002, as cited in Ojinnaka, 2022a). Thus, the globalized economy has facilitated access to weapons, resources, and proficiency required by terrorist groups to conduct lethal attacks (James, 2008). Evidence are bound that within Iraqi since 2003, Iran since 1979, and Northern Nigeria since 2015, terrorist groups have been able to obtain knowledge and resources required to build sophisticated Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) (James, 2008).

Combating Transnational Terrorism

States in the international system should both individually and collectively evolve effective preventive security measure to address growing threats of terrorism in the world. The states should enact anti-terrorism laws and establish counter terrorism forces to deal effectively with threats of

transnational terrorism within the framework of international law. Equally, the UN should through existing conventions improve information sharing and legal cooperation such as the UN Hague Convention for the suppression of unlawful seizure of Aircraft (United Nations Hague Multilateral Convention, 1970). Enhanced effort to improve information sharing and collaborative effort/action through the Public Safety and Sub-Terrorism Directorate within Interpol created in 1985 would effectively help to counter terrorism in the world (James, 2008).

Though violence have always been central to globalization, whether in form of economic exploitation fueled by neo-imperialism or the contemporary global economic disparities, whichever way, the current global war against terrorism spearheaded by the United States and its harmony of nations needs to be supported by all states in the international system. Ever since the 9/11 terrorist attack on the United States; America has been at the forefront of the battle against terrorism and terrorist's machines and networks. The United States Bureau of Counter-Terrorism, in the State Department (CT) continually monitors the activities of terrorist groups around the world. The CT looks out for terrorist organizations that have the capacity to plan and prepare for future attacks or retains the capability and intent to carry out such acts (<https://www.state.gov/policy-issues/counterterrorism> Bureau of Counterterrorism).

According to section 212 (a)(3)(B) of the INA (8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(3)(B), and section 140(d)(2) of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989 (22 U.S.C. § 2656f(d)(2)) of the United State Counter Terrorisms Act for an organization to be designated and sanctioned as a terrorist organization, its activities or terrorism acts must threaten the security of U.S nationals or the national security: national defense, foreign relations, or the economic interests of the United States (<https://www.state.gov/policy-issues/sanctions-and-designations>). Thus the legal criteria for designation under Section 219 of the INA as amended indicates that for an organization to be designated and sanctioned as a terrorist organization, its activities must ally to both classified and open sources information about its terrorist activities, demonstrating that the statutory criteria for designation have been satisfied (<https://www.state.gov/policy-issues/counterterrorism> Bureau of Counterterrorism).

In the recent times, the emergence of Islamic State terror groups and its affiliate's terror organizations, the activities of Al Shaba in East Africa, and the Fulani terrorist herdsmen and Boko Haram in the Northern Nigeria, is a global wakeup call announcing a new dawn in the era of globalization of international relations. In the main time, these groups and many more other terrorist organizations are the major sources of instability and violence across the world. The challenge posed by terrorist organizations is a consequence of paradoxical tendencies within the international system. On the course of globalization, the astonishing interconnectedness of economies, societies and people around the world will likely grow as advances in communications and transportation continue. Yet while our national societies and economies are interacting ever more closely, there are centrifugal tendencies pulling states apart (Herbst, 2010). For instance, the ability of Al Qaeda, to network through the touch of a few buttons with terrorists from the Philippines to Pakistan, to the Arabian Peninsula to Western Europe would not have been possible without globalization (Herbst, 2010). Since globalization has made the ungoverned spaces to become centers for terrorist activities, narco-trafficking, and piracy and other international crimes, the international community must rise to this occasion (Herbst, 2010).

Paul R. Pillar in his article "Terrorism goes global: Extremist groups extend their reach worldwide" published in the Brookings Institution in 2001, observed that several developments resulting from globalization are double-edged swords for terrorists. Modern electronic media, for example, have on occasion become a source of valuable insights for counter terrorist forces. The more terrorists move information, money, and themselves around the globe, the more data are available on what they are up to. However, Pillar regrets that the practical difficulties of collecting and exploiting that data are greater than commonly realized (Pillar, 2001).

Consider international travel, the data accessible to immigration officers at ports of entry and to commercial air carriers on international routes may seem a potential trove of information on the movements of international terrorists. There have been proposals to "mine" these data for counter terrorist purposes, as well as legal backing required for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to keep records on all aliens entering the other countries including the United States (Pillar, 2001). Thus the challenges of combating terrorism is great, as the sheer volume of data particularly, in the United States where more than a half trillion people enter every year, two-thirds of whom are aliens (Pillar, 2001).

Against this background, false and duplicates names used by terrorists, among others and the inconvenient facts that many people would be good to catch are not yet on record as having committed terrorist crimes are major challenges (Pillar, 2001). In the same vein, no matter how sophisticated the

automated search techniques used, the people and institutions who must furnish the data may withhold it because of resource constraints, suspicions, or other reasons. Hence, the plan to catalog data on aliens entering the United States and other developed and developing countries encountered resistance not only from Canada, but from U.S. border state representatives because of concerns about back-ups at crossing points. Consequently, given that track record, foreign sources of data are apt to be even more problematic (Pillar 2001). In the end, intercepting terrorists who cross borders to conduct attacks will always depend in large part on luck and alert border officers, as it did when an Algerian named Ahmed Ressay was arrested in December 1999, while bringing explosives into Washington State from Canada (Pillar 2001).

In combating terrorism, information systematically collected from international travelers can help the counter terrorist effort (Aja, 2009). For instance the U.S. intelligence community's tipoff system relays information about terrorists elements derived from intelligence to immigration officers at points of entry to the United States and to consular officers issuing visas at U.S. embassies worldwide. Ever since this started several years ago, the program has resulted in more than 500 suspected terrorists being denied visas, scores more being denied entry at border control points, and several being arrested (Pillar 2001). Equally, flows of money pose similar problems in acquiring and exploiting terrorist-related data. High hopes have often been expressed for countering terrorism by interdicting its financial sources. But name and records falsification on accounts, the combining of funds used for terrorism with those used for none illicit purposes by certain religions institution, business outfits, nongovernmental organizations and individuals that facilitate the activities of terrorists generally undermines the international efforts to combat terrorism (Aja, 2009; Pillar, 2001; Ojinnaka, 2022a).

In addition, the methodologies for money transfer by terrorists also undermine the effort of Counter terrorism forces. When terrorists move money internationally, they usually avoid the banking systems, rather move money physically in order to avoid been dictated (Pillar, 2001; Ojinnaka, 2022b). This elusive financial movements have facilitated transnational enterprises of terrorist organization such as illicit narcotics trafficking, arms smuggling which makes it easier for them to carry on money launder. As a result, notwithstanding global and regional institutional checks, terrorist organizations move huge money across international borders without prohibition as many countries do not have the strong legal instruments to control the movement of illicit financial assets.

Obviously, the changing character of transnational terrorism has increasingly made counter terrorism efforts difficult, as the terrorists have widened their activities across the globe. It is a wakeup call for both state and none state actors, and cooperation and collaborations of transnational and national law enforcement agencies and security forces in counter terrorist activities across the global. This needs a comprehensive and multipronged strategy and measures against high- and low-terrorist threat areas.

In the recent times, the American State Department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security (SDBDS) has deemphasized high-threat, low-threat distinctions and considers the entire world as a high-threat area in planning the security of U.S. diplomatic missions. In this approach, the principal goal is to disrupt worldwide terrorist infrastructures. They consider the best way to prevent terrorist attacks within the United States is to impede foreign terrorists long before they plan such attacks or travel to carry them out (Pillar, 2001). Obviously, this cannot be achieved without collaboration and cooperation of the United States and foreign governments, their security and police services must work together and collaborate to investigate, arrest and dismantle terror infrastructures anywhere it is seen in the world (Pillar, 2001, Ojinnaks, 2022b).

The vulnerabilities associated with globalization undermine the effectiveness of counter terrorism measures. Because of clash of civilization, America and its harmony of western nations are vulnerable targets for Islamic terrorists. Thus the penetrative influence of the Western cultural and economic system attracts the resentments of these terrorists. In the contemporary international system, the threat of terrorist attacks poses serious security threat to the world economic system. For instance, in September 11, 2001, a terrorist group Al Qaeda network launched the most lethal attack on the United States. The evasive nature of terror organizations makes it at times very difficult to contain act of terrorism. It took the United State years to track down Osama Bin Laden, the leader of the notorious Al Qaeda network after the September 11, 2001, attack on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon. The horrors of 9/11 is still living in the minds of the enlightened world, it was a strategically, and carefully planned, and smoothly executed terror attacks that shook the entire world to its foundation (Alexander, 1987).

Given the contemporary trends of transnational terrorism, the world need to pool resources together to form an effective counter terrorism network of states to eliminate terrorist incidence across the globe. To achieve this, States collaborating against terrorism should locate and isolate terrorists

within their borders and elements financing terrorists should be tracked, disorganized, arrested and neutralized. In the same vein, for further information on money laundering and financial crimes there are needs for Global collaborations. This informed why Albany Associates, in partnership with the Global Coalition's Counter-Daesh Communications Cell, Countering Violent Extremism enlisted the ability of the relevant stakeholders in the Governments, civil society, and local and international non-governmental organizations to counter violent extremism with a cohesive voice and message. The program is developing the public communications platforms of the Global Defeat-ISIS Coalition's Africa Focus Group to further amplify Coalition work in the region (International Narcotics Control Strategy (INCS Report, 2022). This approach has become very necessary in the light of the danger of the increasing terrorist activities in sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and other regions of the world.

3. Conclusions

Since the end of the Cold War, the unhindered globalization of the international system has turned out to be disorderly and dangerously unstable. The global instability has been due to the unhindered influence of globalization and the resultant widespread of terrorism all over the world. Globalization has aided transnational terrorism and has posed serious challenge to the peace and security of the international system. The globalization of the international system has made it easy for terrorist organizations like Al Qaeda Network, Al shaba, Islamic State, Boko Haram, and Fulani terrorist groups to operate with mechanical efficiency. The influence of globalization of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) have resulted in wide spread of terrorist activities in the world, as the availability and accessibility of Internet facilities has made it possible for these terrorist groups to recruit membership all over the world.

Whether in form of neo-imperialism or the current war against terrorist's machines and networks, globalization have always been central to transnational violence. The current war against transnational terrorism championed by the United States of America needs the support of both states and non-state organizations in the international system. Given the contemporary trends of global terrorism, the world needs to pool resources together to form an effective counter terrorism network of states to eliminate terrorist incidence across the globe. To achieve this, states collaborating against terrorism should locate and isolate terrorists within their borders and elements financing terrorism should be tracked, disorganized and arrested.

Globalized terrorism as exemplified by the current global trend of terrorism have extended their reach by building global circling infrastructures, the infrastructures extend the geographic options for attack, also further recruitment, fund raising, movement of materials and support functions and take advantage of social services, transportation and communication to enhanced their greater mobility. Advances in Information and Communication Technology have facilitated worldwide terrorist operations, as satellite phones are now standard equipment for terrorist leaders, who can remain otherwise inaccessible, while influencing events thousands of miles away. Terrorist also use the Internet for long distance operational direction, with some large groups using it for propaganda. Owing to the scope of the contemporary global terrorism, the world is today at the mercy of terrorist organizations who organizes, command, control and coordinate attacks against specific targets.

Against the background of the foregoing interrogations, the availability of modern technology have emboldened transnational terrorism and made terrorist activities very difficult to track. Hence, notwithstanding the avowed commitment and policy of global war against terrorism spearheaded by the United States and its harmony of nations, terrorist organizations still constitute a great threat to the international peace and security.

4. Recommendations

The rapidly growing phenomenon of globalization and its impacts on terrorism calls for a concerted global response by both states and non-state actors. This paper provides scholarly insights on the complexities of transnational terrorist threats in the contemporary international system, and proffers solutions. The paper makes the following recommendations:

Given the contemporary trends of global terrorism, the world needs to pool resources together to form an effective counter terrorism network of states and non-states actor to eliminate terrorist incidence across the globe. To achieve this, states collaborating against terrorism should locate and isolate terrorists within their borders. The international community should develop a Global Network of International Partners against Terrorism (GNIPAT) made up of NGOs, Civil Society Organizations and State actors to synergize and mobilize against the menace of terrorism. Thus synergy in global counter terrorism efforts is necessary among governments and non-governmental organizations to effectively check the menace of transnational

terrorism.

They are needs for the restructuring of the International social and economic systems that makes for asymmetry conditions in the global power structure which encourages the rise of transnational terrorist organizations.

The world leaders should take urgent steps to alleviate the growing level of Poverty in the world. A conscious effort to reduce global poverty and its challenges requires sustained efforts to educate world Muslim populations, especially the young growing population. As part of this agenda, the Muslim countries should evolve strategies to build tolerance and solidarity domestically, as well as curb the external influence of extremist ideologies. Because of the widespread of Islamic fundamentalist doctrines, vulnerable and less educated Muslim youths should be re-oriented to free them from some of the blind and deceptive doctrines which often turn them into terrorists.

Again, the paper argues that efforts should be channeled at early dictation of terrorist activities to preempt their attacks. Terrorism must be effectively countered through broad base approach in collaborative intelligence gathering. To this end, intelligence gathering approach is vital for early dictation before terrorists carryout their attacks. Governments and international originations should invest more resources in counter terrorism training and procurement of high technological equipment in telecommunication for tracking the activities of terrorist organizations across the world. The paper share the same view with James, D. Kiras, that the global community must utilize the resources at its disposal collaboratively to diminish support for terrorism and demonstrate the illegitimacy of terrorist messages and aspirations (James, 2008).

References

- Abdisaid, M. A. (2016). Islamism extremism in East Africa, African Center for Strategies Studies, AFRICA SECURITY BRIEF NO. 32 August 9, <https://Africacenter.org/publication/islamist-extremism-east-africa/#author>
- Adrian, G. (1998). The age of terrorism and the international political system. I. B. Tauris, New York.
- Aja, A.A (2006). War Studies; Foundation of defence and strategic studies. Enugu, Kenny & Bros (Nig.).
- Aja, A.A. (2009). Policy and strategic studies: Uncharted Waters of War and peace in international relations (Revised Edition), Willy Rose & APPLESEED Publishing Coy, Abakaliki.
- Alexander, Y. C. (1987). Terrorism: Threats and trends in terrorism: An international Journal. (10), 3. Institute for Studies in International Terrorism, State University of New York (Oneonta, New York), [https://powerbase.info/index.php/Institute for Studies in International Terrorism](https://powerbase.info/index.php/Institute%20for%20Studies%20in%20International%20Terrorism)
- Anton du Plessis & Anja K. (2020). International security, The World Economic Forum 28th March. <https://www.weforum.org/people/anton-du-plessis>
- Anatole, G. M & John, M.P. (1990). World history: People & nations. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, Orlando.
- Anthony, J.G (1979). Young Mussolini and the intellectual origin of Facism. University of California Press.
- Amelia, I., Hasanah, D., & Yahya, M. M. (2026). Strategies of Moral Faith Teachers in Integrating SDGs-Based Character Education in Islamic Boarding Schools. Profetika: Jurnal Studi Islam, 27(01), 135-154. <https://journals2.ums.ac.id/profetika/article/download/14952/5590>
- Arnold, M (2026). Nigeria, the Sokoto Caliphate, and the Coming Global Jihad In a MEMORANDUM to the President of the United States on the terrorists killing of Christians in Nigeria, June 5, Nigeria + Africa, Social + Political <https://mikearnold.org/>

- Associated Press (AP) (2026). U.S. and Israel attack Iran, Associated Press (AP) <https://apnews.com/>
- Barbir, A. (2026, January 26). American missionary exposes 15 years of unchecked violence in Nigeria: Villages silent, lives deemed worthless https://opr.news/422479b1250614en_ng?link=1&client=news
- Bruce, H. (1988). Inside terrorism, Columbia University Press, New York.
- Burgees, M. (2015). Center for Defense Information Project on Government Oversight (POGO) Online at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall>
- Britannica (2026). The historical and contemporary context of the rise of transnational terrorism [Britannica, https://www.britannica.com > topic > transnational-threat](https://www.britannica.com/topic/transnational-threat)
- Bush G, W. (2011). As the President of the United States developed a wide-ranging plan to seek out and stop terrorists around the world, as part of the Global War on Terror, (GWOT). <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-030-30167-5>, <https://gwot.org/>
- Cronin, A.K. (2003). Behind the curve: Globalization and international terrorism, International Security 27(3) (Winter/Spring): 30-58.
- Calléja, L. (2021). Transnational terrorism: A threat to global security. Janus.net, e-journal of international relations. Vol12, Nº. 1, May-October. Online: <https://doi.org/10.26619/1647-7251.12.1.1>
- Crenshaw, M. (ed) (1983). Terrorism, legitimacy and power, Middle-town. Com. Wesleyan, University Press.
- Crenshaw, M. (2020). Rethinking transnational terrorism: An integrated approach, making peace possible, United States Institute of Peace, February, Peace works NO. 158, ISBN: 978-1-60127-796-1, www.usip.org
- Copilot (2026). Transnational terrorism, <https://copilot.microsoft.com/>
- Courier News: The major readings of consumer sentiment done by the conference board in New York and the University of Michigan show that since the era of globalization confidence has been jolted badly by terrorist attacks, particularly the September 11,th 2001, attacks on the United States. This has been heightened by fear of possible chemical and bioterrorism Courier News, 2nd. October, 2001.
- Country Reports on terrorism (CRT), 2023: Nigeria, <https://www.state.gov/reports/country-reports-on-terrorism-2023/nigeria#navprimary-nav>
- Daily Herald, Trillions of dollars have been lost due to psychological fear. Some experts have projected that it would take many more years before the world economy would fully recover from devastating effects of terrorism October 4, 2001, p12, Online, [https://www.dailyherald.com > archive](https://www.dailyherald.com/archive)
- David, C. R. (1984). Fear and trembling. Terrorism in three religious traditions. American Political Science Review, September Vol 78, No 3
- Donald, J. Trump. (March 3, 2026). President of the United States, speeches & statements on operation EPIC FURY, U.S. <https://rollcall.com/factbase/trump/transcript/donald-trump-vlog-iran-attack-update-march-1-2026/>
- Douglas, B. & Michael, H. (2004). The World War 11, Desk reference with the Eisenhower Center for American Studies. A grand Central Press Book.
- Egonu, P. (2016, Febuary, 15). An analysis of the impacts and challenges of globalization on the

development of African Continent, Doctoral Seminar Presented to the Unite of International relations and diplomacy, Imo State University, Owerri.

Elemanya, A.V (2018). Introduction to strategic studies. Emmanest Venturers Port Harcourt.

Elesin, A. M. J., & Yahya, M. M. (2018). An Overview of Islamic Guidance and Counselling. KWASU Journal of Religious Studies, 2(2), 41-51.

Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989, of the United State Counter Terrorisms Act, section 212 (a)(3)(B) of the INA (8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(3)(B), and section 140(d)(2) (22 U.S.C. § 2656f(d)(2)) Report for Congress Foreign Relations Authorization, Congressional Research Reports, [https://congressionalresearch.com > document.php](https://congressionalresearch.com/document.php)

FRONTLINE, (1998). Truck bombings of the two U.S. Embassies in East Africa. The Nairobi, Kenya and Tanzania, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/>

Gilbert, L. D. (2013). International relations, 2nd Edition. Allher books. Port Harcourt.

Global Terrorism Index (GTI) (2025).Nigeria is currently rank 6th and is recognized as melting point of violent terrorism in the Sub-Saharan Africa <https://www.withinnigeria.com/special-report/>

Gunaratna (2002). Inside Al Qaeda global network of terror, [Columbia University Press, https://cup.columbia.edu > book > inside-al-qaeda](https://cup.columbia.edu/book/inside-al-qaeda)

Herbst, J.E (2010). [Addressing the problem of failed states: A new instrument](http://cco.ndu.edu/portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_1-1/3_prism_2126_Herbst.pdf) , chronic poverty relief centre, African Center for Strategic Studies, December 02, http://cco.ndu.edu/portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_1-1/3_prism_2126_Herbst.pdf

Hoffman, B. (2006, 1988). Inside terrorism, revised and expanded edition. Columbia University Press, New York.

<https://www.state.gov/policy-issues/counterterrorism>

<https://www.state.gov/policy-issues/sanctions-and-designations>

<https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-political-affairs/bureau-of-counterterrorism/>

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/>

<https://www.state.gov/policy-issues/combating-violent-extremism/>

<https://www.fdd.org/iranattacksusforces/>

<https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2024/02/13/70-of-casualties-from-recent-middle-east-attacks-are-brain-injuries/>

https://www.state.gov/reports/country-reports-on-terrorism-2023/nigeria#nav_primary-nav

<https://www.state.gov/reports/country-reports-on-terrorism-2023/>

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/live-updates-u-s-and-israel-attack-iran>

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/us-and-israel-launch-a-major-attack-on-iran-and-trump-urges-iranians-to-take-over-your-government>

<https://www.britannica.com> > place > Russia

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/>

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2026/05/2026-USCT-Strategy-1.pdf>

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cy8y2jxx9ppo>.

<https://www.state.gov/reports/country-reports-on-terrorism-2023/nigeria#content/history>

Huntington, S (1993). The clash of civilization. *Foreign Affairs* 72 (3); 22-169.

Haleigh, B. & Sydney, L. (2006). What happened to transnational terrorism? Modern War Institute, <https://mwi.westpoint.edu/>

Igwe, S. C. (2010). *How Africa underdeveloped Africa*, Port Harcourt, Professional Printers and Publishers.

International Narcotics Control Strategy (INCS) Report (2022): Countering violent extremism, outlines the U.S. government's efforts to combat international drug trafficking and related crimes, Volume 2, Money Laundering and Financial Crimes. US. Department of States, <https://www.state.gov/2025-international-narcotics-control-strategy-report>

Jonathan Netanyahu Institute (JNI) in Israel which specializes in terrorism (1989). Definition of terrorism: Extract from the terrorism industry. https://powerbase.info/index.php/Jonathan_Institute

James, D. K (2008). *Terrorism and globalization* (In) John, B, Steve, S and Patricia, O (ed) (2008). *The globalization of world politics: An introduction to international relations* (4e) Oxford University press.

Lawal, G. (2006). *Globalization and development. The implications for African economy* *Humanity and Social Sciences Journal* 1 (1), 65-68, Idosi Publications.

Laqueur, W. (1996). *Postmodern terrorism: Foreign Affairs* 75 (5); 24-37

Legal Clarity (2026) Definition and key features of transnational terrorism, legalclarity.org

Maisuna, M. Y. Tambiyi, G. Y., & Gall, M. *ICT and the Enhancement of English Language and Literature-in-English*. https://www.academia.edu/download/79911115/Tambiyi_Michael_Jesus_in_the_Old_Testament.pdf

Maisuna, M. Y., & Aliyu, M. M. (2025). Pros and Cons of Artificial Intelligence (AI) in the Light of Islamic Laws' Verdicts (Fatawa). *Journal of Development and Society, Faculty of Social Science*, 7(1). <https://uniabujafsos.com.ng/index.php/jdsfoss/article/download/25/19>

Maxmilian R. (24th September, 2020). Justification for the use of terror. *Modern History*. Source: Online at <http://www.fordham.edu/ha/sall>

Momah, S. (1995). *Global disorders & the new world order*. Vista Books Lagos.

Mohamed, A. A., Yahya, M. M., & Sabir, M. R. (2026). Evaluating Vygotsky-Based Professional Development Models for Islamic Educators. *Amandemen: Journal of Learning, Teaching and Educational Studies*, 4(1), 35-51. <https://amandemen.my.id/index.php/i/article/download/114/48>

Mohammed, K.F; African Union's UN Ambassador, UN condemns increasing threat from terrorism in Africa, Associate Press (AP) News, March,11, 2020. <https://apnews.com>

Nnoli, O. (2000). *Globalization and democracy in Africa*. Eastern Publishers Enugu.

Nye, J.S. (2002). The paradox of American power; Why the world's only superpower can't go it alone. *Semantic Scholar*, <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/The-Paradox...>

- Nnadi, C. I. (March 10, 2025) GTI 2025 Report: Nigeria worsening security records & socioeconomic implications, <https://www.withinnigeria.com/>
- Ohiorhenuan, J.F.E. (1998). The south in an era of globalization, Cooperation South, No 2.
- Ojinnaka, I. E. (2023). The social media as a tool of political communication in Nigeria. A Concept Paper presented at the Department of Political Science, Ignatius Ajuru University of Education, Port Harcourt.
- Ojinnaka, I.E. (2001, January 18). Global economic disparities: Problems. A concept paper presented at the Unite of International Affairs and Diplomacy, Imo State University Owerri.
- Ojinnaka, I.E (2022a). Terrorism and Globalization in the Post-Cold War era: Emerging challenges. A Concept Paper presented at the Department of Political Science, Ignatius Ajuru University of Education, Port Harcourt.
- Ojinnaka, I.E (2022b).Combating terrorism in the West African Sub-region, A Concept Paper, presented at the Department of Political Science, Ignatius Ajuru University of Education, Port Harcourt.
- Ojinnaka, I. E (2002). Issues in comparative politics, Amvaly Press Owerri.
- Okafor F.N. (2008).Globalization and the dilemma of transnational organized crime. In Osegbue, C and E.A. Obi (ed.), Issues: in international economic relations, Onitsha, Book Point Ltd.
- Ola, I. (2026). Speech at the reunion of the 42nd Regular Course of the Nigerian Defense Academy in Abuja, Politics Nigeria, (PN) Reports.
- Onimode, B. (2000). Africa in the world of the 21st Century, Ibadan, Ibadan University press.
- Onyeneho, E.E (2006). The web of world politics: Analyzing international relations Chambers Book Ltd, Onitsha. Vice-Verse.
- Pillar, P. R. (2001). Terrorism goes global, extremist groups extend their reach worldwide, Defense & Security: Brookings Institute Research Program. September 1, <https://www.brookings.edu/>
- Ronke, J & Boyer, M.A. (2004). International politics on the world stage N.Y: McGraw-Hil.
- Roberts, G. B. (1987). Self-help in combating state-sponsored terrorism: Self-defense and peace time reprisal in Journal of International Law. (19), 243.
- Sageman, M. (2004).Understanding terror network. Philadelphia University Press, Penn.
- Stern J. (2001). The ultimate terrorist. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- Trump, D. (2026).Full statement on Iran attacks, the PBS News, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/read-trumps-full-statement-on-iran-attack>)
- United Nations Development Programme, UNDP (2010) Report that since the era of globalization, terrorist attacks all over the world rank among the highest man made tragedies in the history of man-kind, [UNDP https://www.undp.org > files > files > publication](https://www.undp.org/files/publication)
- United Nations Hague multilateral convention for the suppression of unlawful seizure of Aircraft No.12325 signed at The Hague on 16 December 1970 United Nations Treaty Series [https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/ /Volume%20860/volume-860-I-12325-English.pdf \(un.org\)](https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/Volume%20860/volume-860-I-12325-English.pdf)

- U.S. Mission in China (March 4, 2026). Iranian regimes decades of terrorism against American citizens, <https://china.usembassy-china.org.cn/author/missioncn/>
- United States Bureau of Counterterrorism, (2026). United States Bureau of Counterterrorism's 2026 strategy is a comprehensive plan that outlines the government's approach to combating terrorism. The strategy emphasizes a "America First" approach, focusing on National sovereignty, border protection, and the projection of American power. <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-political-affairs/bureau-of-counterterrorism/>
- US Annual Country Report on Terrorism (1990). Definition of terrorism, U.S. Department of State, <https://www.state.gov/country-reports-on-terrorism>
- US Annual Country's Report on terrorism, 22 U.S.C. 2656 F(d) 1990, U.S. Department of State, <https://www.state.gov/country-reports-on-terrorism>
- Walter, L (1990). *The new terrorism, fanaticism and the arms of mass destruction*. Oxford University Press New York.
- Wallenstein, I. (1979). *The capitalist world economy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, J., D'Amato, S. (2023). Transnational terrorism as a threat: Cross-border threats. In: Balomenos, K.P., Fytopoulos, A., Pardalos, P.M. (eds) *Handbook for management of threats*. Springer Optimization and Its Applications, vol 205. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-39542-0_9
- Yahya, M. M., & Adedeji, O. A. (2024). Global Collaboration and Partnerships in Poverty Alleviation: Islamic Legal Perspective. *Journal of Islamic Studies and Arabic Language*, 3(2), 148-165. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Alwy-Mohamed/publication/399984800_Islamic_Law_and_English_Law_as_Sources_of_Nigerian_Law_An_Analytical_and_Comparative_Study/links/6971ef5bf5b9fd48849b4409/Islamic-Law-and-English-Law-as-Sources-of-Nigerian-Law-An-Analytical-and-Comparative-Study.pdf
- Yahya, M. M., & Adedeji, O. A. (2024). Global Collaboration and Partnerships in Poverty Alleviation: Islamic Legal Perspective. *Journal of Islamic Studies and Arabic Language*, 3(2), 148-165. <https://journals.iuiu.ac.ug/index.php/jisal/article/download/718/522>