



Historicising Domestic Terrorism and Boko Haram Insurgency in the North East, Nigeria: Issues and Trends

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Abstract. Since the return to civil rule in 1999, Nigeria has been battling with series of violent agitations from various geo-political zones in the country. These violent agitations which have taken terror dimensions have contributed to national security threat that is capable of disintegrating the country. Terrorists' attacks have resulted in the killings of hundreds of people and wanton destruction of property that worth billions of naira through bombings. The major thrust of this paper is to investigate the challenge of domestic terrorism with major emphasis on the activities of the dreaded militant Islamic sect, popularly known as Boko Haram. The paper argues that most of the circumstances that led to this criminality are not unconnected with frustration caused by high rate of unemployment, poverty, weak governance and so on. It therefore suggests that Nigeria needs to re-evaluate her domestic and foreign policy directions and objectives towards combating domestic terrorism. It asserts that Nigeria's domestic terrorism has external connections aid that the country could also be exporting terrorism to other countries in the nearest future if not checked. Thus, every patriotic Nigerian, civil society organizations, government and non-governmental organizations should brace up to the reality and challenges domestic terrorism has on national security and must be fought through collective collaborations.

Keywords: Terrorism, domestic terrorism, national security, domestic policy, foreign policy, counter-terrorism

1. Introduction

It is a common knowledge that Nigeria since her return to civil rule in 1999 faces some national security challenges across the six geo-political zones in the country. The spate of bomb blasts, kidnapping, pipeline vandalism and other forms of criminalities in recent times in various parts of the country are emerging trends of domestic terrorism. This view was also shared by Minister of Police Affairs, retired Navy Capt. Caleb Olubolade, when he acknowledged that the nation now faced new security threats that were quite different from what we used to know. "I will rather say that we are facing new threats different from what we used to face before." But as these threats confront us, we will find solutions to them; it is now a period to look forward and overcome the challenges that face us."(NAN, 2011)

In fact, the high rate of kidnappings, armed robbery and political assassinations, are added dimensions to the security challenges, which are stretching the nation to its limits, sometimes constitute a great threat to the very fabric of its existence. A number of analysts have variously attributed the disturbing trend to political dissatisfaction, ethnic and religious differences, perceived societal neglect and pervasive poverty among the people. For example, while youth restiveness in the Niger Delta area and parts of the South East, occasioned kidnapping and disruption of oil installations, activities of members of the Odua's People's Congress (OPC) in the South West and that

of Boko Haram saga in the northern states; have also been worrisome since 1999. In considering the activities of various ethnic militias that have emerged in both southern and northern parts of the country, which have resulted in the mass trail of human and physical destructions was mind-boggling and reprehensible to the generality of the populace. The trend of domestic terrorism in the country especially with activities of the dreaded Islamic sect popularly known as Boko Haram has become a major concern for both the Nigerian government and the international community.

Significant stakeholders in the country have offered suggestions on the need to check the new security challenges posed by the dreaded Islamic sect in particular in the country. While some suggested that a holistic approach be adopted, others called for collaboration with world leaders and international organizations as strategies to rid the country of terrorists. Some also suggested the need for dialogue with the sect. It is against this background that this paper tends to investigate the challenges of domestic terrorism in the country since 1999 with major emphasis on the activities of the dreaded Islamic sect, called- Boko Haram. Thus, the paper is divided into five parts. Part one deal with introduction; second part focuses on the history of domestic terrorism in Nigeria since 1999; the emergence of Boko Haram, issues, trends and activities is the third part; the fourth part addresses national security and the management of domestic terrorism in Nigeria: A case study of Boko Haram, while the fifth part is the conclusion.

2. Historicising Domestic Terrorism in Nigeria since 1999

It is important to say from the outset that there is no universally agreed definition of terrorism. However, the activities of terrorists involve bombings, assassinations, hijackings, hostage taking, and other violence, in order to intimidate nations into changing their policies or their leaders or surrendering parts of their territory. Terrorism has existed for at least 2,000 years and is likely to remain a fixture on political agendas, both domestic and international, for years to come. Historically, the first known acts of what we now call terrorism were perpetrated by a radical offshoot of the Zealots, a Jewish sect active in Judea during the 1st century AD. The Zealots resisted the Roman Empire's rule of what is today Israel through a determined campaign primarily involving assassination. Zealot fighters used the sica, a primitive dagger, to attack their enemies in broad daylight, often in crowded market places or on feast

days—essentially wherever there were people to witness the violence. The Jewish zealots used terrorism to resist the Romans by killing many Roman soldiers and destroying Roman property. Between 1090 and 1272 an Islamic movement known as the Assassins used similar tactics in their struggle against the Christian Crusaders who had invaded what is today part of Syria. The Assassins embraced the same notions of self-sacrifice and suicidal martyrdom evident in some Islamic terrorist groups today. They regarded violence as a sacramental or divine act that ensured its perpetrators would ascend to a glorious heaven should they perish during the task (Rapport 1984)

Until the French Revolution (1789-1799), religion provided the main justification for the use of terrorism. This situation changed, however, as nationalism, anarchism, Marxism and other secular political movements emerged during the 1800s to challenge divine rule by monarchs. Modern terrorism was initially antimonarchical, embraced by rebels and constitutionalists during the late stages of the French Revolution and in Russia by the People's Will (Hoffman, 1998).

In the 18th century, the word terrorism was first used in France to describe a new system of government adopted during the French Revolution (1789-1799). During this period, Maximilien Robespierre of France introduced government sponsored terrorism in order to maintain power and suppress opposition to the government. The regime de la terreur (Reign of Terror) was intended to promote democracy and popular rule by ridding the revolution of its enemies and thereby purifying it. However, the oppression and violent excesses of the terror transformed it into a feared instrument of the state (Hoffman, 1998). From that time on, terrorism has had a decidedly negative connotation. Meanwhile, the word, did not gain wider popularity until the early 20th century when it was adopted by a group of Russian revolutionaries during the Soviet Revolution in 1917 to describe their violent struggle against tsarist rule. Thus, Lenin and Stalin, evolved government sponsored terrorism as a useful tool to maintain government control. These two important personalities systematically used the act of terrorism to intimidate and frighten the entire society. According to them, both terror and fear were veritable instruments for governmental operations (Danjibo, 2009)

During the 1920s and 1930s, terrorism became associated more with the repressive practices employed by dictatorial states than with the violence of non-state groups like the anarchists. The word

terrorism was used to describe the wanton violence and intimidation inflicted by the Nazi, fascist, and totalitarian regimes that respectively came to power in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union. The repressive means these governments employed against their citizens involved beatings, unlawful detentions, torture, so-called death squads (often consisting of off-duty or plain-clothes security or police officers), and other forms of intimidation. Such practices by governments against their own citizens continue today. Recent history records the use of such measures by the military dictatorships that took power in Argentina, Chile, and Greece during the 1970s. But these state-sanctioned acts of violence are more generally termed terror to distinguish them from violence committed by non-state entities (Encarta, 2009)

The modern terrorism especially right from the late 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and up till the 1990s has taken different trends and dimensions. It is therefore important to briefly examine these trends and dimensions with a view to discussing its situation in Nigeria. Basically, there are about three main trends in modern terrorism. First, it is loosely organised, self-financed and internationalised network of terrorists. Another trend in terrorism is that which is religiously or ideologically-motivated. For instance, radical and fundamentalist group, or groups use religion as platform to pose terrorist threats of varying kinds to many nations' interests (Ojukwu, 2011). A third trend in modern terrorism is the apparent growth of cross-national links among different terrorist organizations which may involve combinations of military training or funding, technology transfer or political advice. In fact, looming over the entire issue of international terrorism is a trend toward proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). For instance, Republic of Iran, seen as the most active state sponsor of terrorism, has been aggressively seeking a nuclear arms capability. Iraq under Saddam Hussein was thought to be stockpiling nuclear weapons chemical and biological. North Korea recently admitted to having a clandestine program for uranium enrichment. Also, there are unconfirmed indications that the Al Qaeda organization attempted to acquire chemical, biological, and radiological and nuclear weapons before the death of Osama Bin Laden (Bagaji A.S.Y et al, 2011).

Modern terrorism equally has some dimensions. Prominent among the dimensions of terrorism include, state-bound; non-state terrorism and terrorism across national boundaries. The state-bound terrorism deals with the orchestrated and aided by

states. This dimension of terrorism could be in the form of intimidation, selective political assassination, abduction and kidnapping. Examples of this dimension include the ethnic cleansing and genocidal activities the Nazi regime carried out against the Jewish population between 1939 and 1945, and the Stalinist purge of the peasant class of Kulaks in Ukraine that led to the death of millions of civilians carried out by individuals or groups who feel it is no longer worth it to accomplish political objectives within the law, a law which to them represents the power of an immoral and or illegitimate regime or government. These individuals are contemptuous of the society's political institutions and practices (Slann, 1998). A good example of non-state dimension of terrorism was the Maitatsine activities in the 1980s as well as the on-going Boko Haram attack in Nigeria. A number of factors were said to responsible for the non-state terrorism. These include relative deprivation- asymmetrical allocation or distribution of public resources, poverty, political frustration and religious intolerance or fanaticism (Adeniran, 1996; Ojukwu, 2011). The third dimension of terrorism is across national boundaries. This dimension has external and international connections. A vivid example of this dimension of terrorism is Al Qaeda whose activities are mostly drawn on external factors (Ojukwu, 2011).

Having seen brief history of terrorism and its dimensions and trends over the years, it is essential to give some definitions of terrorism from different perspectives. Terrorism is generally defined as politically motivated violence by clandestine groups or individuals against civilians or noncombatant personnel. The United States Department of State has adopted the definition found in Title 22 of the United States federal code, which defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience."(Encarta,2009). Terrorism is by nature political because it involves the acquisition and use of power for the purpose of forcing others to submit, or agree, to terrorist demands

Legal statutes in most countries around the world regard terrorism as a crime. Yet there is considerable variation in how these laws define terrorism, even in countries whose laws derive from a common origin. In the United Kingdom, for example, legislation titled Terrorist Act 2000 states that terrorism is "the use or threat of action . . . designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public . . . for the purpose of advancing a

political, religious or ideological cause.” The legal system and code of law of the United Kingdom has influenced those of the United States, Canada, and Israel. (Encarta, 2009).

United States federal statute defines terrorism as “violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that . . . appear to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping.” This definition appears in United States Code, Title 18, Section 2331 (18 USC 2331). (Encarta, 2009).

Canada’s Anti-terrorism Act (Bill C-36) designates “terrorist activity” as “an act or omission . . . that is committed in whole or in part for a political, religious or ideological purpose, objective or cause and in whole or in part with the intention of intimidating the public, or a segment of the public, with regard to its security, including its economic security, or compelling a person, a government or a domestic or an international organization to do or to refrain from doing any act, whether the person, government or organization is inside or outside Canada” Israeli law does not address terrorism specifically. But in the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance No. 33, it defines a terrorist organization as “a body of persons resorting in its activities to acts of violence calculated to cause death or injury to a person or to threats of such acts of violence.” (Encarta, 2009).

There is no doubt the fact that terrorism or terrorist acts has increasingly become widespread criminal violence in different countries of the world and each of them has its own unique way of perpetrating the act. While some terrorists take to bombing and hijacking of airlines, some make use of device such air missiles. In Nigeria for example, the terrorists settle with hostage taking, abduction, kidnapping and bombings of multinational oil pipelines and churches, wonton destruction of property and so on. Of all these on the part of Nigeria, kidnapping and bombings are the most devastating.

It should be emphasized here that terrorism could be domestic and international. For example, if an Israeli insurgent kidnap and kills an American Ambassador, it is an act of international terrorism. At the same time, if the attack is targeted on Israeli government officials, it is domestic terrorism. Also, if an Israeli bomb an Israeli Embassy in any country outside Israel, it is domestic terrorism. Therefore, the kidnapping of government officials and other Nigerians, bombing of oil companies, pipeline

vandalization by the militants in the Niger Delta region and the recent bombings in the Northern part of Nigeria by Boko Haram is a domestic terrorism.

With the return to civil rule in 1999, Nigeria has been confronted with series of security challenges which cut across virtually all the six geo-political zones. The act of terrorism in the country was mainly carried out by the militant in the Niger Delta area and the Boko Haram in the Northern part. For example, before 1998, the Niger Delta people have adopted series of strategies as a means of getting themselves out of socio-political marginalization, lack of infrastructural facilities, environmental degradation, and lack of corporate social responsibilities. Among these strategies are, petition, litigation, protest, and violence and mass mobilization. The last phase of Niger Delta agitation which began in 1998 to the present was marked with the emergence of terror strategies which included, outright confrontation, violent, pipeline vandalisation, bombing of oil installation, armed resistance against the agents of the Nigerian state and the transnational oil companies operating in the region, kidnapping and hostage taking. (Ogbogbo, 2004).

The adoption of this act of terrorism in the region was necessitated by the emergence of various youth militias. Among the prominent militias in the region are, the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), the Egbesu Boys, the Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force led by Alhaji Asari Dokubo, the Isoko National Youth Movement (INYM), the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) led by Henry Okah, Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) led by Ateke Tom, Niger Delta Liberation Force (NDLF) among others. The activities of the Youth restiveness in the Niger Delta area against the Nigerian state on one hand and the transnational oil companies operating in the region on the other have constitute a major threat to national security. In fact, before the adoption of Amnesty Programme by the late President, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar, Adua in 2010, as a positive measure to put an end to domestic terrorism in the region, the region has remained the most dangerous zone to live in the country (Adesote, 2010)

It should be retreated that before the adoption of Amnesty Programme, various successive governments have responded in one way or the other toward finding solutions to the problems of the people of the region. Some of their positive responses include, increase in revenue sharing, establishment of special commissions and agencies such as Oil Mineral Areas Development Commission, Niger

Delta Development Commission and the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs (also set up by Late Alhaji Musa Yar, Adua). The prolonged agitations in the Niger Delta region since 1960 up till 1998 was as a result of the repressive approach being adopted by various successive governments against the people. This same approach was equally adopted when the country returned to civil rule in 1999. Thus, the adoption of the act of terrorism in the region especially since 1999 up till 2010 forced the Nigerian state to change her tactics by withdrawing the stick and offering the carrot in form of amnesty. One can therefore conclude that to a certain extent, Amnesty Programme remained the most effective approach of the Nigerian state toward ending domestic terrorism in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria (Abimbola & Adesote, 2011)

Another major challenge of domestic terrorism that is currently facing the country which is the major focus of this discourse is the emergence of dreaded Islamic sect popularly called Boko Haram in the North East geo-political zone of Nigeria, which comprises six states of Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Gombe, Bauchi and Taraba. The activities of the Islamic group, especially since 2009 in the area, have not only constituted a major security threat to the nation but has also made the area the most dangerous place to live in the country. The activities of this sect are capable of disintegrating the country. Thus, the need to find lasting solution to the grievance of this Islamic group is very paramount.

3. The emergence of Boko Haram Terrorism in the North East, Nigeria: Issues, Trends and Activities

It is important to state from the outset that an attempt to forcefully impose religious ideology or belief on the Nigerian society since her independence in 1960 especially in the Northern part is not new. The first major attempt in the post colonial period was led by the leader of the Maitatsine sectarian group in 1980s and eventually led to large scale uprisings. Thus, it can therefore be said that the emergence of this dreaded Islamic sect popularly known as the Boko Haram had its root and inspiration from colonial period as well as from the "Maitatsine" uprisings of the early 1980s in particular. Although Boko Haram could be compared in terms of philosophy or ideology and objectives to the Maitatsine sectarian group, its organizational planning, armed resistance, and modus operandi is Taliban (Danjibo, 2009)

During the colonial era, a revolutionary Mahdism which received little elite support but attracted "radical clerics" disgruntled peasants and fugitive

slaves sought unsuccessfully to overthrow the British colonial regime which controlled the Sokoto Caliphate founded after the jihad of Usman Dan Fodio. With stark resonance to today, northern Muslim elites made a pact with the British colonialists that they would rule indirectly in return for British education not being imposed on the protectorate (Dearn, 2011)

The Maitatsine uprisings of the early 1980s, inspired by Cameroonian dissident preacher Muhammadu Marwa, catalyzed by massive socio-economic inequality and, following on from constitutional debates in 1977 which polarized the country, were the first incidence of Islamic fundamentalist agitation against the secular state. At around the same time, two other Islamic fundamentalist groups emerged, Jama'atu Izalatil Bidi'a Wa'iqamatic Sunna ("Society of Removal of Innovation and Reestablishment of the Sunna"), founded 1978 in Jos and known as "Izala", and the Islamic Movement of Nigeria, a Shiite movement led by Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, funded by Iran and in which Yusuf was thought to be a "major player" - exactly how and when Yusuf was involved and how this related to his links with Sheikh Jafar is unclear (Dearn, 2011)

Though some people have argued that both groups have been associated with Boko Haram's modern incarnation, there is no substantial evidence to justify this. In 2009, the Islamic Movement of Nigeria rebutted claims that El-Zakzaky was the founder of Boko Haram, arguing it could never be so against Western education when it owns 300 schools in Nigeria which teach a mixture of Islamic and Western education. Izala threatened legal action against publishers of pictures of its members labelled as Boko Haram foot soldiers. What is clear is that the combination of constitutional debates in the 1970s, military rule under successive despots - including the jailing of El-Zakzaky by Sani Abacha's regime entrenched poverty in the areas where such groups are active and have been grist to the fundamentalists' mill (Dearn, 2011)

The time that this Islamic militant group emerged in the country is yet unknown. There were series of conflicting reports on their emergence in the northern part of the country. Information at the disposal of the different security agencies pieced together by Sunday Tribune of 12th February, 2012 indicated that contrary to the widely-held belief that the Boko Haram started around 2003, the group has been existing since 1995. It was, however, confirmed that the entry of slain Mallam Mohammed Yusuf successfully radicalized the group and opened it to

foreign collaboration, especially with the Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). Details obtained by investigators revealed that the Jama'atul Ahlus Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad (Brethren united in the pursuit of holy war), also known as Boko Haram, started off its activism in 2001, under the leadership of the late Yusuf. From that year, the group had intensified its propagation of an extreme Islamic doctrine, which sees Western education and democracy as corruptive and immoral (Sunday Tribune, 2012).

In 1995, the group was said to be operating under the name Shabaab, Muslim Youth Organization. It operated from the Indimi Mosque, located along Damboa Road, Maiduguri, Borno State and had one Mallam Lawal as leader and another Mallam Usman as secretary. It was learnt that in 1999, Lawal left Nigeria for further studies at the University of Medina, Saudi Arabia, thereby yielding the leadership of the group to the man known as Mustapha Modu Jon, commonly called Mohammed Yusuf. Yusuf's leadership was said to have opened the group to political influences and increased popularity. Although Yusuf's religious activism was linked to Kano, where he had brushes with popular Islamic clerics, he was said to have laid the foundation for the growth of the organisation. Details about the late Yusuf, however, indicated that, first, he was a favourite student of prominent Nigerian Islamic scholar Sheikh Jafar Mahmud Adam and hailed from Gingir village in Jakusko Local Government Area of Yobe State. He was born on 29 January 1970, married four wives and had 12 children. By year 2000, Yusuf had won the respect and confidence of some clerics and youths at Indimi Mosque. He started presiding over some mosque activities and along the line; he upstaged all the teachers to emerge a leader. Many youths who followed him saw the older clerics as secular and anti-Sharia. According to the report, majority of his followers were largely illiterate youths who engaged in petty trading or had dropped out of school (Danjibo, 2009)

As time went on, Yusuf then established his own mosque in an area called Railway Quarters in Maiduguri, while also extending his preaching to the mosques located at Kandahar, Unguwar Doki (near Monday Market) and Millionaire's Quarters. Investigators were also told that by early 2004, the Islamic sect had grown in states of presence with Borno, Yobe and Bauchi being notable and that some of the converted youths abandoned their studies to join the group. The ready-made army of followers were, however, said to be the Almajiri. It was after

2004 that the sect leaders were said to have established links with the Algerian Salafist Group, now known as Al-Qaeda in Islamic Magreb, (AQIM), which gave them training on combat and use of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs). From trainings acquired in AQIM, it was gathered that members of Boko Haram were able to show dexterity in handling of weapons and manufacture of what is called "dirty bombs" through IEDs (Danjibo, 2009, Nigerian Tribune 30, January, 2012)

It was reported that many Islamists were not satisfied by the adoption of Sharia law in 12 northern states between 1999 and 2001. They believed that its introduction has been watered down. It was also perceived by these Islamic fundamentalists that an imported system of government based on "Western values" has resulted in ostensible corruption, poverty, unemployment and the continued suppression of "true" Islam in northern part of the country (Danjibo, 2009). Therefore, the best approach to understand the ideology and philosophy of the movement is by explaining the two key words- Boko and Haram. In Hausa language, the word boko is an equivocal term which means either book, Western or foreign; while the word haram is an Arabic derivative meaning forbidden, ungodly, or sinful (Danjibo, 2009. 7; Adesoji, 2010.100). If the words are literally pieced together book haram means book is sinful. But it's deeper meaning is that, forbid everything Western and Western education- Western education is sinful, sacrilegious or ungodly and should therefore be forbidden (Danjibo, 2009; Adesoji, 2010). What can be drawn make from the above is that, the movement is not only characteristically opposed, but outrightly rejects Western education, Western culture and modern science. Alternatively, it embraces and advocates the propagation of and strict adherence to Islam by all and sundry regardless of anyone's personal wishes. In line with this objective, the movement seeks to impose Sharia across all Nigerian states (Bumah, 2009).

The former leader Mohammed Yusuf said education "spoils the belief in one God". The sect – full name Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad ("People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad") – seeks to create an Islamic state governed by Sharia law in Nigeria by, seemingly, whatever means it has at its disposal and at whatever human cost it deems necessary (Bumah, 2009). The intent of the movement is aimed at replacing modern state formation with the traditional Islamic state, because Western values run contrary to Islamic values. Umma Mahammadiya-Muslim faithful and Dar-ul-Islam- Islamic community cannot

be compromised in the face of Western influence in the Nigerian secular society. Therefore, the moral decadence and evil in the society is as a result of the embrace of Western civilization, and thus, in order to curb such evil, an Islamic society must be entrenched by destroying modern political institutions and infrastructures. The philosophy goes hand in hand with the entrenchment of the Shari'a law in the society. The embedded philosophy of the Boko Haram movement can be inferred to explain the reason why police and armed forces formations, government establishments and properties are the target of destruction by the movement. In addition, it is also an ideological belief of the movement that, any member who fight and die- either by suicide bombing in the process of establishing a Sharia state by destroying modern state formation and government establishment would automatically go to Aljanna- paradise or heaven (Danjibo, 2009). One could then understand the reason why the movement has large and committed followers among the Almajiris- Qur'an trainees who depend on their Mallam- teacher for knowledge, inspiration and their daily survival.

The ideology and philosophy of Boko Haram movement was aptly captured by Tell Magazine thus: The mission of the sect was to establish an Islamic state where:

orthodox Islam is practised. Orthodox Islam according to him (Yusuf Mohammed, leader of the sect) frowns at Western education and working in the civil service because it is sinful. Hence, for their aim to be achieved, all institutions represented by government including security agencies like police, military and other uniformed personnel should be crushed (Tell, 10th August, 2009, p. 34).

Another major issue about this Islamic sect has to do with the strategy being employed in carrying out its activities which have taken series of dimensions since its emergence. This development has made a number of scholars and stakeholders in the country as well as international community to conclude that the sect has different kinds of support from known terrorist nations of the world. First, the modus operandi of the Boko Haram movement, which has been

fashioned after the Taliban in Afghanistan, has made some to conclude that the sect must have sent its members to Afghanistan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Iraq, Mauritania and Algeria for training. Other argued it could be that the Boko Haram modelled itself after the Taliban simply to acknowledge its source of inspiration. Some equally said that it was meant to attract sympathy and support from the Taliban or related groups. Another view was that, it could also be that the links actually exist. For instance, the Operation Sawdust that was carried out in 2005 by the military and the police and which covered North-East geo-political zones of Borno, Bauchi and Yobe, led to the arrest of some Islamic fundamentalists whose activities posed a threat to the security of the Nigerian state. Among those arrested was Yusuf Mohammed, the leader of the Boko Haram movement. These arrests provided the first clues about the links between Boko Haram and the Al-Qaeda terrorist group as those arrested along with Yusuf Mohammed revealed they had been trained in the act of terrorism in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Pakistan and Iraq. Items recovered during the operation included maps and diagrams of government establishments and of some directions to specific government buildings in Abuja (Tell, 17th August, 2009, p. 69; Danjibo, 2009, p.15).

Recent reports in the Nigerian and foreign press about the activities of such groups as the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (SGPC) in Algeria, Tablighi clerics from Pakistan, and Wahabist missionaries from Saudi Arabia in Northern Nigeria, as well as the report of the training of some fundamentalists in Al-Qaeda camps in some foreign countries, offer proof of Boko Haram's links with fundamentalist groups around the world are to certain extent true (Adesoji, 2010).

It is abundantly clear from the available evidence that the sect is against anything that has to do with western values in the country in general and northern part in particular. This could be seen in a large number of attacks being unleashed on the Nigerian State with a view to achieving their objectives. It is pertinent to have a glimpse of the attacks.

Major Incidents of Boko Haram Attacks since 2009-2012

Date	Casualties
July 26, 2009	Boko Haram launches mass uprising with attack on a police station in Bauchi, starting a five-day uprising that spread to Maiduguri and elsewhere.
September 7, 2010	Boko Haram attacked a prison in Bauchi, killed about five guards and freed over 700 inmates, including former sect members.
October 11, 2010	Bombing/gun attack on a police station in Maiduguri destroys the station and injures three by the group
December 24, 2010	The group carried out a bomb attack in Jos killing 8 people.
December 28, 2010	Boko Haram claims responsibility for the Christmas Eve bombing in Jos that killed 38 people

December 31, 2011	The group attack a Mammy market at Army Mogadishu Barracks, Abuja, 11 people died
April 1, 2011	The group attacked a police station in Bauchi
April 9, 2011	The group attacked a polling center in Maiduguri and bombed it
April 20, 2011	A bomb in Maiduguri kills a policeman.
April 22, 2011	The group attacked a prison in Yola and freed 14 prisoners
April 24, 2011	Four bombs explode in Maiduguri, killing at least three.
May 29, 2011	Bombings of an army barracks in Bauchi city and Maiduguri and led to death of 15 people
May 31, 2011	Gunmen assassinate Abba Anas Ibn Umar Garbai, brother of the Shehu of Borno, in Maiduguri.
June 1, 2011	The group killed Sheu of Borno's brother, Abba El-kanemi
June 7, 2011	A team of gunmen launch parallel attacks with guns and bombs on a church and police stations in Maiduguri, killing 5 people.
June 16, 2011	Bombing of police headquarters in Abuja, claimed by Boko Haram. Casualty reports vary.
June 26, 2011	Gunmen shoot and bomb a bar in Maiduguri killing about 25 people
August 16, 2011	The Bombing of United Nations Office in Abuja, killing over 34 people by the group
December 25, 2011	Bombing of St. Theresa's Catholic Church, Madalla, killing over 46 people
January 6, 2012	The Sect attacked some southerners in Mubi killing about 13 Igbo
January 21, 2012	Multiple bomb blast rocked Kano city , claiming over 185 people
January 29, 2012	Bombing of Kano Police Station at Naibawa Area of Yakatabo
February 8, 2012	Bomb blast rocked Army Headquarters in Kaduna
February 15, 2012	Koton Karife Prison, Kogi State was attacked by the sect and about 119 prisoners were released and a warder was killed.
February 19, 2012	Bomb blast rocked Suleja Niger State near Christ Embassy Church, leaving 5 people seriously injured
February 26, 2012	Bombing of Church of Christ in Nigeria, Jos leading to the death of about 2 worshippers & about 38 people sustained serious injuries.
March 8 2012	An Italian, Franco Lamolinara and a Briton, Christopher McManus, who were Expatriate Staff of Stabilim Visioni Construction Firm were abducted in 2011 by a splinter group of Boko Haram and were later killed.
March 11, 2012	Bombing of St. Finbarr's Catholic Church, Rayfield, Jos resulting in the killing of 11 people and several others wounded.
April 26 2012	Bombing of three media houses (Thisday Newspaper in Abuja killing 3 & 2 security officers & injured 13 people; Thisday, the Sun & the Moments newspapers in Kaduna killing 3 persons & injured many others
April, 29, 2012	Attack on Bayero University, Kano, killing 13 Christian Worshippers, a senior non-academic staff & two Professors
April 30, 2012	Bomb explosion in Jalingo, claiming 11 persons and several others wounded.

Sources: Punch 17, June, 2011, Punch 27, February, 2012, Punch 23, February, 2012, Guardian 20, February, 2012, Guardian 12, March, 2012, Nigerian Tribune 30, January, 2012

The above foregoing analysis of the activities/attacks of the dreaded Islamic sect, Boko Haram has revealed that not less than 1,200 persons, including the civilians, security personnel have been killed since its emergence up to February, 2012 (Punch 16, February, 2012, p2). Also significant in the analysis is that, the activities of sect over the years have taken different trends and dimensions. The sect has graduated from cruel drive by attacks on beer parlous to bombing of security buildings, public buildings and Christian institutions.

4. National Security and the Management of Boko Haram Terrorism in the North East

The maintenance of law and order in Nigeria in recent times has been very challenging such that the ability and capacity to manage our National Security by the Security Agencies is being doubted by the citizenry. Primarily, the Federal Government is charged with the responsibility of using the military, police and other security agencies to protect every citizen from all forms of security threats and incidents like armed robbery, kidnapping, civil disorder, large scale violence, insurgency, killing, bombing and other forms of security breaches.

However, the opposite appears to be the case, judging from the spate of unfortunate series of violent attacks, killings and bombings being carried out by the so-called Boko Haram since 2009. The negative impact of this ugly situation on the country generally cannot be estimated on the economy as well as human lives and property. In fact, the state of affairs of the country over the activities of the dreaded Islamic sect is now a big source of worry to all lovers of the country, especially, the Security Agents who are receiving all sorts of odium from the top Government brass and the citizens. It is therefore pertinent to ask this question, what went wrong?

The finding of a study by some private security experts has identified militancy mismanagement as part of the causes of the prevailing insecurity in Nigeria. From the position of Cesare Lambroso on causes of crimes, it is evident that certain crimes are committed as a means of protesting against the state or establishment rather than being biological (Cited in Dearn, 2011). Simply put, only below ten percent of the society population will naturally have the passion and pride to commit any type of crime. The same is applicable to Nigerians, after all it is said that we are the happiest in the world. The issue here is

that our brothers and sisters who have taken to domestic terrorism, in the Niger Delta region through the formation of various youth militias and that of Boko Haram in the northern part of the country are saying that since nobody wants to listen and engage them, perhaps, violent as a means of expressing their grievances may be the best option. Of course, this has proved to be a truism because once these groups carried out their attacks, the Government will be calling for a dialogue. Research has also revealed that in Nigeria, the militant incidents have been targeted mainly at Governments and her Institutions and Officials, although, with innocent Nigerians and sometimes, Foreigners as casualties. To a large extent the remote causes of the violent crimes is inherent in failure of good governance by the political elites and their collaborators since the return to civil in 1999.

For example, before the government could response to the agitations of the people of the Niger Delta, through Amnesty Programme, over the years the people have suffered from neglect, political marginalization, environmental degradation as a result of oil spillage and oil exploration without adequate compensation by the Nigerian State and the Transnational Oil Companies operating in the region through the provision healthcare, schools, infrastructures and other corporate social responsibilities (Adesote, 2010). The same case is applicable to Jama'atu ahlus sunnah led da'awati popularly known as Boko Haram. According to its founder, Muhammed Yusuf, in an interview, "the law enforcement agents are fighting me because of my faith in Islam and belief that Western education is a sin". Recently, the Group demanded the trial of the former Borno State Governor, Alhaji Buhu Sherif and institutionalization of Sharia in the 12 core States of Northern Nigeria, prosecute those who killed their leader, among others. As can be deduced, the Group is making some demands which they believe that is real and achievable (Dearn, 2011)

Despite the fact that most of their demands are certainly not achievable, they deserve attention. The Boko Harm may have a point here because as they claimed purest Islamic Group, they are disenchanted the way their political leaders whom they had respect for now practice Islam. Contrary to Islamic injunctions, their political leaders, we can agree with them, have resorted to barbaric acquisition of wealth, indecent personal life styles which are offensive to Islamic culture, their political and economic subjugation and social alienation of them. Since they could not have access to the perceived "Islamic dissidents" to lay their complaints, domestic terrorism becomes their only means of venting their anger to

the Governments and the helpless Nigerians (Dearn, 2011)

Since domestic terrorism is now the major security challenge facing Nigeria, then, how best can we abate it? According to Dr Ade Abolurin, the former Commandant-General, National Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), security was everybody's business; hence no citizens must be apathetic to matters related to enhanced security in the country (NAN,2012). As a way out, the country, especially the Government at all levels must embrace Democratic Policing instead of Militarized Policing of the Nigerian Polity. In practicing Democratic Policing, all the civil courtesies are accorded to the Citizens. By this we mean that our Leaders must sufficiently interact and dialogue with them irrespective of their perceived jaundiced reasoning and behaviours so that their bottled up angst will never result to violent complaints in the name of killing, bombings, among other heinous crimes committed against the State and the innocent citizens (Dearn, 2011).

The Government and Security Agents should understand that Preventive Security Management is now in vogue worldwide and as such efficient and effective Security Management is no longer measured with the quantum of Armed Personal Carriers, APC, hilux pick up vans with siren, assault rifle, canisters, and so on that are deployed in major streets. For example, the former Inspector General of Police (Mr. Hafiz Ringim) after receiving costly security equipments from the Borno State Government declared that the days of Boko Haram were numbered, and in fact within few days they struck to totally demystify him and his men by taking the war to his office, thereby justifying the above assertion (Nigerian Tribune, 12 January,2011). This is to say that Governments and the Security Agencies should deploy more financial and human capital resources to the management of security intelligence and surveillance. After all, these criminal elements are living among us. In other words, no matter their operational modalities, some members of their community know who they are, what they are doing and how they operate; which simply means that with proper security public enlightenment programmes and projects, they can be easily fished out and dealt with according to law before they can cause security breaches.

An important institution that has crucial role to play in resolving conflicts that usually result to militancy attacks is the National Orientation Agency (NOA). Based on the demands of the Islamic sect, of which

some of them may not be feasible, we think that, the first, assistance they need is re-orientation. Perhaps based on the earlier indoctrination they had received; they need to be engaged by NOA and be re-oriented and re-integrated into the Nigerian Agenda which is based on Unity in Diversity. They should be made to understand that they do not have any other country than Nigeria and as such, they stand to gain more in a united, virile, and strong Nigeria than disintegration. They can simply be reached and engaged via their community and enlightened religious leaders since they appear to have lost confidence and trust in their political leaders, who in their opinion have desecrated Islam.

The Federal Government, on the other hand, should be more determined and proactive in facing the current challenges through revisiting her domestic and foreign policies. First, suspected Nigerians who were said to be sponsors of this dreaded Islamic sect in this present security quagmire should be tried according to the law. A situation where suspects and intelligence reports suspect some people and they are not questioned and/or tried, simply because they are highly placed does not augur well for the nation. Certain facts are obvious if we must solve these security issues totally! For example, we must determine who recruits, brainwashes, feeds, trains, harbour, arm and protect these young lads who unleash these mayhems. Not until these real enemies of the country are fished out, prosecuted and punished, if found guilty, most of the efforts of the Government would be nothing but smokescreens and hogwash (personal analysis).

The need to fight domestic terrorism in Nigeria generally calls for re-evaluation of her foreign policy most especially on national security. The government must establish cordial relations with developed countries such as the U.S, U.K, Australia, Germany, and the United Nations in wiping out terrorism through different programmes and approaches. For instance, in February 14, 2003, National Strategy for Combating Terrorism in the U.S emphasized the role of international cooperation, law enforcement and economic development in countering terrorism. [<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030214-7>]. For example, Australian government have developed programme towards fighting terrorism in their country. Some of these programmes centered on the need to fight against poverty through promoting conducive environments to growth and effective delivery of services, addressing problem of weak governance and the establishment of a programme which focuses on building counter-terrorism capacity such as border control and regional co-operation (www.ausaid.gov.au/publications).

Other country in the crusade against terrorism is the United States of America. With the attack of September 11, 2001 which led to the bombing of World Trade Centre and Pentagon in Washington D C by Al-Qaeda led by Osama Bin Laden, the American President, Mr George Bush took frantic effort to tackle terrorism by declaring onslaught against terrorism and terrorists (Nigerian Tribune, Monday 12 March, 2012, pp 1-2)

Our leaders, especially, the political elites should have a total re-think in terms of delivery of dividend of democracy to the electorate and comporting themselves while holding public office. As pointed out earlier in this paper, the failure of western democratic system was said to be one major reason for this ugly situation. The region where this dreaded Islamic sect originated from has the highest poverty rate, and thus the poorest region in the country. According to Dr. Yemi Kale, Statistician General of the Federation said at a Press Conference in Abuja that North West and North East geo-political zones recorded the highest poverty rate in Nigeria with 77.7% and 76.3% respectively (Nigerian Tribune, Tuesday 14th February, 2012, pp1-2). A situation where Nigerian politicians only associated with barbaric acquisition of wealth and property through public corruption and to the chagrin of the impoverished Nigerians is now part of the violent reaction by the people. Undoubtedly, this flagrant and wanton display of this ill-gotten wealth relatively induces some weak-minded citizens to take to criminality and violence as means of survival in a society that does not have any plan for them. As a result, at any slightest provocation, people resort to violent crimes as an alternative means of complaint. Besides, one could equally be tempted to engage in act of criminality as alternative means to survive. Thus, it is high time our leaders lived up to their constitutional responsibilities to the citizenry. The Anti-graft agencies are expected to be proactive rather than remain as toothless bulldogs.

Another important strategy of combating domestic terrorism in the country is for the government to reevaluate her domestic policies. First, for the purpose of promoting national security in the country, the adoption of holistic approach which includes both preventive measures and long-term measures towards addressing conditions conducive for the spread of domestic terrorism be pursued vigorously. In fact, it is expected that these two elements should form a key compromise among the parliamentarians in the National Assembly by adopting the strategy through consensus. It could reiterate that conditions conducive for the spread of domestic terrorism

include: “poverty, prolonged unresolved conflicts, lack of rule of law and violations of human rights, ethnic, national and religious discrimination, political exclusion, socio-economic marginalization and lack of good governance. Therefore, effective implementation of this strategy would result in “commitment to the realization of the Millennium Development Goals and the determination to pursue and reinforce development and social inclusion agenda at every level , especially on youth unemployment, and as well could reduce marginalization and the subsequent sense of victimization that propels extremism and the recruitment of terrorists (United Nations General Assembly, *United Nations General Assembly Resolution 60/288*, A/RES/60/288, New York, 8 September 2006, Pillar I).

More so, the need for partnership between governments, civil society and civil society organization (CSO) towards shorter-term preventive counterterrorism in the country is paramount. For example, interaction between governments and CSOs on the issue of small arms and light weapons can help to check its proliferation in the country. Similar efforts can also flourish between government and non-governmental experts seeking to address the threat of illicit transfers of biological, chemical, and nuclear materials to potential terrorists in the country if government re-evaluates its domestic policies. In other developed countries where the CSOs have been integrated into counter-terrorism, they are now making conscious and significant contributions on measures to prevent terrorism in the implementation and monitoring of security sector reform activities, which are linked to a state’s ability to carry out effective law enforcement and other security-related counterterrorism measures. Some CSOs, especially research organizations, also foster closer, cooperative initiatives involving states and other stakeholders to improve and raise awareness of threats and encourage collective action to address vulnerabilities (<http://www.sgpproject.org>).

The UK Department for International Development, for example, has noted that:

Improving civic awareness of security issues is a starting point for improving relations between the security forces and the public, creating a national consensus on a reform programme, and building political coalitions to sustain the process. Civil society can also play more specific roles by facilitating dialogue, monitoring the activities of the security forces, and expressing views on security policy as well as providing policy advice. This may be particularly useful where state capacity is weak:

the role of legislatures or other government departments in analysing security issues, for instance, can be greatly enhanced by assistance from specialist external campaigning groups or think tanks providing research and analytical support (<http://www.dfid.gov.uk/Pubs/files/supportingsecurity.pdf>)

Professional associations, Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), are critical sources of technical expertise and can act as independent contractors and carry out underground implementation of much counterterrorism-related capacity building. They are seen by many people as independent and reliable partners in the promotion of national security. The capacity-building effort and the capacity-building assistance channeled through them offer many advantages over government-to-government assistance. A Professional association such as the Nigerian Bar association is crucial to strengthening the rule of law in the country. For example, in America, the American Bar Association conducts relevant rule of law programs worldwide on, among other things, anti-corruption, criminal law reform, human rights and conflict mitigation, and legal education reform. The International Legal Assistance Consortium (ILAC), an umbrella organization for associations of legal and human rights experts with experience in rebuilding justice systems, for example, works to conduct assessments of the legal and judicial systems in wartorn countries and to implement programs to help rebuild those systems. ILAC has recently carried out counterterrorism (specific training) on behalf of the government of Sweden (Eric, Alistair, and Jason, 2008). This is a challenge to the Nigerian Bar Association.

Development of good partnership between the NGO and the CSO towards fighting terrorism in the country is crucial. They both help to increase public awareness and understanding of human rights issues in the context of waging an effective campaign against terrorism, including by undertaking research and action at the local and national levels. By promoting the rule of law, engaging the media, sharing best practices, and disseminating other information, they help to bring attention to human rights abuses and encourage governments to improve their own adherence to human rights norms. As acknowledged in the “Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism,” “human rights organizations have continued to monitor the situation in most countries, and the information at their disposal has formed a valuable database for analyzing the long term repercussions of momentarily devaluing respect for human rights in favour of short-

term security .Civil society actors on their own can articulate how respect for human rights and the rule of law is an essential part of any effective strategy to address the complex terrorist threat and its different forms and manifestations. (Asma Jahangir and Fateh Azzam, 2005)

On a final note, government can equally curtail the menace of the militants generally by engaging non-serving security experts, especially, retired military, police and paramilitary officers who live in all the communities of the country, mostly in the areas of security intelligence and surveillance. These ex-officers who have various security expertise and experience arising from their previous trainings and exposures while in service are in better positions to educate and re-orientate members of their communities on the negative impact of militancy on our collective existence and national development.

5. Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has clearly revealed the challenges of domestic terrorism and the national security in the country. It is equally obvious that domestic terrorism in the country especially since the return to civil rule in 1999 has constituted a serious threat to national interest, peace and national security and as well led to internal population displacement, violation of fundamental human rights among others. Therefore, having known a number of factors responsible for this ugly situation among which include, failure of good governance, issue of neglect, poverty, high rate of unemployment especially among the youth, and so on, what is expected is that the government in particular should brace up to its constitutional responsibilities by addressing the problem through critical appraisal of the suggestions advocated for in this paper.

It is interesting to note that if the government is not proactive towards addressing the challenge of domestic terrorism, most importantly with the trends and dimensions with which the dreaded Islamic sect popularly known as Boko Haram is carrying out its nefarious activities in the country, it is likely the country experience another civil war which may invariably lead to disintegration. In addition, the business of security is everybody's responsibility. Thus, every responsive and patriotic Nigerian who believes that he/she has no other country except Nigeria should co-operate with the Nigerian State in finding lasting solution to this ugly situation. For instance, in America, the issue of security is seen as a concern to every patriotic American. For example, if a crime is being committed in America and a passer-by sees it and refuses to report the incident to the law

enforcement agents, and may be later on, it was discovered that there was a passer-by that the camera caught seeing that crime being committed and never reported the case, that passer-by is as guilty as the person who committed the crime. This shows that everybody has a role to play in the promotion of national security.

The need for adequate collaboration and partnership between the governments, Non-governmental organizations as well as the civil society organization as advocated in this paper is also critical in the crusade towards addressing the challenge of domestic terrorism in the country. The re-evaluation of the country's domestic and foreign policies is also advocated as means of combating the menace of domestic terrorism in the country.

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