COMPLEX INSURGENCIES
IN NIGERIA

Edited by
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COMPLEX INSURGENCIES IN NIGERIA

Proceedings of the NIPSS 2012
Eminent Persons & Experts Group Meeting

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FOREWORD

The National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, the apex think-tank in Nigeria, successfully organized and hosted the Eminent Persons and Experts Group Meeting (EEGM) on Complex Insurgencies in Nigeria from 28 – 30 August, 2012 at a time when the country was at a loss as to how to effectively respond to the complex insurgencies it had to contend with. To turn the tide against the insurgents in Nigeria, the EEGM was held. Since then, the government has provided more credible responses to the insurgents in the country.

The EEGM examined the dynamics of insurgencies in Nigeria. It looked at the factors that create the conditions for insurgency, as well as the preconceptions, propensities, grievances, resentments, hopes, desires, beliefs, cultural variables, historical factors, and social norms. The EEGM also interrogated the nature of the resource capability of the insurgent groups in terms of: manpower; funding; equipment/supplies, particularly access to arms, munitions, and explosives; sanctuary (internal or external); and, intelligence. The EEGM also made a number of recommendations, which have been forwarded to the President.

The National Institute is deeply appreciative of the support and encouragement of the President, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, who did not waste time in implementing some of the recommendations made at the meeting. I commend the Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP) for being such a great partner with NIPSS and for its strong desire to promote peace and stability in Nigeria. This book is the product of this partnership. I also wish to acknowledge the support of the UNDP and the Governors of Plateau, Nasarawa and Kebbi States towards the successful hosting of the EEGM.

Professor Tijjani Muhammad-Bande, OFR
Director General,
National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, Kuru.
This book is the outcome of the Eminent Persons and Experts Group Meeting (EEGM) on complex insurgencies in Nigeria held at the National Institute, 28 – 30 August. The EEGM was organized by the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, with the support of the Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP), UK Department for International Development (DFID) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Abuja.

The book, which consists of thirteen chapters, examines the nature, types, and dynamics of insurgencies in Nigeria as well as the diagnostic review of insurgencies in Nigeria, including sources, causes, and remedies. The book will be most useful for policy makers, security agencies, academics and other readers who may need to know more about complex insurgencies in Nigeria.

I must thank all the contributors and the assessors for making this possible. The National Institute gratefully thanks the NSRP for providing the funding support for the publication.

The National Institute also extends its deep appreciation to all the Eminent and Expert Groups that attended the meeting where these papers were presented and thoroughly discussed. I wish to specially thank the President and the Vice President of Nigeria, former Heads of State, who sent in representatives. I wish to thank all serving and retired military officers, former Inspectors General of Police, serving and retired Police Officers, delegations from National Defence College, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja, Nigeria Defence Academy, Nigerian Institute for International Affairs, civil society groups, National Council for Women Societies, Traditional Rulers, the Clergy, and the officers from UK Department for International Development (DFID), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the United States Embassy.

Finally, I have to thank the Director General, Professor Tijjani
Muhammad -Bande for providing every support that was required towards the success of this book. I also thank all my colleagues at the Directorate of Research for their valuable support.

Professor Olu Obafemi, FNAL
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September 2013
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· **Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP)** is an Independent Programme managed by the British Council and funded by DFID.
INTRODUCTION

Nigeria, the biggest and one of the most influential countries in Africa, is confronted with daunting challenges to its political stability occasioned by terrorism. The nation is now caught in the frenzy of terrorism in degree and intensity never experienced before in the country. While terrorism is hardly a new phenomenon in Nigeria, its impact has been wide-ranging and far-reaching. Today, terrorism poses a great threat not just to life, property, human rights, dignity and democratic values but to the very, fabric and existence of Nigeria as we all know it.

Insurgency, a strategy adopted by groups which cannot attain their political objectives through conventional means, but by protracted, asymmetric violence, ambiguity, the use of complex terrain (jungles, mountains, and urban areas), psychological warfare, and political mobilization, is fast becoming a means of expressing perceived discontent among groups in the country. Its ultimate desire is to subvert and alter the balance of power in their favour.

Insurgent groups in Nigeria have emerged at different points in the country's political history and assumed different forms. Some of the insurgent groups are: the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Ogoni People (from the South–South of Nigeria), The Odua People's Congress, OPC (from the South West), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra, MASSOB (from South East), and now the Jama'atul ahlul Sunna Lidda'awa Wal Jihad, which means "Brethren of Sunni United in the Pursuit of Holy War" popularly referred to as the Boko Haram, meaning 'Western Education is forbidden'. Boko Haram emerged from the North East of Nigeria. Unlike the other insurgent groups in the country, in the immediate past, the Boko Haram insurgent group dangerously exploited Nigeria's precarious sectarian fault lines to fracture the country.

The Boko Haram insurgency is loosely modelled on the Algerian Islamist group turned pan-Maghreb jihadi organization: al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) with an ideology similar to the one espoused by al-Qa'eda with nearly coincidental goals and objectives as well as employs
conventional terrorist tactics. AQIM’s emir, Abu Musab Abdel Wadoud, a.k.a. Abdelmalek Droukdel, had claimed that his group provided weapons and training to Boko Haram.¹

The targets of the Boko Haram insurgency are local government institutions, security agencies, moderate Muslims, non-Muslims thought to be responsible for social, economic and political misfortune against the northern part of the country, certain clerics, churches, Christian businesses, and relaxation spots. Added to the list are media houses and tertiary institutions.

Human Rights Watch reported that Boko Haram has killed at least 935 people since it launched an uprising in 2009². Between January and May 2012, hundreds of more lives have been lost to the insurgency. The group was alleged to have carried out more than 115 separate attacks in the Northern part of the country in 2011³ alone.

The insurgency of Boko Haram, which started as a weak, disorganized, loosely coordinated and incoherent movement, mutated to pose serious threats to national security. It developed the capability for strategic power projection (terrorism), strategic intelligence, and the building of wide-ranging linkages to subvert the state. Boko Haram’s proficiency in explosives and operational tempo as well as its tactical sophistication and aggressiveness have become a source of concern to many observers.

It was in the light of these that the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, the apex think tank in Nigeria, hosted the Eminent People and Expert Groups Meeting to brainstorm on effective response strategies to the insurgency. This book is the outcome of that meeting.

The book has thirteen chapters and three parts. The first part attempts to provide an understanding of the dynamics of the Insurgency in Nigeria, looking at the Niger Delta Experience, the Northern Nigeria experience

² Human Rights Watch Report, January 24, 2012
³ Ibid.
and the Plateau State Experience. This part attempted to provide answers to the following questions: What factors create the conditions for insurgency? What factors motivate the insurgents in Nigeria? What are their preconceptions, propensities, grievances, resentments, hopes, desires, beliefs, cultural variables, historical factors, and social norms? How coherent and unifying are the ideologies of the insurgents? Who are their ideologues? What is the nature of the leadership of the insurgent? Is there a clear leadership hierarchy within the insurgent groups? How committed and obsessive is the insurgent leadership? From a psychological point of view, how effective are the insurgent leaders in terms of dedication to their cause and the extent to which they persevere even when the odds weigh against them? How did the insurgents establish their support infrastructure? How have the insurgents been organizing, recruiting, training, learning their craft, and accumulating resources and still remain hidden from the security agencies? Where and how do they gestate in Nigeria? How did they mutate to a powerful organization posing serious threats to national security? How did they develop the strategic strike capability via terrorism?

The second part of the book conducts a diagnostic review of the challenges posed by the insurgency to peace, security and stability of the country. It examines the economic, legal, sociological, political, cultural and psychological dimensions of insurgency to bring out the sources, causes and remedies.

The third part is the conclusion. It attempts a comprehensive and an effective response strategy. It attempts to provide answers to the following questions: What should be the strategic response of the Nigerian State? What is the desired end state? What ways and means are available? Is there a centre of gravity against which decisive effort can be directed, or are the insurgents so amorphous and ubiquitous that we face instead a future of chronic low-level hostilities susceptible only to management or containment and with no real hope of resolution? Does the Nigerian state have the capacity to neutralize the insurgent group? What would be the unexpected effects at all levels: tactical, operational and strategic? How can the insurgent movements be fractured through militarily and psychologically? What strategies can the Nigerian security agencies and other government agencies develop to fracture,
de-legitimize, de-link, de-moralize, and de-resource the insurgents? How can the insurgent movement be de-legitimized in the eyes of the local population and any international constituency it might have? How can the insurgent movement be de-linked from its internal and external support by understanding and destroying the political, logistics, and financial connections? How can the insurgent movements be de-resourced both by curtailing funding streams and causing it to waste existing resources?

Added as Appendix to this seminal study is the Communiqué collectively prepared and adopted by all the stakeholders at the EEGM.

Olu Obafemi
Habu Galadima
Introduction

In recent years, there has been a surge in both the tempo and range of global insurgencies and terrorism. Virtually every continent has faced this growing security challenge. Nigeria is one of the latest to be added to the list of states affected by sectarian insurgencies. Of some 15 countries surveyed in 2011 by the US Department of State for terrorism Nigeria ranked fifth. It also ranked 15th in kidnappings with 17 kidnappings reported. Since then, the tempo of terrorist attacks and kidnappings in Nigeria has certainly increased. In Northern Nigeria virtually all the terrorist acts have been attributed to Boko Haram, the extremist Islamic movement. Most of the kidnappings have taken place in the South East and in the Delta region.

These global insurgencies and terrorist acts are deeply rooted in the history of the various states involved. They are a reflection of the history and the political and economic systems of the states affected by insurgencies, terrorism and other forms of political violence. These insurgencies and perceptions of them have tended to vary over time leading to some confusion about their real nature and character. Because of the complexity of insurgencies it is also
necessary to examine the social, economic and political factors that produce insurgencies in various countries. The Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria which first came to light in 2009 presents Nigeria with its gravest domestic security challenge ever. So grave are the security challenges of Boko Haram that there are fears and open speculation that the insurgency could lead to the collapse and ultimate disintegration of the country. It has polarized the Northern and Southern parts of Nigeria as most of the victims of the Boko Haram insurgency are from the South.

Insurgencies are not new in the history of states. They go back to times of antiquity, as far back as the old civilizations of the Greek city state and the Roman Empire when the rulers of these ancient civilizations often had to face the challenge of insurgencies, insurrections, and revolts. The main aim of insurgencies has always been the overthrow of the established order and its replacement by a new social and political order. It is for this reason that insurgents take up arms to overthrow those in power. Ultimately, both the Greek and Roman Empires fell as a result of these rebellions and insurgencies. They were destroyed by a combination of internal insurrection and external attacks. New states replaced them in a situation that has been described by historians as the rise and fall of great states and Empires in the modern era. The objectives of modern insurgencies remain the same; the overthrow of the existing order and its replacement by a new order or government.

The rise of terrorism as a global phenomenon

In modern history, examples of insurgencies and terrorism go back to at least four centuries, spanning many continents and states. These include the French revolution of 1789 that ended the Bourbon monarchy in France, replaced by a new French Republic, and the 1776 American war of independence from British colonial rule. The
19th century was an even more unstable and turbulent era during which German unification was brought about by force under Chancellor Bismarck. The unification of Italy was also achieved by force under the leadership of Garibaldi. In the Balkans, the old Hapsburg Empire was overthrown by a series of insurgencies including the murder at Sarajevo of Archduke Francis Ferdinand by a Serb nationalist. This incident led to World War 1 and the break up of the Hapsburg Empire and Monarchy. The Ottoman Empire that had for centuries held sway in central Europe and the Balkans also fell after World War 1. It was replaced by modern Turkey. In Russia, the Romanov Empire was brought down in the 1917 revolution against Imperial Russia. This bloody conflict, in which the entire family of the Tsar was wiped out, gave rise to the new Communist Empire of the Soviet Union. More recently, internal dissent and grievances led to the collapse of the Soviet Union and its replacement by several separate republics, once part of the Soviet Union. Ethnic war and cleansing in Yugoslavia led to its collapse and the rise of several successor states in its place. Other governments and states in central Europe, in the Balkans, also faced a lot of security challenges and violence as many of the central European states fought for the independence of their countries against foreign domination. Essentially, most of the conflicts in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries were for national independence from foreign rule, territorial expansion and grandeur. But the various conflicts were not just about independence. Some, like the conflict generated by the religious crusades between Islam and Christianity, which dominated most of European history between the 16th and 18th centuries, were religious in character. Either side fought to expand its frontiers and its religion.

In addition to inter-state conflicts, we now have internal insurgencies and insurrections directed at the overthrow of the
established social and political order in the affected states. The sources of this new kind of insurgencies range from political and economic factors to religious causes. Examples of these include the Tiananmen revolt in China, brutally put down by the Chinese government, and the continuing sectarian conflict in Afghanistan between the insurgents, the Taliban, an extremist Islamic sect, and the Afghan government. This conflict is being fought by the Afghan government with the military support of the US led allied forces in Afghanistan. In Pakistan and India terrorist groups, mainly extremist Islamic sects, have continued to pose serious security problems to those countries. In the Middle East, the conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians remains unresolved, with bands of insurgents and terrorists moving freely from one country to the other. The point of all this is to underline the fact that insurgencies have become a more global phenomenon. Nigeria has now joined the ranks of states affected by terrorism. In fact, the virtual dismemberment of Mali by Islamic warriors which have seized the northern part of the country constitutes a warning that insurgencies are spreading rapidly in the Savannah region of West Africa and the Sahel. Nigeria is just one of the possible targets of terrorism in West Africa. It has a potential to extend beyond Nigeria.

There is no widely accepted definition of insurgencies or terrorism, such as the type we now have in Nigeria. This difficulty in agreeing on the definition of insurgencies reflects the divergence of views among those analyzing the phenomenon. Normally, insurgencies are directed against the government and public institutions. It is more selective. On the other hand, terrorists want to destroy the entire social order in the country, not just the government. That appears to be the aim of Boko Haram. Sometimes, the phenomenon is described as militancy to secure a limited local objective. This makes it rather difficult to find a definition of the
phenomenon over which there is broad acceptance. In fact, the word 'terrorism' is not used at all in the 1964 edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. That would seem to indicate that, with the exceptions of the great revolutions in France, Russia, and the United States, the conflicts prevailing at the time were generally between states and not of an internal character as is the case now.

For instance, the various colonial struggle and conflicts, particularly in Asia and Africa, were, in general, regarded by the ruling colonial authorities as insurgencies. In Africa, the ruling colonial authorities dismissed those fighting for the independence of their countries as insurgents or, worse still, as terrorists. The classic examples would be those of Nelson Mandela of South Africa and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. Once denounced by the apartheid regime in South Africa as a terrorist, Nelson Mandela was sent to life imprisonment for leading the rebellion against white rule in South Africa. He spent 27 years in jail before his release. His Party, the African National Congress, (ANC) was banned until shortly before the end of apartheid rule in South Africa. In Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta also received life sentence for leading the bloody Mau Mau rebellion against British rule in Kenya. One of the most controversial of these African insurgencies was the Mau Mau struggle in Kenya which the British colonial power dismissed as terrorist in nature and tried to suppress with a lot of brutality on both sides. On the other hand, the African nationalists, the ANC and the so-called Mau Mau insurgents, claimed that their movements were nationalist in character and intended to end apartheid rule in South Africa and British colonial rule in Kenya. Much the same can be said in respect of the African nationalist movements in Southern Africa, particularly in Zambia and Zimbabwe, where the nationalists fought bitterly against racist white rule in Southern Africa. From the perspectives of the colonists, the Africans challenging foreign rule in their countries
were branded as insurgents or terrorists. But the Africans involved in the struggle for the independence of their countries from foreign rule regarded themselves as nationalists, not terrorists, fighting for the independence of their country. They considered their struggle as just and rejected the claim of the colonial powers that they were terrorists.

But in the case of postcolonial Africa, the current insurgencies are not overtly directed against foreign rule. Instead, they are directed against local authorities and leaders, some of whom are considered proxies of foreign rule and external interests. In this context, the definition of insurgencies and terrorism depends on what side one takes in the situation of conflict. Those who take up arms locally against established authority do not think of themselves as terrorists, or even insurgents, but as nationalists fighting for a just cause. It could be for religious reasons. It could also be due to local grievances. They resort to insurgencies or terrorism to overthrow a regime they consider lacking in legitimacy. It is in this context that I define insurgencies or acts of terrorism as unconventional armed conflicts in which the insurgents and government forces contend for opposing objectives, but primarily over political control of the country, or parts of it. Examples of this, in which insurgents and government forces contend for power, abound in different parts of the world. In Europe, these insurgencies include Cyprus (Greeks vs. Turks), Spain (the Basque separatist movement) and the Irish Republic, which for centuries contested British rule in Northern Ireland, largely Protestant. Others include Colombia, Cuba, and Mexico in Latin America, Indonesia, the Philippines, and India in Asia, and Somalia, the Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Rwanda in Africa, where inter-ethnic conflicts led to the killing of nearly a million Tutsis by the Hutus.

Recently, the so-called 'Arab Spring' has led to the sudden eruption of political violence and the overthrow of some despotic regimes in
the Arab world, including Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia in North Africa. Change was needed in the Arab world where despotic regimes had firmly established themselves. The Syrian regime of President Assad is the latest Arab government facing a serious insurrection and revolt of a religious character. The conflict is principally one between the Sunni and the Shiites for control of Syria. The Arab Spring is, in some cases, the result of sectarian conflict between the Sunnis and the Shiites. In other cases it is a revolt against despotic governments and bad leadership in the states affected by the insurgencies and mass revolt.

This religious and sectarian insurgency emanating from the Arab world has now spread to Nigeria where, since 2009, the government has had to face the growing security challenge posed by Boko Haram (Western education is evil) to its authority. Before then, very little was known of the existence of this sect and its objectives. It was preceded by the activities and operations of the militants of the Niger Delta, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) that presented the federal authorities and the oil companies with very serious security challenges. But through dialogue, the federal authorities have been able to tackle the threat to the nation's stability and security posed by MEND. Some of their grievances, largely economic in nature and directed against the foreign oil companies in Nigeria, have been appropriately addressed by the government through a programme of foreign education for the people of the Delta and the creation of jobs in the area. With the improvement in the conditions of the Deltans the attacks by MEND on oil operations in the Delta have abated.

**Boko Haram and the factors that create the conditions for insurgency in Nigeria**

The nature of the colonial legacy is responsible to a large extent for the emergence of political instability and the consequent
emergence of insurgency in Nigeria. The sect is the product of a political and social process that failed to ensure an even development in the country, with the North lagging far behind the South in economic and social development. The insurgency in the North is a symptom of a deep seated malaise going back to the colonial area during which colonial policies adopted led to the North, the largest and most populous part of the country, falling behind the rest of the country in virtually all respects. Boko Haram is the direct consequence of the failure of Northern leaders to invest in the education of their people. It is this failure, and not mere religious differences, that accounts for the deep seated grievances of the Boko Haram insurgents in Nigeria. The process and pace of modernization in the North have been much slower than in the South. This situation creates frustration among the Northern youths who find themselves unable to compete with their Southern counterparts in all respects.

The Boko Haram insurgency first emerged in some parts of Northern Nigeria in 2009. Before then, it had become obvious that the North was restive. It was preceded by the Maitasine Islamic rebellion which President Obasanjo succeeded in putting down. Most of the Northern states have since come under the savage attacks of the Boko Haram insurgents. There is now a serious danger that the insurgency may extend to other non-Fulani parts of Northern Nigeria. Plateau state is the new target of attacks, though the competition for land between Fulani herdsmen and the indigenes in the region is also a major factor in the ethnic clashes there. Plateau state, part of the old Middle Belt, has a large Christian population as well. Its people have always historically been at logger heads with the Hausa-Fulani who want to dominate the area. So, here the battle is for the control of this mineral rich part of Nigeria. It is both economic and political.

A recent country report on global terrorism by the State Department of the United States showed that in 2011, 136 attacks were carried
out in Northern Nigeria by Boko Haram resulting in the death of 590 people. In terms of the global number of casualties in the Boko Haram attacks, Nigeria was placed fifth, after Afghanistan (3,353), Iraq (3,063), Pakistan (2,033), and Somalia (1,103). It was reported that in 2011 there were some 978 terrorist attacks in Africa with Nigeria alone accounting for over 20 per cent of those attacks. The report stated that the sect was more deadly and vicious in its attacks in 2011 than in 2010. In 2010 only 31 attacks by Boko Haram were reported by the media. This figure increased in 2011 to 136. This year the number and frequency of Boko Haram attacks are likely to be even higher as the sect has increased its tempo during the current year. Already, it is estimated that Boko Haram attacks have resulted in the death of over 1,000 people in Northern Nigeria since 2009.

The insurgency has gathered storm since its inception. This is a cause for serious public concern in Nigeria as it is a direct threat to law and order in Nigeria and the legitimacy of the government. It even threatens the corporate existence of Nigeria as a nation. A former head of the Nigerian Army, Gen. Danjuma, has publicly expressed concerns that Nigeria may become a failed state like Somalia which has integrated on account of a long drawn out insurgency. Many Northern leaders have condemned the sect and its terrorist activities that have virtually paralyzed the commercial life of the North. There is increasing public concern that the sect seems to execute its vicious and bloody attacks so easily and with almost complete impunity. Despite its best and brave efforts the Joint Task Force comprising, the Army and the Police, has not yet been able to evolve a strategy to effectively tackle and contain attacks by the sect. Vast swathes of Northern Nigeria have been rendered ungovernable and no go areas. In the states that have been hit by Boko Haram economic activities have been totally paralyzed. The Plateau State has been one of the main targets of these attacks. It has suffered more casualties from the Boko Haram attacks than other states in Northern Nigeria. The attacks appear religious in
nature as most of them have been targeted at Churches and Christians in Northern Nigeria. Christian leaders have been restrained in their response to these attacks, but have warned that they may be obliged to urge their people to retaliate as the government has been unable to offer the victims of these random attacks any protection. A few mosques have also been attacked. But these attacks are directed against Moslems who are thought to have fallen behind in the strict practice of the Islamic doctrine and have fallen for the trappings of western civilization and way of life that the sect considers evil and unacceptable to strict Islamic doctrines.

The Boko Haram phenomenon and the emergence of terrorism in Nigeria have to be considered as one of the unsavoury consequences and legacies of colonial rule in Nigeria. British colonial rule in Nigeria sought to create a new state by bringing together under a single colonial administration a country of such wide cultural and ethnic diversity. British authority over what came to be known as Nigeria was established at different times starting with the annexation of the colony of Lagos in 1861, following its military occupation in 1851, the acquisition of other parts of Nigeria later, and the so-called 1914 'amalgamation' of the whole territory of Nigeria as a British colonial dependency that did little or nothing to unify the country. The central historical fact of Nigeria is that, like most of the other African states, it owes its existence as a nation state to European imperial ambitions in Africa. Lord Lugard, the first colonial governor of Nigeria, and the man who carried out the amalgamation of Nigeria, admitted at the time that Nigeria was 'a mere geographical expression' of this new British dependency. The territorial boundaries, the political institutions, and the images of these African states, are the result of European ambitions and rivalries in Africa. It is this complex of external influences that has moulded and shaped the political systems of these new states. But colonialism was both a factor of cohesion and a source of friction.
While it brought under one rule people with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, it did very little to integrate them into one nation (See Margery Perham, “Colonial Sequence”, London, 1970).

Like the bloody Nigerian civil war (1967-70) the roots of the current insurgency by Boko Haram lie in the fragility of the political institutions that Nigeria inherited at its independence in 1960. The postcolonial political and economic systems were far too weak to contain the centrifugal tendencies in the country. The federal system of government agreed upon at independence was unbalanced. It failed to provide an equitable distribution of power at the centre. It is this quest for a more balanced political system that has been at the centre of Nigeria's postcolonial political history. The postcolonial framework was itself the product of the nature and style of the British colonial administration in Nigeria. It created huge divergences in administration in Northern and Southern parts of the colony. As Richard Palmer, the British Lt. Governor of Northern Nigeria observed at the time, “Nigeria is simply the European label attached to three divergent though contiguous chunks of Africa”.

The 1914 amalgamation of Nigeria was certainly unpopular in both Northern and Southern Nigeria at the time. In the North, the powerful Moslem Emirates were opposed to it, as it was feared that a centralized administrative system would weaken their authority, while in the South the fear of the Lagos based educated elite was that it would lead to the extension to the South of the obnoxious practice associated with indirect rule, and the curtailment of the few political rights that they enjoyed under the legislative council system. Lord Lugard and most of his successors as governors were committed to the maintenance of the existing aristocratic Emirates and social order in the North. The British colonial authorities did little to encourage education in the North. Whereas in the South it was the Christian missionaries that introduced schools and western
education, Churches were virtually barred by the British colonial government from starting schools in the North. The practical effect of this basic preference by the British colonial authorities for the Islamic way of life in the North was that a yawning gap between the North and the South in western education began to develop rapidly. This gap in education between the North and the South is one of the major sources of conflicts and instability in the country, even today. It is directly responsible for the emergence of religious sectarian groups in the North such as Boko Haram.

The pre-independence political process in Nigeria has contributed to sectarian violence in Nigeria. On the surface, the constitutional framework at independence appeared flexible enough to permit compromise, adjustment, and change. It seemed loose enough to satisfy regional aspirations and at the same time to accommodate conflicting national interests. What it did in reality, however, was to conceal the essence of the Nigerian political process which, in practice, showed that there was a basic incompatibility between the formal side of the system and the political needs of the country. As one observer of the post-independence situation in Nigeria rightly remarked, "the organization of power in Nigeria for the creation of political stability, whether for democratic or non-democratic purposes, is extremely weak'.

Economic and social factors account for some of the friction between the largely Moslem North and the largely Christian South. The lack of a consensus over societal values, including a division over religion, is also a major source of the frequent religious conflicts in Nigeria as exemplified in the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria which, despite years of political domination of the country, continues to lag far behind the South in terms of economic and social development. The North is far poorer than the South. Per capita income in the North is less than half of that of the South where, until recently, economic progress had created a
rapidly mobile middle class. Some of the educated Southerners have migrated to the North for jobs and commercial enterprise. Most of these Christian emigrants in the North have been largely successful financially as their education has given them an advantage over their Northern Moslem brothers. There are vast economic opportunities in the North. But the Northerners are ill equipped to take advantage of these opportunities because they lack access to education. They are simply unable to compete with the better educated Southerners who dominate commerce in the region. The Northern Moslems resent this development for which they blame, not only their own selfish leaders, but Christians who have lived with them for generations as well. Even without religious differences, this situation of economic inequality was bound to generate some hostility against Southerners living in the North. The grievances of the Boko Haram insurgents range from religious and cultural differences with the South to their inability to take advantage of the economic opportunities available in the North. Over time, they have seen how their hopes for a better society and living conditions have failed to materialize.

The progressive breakdown of the old and powerful Emirates has also created an opportunity for these insurgents to challenge the old traditional authority in the North. The old emirates no longer have any power of coercion and rely on state security forces for the maintenance of law and order in their domain. Over time, they have also lost the moral authority that they enjoyed in pre-colonial times. Even though the process of modernization has been slower in the North, the hold of the Emirates on political and economic power has declined significantly. They have lost their political stranglehold on the people. Recently, there have been physical attacks by the sect on some of the Emirs. The insurgents want a return to the old values of a society governed under Islamic laws. They want to establish theocracies in the North as they believe that
this would provide them with equal opportunities for social and economic development. They believe it will end the corruption of their own Northern leaders and make the Northern ruling class more accountable to the talakawa, the poor. Their vision is that of a strict Islamic society in which their basic needs would be met by the state. This is the religious nexus binding the insurgents to one another. The widespread poverty in the North has provided the Boko Haram insurgents with a formidable instrument for seeking the overthrow of the existing order in the North. This order has not served the people well.

When the Boko haram insurgency first came to light in 2009, it was a weak, poorly organized, and inchoate movement. Since then, it has been transformed into a powerful organization posing a serious threat to the nation with an impressive strategic strike capability. This transformation has been made possible by a more determined, better educated, and committed leadership. Some of the leaders of the insurgency have University education which accounts for their vastly improved organization. They are familiar with the terrain in which they operate and have wide social connections in the region. In addition, there is some evidence of both local and external support in terms of funding and training for the insurgents. Some senior government leaders and politicians in the North are under investigation for giving the insurgents financial and logistical support in their operations. The full extent of such collaboration by a few of the leaders in the North is not known. But there is little doubt that some Northern leaders secretly support the insurgents for political reasons. These leaders want political power at the centre to return to the North.

The skills of the insurgents in producing lethal home based bombs, and other weapons of mass destruction used in the massive suicide bombings of their targets indicate some external support as well for the sect. One of the fallouts of the Libyan war is the proliferation of
arms in the Sahel, some of which have found their way into Nigeria and other states in West Africa. The recent attacks on Mali were facilitated by the easy access of the insurgents to some of the weapons from the Libyan war. The insurgents do not seriously appear to lack access to arms and ammunitions or to considerable financial and logistical support. The open terrain in the North and the wide dispersal of the local communities are conducive to the type of insurgency being waged by Boko Haram in the region. There is some evidence that the insurgents enjoy the support of some law enforcement and security agents. This accounts for their good intelligence which keeps them a step ahead of the security forces. The Churches, main targets of their attacks, are clearly visible and, in view of their large number, cannot be fully protected by the security forces, already overstretched by the security challenges they now face.

Some of the leaders of the insurgents are believed to have received their military training in the use of arms in Pakistan and the Yemen. Certainly, the insurgents have received considerable financial and logistical support from Al Qaeda, the formidable terrorist group based in Pakistan and the Yemen. Mutallab, the University educated, well bred young man, involved in the attempted bombing of a US bound plane is a good example young educated Northerners who have turned their back on the Northern establishment into which they were born, but from which they have become totally alienated as a result of the social and economic inequalities in the region, far exceeding those in the South where education provides the basis for social and economic advancement, including access to job opportunities. These young educated Northerners despise their Northern leaders for the widespread corruption in the country, including the North. They have a vision of a society based the Sharia, the Islamic legal doctrines. Boko Haram is also able to recruit easily from the ranks of the poor, the
talakawa, who abound in the North. The talakawa have nothing to lose by joining the insurgency which promises them a better life and equal economic opportunities. It is from this group of the poor that Boko Haram has continued to receive its local support.

**Types of Insurgencies**

There are various types of insurgencies ranging from the local, confined to a particular state, or part of its territory, to those that are extra territorial. Some, like the insurgencies in the old Sudan, Somalia, and Rwanda, are political in nature. The insurgents seek the overthrow of the established authorities for political reasons. In most cases, this type of insurgency is tribally or ethnically based. It is a product of a colonial legacy in which different tribes and ethnic groups were brought together under colonial rule. Colonial rule created new states by bringing under foreign rule tribes that were culturally different and diverse.

Boko Haram, at the moment is not known to be operating outside Nigeria. It is local in origin and outlook, with a single specific objective; the destruction of the old established order and its replacement by a new order based on Islamic laws and strict Islamic doctrines. It exemplifies the first type of insurgency as it is limited, at the moment to the Northern part of Nigeria. Al Qaeda, the fundamentalist Islamic movement, based in Pakistan, but with tentacles all over the Arab world is an example of an insurgency whose operations and activities cut across the entire Moslem world. Nigeria is a multi-religious country. The country's constitution guarantees to all its citizens the freedom of association and freedom to practice their religion. Boko Haram is opposed to this. Where the North is concerned it wants the creation of Islamic states. This is why Churches and the Christians are the main focus of its attacks. The insurgents resent the rather spread of Christianity in the North. They want the Hausa- Fulani North to be wholly Moslem, to be
governed strictly according to Islamic laws. The problem is that it is not only the immigrants from the South that are Christians. There are large numbers of the Hausa-Fulani who, over the years, have converted to Christianity. The new generation evangelical Churches in the North have achieved remarkable success in extending Christianity to the largely Moslem North. The fundamentalist Moslems in the North feel beleaguered and insecure by this development which they fear threatens their way of life.

**Possible Effective Response Strategy to the Insurgency**

So far, the Nigerian security forces have failed to effectively tackle the Boko Haram terrorists. They have stepped up their activities and operations in the North. The authorities have attempted without much success to counter Boko Haram by the application of military force. While they say they are open to dialogue with the terrorist group, neither side is willing to initiate, or enter into such dialogue. At the moment, there is very little room for maneuver on either side of the dispute. The issues involved in the insurgency are so fundamental that any negotiations at this point in time are unlikely to succeed. There is a distinct lack of trust on either side. The group has persistently ignored the pleas of the Northern leaders to abandon their terrorist acts and operations. Instead, Boko Haram has intensified and widened its insurgency. There is a complete deadlock between the two sides. What is likely to happen is that the insurgency will gradually run out of steam and external support. This will make it easier for the Nigerian state to manage and contain the conflict.

The federal authorities need to be more proactive in tackling Boko Haram. A sustained programme of public enlightenment on the danger to the state of Boko Haram should be started. This should be complemented by a more sustained and determined effort by the
federal government as well as the Northern governments to invest more in providing easy access to education and jobs in the North.

The security forces will need to do much better in intelligence gathering to pre-empt terrorist attacks by Boko Haram. A greater infiltration of the sect by the security forces for intelligence gathering is also called. In this regard the federal authorities are looking for international support and assistance in intelligence gathering and equipment. The US government has been reported as being willing to offer some assistance on this. The US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, was reported as making this offer during her recent official visit to Nigeria. Britain and other western countries will also be disposed to offer similar assistance.

It is doubtful whether the Nigerian state has the capacity to neutralize the insurgent groups. Ethnic and religious divisions compound the security problems of the Nigerian state. Poor police and army intelligence makes it far too easy for Boko Haram agents to operate in the North. But it has to be admitted that there is also some support in the North for the principal aim of the sect, which is to make most of the North theocratic, instead of being secular.

It will also be necessary to take practical and effective measures to cut off the local and foreign financial and logistical support for the insurgency. The CBN and the local banks have a huge responsibility in this regard. Without funding and logistical support Boko Haram will lose local support and become less effective.
Preamble

Insurgency in Nigeria is as old as the country and stems from the character of the Nigerian state which cannot be dissociated from the role the colonialists played in the creation of the country. Before the intrusion of the British into what is now known as Nigeria, the various ethnic and cultural groups that make up the country existed as autonomous political entities. Successive post-independence regimes failed to initiate far-reaching policy measures to coalesce ethnic differences into positive ventures that could create a pan Nigerian identity. Instead, most of the policies undertaken were rather aimed at suppressing ethnic consciousness and minimize the challenge it poses to the legitimacy of the state. The result of this is the heightened hegemonic contest for power at the centre by the ethnic groups that make up Nigeria.

These varied organizations that are referred to as ethnic militias have different histories and goals. Their objectives range from the motive of drawing attention to the perceived marginalization of their ethnic group, or serving as pressure groups to influence the structure of power to redress perceptions of marginalization of their group. For instance, the Odua People's Congress (OPC)
reigned supreme in the south-west state of Lagos and predates the return to democracy in 1999. But it became more visible thereafter in their quest for a repositioned Yoruba nation in the politics of Nigeria.

The Odua People's Congress OPC

The colonial policy of divide and rule employed to strengthen European control and dominance was significant and affected politics and ethnic relations, characterized by discord and unhealthy competition among the ethnic groups in Nigeria. These ethnic relations were at times expressed in violent forms as the example of the 1953 Kano riots clearly showed. The riot was a result of some value judgement stemming from perceived mistreatment of northern delegates by the southerners in Lagos for opposing the 1953 motion moved at the Federal House of Representatives for independence in 1956.

Apart from the 1953 violent eruption that occurred in Kano, there has been an avalanche of violent ethnic eruptions in Nigeria. They include the 1981 bloodshed in Numan, the 1987 mass killing in Kafanchan and other parts of southern Zaria, the 1990 clashes in Wukari and Takun, the 1991 massacre in Tafawa Belawa and the mass killing in Kano city, the 1992 Zango–Kataf bloodshed, the 1993 Andoni and Ogoni bloodbath, the intermittent Warri crises between the Ijaws, Itsekiri and Urhobo, the clashes between the Hausas and Yoruba in Sagamu, Lagos, Ilorin and Ibadan, the Nasarawa crises involving the Tiv and other ethnic groups in that state, the Yelwa-Shendam and Jos clashes in Plateau state among many others.

The birth of OPC on 24 August, 1994 was somewhat connected with a feeling of alienation which many members of the Yoruba group had been experiencing since 1954, when they were side-lined from
the mainstream of Nigerian politics. And with the annulment of the June 12 1993 presidential election, the desire to resist further marginalization of the Yoruba inspired Dr. Fredrick Fashehun to form the OPC. The persecution and clamp-down on Yoruba intellectuals and activists by the Abacha regime and the eventual death of Chief M.K.O. Abiola in detention strengthened the case of the Yoruba's for self-determination and attracted more and more of their kinsmen into the organization.

By March of 1999, the OPC had opened about 2,786 branches in different parts of Yoruba-land, and large numbers of people were claimed to have become members, with claims sometimes going as high as 3 million people. Its membership was open to everybody who is Yoruba by origin. Members are given identification cards, they also identify one another through sign language and the representation of certain wild animals or insects designed or inscribed on their upper arm. Members were made to swear an oath that enjoins them to work for the progress of Yoruba-land at all times and to keep the secrets of the congress.

The OPC adopted the effigy of Oduduwa, the progenitor of the Yoruba people, as its symbol. This effigy is printed on the tee-shirt commonly worn by OPC members. The motto of the Congress is “TIWA NI” which means “It's our own”. The slogan of OPC is “Ooduani mi tokantokan, Ooduani mi tokantara” meaning “I am the personification of Oduduwa body and soul”. The OPC anthem, which comments on the marginalisation of the Yoruba and expresses their desire to chart a new course, runs as follows:

“Ile ya, ileya o, Omo Oodua, ileya, Ti akoba mo ibi anre, njeko ye kapada sile Ejawo lapon tiyo, ka lo gbomi ila kana. Ile ya, ileya o, Omo Oodua ileya”.

“Home beckons, children of Oduduwa Heed the call for a return, If we do not know where we are going, Shouldn't 'we return home? Leave the Apon soup that
Activities of OPC

The activities of the OPC generated serious concern in the country in September 1998 when they called for a boycott of the local government elections scheduled for December of that year, believing that a return to democracy should be preceded by the restructuring of the federation. The hard-line brought its members into direct confrontation with the police that claimed the lives of over 200 policemen and many more members of the congress.

They were involved in the ethnic clash that occurred in Sagamu on 17 July, 1999. The skirmish was precipitated by the death of a Hausa woman who was said to have flouted the order restricting women from coming out of their homes during specific hours of the night during the annual Oro festival. And over 50 people were reported to have died. A reprisal attack was carried out in Kano on 22 July 1999 and over 100 lives were lost. But the governors of Ogun and Kano states held several meetings to reconcile the Hausa and Yoruba communities in their states before peace was restored.

Another important event shaped the image of OPC publicly as an organization differently seen as either benevolent or dangerous, was the abduction and murder of Mr. Sunday Afolabi, the Divisional police Officer (DPO) for Bariga by suspected members of OPC on 9 January 2000. This incident prompted President Olusegun Obasanjo to impose a blanket ban on all ethnic militias in the country, and he also threatened to impose a state of emergency on Lagos State if Governor Bola Tinubu failed to flush out the OPC from the state. The then Inspector General of police, Musiliu Smith, placed a reward of N100,000 on the head of Gani Adams, the factional leader of the OPC.

But before then its founder, Dr. Fashehun was incarcerated in 1996
by General Sani Abacha and was not released until the death of General Abacha in 1998. The continued repression of the OPC and its leader may actually be one of the reasons why violence became one of the OPC's major modes of expression. Symptomatically, some of the first clashes involving the OPC, which occurred during the first stages of the democratic transition, were against the Nigeria Police Force. The confrontations were said to have claimed hundreds of lives on both sides. But repression may not be the sole reason for the rise of OPC violence, which took many forms after 1999.

The Fashehun and Gani Adams Factions

Two changes coincided and it brought a violent agenda to the fore: the emergence of a new radical OPC faction, led by Gani Adams, and the partial conversion of the movement to vigilantism. The OPC broke up into two factions at the beginning of 1999. Below are some possible causes.

i. A reciprocal accusation concerns the alleged political connections established by each of the leaders independently. Fashehun was blamed for having supported Olu Falae, one of the two Yoruba candidates for the presidential election, while Fashehun accused Gani Adams of being the puppet of another populist Yoruba leader, Gani Fawehinmi.

ii. Another account suggested that Fashehun was approached by a mysterious 'Lady Bee' on behalf of elected President Olusegun Obasanjo and promised money in order to temper the claims of the movement.

iii. The militarisation of the movement was reported as one alternative or possible element of contention between the two leaders. Whatever the true cause of the split, some features clearly differentiated the two OPC leaders. Gani
Adams was much younger than Fashehun and the flag bearer of a generation which was largely denied the chance of pursuing a long education. He was trained as a carpenter. His discourse toward the newly introduced democratic regime was also much more radical than Fashehun a medical doctor approaching 70 years of age then and running a clinic and a high-standard hotel in Lagos. Fashehun seemingly considered that volatile OPC youths should remain under the control of educated leaders.

**Membership Drive**

Those who were members of the OPC before the break-up were not necessarily greatly affected by the new situation. Grassroots members followed whoever recruited them. Interestingly, this highlights the role that patron-client ties played in the process of mobilization. The fractionalization however multiplied the possibility offered to so called 'bad eggs' within the movement (those who committed criminal offences by using the 'powers' they gained through their OPC membership) to 'shop' for the most rewarding affiliation. It also lowered the opportunity cost to 'miscreants' of being expelled from one faction and may have increased their feelings of impunity if they committed criminal offences.

**Mode of Operation**

OPC's reliance on magical techniques and beliefs, deeply entrenched in Yoruba society gave them a substantial comparative advantage in advancing their ideology. When recruited, new OPC members take an oath which they believe makes them bullet-proof and compels them not to commit any criminal offence. They believe that, through progressive learning of the use of juju, neither
cutlasses nor acid can hurt them. They believed that higher-profile OPC members have the ability temporarily to frighten their enemies simply by looking at them and that a thrown egg can transform itself into a bomb. Apart from increasing self-confidence among members, these techniques ensure cohesiveness within the group, as violating the oath may have very serious consequences for the culprit. Simultaneously, these claims provoke fear in OPC's potential enemies and give the OPC credibility within the population they serve. This magical equipment is often complemented by more 'classical' weaponry: some OPC members carry guns, locally produced, smuggled or stolen from police stores. Retired policemen or soldiers offer them training sessions in 'self-defence', 'in the bush in some instances.

The fractionalisation in their ranks brought about a shift of focus. Political patronage resulted in new potentials for tension and arises in economic opportunities. By being popular among young people and inspiring fear among local communities, the OPC became the perfect mobilising tool for local politics. Instances of the manipulation of the OPC for political purposes were observed at several levels. This is neither particularly recent nor exceptional in the Nigerian political landscape, where youths have regularly been used as a strong tool for rallying electoral troops.

**Conclusion**

As an armed, organised, ethnically based mass movement demanding self-determination, the OPC represented a threat to Nigerian national unity just like the BOKO HARAM insurgents. However, the genealogy and evolution of the OPC movement differs from what is obtainable in the country now. The OPC emerged out of combat against the fiercest military dictatorship in Nigeria's post-colonial history. Its initial violent manifestations
were targeted against the forces of the regime, but later opting for ethnic struggle, claiming Awolowo's pro-poor, pro-Yoruba ideological legacy. Their activities were checkmated by a blend of force and diplomacy. But eventually ethnic appeal was the decider.

We must however not lose sight of some factors such as lack of proper funding, use of sophisticated firearms as one of the limitations of the OPC. The OPC in the absence of any external source of finance, sourced for day-to-day economic opportunities for its followers.

Times have changed and likewise the agitations and mode of operation of insurgents in the country. Dialogue and ethnic appeal still remains vital tools in reaching a truce with emerging insurgent groups in the country.
Preamble

I must begin by congratulating the organizers of this all-important Meeting on an issue on which the survival of the Nigerian Federation largely depends. But I am aware that series of discussions and commissioned reports have been organized in the past, and that Government is in possession of their outcome. I am also aware that information such as are being anticipated from this Meeting are also available to Government from its various security agencies and departments.

What, therefore, may be expected at this Meeting is to exchange notes with Government in pursuit of the Way Forward in dealing with a problem whose recent manifestations appear to be intractable. As a person, I do not have any privileged information on the subject matter beyond what is available in popular and social media, research reports and publications.

*Background to the Security Challenges in Nigeria.*

*Nigeria, a Multi-ethnic, Multi-cultural and Multi-religious society.*

The present security challenges facing Nigeria are rooted in the
history and character of the Nigerian Federation. Nigeria is a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious society consisting of over 250 separate ethnic groups. These groups existed as separate entities or nationalities before the British brought them together and finally united them into one political entity in the 1914 Amalgamation.

*The British created a crisis-ridden Federation.*

The processes, character and conditions of the Amalgamation, as well as the motive were entirely the making of the British to serve British colonial interest. The structure of the Federation and the political process put in place for the management of the affairs of the Federation were designed to control and subdue the area in order to promote British political and economic interests.

A former British colonial officer, Mr. Harold Smith, has openly admitted the deliberate distortion in the formation of the Nigerian Federation just to promote colonial interest. In order to contend with the rising tide of anti-colonial struggles and to be able to maintain influence in the area, were she to surrender to the demand for freedom of the territory, the British adopted a divide-and-rule strategy. By this strategy, an inequitable federal structure was put in place, making the less militant region (i.e. the Northern part dominated by the Hausa-Fulani) to predominate over the rest. The British also manipulated the structure to ensure that the same section had control of political power on independence.

Through such a policy of divide-and-rule and the political structures on the ground, co-operation between the various groups, especially between the major ethnic groups, became impossible. Mutual suspicion and acrimony especially among the major ethnic groups, dominated the affairs of the Federation, progressively Nigerian nationalism took the back stage in favor of ethnicism.

The psychology and reality of political and economic domination
has further heightened the instability of the Nigerian federal system. While the North has been apprehensive of the more socially and economically advanced South, the South feared the domination of the North on account of its size and British support. Indeed, the British deliberately created the deeply embedded disharmony and instability which is at the root of our current insecurity problems.

According to Dr Duruji

*The colonial policy of divide and rule employed to strengthen European control and dominance was significant and affected politics and ethnic relations, characterized by discord and unhealthy competition among the ethnic groups in Nigeria...). These ethnic relations were at times expressed in violent forms as the example of the 1953 Kano riots clearly showed (Duruji 2010 p.67)*

**The Nigerian Military as a regional army and an instrument of hegemony**

The state of instability of the federal system created by the British was made worse by the incursion of the Nigeria military into governance. For over 30 years, the Nigerian military dominated the political stage, imposed a reign of tyranny, abuse of human rights and the worst form of corruption in the society. Under the military, Nigeria was ranked second most corrupt nation in the world and became a pariah nation.

Rather than promote a nationalistic agenda, the Nigerian military fostered ethnic and selfish agenda, thereby fuelling mutual suspicion and rancor in the society. The command structure of the military style of governance made nonsense of the idea of a federation, and turned Nigerian into a unitary state. The resultant political order made it easy for manipulation by those who hold the
reins of power. Thus the possible transmutation in the character of the federation was its elevation as a Federal System according the whims and caprices of a colonial and regional army.

**Politics in a Multi-ethnic Society**

Politics, they say, is a struggle not among individuals, but among social forces. In a multi-ethnic society, the most potent social forces are ethnic forces. Moderation of political struggles in any society is a function of the structure and rules of the system, especially the fundamental rules, otherwise called the grund-norm or Constitution.

Where there is a faulty political structure or inadequate constitutional order, what we have is a state of instability and crises, because both the structure and the rules cannot guarantee the objective for entering into a political association. This may include rebellion, feeling of insecurity and even total rejection by the aggrieved forces who may attempt to opt out of the political system.

In the case of Nigeria, the Northern part was not very keen of being part of the Federation up to independence; the North also wanted to secede following the coup of January 1966. The East did declare secession in 1967. The Yoruba wanted to secede following the annulment of the June 1993 Election. Isaac Boro did declare a Niger Delta Republic, etc. All these and many more like them result from acute feeling of injustice, insecurity, domination, marginalization, etc.

Reaction to a state of insecurity is often manifested in a state of war especially when political solutions are no possible. War and violence take over where healthy politics fails; hence General Carl Von Clausewitz wrote that..

> War is a continuation of politics by other means

*Security crises as a world-wide phenomenon.*
It is wrong to assume that Security challenges are a peculiar Nigerian phenomenon. Today many parts of the world in all the five continents are facing varying degrees of insecurity and instability. However, each country has to solve its own peculiar security problems. At times, by the nature of the origins and dimensions of insecurity in one country, international action and co-operation may become imperative.

**The Nature of Insurgency and Insurgent Groups**

**On the Notion of Insurgency**

Insurgency has been defined as:

> an armed rebellion against a constituted authority (for example, an authority recognized as such by the United Nations) when those taking part in the rebellion are not recognized as belligerents. Wikipedia, Free Encyclopedia.

Thus, not all rebellions are insurgencies because there have been several cases of non-violent rebellions, using civil resistance. Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent political resistance against British colonialism in India as well as the Civil Rights Movement of Dr Martin Luther King Jr. in America, are classical cases of non-violent rebellions. Dr Kwame Nkrumah's Movement of Positive Action against British colonialism in Ghana is often cited as a non-violent resistance or rebellion. By the above definition none of those three political movements can be described as an insurgency.

However, there are those who describe political movements which challenge the legitimacy of a regime or an authority as an insurgency. When that is the case, it merely stresses the fact that the rebellion is not acceptable or is illegitimate from the perspective of the regime. On the other hand, the rebels describe the regime they are opposed to as also illegitimate.
Insurgency as a Dialectical Notion.

Thus, insurgency when used in the later sense is said to have a dialectical meaning. It merely refers to a case of counter-claims between a regime and those opposed to it as to the legality or illegality of each other. Thus,

*When insurgency is used to describe a movement's unlawfulness by virtue of not being authorized by or in accordance with the law of the land, its use is neutral. However, when it is used by a state or another authority under threat, "insurgency" often also carries an implication that the rebels' cause is illegitimate, whereas those rising up will see the authority itself as being illegitimate.* Wikipedia, Free Encyclopedia.

The use of insurgency in defining a movement cannot be neutral as far as the use of force is concerned. It is either categorically an insurgency in which use of arms and violence are involved or it is not an insurgency. When no arms are involved and it is used in the dialectical or many-sided sense to describe a movement, then it is puts the regime responding under such circumstances on the dock. Such reactions arouse public sympathy for the movement especially when it is rising against obvious injustices and failure of governance. Thus, the regime rather promotes the cause it is trying to destroy.

This situation is better illustrated by the story of a friend of mine who beat his wife. And when I confronted him on the matter and expressed my disapproval of what he did, he said to me: -

*Uzo, it is not that she was not right. I was protesting against her manner of protest.*

I told my friend that he over-reacted; that his own protest should have taken a non-violent approach; that dialogue was what was required to deal with his wife's manner of protest in so far as it was
not violent.

Thus, opposition to a regime, no matter its character or intensity, describes a political situation. Attitude to it should reflect the nature of the opposition.

For our purpose, it is more appropriate to regard movements that use the instrumentality of violence to make their point as insurgency. Those that use non-violent method cannot be equated with them. To do so involves not only category mistake but political confusion which makes it difficult to apply the correct political response and therefore counter-productive.

**What are the aims of an insurgency?**

An insurgency is a political movement with specific objective, a political goal such as:

i. Rejection of an existing authority, which appears to it to be illegitimate, an imposition, an illegality, and seeking to have it changed, without at the same time opting out of the political unit. Rejection of an existing authority (i.e., rebellion) ends once the regime is changed.

ii. Rejection of the Methods of an existing authority and seeking to have it change its character of disposition. Rebellion ends once the regime changes its offence character/policy.

iii. Rejecting of an existing authority and seeking to opt out its territory and establishing a new one. Rebellion ends once the separation or secession is accomplished.

Whether insurgency involves secession or not its goal is to weaken or undermine the existing authority and make it incapable of achieving its governing the territory.
According to Roseau,

*a British Secret Intelligence Service defines insurgency as "a generalized intention to ....overthrow or undermine parliamentary democracy by political, industrial or violent means.”*

Thus,

“While insurgents do not necessarily use terror, it is hard to imagine any insurgency meeting its goals without undermining aspects of the legitimacy or power of the government or faction it opposes....To the Communist government of Poland, Solidarity appeared subversive but not violent.

**Conditions that Create Insurgency.**

Some of the factors that give rise to and promote insurgency and other forms of security challenges include;

I. Injustice such as denial of rights, inequity, persecution, discrimination, marginalization, etc

ii. Illegitimacy of the regime when it comes to power through seizure of power, electoral fraud, tyranny and abuse of power and denial of human rights, corruption, etc

iii. Longing for freedom and self-determination.

When a people regard a regime is illegitimate, they long for freedom and fight to win that freedom.

iv. Poverty especially when the regime is deemed to be weak and incompetent and incapable to protect the poor masses in the midst of plenty.

v. Weakness of Government.

vi. Ideological (religious, ethnic and political factors) influences,
vii. The militarization of the society due to long reign of the military as well as the proliferation of insurgency and terrorism in contemporary times are also contributory factors which cannot be ignored.

Duruji has observed that,

*The lack of employment opportunities for the ever teeming school leavers and the increasing circulation of small arms and light weapons in the country were also cited as the factors responsible for the phenomenon of ethnic militias in Nigeria.*

Furthermore, he observes that,

*The perverse Nigerian federalism which is supposed to accommodate the country's diversity has been cited by some scholars as the factor behind the rise of ethnic militias (Duruji 2010, p.39)*

“explanations of the literature on the rise of ethnic militias in Nigeria have come under two broad perspectives. One perspective views the development from the angle of militarization of the state by repressive government while the other perspective sees it from a materialistic point of view borne out of economic frustrations.

The state militarization perspective contends that ethnic militias are logical outcome of the increased militarization of the state, especially during those many years of military dominance of politics in the country.” (Duruji 2010)

**Tactics/Methods of Insurgent groups**

There are varieties of tactics and methods used by insurgent
groups. Robert R. Tomes had identified the following four elements:

i. cell-networks that maintain secrecy,

ii. terrorism used to foster insecurity among the population and drive them to the insurgents for protection,

iii. multifaceted attempts to cultivate support in the general population, often by undermining the new regime;

iv. attacks against the government,

v. Massive propaganda, etc.

*Insurgents, the Government and the People.*

The success of an insurgency depends largely on the acceptance/support or non-acceptance/lack of support by the people. It is for this reason that insurgent groups as well as non-insurgent ones seek the support of the people as a matter of political and organizational strategy.

No opposition or rebellion lacking the support of the people can survive; at best it will be treated as a nuisance. It was Mao who said that the revolutionary is like fish in water; the people form the water in which he moves around, swims and thrives. Without the (support) of the people, the revolutionary is like fish out of water and any ordinary person, even a child can pick it up. The revolutionary is like the man engaged in a struggle against a regime, who leads struggles in defense of the interests of the people. If he does not have the support of the people, he will be easily vanquished.

It is, therefore, important to understand the extent to which the insurgent movement or rebel group enjoys the support of the people it claims to represent.
Varieties of methods are used by insurgent groups to win the people on their side.

i. terrorism or other forms of force meant to strike fear in the people,

ii. Subversive activities to render the programme and actions of the Government ineffectual; and thus show the Government as weak and incapable of defending the people.

iii. Education, propaganda and other forms of mass mobilization to win the people to their cause.

iv. Recruitment among the people

v. It may take the form of violent coercion to force the people to support the rebels, etc.

The method they use determines the extent the people support them or merely tolerate them out of fear. In responding to the activities of insurgent organizations or even opposition groups, it is important to know the extent to which they and the people, the masses, are working in tandem.

It is tactically wrong to fight the people and the insurgents at the same time.

**Combating Insurgency**

This will depend on a number of factors

i. The nature of the insurgent group,

i. The factors that gave rise to the emergence of the insurgent group

ii. The methods of the insurgent group

iii. The spread of the insurgent group
iv. The extent of external factors or international support.

The MASSOB Experience

What is MASSOB?

MASSOB means Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra. It has been described as “a non-violent Civil Rights Movement whose goal is the actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra through non-violent means”. According its founder, Chief Ralph Uwazurike, as well as its stated philosophy, MASSOB “adopts and follows the philosophy and practice of Mahatma Gandhi of India and Rev Martin Luther King Jr. of the United States Civil Rights Movement.

The Movement has stated quite categorically that its members do not carry any weapons or engage in any violence. Rather it mobilizes the people of Biafra through persuasion and education.

According to its official website, MASSOB states its objectives and method of struggle as follows:

i. “The understanding that MASSOB and the Biafra Movement is a Non-Violent Movement with the main goal of achieving self-determination.

ii. Using the internet to distribute information about the torture and inhumane treatment of MASSOB members and their families by the Nigerian Government.

iii. Using technology to chronicle the Non-Violent struggle for self-determination efforts of MASSOB and the People of Biafra.

iv. Using Media and Community outreach to show the systematic injustice meted out to the People of Biafra.

v. Providing an online community for MASSOB members,
People of Biafra and the world that facilitates interaction and knowledge transfer.”

MASSOB can be rightly described as a secessionist movement to achieve the same goal as the Igbos pursued under Emeka Ojukwu by the declaration of the Sovereign State of Biafra in 1967.

The Origins of MASSOB

Formation of MASSOB

The formation of MASSOB took place on 13th of September 1999 under the leadership of a young Indian-trained lawyer in Lagos, Mr Ralph Uwazurike. Following this, on 1st November, 1999, Uwazurike dispatched a document to the United Nations office in New York, with the title 'Biafra Bill of Rights.'

In the Biafra Bill of Rights, it is stated:

“We, the people of Biafra, namely: Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo, Cross River, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa and Delta States numbering about 40 million and being one of the major tribes in Nigeria and two of the geopolitical zones within the Federal Republic of Nigeria, hereby seek the actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra on the following grounds:

i. That Biafra (Igbo) before the advent of British colonialism was a distinct race east of the Niger.

ii. That it was for the administrative convenience of the British colonial masters that Biafra (South-East and South-South) were merged with other provinces to give rise to the Federation of Nigeria, on January 1st 1914.

iii. That the hostility of Nigeria towards Biafra brought about the civil war of 1967–1970, in which about 2000000 lives were lost.
iv. That the death of Biafra (Igbo) in the said war brought the Igbo back to Nigeria against their will.

v. That consequent upon their defeat in the said war, the Igbo are regarded as enemies and treated as slaves among other nationalities in Nigeria.22

“The document went on to cite instances of Nigerian citizens of Igbo extraction being killed, injured or generally maltreated by Hausa-Fulani Muslims, the dominant ethnic group in the northern part of the country, where Igbo merchants live in large numbers. The Biafra Bill of Rights also stated that Igbo university graduates were being discriminated against by the federal government in employment and that as a consequence 'Nigeria' was not conducive to the achievement by 'Biafrans' of their ideals and aspirations.

The bill went on to make a six-point demand on the 'government and people of Nigeria as follows: -

i. That instruments be put in motion for the self-determination of Biafra (Igbo), without violence.

ii. That further lifting of oil be stopped in the Biafra areas of South East and South-South States.

iii. That all the monies belonging to Biafrans (Igbos) in the banks immediately after the civil war be paid without any further delay.

iv. That all the abandoned properties belonging to Biafrans (Igbos) before the war be released.

v. That the life and properties of Biafrans (Igbos) be protected during and after the period of their self-determination.

vi. That all toll gates mounted on all erosion-devastated roads across Biafra (Igbo) land be dismantled without further delay.
According to Ike Okonta,

*The Biafra Bill of Rights, drafted by Uwazurike, was the culmination of several meetings of Igbo young men, drawn largely from the Lagos commercial class, he had convened in his Lagos home shortly after Olusegun Obasanjo took office as president in May 1999 on the platform of the PDP. These meetings subsequently gave birth to MASSOB, an ethnic militia advocating secession, with Uwazurike as its 'leader' in September of that year. (Ike Okonta Biafran Ghosts The MASSOB Ethnic Militia and Nigeria's Democratisation Process. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala 2012)*

The Biafra Bill of Rights is said to derive some impetus from the Ogoni Bill of Rights which Ken Saro Wiwa, in 1990 presented to the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, though it did advocate separation from the republic.

In describing what he refers to as civic origins of MASSOB, Ike Okonta writes

*A key consequence of the economic slump, military dictatorship and Babangida's polarizing policies in the 1980s and early 1990s was the retreat of Nigerians into ethnic, religious and other associations of primary identity. Lagos in particular witnessed feverish Pentecostal revivalism and the re-emergence of ethnic associations and sundry kinship-based self-help groups during this period. Uwazurike was chair of the Lagos branch of the Igbo Council of Chiefs, a countrywide network of diaspora Igbo merchants that emerged in the twilight of military rule and which sought to preserve 'traditional' culture in their new abodes. This organization was apolitical, and mainly concerned itself with such matters as the welfare of ethnic Igbo in large cities and towns outside their homeland, marriage*
and burial ceremonies of their members, and 'proper' observation of such landmark events in the Igbo cultural calendar as the new yam festival. The imminent end of military rule, however, caused some of these ethnic associations, including the Igbo Council of Chiefs, to begin to take an interest in politics.

**Conditions that gave rise to and continue to promote the cause MASSOB**

MASSO traces its origins and its foundation to the conditions of the Igbo in Nigeria and the circumstances in which it became part of the Nigerian Federation. In explaining what may be referred to as 'the Igbo predicament in Nigeria”, the MASSOB leadership chronicles series of background events in its MASSOB 2011: Chronicles of Brutality In Nigeria- Reports, viz;

i. **Argument deriving from events consequent upon the way the Federal Republic of Nigeria was created.**

The Amalgamation of Southern and Northern Nigeria was a British contraption to serve British interest, without consultation to ascertain the will of the people. Embedded in the structure created by the British were seeds of internal disharmony rather than unity.

The character and foundation of the Nigerian State; the manner in which the Igbos were forcefully brought into a Federation in which they are rejected, victimized and killed recklessly, has been a major argument of MASSOB to justify its existence.

MASSOB argues that this view is also the official view of Nigerian leaders. Thus the MASSOB Report recalls General Obasanjo's admonition of the British colonial Government stating, in his words that: -. 

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“the British Colonial Authorities created the Northern and Southern Protectorates without taking cognizance of the distinct cultural and linguistic differences of the various ethnic groupings and worse still, without any form of consultation with the people. They compromised opportunities for internally driven development, underdeveloped the society and negated structures of endogenously propelled state building.” (Punch April 27, 2005).

The MASSOB Report further recalls statements credited to two former British colonial officers, (first), Mr. Peter Smithers, Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of State and the Secretary of State in the Colonial Office (1952-1959) (who) while commenting on the amalgamation of Northern and southern Nigeria, states, “but in retrospect, it is clear that this was a grave mistake which has cost many lives and will probably continue to do so. It should have been better to establish smaller state in a free trade area” (The Guardian, London).

Another British colonial officer, Mr. Smith, argues MASSOB, has said essentially the same thing.

Deriving from the above, MASSOB wonders why “President Obasanjo will be killing Igbo people for saying essentially the same thing that he and former British colonial officers are saying”.

This is what is referred to as the National Question in the Nigerian context. The National Question has been defined as the tensions and contradictions of the Nigerian federalism and inter-group relations pivoting around issues of marginalization, domination, inequality and injustice in the distribution of resources, citizenship rights, representation and access to power and political
ii. \textit{Arguments deriving from the Igbo experiences and events in Nigeria before the civil war}

Since its formation, the Nigerian Federation has been crisis-ridden. The 1953 Kano Riot was one of the earliest sign-posts of a crisis-ridden Federation. Then followed election and census crises, the western Nigerian crisis followed by the January 15, 1966 military coup as well as the counter-coups of the same year.

iii. \textit{Events during the Civil War of 1967-70}

The MASSOB documents, MASSOB 2011: Chronicles of Brutality In Nigeria, contains graphic account of the worst cases of pogrom in human history, gory and chilling events, cases of torture, maiming and slaughtering of men, women and children including pregnant mothers; declaration of war against Biafra, blockage, the worst genocide in history since World War II, 'second only to the Jewish holocaust in its brutality, horror, inhumanity and brazen barbarity, use of starvation as a weapon of war, poisoning of food – the United States Senator, Charles Goodell, is said to have confirmed that the Nigerian Government poisoned food items such as milk, salt, powdered and evaporated milk, including baby milk, with arsenic and cyanide, genocidal bombings, etc, etc.

For all these, MASSOB states, there has been no sense of remorse, no restitution, no reparation, no trial of those who presided over these atrocities, etc. Most of those who presided over these atrocities, according to MASSOB have gone on to become Heads of State, dining and wining with leaders of the free world.

iv. \textit{Post-civil war situation of Ndigbo – intensification of Igbo predicament Nigeria}
The MASSOB Report goes on to state that the Igbos remained hunted and killed despite the so-called declaration 'of no victor, no vanquished' by the Nigerian Government at the end of the war. According to the document,

Between 1970 and 1980, the Igbo rebounded in most sectors of life despite Nigeria government policies that were designed to permanently relegate the Igbo economically, socially and politically to an inconsequential and ineffectual status in the Nigerian sociopolitical environment. Then Nigerians started attacking the Igbo in several cities in Northern and Western Nigeria and by 2006, several thousand Igbos had been killed in such attacks and their property and goods worth billions of dollars looted and burned by Nigerians. Not one person has ever been arrested, charged or punished for killing the Igbo in Northern and Western Nigeria.

The Report goes on to conclude that

*The Igbo who have been living under the illusions of being integrated into the Nigerian society became convinced that no matter that they do Nigeria has only one scheme for them, intimidation, marginalization, persecution, forced Islamitization, torture and eventual annihilation. These experiences of Ndigbo in Nigeria, according to the leadership of MASSOB, are the premise that gave rise to MASSOB.*

v. **Events since the formation of MASSOB**

The Report further chronicles the experiences of MASSOB since its formation as a non-violent and peaceful movement. Series of arrests, torture and killing of MASSOB members have been the order of the day. After narrating series of graphic incidents of the horrendous experiences and extra-judicial killing of the members of MASSOB, the Report
alleges discriminatory treatment of the movement. According to the document,

“The Igbo are shocked that while President Obasanjo is arresting, jailing, persecuting, torturing, and killing young non-violent Igbo members of MASSOB, he has left untouched an organization, Odua Youth Movement, in his native Yorubaland, which is campaigning for the establishment of a sovereign independent Yoruba Nation to be called Oduduwa Republic. He has also left unchallenged two Yoruba ethnic paramilitary militia, Oodua peoples Congress (OPC), which has recently united its factions and has been classified as a terrorist organization by the government of the United States, and another, Yoruba paramilitary ethnic militia, United Self Determination Platform of Oodua, (UEPO). These violent Yoruba ethnic militia have murdered hundreds of innocent civilians in Lagos and Western Nigeria, killed scores of policemen, confiscated their weapons and sacked numerous police stations. Yet, General Obasanjo has not unleashed the Nigerian Security agencies on them or charged them with levying war on the Nigeria government. Rather, leaders of these Yoruba ethnic militia have been given plum appointments by General Obasanjo in important Nigeria Federal Government agencies. The result is that these violent Yoruba ethnic militia now operate openly from Federal Government police Stations.

In a recent interview Uwazurike emphasized the continued injustice against the Igbo-speaking areas of Nigeria:

Look at our roads. Even, look at our youths, nobody listens to them. Every day we read about hundreds of youths from other places being sent abroad for higher education. What about Igbo youths....Must you be a militant or carry guns and start shooting people before...
you are included in the scheme of things? If you come to Nigeria, it is only the South East that has only five states and the least number of local governments. And when they share revenues, the North will go home with billions of naira and scanty amount of money will be given to our governors.

So, what do they want? They want us to start rioting before they begin to give us equal number of states and local governments? Is that what they want? You can't talk about peace without justice. (Vanguard Online July 22, 2012).

The point in examining these issues to emphasize the point that part of the reasons for the security crisis in Nigeria is failure to address the social and historical contradictions of the Federation; the past has been so horrible and bitter memories get compounded by the deeply embedded injustices of the system.

The Justice Oputa Panel Report was treated in the Nigerian fashion and it has been business as usual.

The MASSOB leaders, Mr. Uwazurike was arrested and imprisoned in 2005, “precisely when the Obasanjo Government, under pressure, convened a national Conference to address the grievances of the various ethnic groups in Nigeria” Ike Okonta BIAFRAN GHOSTS: The MASSOB Ethnic Militia and Nigeria's Democratisation Process, 2012.

**Philosophy and ideology of MASSOB**

According to MASSOB leadership,

*The Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) was found by the Igbo and*
other people of Eastern Nigeria. MASSOB is a non-violent Civil Rights Movement whose goal is the actualization of the sovereign State of Biafra through non-violent means. The movement adopts and follows the philosophy and practice of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. MASSOB has stated categorically that its members do not carry any weapons or engage in any violence. Rather, it mobilizes the people of Biafra through persuasion and education.

In his work, Ethnic Militias and Sub-nationalism in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of MASSOB and OPC, Duruji describes the stated motto of MASSOB as

'non violence, non-exodus' created out of the experience of the failed attempt in the 1960s to create Biafra which took violent dimension and caused untold hardship to the Biafrans particularly the Igbo who suffered most when violence escalated in the build up to the war (Onuegbu 2008). The pogrom ... occurred mostly in the Northern part of the country and displaced so many of Uwazurike called on the Igbos to turn their back on the fake democracy that denied them their fair share of the national cake.

It can be argued that the denial of the Presidency to Ekwueme, an Igbo man, through the conspiracy of the same military establishment, was similar in character to the denial of Abiola of the Presidency following the June 1993 Election. The same military went on to compensate the Yoruba ethnic nationality to which Abiola belonged, but ignored Ekwueme's ethnic nationality, the Igbos, up till today.

**Structure of MASSOB**

The Headquarters of MASSO is in Okwe Okigwe, the home of its leader. There it has the Freedom House, as the Governmental
Lodge.

At its formation, MASSOB created two arms of its government, namely,

i. Biafra Government in Exile'

ii. Biafra Shadow Government

The movement has a hierarchical order with a five tier structure at the national Shadow Government level consisting of National, Regional, Area, Provincial, District and Ward levels.

According to Duruji,

MASSOB has a closely knit hierarchical grass roots oriented organizational structure akin to shadow government. The structure of MASSOB organization consists of the national, regions, Areas, Provinces, Districts and Wards. The national is made up of the apex leadership comprising officers of MASSOB who host regular national meetings on monthly basis. Each state chapter takes turn to visit the Freedom headquarters of the group at Okwe near Okigwe in Imo state for these meetings. The next level of authority is the regions which is headed by the Regional administrator with complement of a cabinet organised like the normal government ministerial structure. The regions comprise at least ten areas (10 Areas) and the Areas headed by an Area Administrator who supervises at least twenty Provinces. In between them is the Chief Provincial Administrator or zonal officer who supervises ten Provisional officers. Under the province is the District. Ten districts make up a province and the districts are headed by district officers (Duruji 2010 pp.113-114)

The ministries are the functional administrative organs of the movement. There are such ministries like,

Information ministry, mobilization ministry, finance,
The names of the Ministries indicate their functions. For example, Education ministry is in charge of adult education for its non-literate members; welfare provides support for the needy members especially the families of those arrested or killed, providing lawyers, etc; information ministry is charge of publications and propaganda, etc.

The Biafra Government in Exile has been promoted by

i. its presence in the United nations,

ii. its foreign offices in London, Washington and other places which serve as its foreign embassies.


iv. The existence of powerful affiliates abroad such as Biafra Action Forum (BASF) and the Biafra International Forum (BIF), etc

Activities of MASSOB since its formation.

Since it formation, MASSOB has engaged in several bold strategies and tactics to press its case as the leading movement of the agitation
for Igbo self determinations. These include;

i. Petition to the presidency demanding negotiation for separate existence of the former Biafra enclave.

ii. Presentation of a Bill of Rights before the United Nations.

iii. Sensitization of the international community about the Biafra dream.


v. The declaration of the state of Biafra and hoisting of the flag in various places in Nigeria and New York in USA.

vi. Cooperation with other similar organizations in other parts of the country with similar goals.

vii. Organization of sensitization workshop and conferences.

viii. The circulation of Biafra currency and encouragement of the use of same for business transactions.

ix. The establishment of a communication outfit or radio house called Voice of Biafra with headquarters in the United States known as the embassy of Biafra.

x. The calling out of Igbo people in a civil protest in which they are urged to sit at home and close all commercial activities and offices on August 26, 2004. This call was obeyed by many Igbos in different parts of the country bringing commercial activities to a halt while it lasted.

xi. Mass protest in various Nigerian cities in 2005 in protest against the detention of MASSOB leader, Chief Uwazurike and other MASSOB members.

xii. The enforcement of rules on residents of states considered to be Igbo speaking states such as Imo, Abia, Anambra, Enugu and Ebonyi States. For instance, the enforcement of the
official price of fuel in filing stations in Igbo states and forceful seizure of fuel tankers passing through Igbo states in protest against non-supply of adequate petroleum products to Igbo states in 2001.

xiii. The pegging of house rents for tenants at the commercial city of Onitsha where house rent has become exorbitant. Landlords who failed to comply were abducted and thoroughly beaten.

xiv. Enforcement of sanitation laws on residents of commercial city of Onitsha with serious punitive measures for defaulters.

xv. The outlawing of the census exercise in many cities in Igbo states on the ground that these were Biafran territories and therefore should not be counted as Nigerians. Many young men and women involved in the exercise were seriously beaten. Many Igbos in other states who shared similar beliefs refused to be counted.

xvi. The taking over of security in the commercial city of Onitsha and settlement of disputes between warring groups in the state.

xvii. Resettlement at Okwe, MASSO Headquarters of Biafra war victims who have been neglected both by the Nigerian Government and the various Governments in the various states in Igbo-land.

xviii. Crusade against armed robbery in Igbo-land. Several cases of arrest of armed robbers and handing them to the police have been reported.

xix. Actions to prevent the extortionist tendencies of the Nigerian police. In other words MASSOB has been acting a vigilante in Igbo-land.
Is MASSOB an Insurgent Group?

By this definition of insurgency as stated above, our subject, i.e., MASSOB, does not appear to qualify as an insurgent group. It may be a rebellious group or an illegitimate group from the point of view of the state, but not an insurgent group as it does not rely on violence. It has been reported that one of the recent grounds for disagreement between Uwazurike and those opposed to him is on their demand for resort to arms to actualize Biafra. According to him, his rejection of the suggestion is because he gave the United Nations the pledge not to resort to violence.

If MASSOB is not an insurgent group, what is it? Duruji has classified MASSOB as an Ethnic Militia (Duruji, 2012 p.14), and defined ethnic militia as

*are organized violence-oriented groups populated by diverse elements, cutting across different age strata, but drawing membership exclusively from an ethnic group and established to promote and protect the interests of an ethnic group. Ethnic militias is an extreme form of ethnic agitation for self-determination and occurs when the ethnic group assumes militant posture. They serve as a social pressure group designed to influence the structure of power to the advantage of and call attention to the deteriorating material condition or political deprivation and perceived marginalization of their group or social environment.*

MASSOB defines itself as non-violent in the Gandhist mold. The movement continues to preach this gospel of non-violence. If we grant that it is not 'violent-oriented', we cannot argue that it is not “an extreme form of ethnic agitation for self-determination. In that case its militant posture can be seen as sheer radicalism; it appears to be radical in words, in the ideological statement of its mission.
and goals. It is radical in its challenge of the authority of the state.

In the light of the foregoing, MASSOB is a liberation movement, a movement for self-determination of the Igbos. In other words, MASSOB members are freedom fighters, employing the method of non-violence.

**MASSOB and the People.**

MASSOB claims it has the support of the people and that the Federal Government has lost the support of the people. According to Uwazurike,

> Now the entire population of Eastern Nigeria is now been
> fully mobilized for Biafran independence in according
> with the 4th stage of the struggle. The Nigeria
government, realizing that it has completely lost the
> support of the Igbo and other people of Eastern Nigeria,
> resorted to violence and extra judicial murder of
> members of MASSOB and other Igbo.

To booster this claim, MASSOB has challenged the Federal Government to agree to a Referendum in the Biafra territory on the question of its quest for autonomy.

> On August 26th, 2004 the group tested its popularity
> among the people of the former Biafra republic as it
> directed that every Igbo man should stay out of work. The
> sit-at-home order was widely adhered to not only in the
> south east but across the country where Igbo has
> substantial population. Most markets where Igbo ply
> their trade were closed. Government offices and private
> establishments were also affected by the directive as
> Igbo staged a boycott of these organizations. These were
> achieved in spite of the massive government campaign
> writing for Tell Magazine has this to say of the event,
“...MASSOB ordered sit – at – home protest last August 26. The success of that protest was a great feat, considering how passionate an average Igbo man could be about his trade. What that means is that the message of MASSOB, for an Igbo identity and self-determination for the race is gaining ground. That apparently sent jitters down the spines of the authorities” (Adeyemo 2004:19).

The sit-at-home which was achieved by mere declaration and the re-introduction of the former Biafra currency as a legal tender heightened government anxiety over the activities and operation of MASSOB. According to report by The News magazine, the money was exchanging for between N270-N350 in the country and some neighbouring countries a worrisome development to government in the country (Aham 2005). (Duruji 2010 p. 109)

The popularity of MASSOB or its impact on the people of “Biafra” it claims to represent is due to a number of factors.

i. The longing for freedom given the generalized discrimination against the Igbo which were very acute during the formation of MASSOB. The situation has changed very little since then.

ii The fact that no Igbo man has been President of Nigeria, Chief Justice of Nigeria, Head of the army or any of the Security outfits. The last was possible just recently.

iii. The injustice MASSOB speaks about is real and the people are aware of it and feel it at all levels including;

a. Lack of basic infrastructure in the region.

b. Discrimination in the federal appointment.

c. Lack of employment opportunities for the teeming
unemployed youth in the region, who enthusiastically embrace MASSOB

d. Poverty in the region.

vi. Persecution of MASSOB leadership and arrest and killing of its membership have increased their popularity before the people.

vii. Powerful MASSOB propaganda which has so much influence on the rural poor.


ix. A good deal of the activities of MASSOB endears the movement to the ordinary people. These include security services and waging war against criminals, extortionist police and landlords, etc

x. Its sensitization workshops and conferences.

xi. Support of the Igbos in the Diaspora.

xii. Organizational cohesiveness of MASSOB and the courage of its leadership.

xiii. The support of Chief Emeka Ojukwu, who himself is the symbol of the Biafra struggle.

It is true that the popular of MASSOB is very low among the Igbo elite and mainstream political leadership on account of its heavy reliance on those with little intellectual exposure. The support is high among those with little or no experience of the War, and those who experience the horrors of the war are attracted to it on account of its philosophy of non-violence.
As in all movements of this type, factional and rival formations do spring up from time to time due to clash of ambitions, perceived weaknesses of the leadership and infiltration. The most stabilizing factor in the existence of MASSOB was late Chef Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu. The MASSOB leadership is aware of this and is working hard to get his widow, Mrs. Bianca Ojukwu step into her husbands shoes in filling this vacuum. Her appointment as Ambassador by President Jonathan not only raises her profile but puts her in the position of a go-between between MASSOB and the Federal Government.

**Combating the Challenges posed by the Existence of MASSOB**

**Emergence of Massobism in Contemporary Nigeria**

The term Massobism is used to refer the emergent political phenomenon promoted by States and other political units in the Federation doing exactly the things MASSOB has been doing and for which its leadership and members have been hounded from pillar to post. Those people do not have the history and background of those who promote the cause of MASSOB.

In dealing with the peculiar challenge of MASSOB, the Government should have its focus not only nightmare of the Biafra which Ojukwu led. The Government should ask its strategists to divine for it what is responsible for the emergence of actions and programme approved by legal Governments in the Federation demanding and actually approving separate, flags, separate constitutions, separate anthems for their various states and/or regions/zones.

Why does the South-West regional integration programme demand separate Constitution, flag, anthem, coat of arms. Why has several other states including Mr. President's State of Bayelsa doing the same thing?

Are these exactly not what MASSOB has been trying to do and for
which hundreds of its members have been killed or incarcerated?

Category differentiation in understanding and dealing with organizations whose activities pose Security challenges.

From our analysis of the nature of Insurgency, it is clear that all the various ethnic militias, insurgent groups, freedom fighters, and radical opposition that populate our political landscape do not belong to one category. Some of them are not even insurgent groups as we have shown in the case of MASSOB.

MASSOB may be said to be unlawful, but so are the actions of those who have decided to have separate constitution, flag, anthem and coat of arms different from that of the Federal Government of Nigeria.

Summary and Conclusion

A Nation breathing its last?

The new phenomenon referred to above is more threatening to the corporate existence of Nigeria than the action of all the insurgent groups put together. The Nigerian Federation is at the point of a generalized malaise, a nation-state breathing its last unless a surgical life-support machine is used to sustain it and put it on the course of revival, if it is possible, It is time for all to get together and ask ourselves where do we go from here. President Jonathan's Government alone cannot guarantee the corporate existence of Nigeria. Only the Nigerian people can.

A National Conference or National Dialogue is imperative now. A run up to this should be a Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South African

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)
was set up by the Government of National Unity to help deal with what happened under apartheid. The conflict during this period resulted in violence and human rights abuses from all sides. No section of society escaped these abuses.

The TRC was set up to promote National Unity and reconciliation in post-Apartheid South Africa. According to Mr. Dullah Omar, the former South African Minister of Justice,

"... a commission is a necessary exercise to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on a morally accepted basis and to advance the cause of reconciliation."

It is unfortunate, that the Justice Oputa Panel which was conceived in the mold of the South African truth and reconciliation Commission was treated with what in certain circumstances would be regarded as criminal levity. The question is whether the present leadership is capable of organizing this essential life-saving measures for the Federation.

*Change in Government perception of the forces of insecurity and the methodology for dealing with them is imperative*

At times Government overkills, at other times it does not muster enough decisiveness in combating security challenges. We have argued that not all the so-called insurgent movements are really insurgency, no matter how illegal they may be.

There are no doubt criminal gangs such as armed robbers, kidnappers, fraudsters including the oil subsidy ones; there are those who have stolen billions of naira from state coffers whom our courts declare innocent and they go abroad to confess guilt and get imprisoned.

Those that challenge the authority of the state range from non-
violent demonstrators, and non-violent MASSOB whose cases require basically political, legal and even socio-economic solutions. There also those that challenge the authority of the State and use force to destroy it. Some of them are sponsored by Nigerian politicians; some are part of an international network of insurgency; some are killing and destroying innocent citizens and security personnel; these require political, legal and when necessary use of force to deal with them.

The proliferation in the use of arms and free movement of illegal arms across borders, porous borders which does not allow any discrimination between those that are Nigerian citizens and those who are not and thereby encourage free movement of international terrorists; these are critical areas demanding stringent Government measures.

**Social measures to combat the challenges of insecurity.**

There is need at this point for the Federal Government to consider measures for effective control in the use of arms and trans-border movement of people and arm. In this international co-operation is needed. There should be effective measures to deal decisively with the vermin of corruption in the system, combat poverty and illiteracy and promote civic enlightenment beyond newspaper, radio and television sloganeering.

In doing all these the Government should be firm, just and exemplary. Indeed, the Executive arm of Government, the Judiciary and the Security Forces hold the key to a peaceful and Stable Polity and hence of the survival of the Nigerian Federation.
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Introduction

The underlying factors leading to insurgency in the Niger-Delta can be traced to two basic questions, one of which is general, the other more specific. The general question is that of justice in socio-economic and political relations among composite parts of an ethnically plural country like Nigeria. The more specific question is twofold. On one side, we have the issue of best business practices i.e. the ethical responsibilities to the host communities of the international oil companies (IOCs) operating in the region. On the other side, and closely connected with the first part, are the environmental concerns that the activities of the IOCs raise.

In all questions of this kind, perceptions are as important as actual actions or utterances. The level of concern for the problems of the Niger Delta communities exhibited historically by successive governments, (which includes all tiers) by actions, or more poignantly by inactions, has been a critical factor in the surge of resentment, disenchantment and eventually rebellion. Many indigenous people came to the conclusion that, as in other areas of social and political life, the IOCs are only able to get away with what the government allows them to get away with. Hence the
government's sense of responsibility to the host communities of the Niger-Delta, was reflected in the activities of the IOCs. These concerns have been aptly expressed in what has now been termed the “Niger-Delta Manifesto” (Darach, 2003).

The manifesto goes even further. It presents a case that the resources of the region have been subjected to deliberate and systematic plundering not only by the IOCs, but indeed by the rest of the country using the instrument of repressive federal laws aimed solely at a centralized control of the oil wealth. The consequence was that in addition to the environmental and associated issues, the struggle became one of resource control. This in turn served as a foundation for what we may call a Niger-Delta ideological struggle. This became indeed the ideological fulcrum of the insurgency. Against this broad background, the following paragraphs will attempt to address more specific aspects of the insurgency and propose solutions that could integrate positively some outcomes of the insurgency with a common national agenda.

**Justifications of Insurgence**

Judging from the insurgency experience and the communicative processes which have defined it for more decades, it will be safe to conclude that at the heart of the Niger-Delta crisis are certain political considerations that served as foundational ideological justifications for an insurgency. As hinted in the introductory remarks, the concept of 'plundering the host communities' thus leading to what Ken Saro-Wiwa described as “environmental genocide” was a powerful rhetoric to galvanize not only local support for an incipient rebellion but indeed to garner international support. This war cry resonated with various forces opposed to the post-colonial Nigerian state, with its protracted history of civil disorder, military incursion and lack of productive capacity beyond primary resources.
What indeed was or is the nature of the Niger Delta struggle, properly interpreted from a strategic perspective? Is it a struggle based on ideas-exchanges between (as Afinotan & Ojakorotu, 2009 puts it) “the intelligentsia, political and economic elites, as well as enlightened traditional institutions” and the Federal government; or a violent armed struggle to “emancipate” the Niger-Delta from the choking grip of unfavourable laws of the central government; or a combination of both? What were the relations of social production that were necessary conditions for an insurgency of this type to arise?

The belief that the resources of the Niger-Delta belong to the people of the region; that since independence these people had not enjoyed the benefits of their God-given resources; that a political context existed where these resource had been literally seized from them; that these resources were deployed to the benefit of other parts of the federation; that therefore the entity called the Nigerian state was, if anything, a hostile neighbour which was in cahoots with other industrial exploiters in expropriating from the Niger Delta citizens the surplus value yielded by the land; this consciousness was to be accompanied, as needs must, by a natural desire to right the wrongs. In a move reminiscent of the classical dialectics of oppression, awareness, transformed consciousness and revolutionary action by the deprived, through a series of indoctrinations by the vanguard, more recently epitomized by Ken Saro-wiwa and the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People, the ordinary people of the Niger Delta - including displaced farmers, fishermen, the bewildered market women, and perhaps most dangerously, the unemployed youth, all bought into the agenda of resistance of and emancipation from the Nigerian state and its agents and associates.

Regarding the past insurgency and current resurgence, historical antecedents have proved quite useful. For the people of the Niger-
Delta, such resistance in the past has resulted in a narrative of martyrdom (Afinotan & Ojakorotu, 2009). These legends are found both in the cultural history of the peoples (against imperial powers) and more recent movements against neo-colonialism. We may mention briefly a few of these historical and folkloric figures whose exploits have passed into the political imaginary of resistance: Jaja of Opobo, King Dappa Pepple (Perekule) of Bonny, King Ossai of Aboh, Asaba, Oba Ovonramwen, Oba Akenzua II of Benin Kingdom. For the post-colonial struggles, the instances often cited are: Isaac Adaka Boro, the Effurun and Egwu Women uprising and Ken Saro-Wiwa and his Ogoni comrades. Whether poorly conceived or well articulated, these form the general cultural and historical reference for the present disposition.

**Organization of Insurgency in the Niger Delta**

Next comes the question of how the insurgency is organized, if indeed this is the right word to describe the apparatus of a basically fluid, fragmentary set of action units, informal from an operational and structural point of view. The dynamics of a guerrilla type 'army' that is mobile, intermittent and unpredictable in its targets, logistics and actions dictate that no real organization with a clear hierarchy can be discerned. From one theoretical viewpoint, this unorganized organization appears to be in counter-position to the over-centralization of Nigeria's Federal government. Afinotan & Ojakorotu (2009) conclude that while there is a communicative arm (at least in the sense of a representative who by email, by telephone or other message to media houses announces intentions and acts, in the proper sense there was no militia arm of the Niger-Delta struggle.

One thing is certain: there has been, and it could be argued that there is still, an insurgency and the elements within it cannot be
completely divorced from what the Niger-Delta elite, or at least that part of the elite that regards the insurgency as germane to its self-interest, say the real struggle is. For example, there is a general belief that the struggle of Isaac Boro was the spirit behind the Kaiama declaration (United Ijaw States, 1998) which gave birth to the formation of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND), which in itself is believed to be the military arm of the Ijaw National Congress (INC). Other easily identifiable militant groups include: Niger-Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Niger Delta Vigilantes (NDV) which gave birth to the “Outlaws” and the People's Liberation Force.

The fact of the matter is that there were and still are many different forces arranged along two basic and frequently alternate lines: ethnic alliance and charismatic leadership. With the example of the Ogoni as precedent, there arose the UJS (United Ijaw States) with its military wing, and similar others. In the same way, the different liberation groups were formed by one charismatic leader or other. This brings immediately to the fore the modus operandi of these disparate units.

**Modus Operandi**

The modus operandi of the Niger-Delta militants starts from the method of recruitment. Militancy in the Niger-Delta is made up of small militant groups, some of which stemmed from older ones as break-away groups. The tendency of a smaller group to break away from larger groups appears to be very high based on various kinds of disagreement, arising from, among other causes, sharing of the dividends of militancy, or rivalry in the leadership of the group. Yet each group appears to respect the territories of others in order to avoid inter-group clashes – since they all have similar goals. The groups are typically headed by enlightened, literate and
unemployed youth whose members are mainly illiterate youth. As a result, they depend on their leaders for direction.

Based on this structure, the responsibility to cater for members of the group rests overwhelmingly with the leaders. It is based on this relationship that young men accept them as leaders in the first place. The continuous demonstration of this ability also gives them credibility since they offer their members the basic sustenance and provisions denied them by the government and society.

The resources which fund these provisions and all the operations of the group come from oil bunkering, a transaction effected with the use of arms which in the circumstances are available or procured by various arms runners or dealers within Nigeria and internationally. In many cases, for exchange of bunkered oil, gunrunners and godfathers sponsor militants with sophisticated weaponry and funds used for sabotaging oil installations and kidnapping activities. Kidnapping also became a frequent source of revenue, although the more politically conscious eventually moved away from kidnapping since that weapon had clearly been hijacked by criminal gangs without any political motivation or interest.

Another aspect of the mode of operation is the system of beneficiaries it creates. Militants, when they receive their payoffs, would remit funds to their dependents in the villages. This support system, especially in areas where the social-support infrastructure has come to a total collapse, makes communities to see their militant brethren as heroes. Therefore, the cultural system, which ought to correct instances of disorder, not only encouraged (or still encourages) it but came to depend on it as a real, if precarious, source of sustenance.

Security Challenge
The first aspect of the security challenge is the reduced oil production due to attacks of Niger-Delta militants on oil
installation over the years. This reduced production recorded the lowest level in 2009 under the Yar'Adua administration. Also, continuous vandalizing of oil pipelines does more than reduce oil production for a while. It requires the repair of vandalized pipelines for production to kick off again. Attacks on oil installations, also sometimes leads to destruction of parts of the oil installations, again, necessitating capital expenditure before production can commence again.

Ibaba S. Ibaba reports that in 2006 alone a total of 118 workers across different oil companies operating in Nigeria were taken hostage in a total of 24 attacks. The success of these attacks by the militants implies that security provision by the Federal Government to oil installations and personnel of IOCs were and still remain inadequate against militants' attacks.

Another security challenge is the tendency of State governments and IOCs to remit payoffs to militant groups to make them inactive. The ability of the paying parties to continue to remit such funds as expected by the militant groups determines the frequency of attacks or for how long the militant groups remain inactive. The consequence of this system or this relationship is for the focus to shift to the paying parties and the militants rather than the primary concern of addressing the social infrastructural degradation and social political issues which, all said and done, lie a the very root of the problem of militancy and the Niger Delta crisis in general. Paying off militant groups may secure individual releases or ward off attacks from specific groups but it is obvious that this represents no viable solution.

Perhaps at the highest and most pathetic level of security challenge is the common rural and urban communities which fall within the scope of militant activities. There have been reports of children and helpless elderly citizens kidnapped from various locations and demands of ransom set as conditions for their release. This
tendency may or may not be mainly perpetrated by the militant groups with political motives, some of which we have identified above. In many situations, particularly in most recent times, these activities seem to be carried out by groups simply referred to as "kidnappers".

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the criminalization of the insurgency has been triggered by the revenue-seeking activities of militants themselves. It could well be argued that unintentionally or otherwise, they became role models to those who may not so much be interested in the cell-systems and conditions which define modus operandi of militants, yet want to reap the material benefits that come with adopting identical means.

Response Strategy

Hanson (2007) observes that the first response of the Nigerian government to the growing insurgency in the Niger Delta was a protracted military intervention. This manifested itself on different levels. The first level involved combating the militant groups in the creeks' and patrolling of the waterways. Another level involves guarding of oil installations in the Niger-Delta region. These initiatives saw a long period of clashes between the militant groups and military personnel. In several cases, the military were overwhelmed by the militant groups leading to the death of military officers. Their greater familiarity with the terrain of engagement meant that the military, which was not perhaps also the most politically motivated or materially incentivized group to engage in direct combat, was often at a distinct disadvantage.

Moreover, with the continuous shutting down of oil operations in the Niger-Delta and scare of foreign personnel who might be interested in working in the region, it became impossible, even for the most optimistic, to envisage a resolution or indeed to suggest
that the government was winning the war in the Niger-Delta. As Hanson (2007) further explains, even international observers had expressed reservations about the rationale of wiping out the militant groups through military intervention, supposing the government had the wherewithal and the will to succeed in doing so. They stated that the consequences of the process would shut down the production process in the region for at least two years - not to mention the possibility of more militant groups emerging from such an action.

It must have been based on the realization that the crises in the Niger-Delta should not be treated strictly as a military issue or a criminal one that the Musa Yar'Adua administration initiated the Amnesty programme. This must have been founded on the realization that to really provide security means to protect the Niger-Delta people from poverty, exploitation, disease and the environmental degradation they have had to endure.

The amnesty programme appeared to be welcome by many militant groups as the nation saw many militants laying down their arms. In return for the laying down of arms, the Federal government promised an aggressive social infrastructure development programme as well as rehabilitation of the militants who took advantage of the programme. The rehabilitation exercise was to involve massive vocational training to enable the ex-militants to be re-integrated into society and secure for themselves legitimate means of livelihood.

Although the Federal government made some commendable initial efforts toward the implementation of the Amnesty programme (i.e. rehabilitation efforts), to a large extent, the social infrastructure, restoration of the degrading environment and job creation opportunities have been largely unattended to. This has resulted in renewed calls and efforts at a resurgence of the insurgency and even threats of ex-militants returning to the creeks. Indeed, an increase in
the spate of kidnappings since the Amnesty programme was initiated further points to the failure of the Federal government to address the problem holistically.

Solution

The solution to the insurgency in the Niger-Delta must seek to address the fundamental issues raised by earlier movements (e.g. Boro and Ken Saro-Wiwa) since it is based on these premises that the original impetus for insurgency arose. As I have argued, the fundamental conceptual, or if you will, ideological assumptions of the most politically motivated and active elements among militants, was that a rapacious state and its associates were the enemies of the Niger Delta communities. These foundational justifications cannot have simply disappeared with an amnesty programme that has at best at best only partially successful.

The starting point for a total solution is a massive infrastructural developmental programme. It is not clear if there exist a comprehensive, scientifically executed social impact assessment of the activities of IOCs on the people and the natural habitat. This is a prelude to designing any infrastructural interventions. Given the perceived collaboration of government and IOCs in the origination of the problems, it is ill-advised for either of these parties solely to execute any such intervention. It is vital for the process to be seen as a joint effort to reconstruct an untoward relationship with the Niger Delta people.

But infrastructure alone will not solve the problem of day to day living in the Niger Delta. In addition to radically improved infrastructure, employment (or job creation) initiatives are an urgent necessity. What is meant by employment opportunities is not necessarily jobs provided by Local, State or the Federal government. Rather what is needed is the enabling environment for
the local initiatives, industry and economy to thrive and develop rapidly in order to maximize opportunities opened up by improved social infrastructure (schools, electricity, water, road-access, etc). The provision of such an enabling environment could come in the form of support systems for local businesses which could develop along clusters.

From the political perspective, it is also important to allow a truly participatory democratic process in the region, as elsewhere in the federation. In some of the states in the region, political leadership of the peoples of the Niger-Delta has not demonstrated the sort of active and engaged, reconstructive mindset required. Some states and local authorities carry on in this region as if it were business as usual. A focused and concerned leadership determine to rebuild the non-existent trust between the government and the people will go a long way to make ordinary people challenge the usefulness of insurgency.

At the basis of this suggestion is political leadership that is accountable to those who elected them. The electorate on the other hand, will be an informed-electorate who base their electoral decision on their own informed opinion rather than being swayed by the pecuniary incentives. If these measures are put in place, the criminal system which always tries to benefit from any struggle (however legitimate) will lose the support system on which it currently stands. In such a case, the fight against them will benefit from the crucial support and voluntary participation of the local communities.

As a final word, we must also remember that whatever strategy is adopted in the Niger Delta ought to be part of a national competitive strategy. My humble opinion is that Nigerian leadership is somewhat out of touch with the realities of the present age. Nations all over the world are engaged in competition. Nigeria is no longer competitive. There does not appear to be any
discernible national strategy. Addressing local or regional problems, however grave, seems to be the sole preoccupation of our country. Among nations problems emerge to be resolved; but the resolution of problems does not by itself need to deflect a nation from a strategic course. It is not at all clear if we have a national strategy to make our country competitive again. Therein lies the greater problem that needs to be addressed.
References


Introduction
While studiously avoiding overt reference to 'terrorism', nevertheless debates about 'radicalization', 'insurgency' and 'militancy' inevitably conjure up the specters of violence in politically Muslim ideological context, particularly when using organized groups and strategies, as indeed characteristic of a military (see for instance, Black 2011, Vertigans 2009, Hollander 2008, Ayoob 2008, and Rubin 2003). Linking such militancy with Islam, however gives it the coloration of terror and use of violence. Of course such radicalization and militancy is carried out within the organizational context of Islamist movements. Such movements seeking power today are faced with difficult choices regarding strategy, ranging from armed struggle to electoral efforts.

Since 1980 in northern Nigeria, the emergence of what might eventually be placed within the rubric of militant Islam has shifted the focus from a band of albeit fundamentalists in the 1980s to a committed hardcore Islamists with a clear political – and violent – ideology in the 2000s. This paper briefly traces the emergence of militant orthodox Islam in northern Nigeria
Dissidence in Islam and Antecedent to Political Islam

The history of Islam is replete with groups who for either social or political reasons, prefer to follow a different path from that followed by the main Sunni orthodoxy of Islamic faith. For the most part, such dissidence, it could be argued, was not rooted in fundamental questioning of the validity of Islam as a religion, but on its instruments of implementation. In one of the early disputes about leadership in Islam after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, Ali, who became the fourth Caliph (after Abubakar, Umar and Usman) had his authority challenged by Syrians leading to a series of battles. The two armies met at Siffin in early 657, where Mu'awiyah, leading the Syrians, called for an arbitration. The arbitration solved nothing, but it did serve to delegitimize Ali in the eyes of some of his supporters, who deserted Ali's army and withdrew to Nahrawan, east of the Tigris, thus earning the name Kharijites, literally “those who went out” or more figuratively “those who rebelled.” (Kenny 2006: 22).

Based on their rejection of the criteria for mediation established in the document, they took as their slogan: “There is no judgment but Allah's” (la hukm illa li-llah). The initial band of protesters retreated to a site called Harura', where they were later joined by other defectors. The men among this force, which had separated itself from 'Ali's troops, were variously referred to as Muhakkima because of their slogan or Haruriyya because of their first camp. The more generic name by which they were to be known. They have three fundamental credos. First, any believer who is beyond reproach could become a Caliph, no matter how he traces his lineage; and if his actions do not conform to the Qur'an, he can be deposed. Second, faith in Islam should be validated with proper action and belief – a mortal sin is akin to leaving Islam altogether. Third, all Muslims are equal, regardless of their race – a doctrine that makes entry into Kharijism attractive for non-Arabs who had
to bear the brunt of condescending racism of Arabs, especially in racially mixed areas such as Tunisia, Mauritania, Algeria, and Libya.

The Kharijites most significant strategy, however, is their resistance to authority – as witnessed in the assassination of Caliph Ali in 661 by one of them. While the original Kharijites rooted their rebellion in a political (and indeed military) process, nevertheless the fundamental structure of their rebellion relied on their belief in la hukm illa li-llah. This perhaps explains why differing views emerged as to the motive of their formation. R.E. Brunnow in his 1884 doctoral dissertation, and the first major European treatise on Kharijites, perceived them as being politically motivated. Julius Wellhausen, on the other hand suggests that the Kharijites were motivated by spiritual zeal which was strong enough for them to break away from the main Muslim community and form their own clustered identity. The belief that judgment lies with Allah implied a strict orthodox interpretation of both knowledge and its attributes – unless it can be acceptable to Allah, then it is false judgment or false knowledge: a credo the Islamist group, Yusufiyya movement in northern Nigeria were to adopt in 2006.

Modern Islamism and Radical Islam

Of the few Muslim intellectuals who by 20th century would bring to fore the modernist debates about political Islam, Syed Abul A'ala Mawdudi (1903-1979) from Pakistan stood out. He also founded one of the few precursors to modern political Islamic organizations, Jamaat-e-Islami (the Islamic revivalist party) in 1941. This became very influential in crystallizing the idea of political Islam within a Western frame of intellectual thought, albeit retaining a core principle of Islamism – that Islam is more than a religion: it is a political system; and that Muslims must strive to maintain the
purity of Islam through the enforcement of Shari'a which is to replace the secular State. This has remained the central mantra of such radicals wherever they establish themselves. Closely connected to Islamism is the issue of 'radicalism'. As Patel (2007: 42) argues,

*Islamic political radicalism in the last half-century has followed a tight pattern as a direct response to mainly US foreign policies, stretching from the installation and the support of the Shah of Iran in 1953, which led to the Islamic Iranian revolution, to the US backing of the brutal Sudanese regime of Jafaar Nimeiry leading to a coup by a radical Islamist military in 1989. The US involvement in Lebanon, with the aid of Israel as a proxy, led to the demise of a fragile coalition in the country and ushered in radical elements, which until today remain unsettled. The US in the former Soviet republics like Tajikistan has even allied with communists in order to counter the growth of Islamic movements.*

Subsequently, according to Demant (2006) Islamism spread rapidly in the wake of the 1991 Gulf War, then became a threat of global proportions with the Algerian civil war, Hamas in the Palestinian territories, the wars of Bosnia and Chechnya, the Taliban in Afghanistan, al-Qaeda's international terrorism, and the rise of Islamist parties and movements in Pakistan, Indonesia, the Central Asian Republics of the former Soviet Union, and elsewhere.

Islamism, as political discourse and action that attempts to center Islam within the political order (Roy 1994; Sayyid 1997), has been a conspicuous phenomenon in different parts of the Muslim world, mainly since the eruption of the Iranian revolution in 1979. As Antony Black (2011: 306) notes, 'Islamism is a specific reaction to modern social and economic conditions, rapid urbanization, the dislocation of traditional communities and crafts, unemployment and anomie.' Cast in this mold, attaching political dominance to
Islam therefore provides an alternative to Muslims living under such conditions of what they perceive as moral decay or political subjugation. By resorting to Islamism, Islamists are advocating for a return to basics of Islam and shunning away the materialism of present secular culture.

A fundamental credo of Islamist philosophy is rejection of the 'West' and its values, since such 'West' is seen as a threat to Islam in all aspects. A second credo is obligation to Jihad (effort, struggle) in taking up arms against those deemed to be unbelievers; however, this would seem to be a last resort as other methods – persuasion, ballot box – would have to be explored first. Within this context, there literally hundreds of Islamist resistance groups that advocate various forms of radical social structures based on Islam. Most of these Islamist groups base their radicalism on perceived injustice from the larger secular (or even religious) civil society from which they operate.

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the events of September 11, 2001 however, merely accelerated the cause of Islamism; but did not initiate it. Prior to these events, Islamism had been manifest in various forms through various groups, centered principally in the Middle East – but sharing the same philosophy of ascendency of Political Islam. These groups are divided into two: the first are those restricted within particular territories and countries; while the second are those that are more transnational in their operation. The first included, for instance, Fateh, literally 'opening', which refers to PLO (Palestinian National Liberation Movement), founded in 1954 by members of the Palestinian diaspora – principally refugees from Palestine who were professionals working in the Gulf states. Yasir Arafat was one of its founders. Hamas [Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyyah, or Islamic Resistance Movement] was formed in 1987 in Gaza, Palestine, by members of the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood in response to the Israeli occupation of Gaza. It has
formed the vanguard of Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation since the second Palestinian Intifada (popular resistance). Hezbollah, literally the 'Party of God' (from Qur'an, Al-Mujadala, 58:22) emerged in 1982 as a Shi'a resistance fighting the Israeli invasion of south Lebanon.

Eventually, however, the scales turned from animosity towards US policies in supporting unpopular regimes to internal fissures that see the emergence of demands for reforms along Islamic lines within the country. For instance, according to Salhi (2011: 37) in Somalia, Al Shahab (The Youth), an armed Islamist group, called for the establishment of a Shariah state (i.e., a state governed by Islam), proclaimed jihad against unbelievers, and urged nationalist resistance against foreign forces, specifically the African Union (AU), the United Nations, Ethiopia, and, more recently, Uganda.

In South Africa, the Al Jama-ah was established and registered on April 20, 2007 as a political party for South African Muslim youth, with the conscious intent to capture the votes of young Muslims. However, its

...objectives were far beyond capturing the Muslim vote. It aims to introduce Sharia in South Africa, making it the first South African political party to declare explicitly this intention (Salih 2009: 195).

In some case studies, the emergence of Islamist militancy is rooted both in political culture as well as rights violations. In Algeria, a process of political liberalization took an unexpected turn in 1990-91, when a newly created Islamic party, the Islamic Salvation Front or FIS (Front Islamique du Salut), took the lead in the local and parliamentary elections. A more dramatic political U-turn took place in early 1992 when the army supported a constitutional coup to prevent the Islamic fundamentalists from forming a new government. This military intervention gave the signal for a popular insurrection by the pro-Islamic sections of the population
that had contributed to the electoral victory of the FIS (Volpi 2003). As a prelude, it lead to massive civil disobedience between 1992-1999. As Volpi (2003: vii) further stated:

*Political violence began with the arbitrary arrests and torture of pro-Islamic demonstrators by the army and the police, and with the revenge killings of civil servants by Islamic guerrillas. Later, these violent tactics were used against people who were not directly involved in the struggle for political power. At first the Islamic guerrillas waged a spectacular campaign of assassination and bombing directed at foreign nationals and assets in a desperate attempt to force foreign governments to drop their support for the Algerian junta. By the mid-1990s the use of terror had spread even to the most apolitical segments of the rural population, as blood feuds, struggles over land ownership and organised crime grew out of the confrontation between the pro-government militias and Islamic guerrilla groups.*

The political situation deepened in the face of increased police and army repression on the members of the FIS, which was officially banned in February 1992. Increasingly, the actions of the repressive State apparatus created a situation in which many political activists and ordinary citizens had to reconsider their political views and practices, and form resistance Islamist guerrilla movements. The end product was countless loss of lives and property in the insurrection that followed, which in 1993 eventually lead to the formation of a coalition of various guerrilla movements fighting the government into a single militia, the GIA (Groupements Islamiques Armés, Armed Islamic Group) and gained its notoriety by organizing a series of attacks against civil servants and members of the government. The political strategy of the GIA was to extend the range of legitimate guerrilla targets to politicians supporting the
provisional government, high-ranking civil servants and people working in the security forces' administrative departments. By its actions the GIA sought to demonstrate the inability of the state to protect its own supporters and collaborators. The group used assassinations and bombings, including car bombs as its modus operandi.

Islamic Scholastic Ascendancy in Kano

In order to provide a tapestry against which notions of radicalism might be understood within the historiography of Islam in northern Nigeria, I will briefly look at the arrival of Islam in Kano, and the subsequent emergence of different groups who vary in methodologies from rhetorical to extremely violent. This is not to connect the contemporary emergence of Islamist groups in northern Nigeria with historical events—indeed the current situation in Nigeria owes not to history, but to contemporary events—but I wish to provide an overview of Islamic inflows and eddies in the region. Kano became a sample state because of the existence of credible documentation detailing its local history, rather than an ethnographic account by external researchers.

According to Tarikh Arbab (Palmer 1908) Islam was brought to the Hausa State of Kano in northern Nigeria by a caravan of 40 Wangara cleric merchants from Mali in about 1380 (East 1932). The local chief, Sarki Yaji (1349-1385) readily accepted the new religion as a substitute to the old pagan practices of some of his people. He also decried that Islam should be adopted as a state religion in the Kano kingdom, and established an Islamic scholastic tradition in a particular area of the city of Kano where the Wangara cleric merchants settled. This settlement became known as the Madabo School, and became a university of sorts with many north African scholars visiting the School-Mosque complex. Thus sustaining the intellectual tradition established by the Madabo school was a
stream of visiting scholars who came to Kano and who intensified the study Islam and Arabic language, thus enriching the existing higher educational base well established by the Wangarawa at the Madabo school.

Thus the Wangarawa scholastic dynasty left a legacy in the establishment of the first higher education centers in Kano all networked to the Madabo schooling system. It was to this school, which had established itself authoritatively in the fashion of its antecedent University of Sankore, that scholars from all over Sudan flocked to study Islamic theology in Kano. Notable among the eddy of scholars who sojourned to medieval Kano and left intellectual legacies included Ahmad b. Umar b. Aqit, who on his way to Timbuktu from the pilgrimage to Makkah taught in Kano for some time in late 1480s. Another noted visiting scholar to Kano was the Moroccan Abdul Rahman Suqan b. Ali b. Ahmed al-Qasri who was once a mufti of Fez. And in the first half of the 16th century, the Tunisian scholar, Shaikh al-Tunis came to Kano and taught. Similarly, Bornu and Aghirmi scholars were also numerous in Kano (Chamberlain 1975: 60). Generally,

the educational system in Hausaland was framed along the Timbuktu pattern of learning in the fifteenth century...The method of education could be described as “a master seeking method”, i.e. it was largely dependent on the teacher who offered the instruction, guidance and prescribed text books for an individual student until he perfected and mastered a particular branch of knowledge (Mohammed and Khan 1981: 131).

This tradition was strengthened by the arrival in Kano of Muhammad b. Abd al Karim al-Maghili, from Algeria, during the reign of the Emir of Kano, Rumfa (1463-1499) Rumfa was perceived as the most radical and intellectual reformer among the medieval Emirs of Kano, carrying, as he did, far reaching reforms in all aspects of his administration. Rumfa according to Kano tradition, was also the most pious, upright, dynamic, benevolent ruler the
Kano kingdom has ever had. As a dynamic visionary and foresighted king, the political and administrative reforms as well as the establishment of Kurmi Market are still considered by Kanawa (people of Kano) as second to none in the entire political and economic growth of the kingdom since that time.

Although Gwarzo (1975:70) was to claim that when al-Maghili came to Kano “there was in existence some Islamic learning, but Islamic institutions had not been properly developed”, this is nevertheless not so. Prior to al-Maghili’s arrival in Kano there existed extensive network of theological colleges and schools under various mallams, all graduates of the faculties of the Madabo school, established about fifty years earlier with the arrival of the Malian Wangarawa scholars in 1380.

Further, in a re-interpretation of the whole historical drama, Barkindo (1988) suggests that by the time when Al-Maghili arrived in Kano in about 1490, Rumfa must have completed most of the his reforms. It would appear, therefore, that al-Maghili’s presence in Kano served only as a catalyst towards accelerating an already reformist process of Rumfa. Perhaps the most eloquent testimony of al-Maghili’s intellectual influence on Rumfa was the former’s treatises. Al-Maghili wrote the first Kano Emirate constitution which was contained in *Taj-al-din fi ma yajibu ala'l muluk* and *Wasiyyat al-Maghili ila Abi Abdullahi Muhammad b. Yakub* (Muhammad Rumfa), and translated as *The Obligation of Princes* by T. H. Baldwin (1932).

The treatises, being wasiyyat concerning the obligation of the prince (though more accurately, in this case, the Emir) to his subjects, followed the Machiavellian framework of a “wise one” providing over-the-shoulder religious guidance to a student on what was probably the first welfarist state policy in The Sudan. Incidentally, it was actually Rumfa who commissioned al-Maghili to write the books for him — revealing a desire on the part of the ruling house Kano to identify with classical Islam, much in the same
way one of Rumfa's great-grandparents did with the Wangarawa clerics. There was no doubt these constitutions written by al-Maghili for Rumfa provided the first recorded framework for the intellectual transformation of Kano on which subsequent Emirs of Kano built upon.

Thus we can say that al-Maghili set out to remove innovations in the interpretation of Islam in Kano and strengthened already existing scholastic institutions and established new ones. This was because his first acts, the appointment of an Imam for the Friday prayer, and the qadi, were preceded by similar act of the Madabo Wangarawa faculty decades earlier. Perhaps significantly, the Qadiriyya Sufi brotherhood—the first to be introduced in what was to become Nigeria later—was brought to Kano by Al-Maghili. As an informant for Priscilla Starrat (1993: 91) recorded:

“The Qadiriyya precede the Tijaniyya in this town, in this country of ours, Nigeria. And, indeed, the one who brought the Qadiriyya to this land of ours of Nigeria, the one who came with it was Shaikh Maghili. Shaikh Maghili, indeed, he came with the Qadiriyya, about nine-hundred years ago, more or less.”

The Qadiriyya was founded by Abdul-Qadir Gilani (1077-1166) of Gilan, in Iran, although its scholastic roots were established in Baghdad. However, although Al-Maghili was credited to introducing Sufism in present day Nigeria, “it is more likely that the spread of Sufi ideas in the Sahara and the Sudan was one aspect of the general diffusion of Islamic culture spreading out from both North Africa and Egypt at this time” (Hiskett 1975:73).

**Tijaniyya in the Sokoto Caliphate**

Tijaniyya Sufi order was founded around 1781 by Sidi Ahmad al-Tijjani (1737-1815), who was born in Algeria and died in Fez, Morocco. Tijaniyya reacted against the conservative, hierarchical
Qadiriyya brotherhood then dominant, focusing on social reform and grass-roots Islamic revival. It was brought to northern Nigeria in the 19th century by Sheikh Umar Tall (also known as Umar al-Futi), who, while on his way to the pilgrimage in Makkah from Futa Toro in present day Senegal, stayed for some years in the Sokoto, the then seat of the Caliphate of northern Nigeria. While in Sokoto, he was received by the Amir Muminin, Muhammad Bello, who was the son of Sheikh Usman Danfodiyo, the leader of the 1804 Jihad that united Muslim northern Nigeria as a singular Islamic caliphate. During his stay, Sheikh Umar initiated many people to the Tijaniyya brotherhood – easily divorcing them from Qadiriyya which was the brotherhood followed by both Sheikh Usman Danfodiyo and his son Muhammad Bello. However, while Tijaniyya gained mass audience in Sokoto, there was no evidence to show that the leadership of the Caliphate embraced the brotherhood, thus retaining their affiliation to Qadiriyya. As Ousmane Kane (2003: 70-71) argued

To acknowledge Muhammad Bello's conversion, whether true or not, would require the Sokoto religious establishment to reject the legacy of 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani, Usman Dan Fodio and Muhammad Bello, which was found unacceptable. As a result, the politico-religious establishment of Sokoto hardened their positions as qadiri and made the Qadiriyya the official Sufi order of the Sokoto Caliphate.

The Qadiriyya became more widespread after the 1804 Jihad where both the leaders of the Jihad as well as leaders of the new emirates that emerged as a result of the Jihad all embraced Qadiriyya brotherhood. Kano was the exception with the spectacular success of Sheikh Niasse. Following this success and widespread acceptance of the Tijanniya, Sheikh Nasir Kabara established his own brand of Qadiriyya as Qadiriyya Nasiriyya. Both the Sufi brotherhoods, however, as Kane noted “were open to grass roots
participation, especially youth and women, which partly accounts for their success.” (Kane 2003:72).

During a pilgrimage to Makkah, the Emir of Kano, Abdullahi Bayero (d. 1954) met the Senegalese Tijaniyya leader, Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse (1900-1975) who persuaded the Emir to accept Tijaniyya (abandoning Qadiriyya). Sheikh Niasse was able to subsequently visit Kano where he developed a massive following which lasts up to today with his posters and stickers adorning walls of homes and public transport systems. This following became subsequently referred to as Tijaniyya Ibrahimiyya—to distinguish it from Tijanniya Umariya of Umar Tall—and based its Sufi practices on extensive networks of study centers and zawiya (faculties) in almost every quarter of the city. These zawiyas became a focus of Tijanniya Sufi recitations and chants almost every evening. The spread of Tijaniyya Ibrahimiyya in Kano and subsequently northern Nigeria was facilitated by a group of ulama known as Salgawa, including Malam Tijani Usman Zangon Barebari (d. 1970), Malam Abubakar Atiq (d. 1974), Malam Shehu Maihula (d. 1988), Malam Sani Kafinga (d. 1989) and Malam Mudi Salga (b. 1932). Initiation into the Tijanniya brotherhood was accompanied by the introduction of some special characteristics: the initiation to tarbiya (spiritual training) and praying with one's arms crossed on the chest (qabd), in contrast to the majority of local Muslims who pray with their arms alongside their body (sadl) – a practice that was become a focal point of confrontation between the followers of the two Sufi brotherhoods.

It is clear, therefore that entry into the brotherhoods would have to be negotiated on the platform of youth. However, the 1980s brought newer transnational threats to the Sufi brotherhoods in the form of Saudi Wahabism and Shi’a Islam.
Transnational Intrusion – Wahhabism vs. Sufi Groups

The writings of Muhammad Ibn Hanbal (780-855), the famous Muslim theologian who declared war against the so-called intrusion of foreign influences in Islam inspired later generations of Muslim thinkers, who became known as Neo-Hanbalis, and condemned especially the Sufi orders, popular Islam and the cult of saints. Notable among the latter Muslim thinkers are Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziya (1292-1350), and Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Al-Wahhab (1703-1787). In Nigeria, one of the most prominent disciplines of this critique of Sufism which later became known as Wahhabism was Sheikh Abubakar Gumi (1922-1992) from Sokoto, although based in Kaduna, a strong pro-Saudi cleric who used his position as a leading national and international Islamic scholar and cleric and prominence to promote the credo and generally condemn Sufism and its practices. As Brian Larkin (2004: 98) pointed out

In the early 1970s Gumi began to outline a critique of Sufism in a variety of forums, from tafsir (Qur'anic exegesis) at the mosque, to newspaper articles, to radio broadcasts. This critique followed orthodox Wahhabi lines: he attacked Sufism as an innovation (bid'a) in Islamic practice in a religion where innovation in matters of faith was not allowed; he criticized the veneration of Sufi saints and the practice of Sufi orders. In its stead, he argued for a return to the key texts of Islam—the Koran and the hadith—texts available to everyone through education and reason.

In 1972, Sheikh Abubakar Gumi published an extremely anti-Sufi book Al-'aqida al-sahiha bi muwafaqat al-shari'a (Bayrut, Dar al-'arabi li al-tiba'a wa al-nashr wa al-tawzi', 1972) in which he zealously set out to demonstrate the totally heterodox nature of Tijaniyya and Qadiriyya. Concerning music used in the religious performances of the Sufi brotherhoods in Nigeria, Gumi wrote:
No one denies the fact that reading the Qur'an, listening to sermons and praising God are necessarily religious deeds... But as for playing with musical instruments such as tambourines and drums over which the law is silent on occasions such as of marriage ceremonies or birthday parties of women and children, no one would oppose that if they are done within the limits of Shari'a... But those who combine drumming with religion or the recitation of the Qur'an and the praises of Allah in the mosque, such people are considered as those who reduce their religion to a play thing and make thereby a mockery of it. They therefore fall within the group of those the Qur'an refers to when it says [Qur'an 8:35], “Their prayers at the sacred House are nothing but whistling and clapping of hands. They shall be punished for their unbelief.” (Gumi, in Loimeier 1997: 193)

Interestingly, even before Abubakar Gumi came out with this interpretation of the role of music in religious performances, a noted preacher, Alhaji Lawan Kalarawi, based in Kano had been a thorn on the flesh of the Sufi brotherhoods in his consistent attacks on the use of bandir, especially by the Qadiriyya adherents in mosques, as well as their veneration of the Sufi sheikhs. Lawan Kalarawi's critique of Sufi practices—available only from his cassette-recorded preaching and sold in Kano markets—however, were based on orthodoxy and was emic to the Hausa society—as contrasted with the transnational Wahhabism of Abubakar Gumi's attacks on Sufism. And while Kalarawi appealed to the mass audience to wean people away from Sufi practices, Gumi had more appeal to the intellectual class as represented by professionals, civil servants, students and urban elites in northern Nigeria. His transnational connections to the Saudi scholastic hierarchy accorded him a more sophisticated platform on which to attack Sufi brotherhoods on a more globalized level than Kalarawi's often bawdy—but thoroughly appreciated—sermons.
By 1978 a group of young Muslim Hausa who supported Gumi's anti-Sufi position had coalesced to form Jama'at Izalat al-bid'a wa iqamat al-sunna (Society for the Removal of Innovation and Reinstatement of the Tradition (of the Prophet Muhammad) in the city of Jos under the Chairmanship of Sheikh Isma'il Iris, and with Sheikh Abubakar Gumi as a Patron. They subsequently became referred to as 'Yan Izala, and adopted a trenchant extremist Wahhabi position against Sufism.

The Izala set up a branch in Kano under the leadership of Sheikh L. Suleiman in 1978. Setting up a formal organization was one thing, however, but successfully calling for reform—which, in the case of the Izala, means abandoning Sufism—in Kano was quite another. The inhabitants of the Kano city were, in general, deeply attached to the Sufi orders. Further, the Izala approach was a trenchant attack on Sufism and other social Hausa interpersonal behaviors (e.g. genuflecting to parents and elders, an inherited Hausa custom). As John Paden (2005:62) pointed out,

The tension between the Sufi brotherhoods and the anti-innovation legalists (Izala) came down to the role of traditional culture in the definition of Islamic identity. To some extent, an increasing number of Nigerians felt more comfortable with the ethnoreligious traditions of their own communities than the transethnic identities of the Sufis or Izala. There was a need for a West African rather than an Arab model of Islam, and it was clear that outside the Arab world, Muslim communities in Central, South, and Southeast Asia were making efforts to keep the spirit of Islam but allowing for variation in its cultural forms.

The first attempts to carry out open-air preaching advocating the “abandonment of local Islamic practices and return to pristine Islam” (which included labeling venerated saints such as Ahmad al-Tijani and 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani as infidels) were ruthlessly
suppressed. On May 27, 1980, while members of the local committee of Izala attempted to preach within the walled city, they were attacked by partisans of the Sufi orders, and one preacher of the Izala died in the clash. Following this incident, the Izala preachers tended to avoid open-air preaching within the walled city and to operate in the suburbs outside the city wall (Kane 2003).

The Izala drew further inspiration from Gumi’s incessant attacks on Sufi brotherhoods, such that he encoded his apathy towards them in his widely circulated Hausa translation of the Qur'an with commentary in 1992, and particularly his interpretation of Ayats 31 and 32 of Sarah Rum. The original Ayats stated:

\[
\text{Turn ye back in repentance to Him, and fear Him: establish regular prayers, and be not ye among those who join gods with Allah, (Qur'an 31, Yusuf Ali Translation). Those who split up their Religion, and become (mere) Sects,- each party rejoicing in that which is with itself! (Qur'an 32, Yusuf Ali Translation).}
\]

In the Hausa commentary on these two Ayats, Gumi interpreted “those who join gods with Allah” in the following terms:

\[\text{All the Sufi orders must be banned because they divide people into different sects. The followers of a given Sufi order believe that the beliefs and practices of the order to which they are affiliated are better than that of the others. Thus, they would not agree to meet the disciples of another order at the time of the recitation of their litanies [wurdi in Hausa, wird in Arabic]. Moreover, the wurdi and practices of the Sufi orders include innovations contrary to Islam (Gumi commentary on Qur'an 30: 31, 32; p. 882).}\]

In other words, to Gumi, the Sufi brotherhoods and their followers constitute a form of “mushrikeen”. It is therefore not surprising that clashes occurred between the two groups.

Increasing Islamist Militancy against Authority – The Maitatsine Phenomenon

While the fires of conflict between the Sufi brotherhoods and the
Izala were raging in many cities in northern Nigeria in the late 1970s, another Islamist militant group emerged; but with a difference. For while Sufi/Izala clashes were essentially contained within the house of Islam, with both the two groups holding a high degree of respect for secular government and its constituted authority, the new group chose to tread different paths. They subsequently became labeled 'Yan Tatsine, and were under the leadership of Muhammad Marwa, aka Maitatsine. They violently intruded into the public sphere in December 1980 (for various accounts, see Lavers 1984, Christelow 1985, Clarke 1987, Hiskett 1987, Isichei 1987 and Skuratowicz 2004).

The name, Maitatsine, is derived from a Hausa phrase he commonly employed against his detractors, Alla ya tsine maka albarka, “May God deprive you of his blessing.” His followers were therefore known as the 'Yan Tatsine. Because the group was intensely suspicious of outsiders, and because the disturbances gave rise to many wild rumors and apocryphal stories, little reliable knowledge exists of the movement or its leader.

Muhammadu Marwa was reportedly born in the region of Marwa, a city in northern Cameroon, probably in the 1920s (A Nigerian passport that he acquired gave the date 1927). He is commonly thought to have been Kirdi by origin, a member of one of the small hill peoples, followers of indigenous religions, who inhabit the region, the plains of which have been dominated by Muslim Fulani since the jihad of the early nineteenth century. But there are also reports that at least one of his parents belonged to the Shuwa, an Arabic-speaking group living in the region. In the 1920s and 1930s there was a large-scale emigration of young Kirdi men from the hills to the plains, driven by poverty and, in 1931, by a severe famine; the young Muhammadu Marwa may have been among them. He reportedly became the servant of a Muslim scholar who inspired his conversion to Islam. On that occasion, he took his Muslim name, Muhammadu. He may have been exposed to Mahdist ideas; in the
1890s this region had served as the base for the Mahdist movement led by Haya bin Sa'id (d. 1899), a member of the Sokoto royal family. Muhammadu Marwa is said to have come to Kano in 1945, but nothing is known of his activities there until the early 1960s. By this time he had acquired a reputation for a particularly vitriolic form of tafsir, (Qur'anic commentary) which radically differed from the mainstream Sunni commentaries in Kano and other parts of northern Nigeria. His credo seemed to have revolved around condemnation of any modern form of technology — from wearing watches, to cars, bikes, television sets etc. His mechanism of showering curses (Hau: tsinuwa) on any object or group of people that took his fancy, especially the Sufi brotherhoods, earned him the sobriquet of Maitatsine — he who curses. He also denied the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and relied exclusively on the Qur'an as the source of his faith, which he imparted to his followers.

The political and religious life of Kano in the years just after Nigeria's independence in 1960 was turbulent, and Muhammadu Marwa joined in the fray. In 1962 Emir Muhammadu Sanusi (ruled from 1953–1963) had him brought before a Muslim judge on charges of illegal preaching and an offense known in the Arabic legal records as shatimah, or abusive language. The latter offense was severely—and frequently—punished in Kano at the time, since the exchange of insults by political or religious groups often led to violence. The judge gave Marwa a three-month prison term, to be followed by deportation to his native Cameroon.

The Nigerian military takeover of 1966 brought an end to the formal powers of the emirs and in general weakened traditional social controls. This change made it possible for Marwa to return to Kano in the late 1960s. In 1971 he was issued a Nigerian passport in order to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.
By the late 1970s the petroleum boom had brought a major new injection of wealth to Kano, and with it came rapid social change. For many of the established residents of the city this meant accelerated incorporation into the modern sector of Nigerian society, especially through the state-run secular school system. At the same time, young men were drawn from the countryside in increasing numbers. Many of them followed a traditional pattern in the region, leaving their families to become Qur'anic students (Hausa, almajirai) and supporting themselves and their teacher through begging (Hausa, bara) and casual labor. The economic and educational changes of the 1970s made this group increasingly marginal. Such youth were the main recruiting ground for the 'Yan Tatsine. Groups affiliated with them sprang up in other towns in northern Nigeria and developed their own separate ritual centers.

Starting in 1977, the aggressive preaching of Marwa's disciples and the growth of his community of followers inspired vociferous public complaints. The approach of the turn of the Islamic century (fourteenth century ah) in 1979, an event associated with the arrival of a renewer of the faith, apparently inspired Marwa to announce his claim to prophethood. In 1978, as Nigeria returned to civilian rule, Kano state elected a governor from the People's Redemption Party, Abubakar Rimi. The Nigerian presidency, however, was captured by this party's conservative rival in northern politics, the National Party of Nigeria. The distrust between the federal and state levels of government hampered efforts to control the 'Yan Tatsine.

On 26 November 1980, Governor Rimi issued an ultimatum demanding the dispersal of the large group of followers who had gathered around Marwa's compound in 'Yan Awaki Quarters, just outside the old walled city. At this time, the arrival of Libyan troops in the Chadian capital of Ndjamena added to public anxiety. Governor Rimi took no immediate action on the expiration of the
ultimatum. Rumors circulated that the 'Yan Tatsine planned to take over the city's two main mosques at congregational prayers on Friday, 19 December. The day before, however, a group of 'Yan Tatsine entered into a violent confrontation with the police at Shahuci Field, near the emir's palace. With bows and machetes, they drove off the police, captured weapons, and burnt trucks.

Ten days of heavy fighting ensued in which more than four thousand people were killed. Many were victims of vigilante groups that sprang up around the city and attacked anyone they suspected of belonging to the 'Yan Tatsine. The Nigerian army finally was called in to quell the disturbances. Marwa and his followers fled their stronghold on 29 December. Marwa himself was killed in the process and some one thousand of his followers arrested. In October 1982 violent disturbances linked to the 'Yan Tatsine occurred in the city of Maiduguri in northeastern Nigeria. Other disturbances followed at Yola (March 1984) and Gombe (April 1985).

The 'Yan Tatsine movement follows a pattern common in Muslim West Africa that may be termed “religious separatism,” Such groups embrace heterodox practices and esoteric interpretations of the Qur'an (Christelow 1985). They emphasize their own purity and refuse contact with the rest of society. Muhammadu Marwa was especially known for his condemnation of all modern innovations from bicycles to radios and buttons. He reportedly accepted only the Qur'an as a valid source of religious teaching, yet as a prophet claimed the right to issue new religious injunctions, or at least new interpretations of the Qur'an. He had no known links with other Islamic groups of either Sufi or Wahhabi orientation. However, as Kastfelt (1989: 84) argued,

_The anti-authoritarian and unorthodox religious character of the Maitatsine movement was combined with a strong social and political radicalism,_
emphasized by its rejection of the authority of the Kano State government and by the social composition of the Maitatsine followers, most of whom were recruited from among the urban poor of northern Nigeria.

Thus, while the Sufi/Izala movement operated within the confines of constituted authority, and can be considered emically, rather than etically violent, nevertheless their respect for authority provided a limited check on the spread of their internal violence.

The Yusufiyya Movement — From Rhetoric to Islamism

The spiritual leader of what later became Yusufiyya movement was Abu Yusuf Muhammad Yusuf (1970-2009), who resided in Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria. He was a Tsangaya [Qur'anic College] product and early enough in his preaching life, became heavily involved in Islamic youth activities. One of the most prominent northern Nigerian Islamic preachers in Maiduguri with a particular endearment by youth, was Sheikh Mahmud Jafaar, a Saudi-trained scholar who intensified the activities of existing Ahl-Sunna group—a loose term that refers to many interest groups within ultraorthodox Islam—and preached against innovations in Islam, which included veneration of saints and Shi’ism. His style of preaching, full of rhetoric and contemporary examples, coupled with a relatively simple lifestyle, painted a down-to-earth advocacy for Islam which made him an instant star preacher. Yusuf and other teeming youth were attracted to his inner core group and Yusuf was eventually made the leader of the youth wing of the group, Shababul Islam [Islamic Youth Vanguard].

Extensive undercover reporting of the genesis of the group by Abdulkareem Ogori, and reported in The Politico (Nigeria, December 18, 2010), claimed that the Shababul Islam in Maiduguri was soon populated by young, rich and well-educated members
who became influenced by the teachings of radical UK-based Islamic scholar, Sheikh Abdullah al-Faisal (Ogori 2010), originally Trevor William Forrest. Al-Faisal was born in 1964 in St. James, Jamaica, and emigrated to the UK in 1981, when he was about 17 and traveled to Saudi Arabia where he spent about eight years before earning a degree and converting to Islam before returning to the UK in 1989. According to BBC News Profile on him, “Al-Faisal spent years travelling the UK preaching racial hatred urging his audience to kill Jews, Hindus and Westerners. The imam called on impressionable teenage boys to learn how to use rifles, fly planes and use missiles to kill "all unbelievers. In return for becoming martyrs, he promised them the reward of a place in paradise" (BBC 2007, online).

Apparently the Maiduguri youth who belonged to Shababul Islam became fascinated by Al-Faisal's teachings through access to his tapes, some of which condemned the West and its lifestyle and the Salafis [Wahhabis]—and that became a mantra of the Shababul Islam; a mantra to which Muhammad Yusuf took up with great gusto—to the consternation of his elders in the Ahl-Sunna main group, which included Sheik Jafaar. This in fact lead to their parting of ways, with Yusuf leaving the Ahl-Sunna and fully engaging in Shababul Islam activities, with a strong anti-Western knowledge and lifestyle message. This attracted a lot of more youths to a mosque he set up within Maiduguri metropolis.

From the analysis of his taped preaching, widely available in mosque markets throughout northern Nigeria, Muhammad Yusuf's sermons focused on the following:

1. condemning the constitution of Nigeria, referring it as “dagut” (idolatry)
2. condemning aspects of the conduct of modern western schooling
3. condemning anything that is related to government and consider whoever is in it as an infidel

4. accusing the Nigerian government of not allowing them to practice their religion

It is the persistent theme of condemning aspects of Western schooling that earned the group the sobriquet of 'boko haram' in the Nigerian media, an expression widely translated, very wrongly, as 'Western education is sin.' This is because it is assumed that 'boko' – an Hausa onomatopoetic of 'book' – means 'Western education based on Western books'. Strictly, it does not. This mistake is often made by scholars with poor understanding of Hausa language, lack of content analysis of the group's statements, and overt reliance on newspaper accounts of the group's activities. For instance Abimbola Adesoji (2010: 100) states that:

“Boko Haram” is derived from a combination of the Hausa word boko meaning “book” and the Arabic word haram which is something forbidden, ungodly or sinful. Literally, it means “book is sinful”, but its deeper meaning is that Western education is sinful, sacrilegious or ungodly and should therefore be forbidden.

The word 'boko', according to the most authoritative lexicon of Hausa language has 11 meanings, all but one of which gravitate around the first, which is: doing anything to create impression that one is better off, or that t. is of better quality or larger in amount than is the case (Bargery 1934: 117). In other words, deception. The last meaning (no 11) given to the word by Bargery is for 'English book' – but the classical definition of 'boko' retained its original meaning, at least in colonial period, of deception. Thus technically, 'boko haram' means 'deceptive knowledge which is sinful', not 'Western education is sin'. This is because charlatan marabouts—basing their epistemology on faulty interpretation of Islamic injunctions to deceive clients—are also technically 'yan boko' (dispensers of...
deceptive knowledge). In Kano and other core Hausa areas of northern Nigeria, the expression 'dan boko' was used derisively to refer to anyone who puts in airs and graces of pretense of being a socialite or a sophisticate. And since those who go to Western schools usually had such airs and graces based on their assumed superior status as potential government employees—thus guaranteeing job security—it became natural to apply such term to such people.

However, according to the new dictionary of the Hausa language published 2006 by the Center for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, the word 'boko' acquired semantic extension due to its usage to refer to Western knowledge, at least in one of the four meanings in the dictionary. Subsequently, the CSNL (2006: 50) came up with four meanings of the word:

boko (bookòo, sn., nj.) (i) ilimin zamani. (ii) rubutun Hausa da bakaken Romawa. (iii) giri. (iv) makirci...

[boko (bookòo, sn., nj.) (i) modern knowledge. (ii) Hausa written in Latin alphabet. (iii) deception, lying. (iv) guile]...

Thus Muhammad Yusuf’s lectures and writing were geared precisely towards convincing his followers that knowledge inspired by Western ideas is false in some respects, but neither he, nor his followers after his death, ever actually proclaimed that such knowledge is sinful. He thus used the word 'boko' in its original Hausa context to mean 'false'. It is the process of demonizing the movement that created the projected medieval persona of the group as condemning Western education – a fact they found amusing, since they not only use products of Western technology and knowledge (laptops, arms, explosives), but at one stage they even had a full-blown website to proclaim their ideals. In addition, their attack on Bauchi prison in August 2010 was facilitated by extensive use of Google Map which helped them to map out the
prison location and its access roads, and subsequently take strategic locations that hampered counter attack by security agents, as documented in their video release, Gazwatu Abi Ibrahim [Abi Ibrahim's War].2

Within seven years (1999-2006), Muhammad Yusuf succeeded in indoctrinating more than 2000 young people who either resigned from their various working places or abandoned education at university or polytechnic level and in several cases tore their certificates and embraced other petty businesses, while accepting Muhammad Yusuf's credo.3 Based on this, the followers of Muhammad Yusuf became referred to often even amongst themselves) as Yusufiyya [followers of Yusuf's teachings]. However, their formal tag for themselves was Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jama'a ala Minhaj as-Salaf ['People of the Way of the Prophet Muhammad and the Community (of Muslims), in line with the earliest generation of Muslims']. The Nigerian media, however, prefer the more catchy 'Boko Haram' almost always accompanied with a translation explaining the name to mean 'Western education is sin'.

In their organizational structure, the Commander in Chief (Amir ul-Aam) is the leader of the entire group. He has two deputies (Na'ib Amir ul-Aam I & II). Each State (where they exist) has its own Amir (Commander/Leader), and each Local Government Area also has an Amir. Below the Local Government Amirs are the remaining followers. They also organized themselves according to various roles, such as Soldiers and Police, etc.

**Yusufiyya Epistemology**

From the explicit contents of the lectures and debates of their leaders and some of their preachers, and from their interpretation of the Qur'an and Sunnah, they regard nonmembers to be kuffar
(disbelievers; those who deny the truth) or fasiqun (wrong-doers).

Most the accounts so far of Yusufiyya in Nigeria and in the international press (itself based on ground accounts in Nigerian press) tended to rely on the more esoteric aspect of their visibility – the violent confrontations with constituted authority, especially the Police, and how such violence filtered to the community.

None of the accounts, so far, seemed to have paid attention to a textual analysis of the views of the members of the Yusufiyya movement themselves, particularly their founder and leader, Muhammad Yusuf, who after his death in 2009 became referred to as Imam Muhammad Yusuf by his followers – which seemed to have martyred him.

In this section I want to present the actual philosophy of Yusufiyya – in their own words, based on the transcript of a debate held between Muhammad Yusuf of Yusufiyya, and the Imam of the Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University of Technology, Bauchi, Malam Isa Aliyu Ibrahim Pantami, as well as Imam Idris Abdul'Aziz of Bauchi. The Pantami debate took place on Sunday 25th June 2006, as identified by the lead debater, Malam Pantami. The Abdul'Aziz debate took place in February 2008.

In the first debate, the Pantami Debate—which lasted for 02:48:51—the two scholars clearly displayed deep respect for each other's opinions, but ended on a stalemate, which each defending his views. The overall purpose of the debate was to determine the acceptability of Western Education and modern democratic institutions within an Islamicate culture.

Pantami lead the debate by usually asking a probing question, and following the answers given by Yusuf with another questions. The first series of questions dealt with Yusuf's understanding of Western Education:

*Pantami: What is Mallam's view on Western Education; and indeed*
what does he understand to be Western Education?

There are three perspectives on knowledge in Islam. The first is knowledge which is in line with what the Qur'an and the Hadith (saying of the Prophet Muhammad) taught. Second, a perspective is where such knowledge clash with what the Qur'an and the Hadith contain. The third is a neutral perspective – which neither clash nor support Qur'an and the Hadith; for as the Prophet (Muhammad) said in his hadith concerning People of the Book, “if they bring to you anything that agreeable in Qur'an, accept it; but if they bring anything that contradicts Islam, reject it; and if they bring anything that neither contradict nor support the Qur'an, it is your choice to accept or reject it.”

Well, this is the perspective I accept – if any form of knowledge is to be pursued for its sake, not following the structure of any government form of education, then I have my own reservations – I thought that is what the learned colleague asked of me, right?

The debate then moved on to etymologies of education, specifically Western Education:

What is Western Education?

_Western Education is the body of knowledge that came to us through European colonialists, and included learning medicine, technology, Geography, Physics and so on. And of course the English language itself. They can all be used if they do not clash with the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him), and we can teach these subjects to_
our own children in our schools – so long as they do not contradict Islamic teachings. If they do, then we should discard them.

In this statement Muhammad Yusuf has more or less outlined his fundamental philosophy which is based on his Islamist core values – not accepting anything which, to him, does not have a place within the knowledge framework of Islam. It is clear, therefore, that he did not reject, out rightly, Western education, but has issues with certain aspects of information usually taught in Western schools. Thus as the debate continued – and became more heated – it became increasingly clear that the Yusufiyya credo seemed to be against mainly scientific knowledge, as explained in the following dialogue:

*What do you say about a student who goes to Bayero (University) or University of Maiduguri to study Physics, Geography, Chemistry and others*

Following the current educational structure we follow in Nigeria, it is haram (forbidden).

*What about a student studying medicine with the hope of helping his fellow Muslims, or to work in a government school or in a Radio station, is this haram in Nigeria or not?*

There two aspects to this. One that is rooted in the necessary educational laws, and other that governs community services. Anything to do with the government is haram, although even in this, there are different perspectives from Islamic scholars about this it being haram.

*Why do you see it as haram. What examples can you give?*

I am happy you asked this question. First there is a subject they call Biology. This teaches people the
origins of man, and that man was not created from clay (as outlined in the Qur'an Sura 23:12 which says: “Man We did create from a quintessence (of clay).” It teaches that human beings had a separate origin from this, and they evolved. So you see, in just one subject, I have given an example of evolution.

In Geography, they have a theory of revolution. In their understanding, the sun is central to a group of ten planets including the earth. They gave names to the planets such as Mars, Jupiter, Uranus, Mercury and others. These names were derived from Greek gods. This directly contradicts what the Qur'an and Hadith stated, therefore studying this (Geography) is haram, because of this contradiction.

In Sociology they keep debating about the nature of Allah, the most high. In their view, there is honest doubt as to whether Allah exists or not; some teach that since they cannot physically see Allah, then He does not exist.

Then there is something they call Geology in which they have something they call Big Bang Theory which teaches that Allah created the world in four millions years and three minutes and one second – which directly contradicts what Allah says in the Qur'an:

Your Guardian-Lord is Allah, Who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and is firmly established on the throne (of authority): He draweth the night as a veil o'er the day, each seeking the other in rapid succession: He created
the sun, the moon, and the stars, (all) governed by laws under His command. Is it not His to create and to govern? Blessed be Allah, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds! (Qur’an 7:54, Yusuf Ali translation).

And then in the university course outlines in Geography, they have a course called Time Scale, in which they explain how Allah created the world in three million years. This contradicts the verse in Surat Fussilat of the Qur’an that says:

Say: Is it that ye deny Him Who created the earth in two Days? And do ye join equals with Him? He is the Lord of (all) the Worlds.. (Qur’an 41:9, Yusuf Ali translation)

In Chemistry they have something called Energy – they claim that it is not created, and it has no end. This is equating energy with features of Allah most high, who is has no beginning and no end.

Most learned Sheikhs (that had gone by) had explained these. One of them was Sheikhul Islam Ibn Taymiyya (may Allah agree with him), who in his book al-Furqan baina Awliya al-Rahman wa-Awliya al-Shaitan 6 explained that the mystics of Islam (Sufis) talked about Saints who in their thinking claim there is no veil (hijab) between them and Allah, meaning they claim to see Allah when they get into a state of spiritual ecstasy. This belief is the same as believing in the concept of Energy, because both deny the existence of Allah, and that He did not create the world and all its contents.
Yusuf's epistemology is therefore based on Ibn Taymiyyah's book, The Decisive Criterion between the Allies of the Merciful and the Allies of the Devil, and right away sets the stage for his non-compromising views on the role of secular epistemology in Islamicate social structure.

When it became clear that Yusuf was mixing his scientific facts up, Pantami challenged him to prove the Islamic implausibility of the Theory of Evolution7 – which Yusuf seemed to have a particular issue with – using Yusuf's own rule of engagement at the beginning of the debate in which he stated that a form of knowledge could be acceptable to Muslims if it does not contradict the sayings in the Qur'an. Yusuf kept referring to Ibn Taymiyyah's book as his reference point – and which Pantami asks him to point out exactly what Ibn Taymiyya said about creation. At one point, Pantami had to ask whether Yusuf had been to at least primary school – to which Yusuf responded in the negative:

First, Mallam, and apologies for this question is not asked without any ulterior motive, have you ever attended a primary school in your life?

No, I have not

You have not been to at least primary school, so how can you explain things you don't know

The reason is that Islam is clear on the things that contradict it; further I did not just say these things are bad in Islam, no, I studied them first through Ibn Taymiyya and what he says and that clearly show contradictions in some aspects of Western form of knowledge.

Pantami then spent considerable time explaining how he uses the internet, particularly Islamic da'awah (propagation) websites such as www.islamtoday.com, as a depository for asking questions and
receiving answers on all aspects of Islam from learned scholars who are acknowledged authorities in the field. Consequently, the general consensus of the Islamic scholars at Islamtoday website is that it is indeed expected of Muslims not only to accept responsibilities in non-Muslim governments, but to also be very proactive in this, as their presence is likely to reduce any possible damage that might be done to Muslims in general. Thus the general consensus would be that it is desirable for Muslims not only associate with non-Muslims, but to also acquire their form of knowledge.

Yusuf seemed to have got annoyed at this, and chided Pantami by pointing out that Pantami is not talking to himself and the need to refocus attention on the debate at hand – the Islamic viability of Western form of education and knowledge in its present structure in Nigeria. Yusuf then proceeded to insist that the only arbiter in deciding what is valuable knowledge to a Muslim is the Qur'an, not an internet website or its contents. In this, Yusuf actually uses the Kharijite template “There is no judgment but God's” (la hukm illa illah). Thus if any form of knowledge is not in the Qur'an or sanctioned by Ibn Taymiyyah, then it is haram (forbidden) to Yusuf and his followers. Considerable time was spent even on the word “haram” itself and the distinction between what is merely not approved [bai halatta ba] and what is forbidden (sinful, haram), with Pantami insisting on differentiating between an undesirable knowledge (because it cannot be used) and harmful knowledge which is prohibited. It is easy to see why Yusufiyya were seen as proclaiming that 'Western knowledge is sin', because in the Pantami debate, Yusuf stuck to the word “haram”, as his justification for shunning any form of knowledge not in the Qur'an – although he does accept other forms of knowledge that do not challenge the very nature of God.

However, Yusufiyya's views were brought clearly in another debate
with Idris Abdul’Aziz, of Bauchi, and recorded in February 2008. This was more heated and contrasted sharply with sober Pantami Debate. The central core of this debate was to refute the participation of a Muslim in any democratic government that is not based on principles of Islamic Shari'a, but it also reinforced Yusuf's views on Western schooling.

In answering the question of whether boko is 'haram or not' Muhammad Yusuf provided the same stock answer he gave in the Pantami Debate – about the three structured perspective of knowledge in Islam: accept, reject, neutral; although in this particular debate he added the dimension of 'kuffar' [unbelief] if the form of knowledge in any way challenges any attribute of Allah. It is clear that he has refined his arguments from the 2006 Pantami Debate. In answering the question as to whether boko is haram or not, he stated that in the "current state of education in Nigeria",

...it is haram, based on its structure because the content matter contradict the oneness of Allah. It is haram because they combine males and females in the same place. It is haram because they honor Christian days. It is haram because they teach things that question the very nature of Allah.

Abdul'Aziz cuts him short by insisting that he did not ask Yusuf to explain the circumstances of acquisition of knowledge in contemporary educational systems in Nigeria; all he had asked was for Yusuf to bring a quotation from the Qur'an, the Hadith or other learned scholars ["ba fahimtar ka ba" – not your own understanding] that prove boko is haram in Islam. Yusuf started by trying to provide a background to his statement that boko is haram – and was cut short by AbdulAziz who still insisted he was not interested in structures of knowledge or division (although he promised they will discuss that eventually), but for the purposes of
definition of terms, so that they all on the same page, Yusuf should provide a single quote from the Qur'an that made boko haram. Yusuf countered by stating that he needed to provide a background to his answer – and they kept on arguing. Eventually, however, Yusuf provided the verse which Abdul'Aziz wanted in the following dialogue:

Alright, here it is:

And say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what (must ordinarily) appear thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and not display their beauty except to their husbands, their fathers, their husband's fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or the slaves whom their right hands possess, or male servants free of physical needs, or small children who have no sense of the shame of sex; and that they should not strike their feet in order to draw attention to their hidden ornaments. And O ye Believers! turn ye all together towards Allah, that ye may attain Bliss. (Qur'an 24:31, Yusuf Ali translation).

This ayat is clearly contradicted in their schools because boko schools enable people to see each other's nakedness. Secondly, Allah, the most high has stated in the Qur'an:

He Who has made everything which He has created most good: He began the creation of man with (nothing more than) clay. (Qur'an 32:7, Yusuf Ali
Yet they teach that man evolved. This is shirk (retraction from Islam) and anyone who attends the schools will have to learn that. They also teach people about the solar system – this is a lie, and they are falsifying information on behalf of the creator. These are the reasons why boko is haram.

O.K. let's go back to the verse you quoted (Qur'an 32:7), do you have any reference to any other scholar who uses this verse as a basis for making boko haram?

If that is the case, then let us establish boundaries of boko; you tell me what you think it is, and I will give you my own version.

What I understand with boko is modern knowledge which was brought to us by British colonial administration; some of which is in conformity with Islam, and there are parts that are not in conformity with Islam. There are in fact things they included in boko which were borrowed from Muslims. This is my understanding of boko.

Each knowledge has three perspectives in Islam – one that is acceptable, one that is not acceptable, and one that is neutral. This is my understanding of Western knowledge.

But Mallam, if any form of knowledge has these three perspectives, can we condemn it completely and call it haram? You did say it was haram, right?

Yes, I repeat, Boko is haram…

…cuts in…. Yawwa [aha, that's it!]
BUT in the way they teach it. You should have asked me if they have various kinds, then I could explain….

...cuts in... that's what you said (boko haram), that's what you said

Yes, but the current structure of delivery in this country makes it haram. Did I say so or not?

You said it!

There you are then!

But are you saying the entire structure is haram?

The structure of the West African Examinations Council Syllabus is haram

Consequently, to Muhammad Yusuf, any form of organized modern secular education is considered sinful in Islam because of its potentials in aiding immorality.

After the Pantami Debate in 2006, Muhammad Yusuf released a book which he wrote in Arabic. The title of the book is Hazihi Akeedatum wa Minhaju Da'awatuna (This is Our Manifesto and Our Path). The book is out of print now. It contains about 300 pages and was published in 2009. A counter argument to Yusuf's views was also published in Arabic in 2009 (Jalo 2009), while earlier, another author wrote what was prefaced Yusuf's ideas against Western knowledge in 2008 (Alkanawi, 2008)—although Yusuf's book was actually a second printing, and likely to have been published in 2008.

Yusuf's book outlines the essential features of Yusufiyya philosophy, based on the fact that they had been garnering media attention at their sermons and religious gatherings, particularly on Western knowledge, Shi'a, and participation in government employment and elective process. From a close reading of the book,
it would also appear Yusuf's writing drew its inspiration from two books of Ibn Taymiyyah – *Minhaj as-Sunnah an-Nabawiyyah* [The Pathway of as-Sunnah an-Nabawiyyah] and *al-Furqan baina Awliya al-Rahman wa-Awliya al-Shaitan* [The Decisive Criterion between the Allies of the Merciful and the Allies of the Devil]. As stated in the section of the book in a section dealing with 'Dangers of Western Schooling', he stated:

According to Darwinism, human beings originated from a small animal which evolved over millions of years before becoming human. Subhannallah! This is a big lie! Whereas Allah has detailed how He created human beings from dust and water. This is our belief and on which we base our Islam. The amazing aspects of creation are stated in the Qur'an in many places:

Ar-Rum 30:20:

Among His Signs in this, that He created you from dust; and then,- behold, ye are men scattered (far and wide)!

Al-An'am 6:2:

He it is created you from clay, and then decreed a stated term (for you). And there is in His presence another determined term; yet ye doubt within yourselves!

Al-Muminun 23:12

Man We did create from a quintessence (of clay);

As-Sajda 32: 7-8

7. He Who has made everything which He has created most good: He began the creation of man with (nothing more than) clay,
8. And made his progeny from a quintessence of the nature of a fluid despised:

At-Tariq 86:5-6

5. Now let man but think from what he is created!

6. He is created from a drop emitted-

And the Prophet said: Allah has created Angels from light, and He created Djinns from fire, and He created Adam from what has been aforementioned. So where do we place this truth of monotheistic narration, as compared to the unbelief of this man, Darwinism [sic].(Yusuf, 2009: 89-90).

In another passage dealing with democracy,

I am warning you about the troubles of our modern times, especially on democracy, infidel, modern idol to whom its followers worship. We will not accept, interact, or partake in this democracy because it is the path of infidels; following it, interacting with it and using it is following the path of the infidels. It is prohibited for any Muslim to be in it, or to elect an infidel under the system of democracy. (Yusuf 2009: 63).

Muhammad Yusuf's preaching subsequently attracted the attention of Nigerian security agencies over the years leading to detentions, but he had always been released, often to a very tumultuous welcome from his followers in Maiduguri. Some of the activities of the Yusufiyya movement seemed targeted at taunting the authorities. For instance, when the Borno State government introduced a new law insisting on motorcyclists to wear crash-helmets, and implemented by a police task force, Operation Flush Out II, Muhammad Yusuf and his disciples refused to abide by the
new law; and since they openly intimidated almost everyone else, they were left alone. And yet it is this singular implementation of the law that triggered the violent confrontation in July 2009. Earlier, in June, some members of the Muhammad Yusuf’s group conveyed the corpse of one of them who died to the cemetery. On the way, they came across one of their members being punished by Operation Flush operatives for contravening the crash helmet law. They went to his rescue, and in the process the security operatives fired sporadic shots and in the stampede many of the followers were hit. This incidence raised tension among his disciples.

On Thursday 11 June 2009, Muhammad Yusuf released a video titled “Budaddiyar Wasika ga Gwamnatin Tarayya” [Open Letter to the Federal Republic of Nigeria]. It was clear from the video that Muhammad Yusuf had declared war on the Federal Republic—ironically not on the basis of Islamist tendency, but on what he perceive to be denial of his human right to assembly. It was an open call to arms, and the members of the sect responded with gusto. As he stated in the video:

We have stopped listening to their saber-rattling. Our brothers do not hate you, it is not because you are in PDP or in ANPP [main political parties in Borno State, the home turf of the movement] that they hate you. We did not do anything to them to make them hate us. They only hate us because we have faith in Allah and because we do not accept government of democracy. They don't hate us because we love Allah, no no, no, only when he slight them. Why do they not attack other citizens – only us who believe in Allah and His prophet. Whose property have we ever destroyed? Who is it we slaughtered like a ram? Who is it did we enter their houses and ransacked them? Just because we
Allah said, and the Prophet (Muhammad) said, then they detest us because of our turbans – and yet this is not enough, they have to shoot us with their guns. This is my explanation. We will no longer listen to anyone (for mediation); their time is up. We will no longer accept invitations for mediation from anyone. We will not accept the shooting of 20 of our members, and we will not let it go, and we will not listen to anyone anymore. You gave the soldiers the orders to shoot us….

It is instructive that Yusufiyya did not advocate direct imposition of Shari’a at that stage – just a withdrawal from any system that does not conform to Islam. Thus unlike the Kharijites, they did not openly, at least in the preaching of Muhammad Yusuf, advocate for violent change of government. However, the incidence in early June 2009 provided the trigger to move to the next level in extremism – from persuasion to confrontation; often as was widely reported, with deadly consequences, including the killing of Muhammad Yusuf at 39 years on 30th July 2009 in the hands of Nigerian police who claimed in news reports that he was killed attempting to escape.

**From Debates to Violent Actions**

The virtual destruction of the Yusufiyya movement by the Nigeria security forces in July 2009 and the death of their leader, Muhammad Yusuf, drove the movement underground for almost six months. In 2010 they began a systematic insurgency against security forces—both the police and the army—as well as those who collaborated with the security forces leading either to their capture, or shooting. From January 2010 to June 2011, they carried out more than 20 documented attacks which included shootings,
bombings, including suicide bombing.11

Their most spectacular public re-emergence was on 7 September 2010 when a cell of the group led a massive well-armed attack on Bauchi prison, freeing over 700 detained members of the movement. They distributed two leaflets to terrified residents of the area. The first was on half A4 printer paper on which the following was written: “Jama'atu Alhlissunnah lidda'awati wal Jihad ba Boko Haram ba”, which means “Jama'atu Alhlissunnah lidda'awati wal Jihad [Followers of the Sunnah of the Prophet [Muhammad] for Propagation [of Islam] and Jihad] not Boko Haram.” This is the first time the group has articulated its own nomenclature, since they have never referred themselves as Boko Haram.

The second leaflet on full A4 paper, and titled 'In Maye Ya Manta.' [If the perpetrator has forgotten (the victim will not)], contained the first articulation of their new militant insurgency stating, amongst others:

Everyone can attest to the fact that since we started our activities about eight to nine years ago, we have never molested anyone. We only preach that it is forbidden to follow any path contrary to what Allah through his Messenger [Prophet Muhammad] commands to follow. You are all witness to the sudden attack on us in our mosque during the early dawn prayer by this oppressive government, shooting and killing our members and arresting others. And yet there are, among our Muslims brothers, those who act as agents of the government and point us out for the government forces to kill or arrest. This serves as a general notice to all: fighting this government is mandatory on everyone. Whoever refuses this will be accountable to Allah. For us, we would rather die than fail Allah on the
account of our deeds. Whoever can, join us; if not, shut up, for it does not concern you, leave us alone, and watch what will transpire.

The leaflet was signed 'Jama'atu Alhlissunnah lidda'awati wal Jihad, which is waging the Jihad in the country called Nigeria.' JASLWJ thus formally declared its Islamist agenda in August 2010, as well as launched its name. This is because prior to this, the group had been focused on proving its epistemological stand on various aspects of knowledge with various scholars. Thus assault on the group by the Nigerian security forces and the subsequent state-sanctioned killings of their various members from July 2009 metamorphosed them into a hardcore militia, whose modus operandi borrows heavily from Al-Shabab of Somalia and GIA of Algeria, and centers around fighting the Government with any means necessary. Interestingly, up to that time, there was no clear ideological focus in the groups' messages—either on tape or video. Their main grouse were two: killing their leader and followers, and not being left alone to preach Islam in the way they understood it.

In January 2011 a new VideoCD surfaced in northern Nigeria containing a direct address by Yusuf's second-in-command, Imam Abu Muhammad Abubakar Bin Muhammad Shekau, who had taken over the leadership of the movement. Indeed Muhammad Yusuf himself had anointed Shekau as his successor in a phone-clip video interview recorded apparently by Nigerian security forces after his capture few hours before he died in July 2009. The new message declared a fresh war on the Nigerian government, and also stated:

Muslim brethren, we did not make unlawful anything except what Allah [and the Prophet] has made unlawful. We did not make lawful except what Allah [and the Prophet] has made lawful. This is what we have been saying. We rebel against
western inspired knowledge. We rebel against democracy. We rebel against any structure or arrangement not from Allah or His prophet. We have adopted Allah's structure, i.e. the Qur'an and the Hadith on the path of Ahl-Sunna wal Jama'a. We rebel against the Shia. We rebel against the Tatsine. We rebel against any labeling. You will not find us in [these labels of groups]...But if you look for us in the Qur'an and the Hadith, you will find us there by Allah's special grace. [Imam Abubakar Shekau, 2010, VCD, Taqaddum, time code 23:53].

This declaration was followed by a series of increased sniper attacks on security forces (police stations, police and army check points), with increasing use of both improvised explosive devices (IED) and ready-made bombs often lobbed at security patrols or remotely exploded near security patrols. Included in the violence were also targeted assignations of individuals considered by the group to have either betrayed them or provided support to the security forces to prosecute them. The sum of all these was to create a climate of fear in Maiduguri, which later spread to Bauchi; so much that the mere mention of a possible visit to a State by the group was enough to send fears of trepidation—despite the group's repeated insistence that they do not target civilians whom they do not consider in the enemy camp.

However, their most visible presence—bringing them into the Islamist militia's 'big league'—came in two spectacular suicide bombings—introducing a first in Nigerian militancy. The first occurred on Thursday 16th June 2011 in which a suicide bomber and a member of the group, Alhaji Mohammed Manga, detonated explosives packed in his car in the vicinity of the headquarters of the Nigerian police force in Abuja [the capital], killing five people, including himself. In a recorded telephone interview to journalists
(Salkida 2011a), the group's spokesman Abu Zaid explained:

> Although the Force headquarters was among the list of our targets, we made it a priority and acted quickly because of the empty threats of the Inspector-General of Police that he would eradicate us within two weeks... we planned it as a suicide attack right from the onset. The attacker left his will to his family and a message to Nigerians. We were together and he bid everyone farewell. He was calm and looked peaceful even when he had decided to give his life away; many brothers envied him and wished it was their turn to act. The bomber said he had sacrificed his life for Allah's sake and urged other believers to do likewise. So far, we have screened nearly 100 persons for suicide attacks for this year alone in Nigeria, while more than this number are getting ready for next year.

In this singular act JASLWJ proved their determination to make their points across. However, more was to come. On Monday 15th August 2011 a member of the JASLWJ, Abu Mohammed, drove a car packed with explosives into a compound during police cadet officers screening exercise. When he failed to obey commands to stop, the security forces shot and killed him, preventing him from exploding the car and killing the cadet officers (Mbaya and Abimaje 2011).

On Friday 26th August 2011, Muhammad Abul Burra, a member of the JASLWJ drove a car at a high speed laden with explosives and rammed it into the ground floor of the United Nations headquarters in Abuja, killing 23 people, including himself. In another telephone interview with the reporter Salkida of Blueprint newspaper, the deputy spokesperson of the group, Abu Qaqa explained that:
“Our relationship with Al Qaida is very strong. In fact, our leader (Shekau) and his team were in Mecca for the lesser Hajj to consolidate on that relationship. And we carried out the attack on the UN building when he was about to go into a meeting with Al Qaida leadership in order to strengthen our negotiation position.”

As you can see, all over the world people have been talking, everyone has been talking, even the Sultan of Sokoto has sympathized with the victims. But where was the Sultan when soldiers entered mosques in Maiduguri and stepped on the Holy Qur'an in Biu and killed a little girl at Budum in Maiduguri? The Sultan didn't come out to condemn that attack as he condemned this because he was a soldier. Between the UN and the mosque, which is greater?...Of course, our objective is to place Nigeria in a difficult position and even to destabilize it and replace it with Sharia. Whether we will conduct such Islamic government or not is a different issue.” (Salkida 2011b).

He said the group intends to take Nigeria back to the pre-colonial times when the Sharia law was practiced. It in this statement that the Islamist agenda first appeared forcefully—to ensure compliance with Shari'a in at least those Nigerian states that had re-implemented the Shari'a penal code since 1999.

Conclusion

It is clear that there is a paradigm shift in Nigerian militant Islamism in which at least four distinct typologies evolved. The first was rhetorical clash between Sufi brotherhoods, although there
were occasional violent confrontations. The two opposing brotherhoods however, formed a truce when the Wahabbist Izala group emerged, leading to a second stage in Muslim radicalism in the country. This was because the Izala's ultraorthodox philosophy interpretation of Islam pitched them against the Sufi brotherhoods' veneration of saints.

The third was the escalation in the depression of the Nigerian economy, leading to a vast army of jobless youth that provided a fodder for any revolutionary—which apparently happened in the case of the series of Maitatsine fundamentalist uprisings in the 1980s. The fourth, so far, was the emergence of Jama'atu Ahl-Sunnah Lidda'awati wal Jihad (JASLWJ) as a group of initially rhetorical preachers, driven underground by the Nigerian security apparatus leading to violent confrontations, and eventually, Islamist agenda to ensure compliance with the Shari'a in an Islamicate society. In my use of the term 'Islamicate' to refer to northern Nigeria, I borrow Marshal Hodgson's original conception of the word who created it in the following argument:

...if the analogy with 'Christendom' is held to, 'Islamdom' does not designate in itself a 'civilization', a specific culture, but only the society that carries that culture. There has been, however, a culture, centred on a lettered tradition, which has been historically distinctive of Islamdom the society, and which has been naturally shared in by both Muslims and non-Muslims who participate at all fully in the society of Islamdom. For this, I have used the adjective 'Islamicate'. I thus restrict the term 'Islam' to the religion of the Muslims, not using that term for the far more general phenomena, the society of Islamdom and its Islamicate cultural traditions...'}Islamicate' would
refer not directly to the religion, Islam, itself, but to the social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims, both among Muslims themselves and even when found among non-Muslims (Hodgson 1977:58-59 including emphasis).

With this extended conception, I argue that JASLWJ emerged out of discontentment with both social and political structures of an Islamicate social culture of northern Nigeria, framed against the background of American War on Terrorism which portrayed United States – consequently the amorphous “West” – as undesirable to Muslim social culture. This was backed by the rhetoric of international radical scholars—whose lectures are readily available on the Internet via download sites such as YouTube—such as Al-Faisal. JASLWJ adherents sought to substitute the Islamicate social structure with what they perceived to be a more Islamic structure – following antecedent Kharijites—another term they abhor when labeled against them, since in their philosophy, Nigerian government is not Muslim, and the original Kharijites opposed a Muslim government—in their adoption of any means necessary to bring about violent change; violence which has ricochet effects not only on the instruments of the State, but also at followers of their faith. In this course of action, their ready template seemed to be the Taliban of Afghanistan, the Al-Shabab of Somalia, and the Armed Islamic Group (GIA, Groupe Islamique Armé] of Algeria.

The emergence of JASLWJ in northern Nigeria signals a paradigm shift in the growth of Islamic militant tendencies in northern Nigeria – a shift that seems to be in line with a new age and often designer destructive tendencies of transnational dimensions and antecedents. There was indeed a remarkable transformation in the nature of the membership of such emergent militant Islamists.
This is because the emergence of 'Yan Tatsine in the 1980s was situated within African postcolonial labor theories and often Marxist frameworks (e.g. Bashir 1983, Lubeck, 1985). Followers of the militant Islamist group were seen as disenfranchised unlettered urban poor who were intimidated by their poverty and lack of access to quality life in the city dwellings they found themselves, especially after rainy seasons are over in the rural areas and they migrated to town to survive as urchins and city debris.

I argue that application of this particular strand of Marxist theory does not, however, explain the subsequent emergence of the urban guerilla sniper tactics of JASLWJ who had access to technology, skills, training and transnational networks of fellow militant Islamists from where they leant the tactics of urban guerrilla warfare.

The American military campaigns in Iraq (Operation Desert Storm, 2 August 1990 – 28 February 1991) and (War on Terrorism, 2001) following the September 2001 terrorist attacks on US soil did not create militant, insurgent sympathies with Al Qaeda, the alleged perpetrators of the attacks. Sympathies against the attacks as well as with Osama bin Laden were reflected in streets protests or in the private sphere of the home, e.g. naming newly born babies 'Osama' in honor Osama bin Laden); but for the most part protests remained street affairs attracting large number of urban youth in Ibadan, Kano, Kaduna and other areas, rather than systematic allegiance with Al Qaeda or its methodologies. The emergence of JASLWJ seemed set to change all that and create a link between Islamist militants in northern Nigeria and Al Qaeda philosophy of wide scale adoption of Shari'a.

Two incidents illustrate this possible convergence. First was the attempted bombing of a Northwest Airlines Flight 253 on its landing approach to Detroit on 25th December 2009 by a Nigerian man, Umar Faruk AbdulMutallab. The fact that AbdulMutallab,
only 23 years (and in Nigerian tradition, a little more than a “child”) and son of an extremely wealthy Nigerian banker, and who lived a privileged existence all his life with studies outside Nigeria, including an engineering degree in the UK, and travels around the world could allegedly be recruited by Al Qaeda militant network refutes the labor and Marxist theories of the northern Nigerian Islamist militancy; for in a single day, AbdulMutallab was able to display the potentials of a more destructive influence of Al Qaeda than what JASLWJ and 'Yan Tatsine could have achieved.

The second incident appeared out of a more bloody, but non-Islamist incidence. On 19th January 2010 violent riots erupted in Jos, in the Middle Belt section of Nigeria. From all accounts of the riots, it would appear to have been on matters of territoriality, with one group claiming ownership of the land (ethnic Berom) and insisting that others (especially Muslim Hausa) were settlers and have no right to occupancy (for a historical treatment of the problem see, for example, Je'adayibe 2006, Muhammed and Adeoye 2006). Immediately after this, Al Qaeda North Africa issued an open invitation to Muslims in Nigeria for training and ammunition so that they can “fight their enemies”. This was followed at one stage by the picture of Muhammad Yusuf on one of Al Qaeda's websites, celebrating his martyrdom.

From all indications, JASLWJ, like many other religious extremist groups is not out to commit robbery, rape, or other such materialistic or non-ideologically motivated crimes – although splinter cells with more criminal tendencies have emerged under the camouflage of JASLWJ. The original core and founding members are usually people with alternative interpretations about important issues in Islam, but who are convinced that they are absolutely right and should be left alone to preach their religion.

When the violence started escalating in northern Nigeria, the Federal Government set up a Presidential Committee on Security
Challenges in the Northeast Zone under the chairmanship of Ambassador Galtimari committee in August 2011 to explore possible ways of dialogue with the group. In a swift reaction, the group's spokesman, Abul Qaqa sent an email response to various newspapers in Nigeria, stating, in part:

Nobody was willing to address the fundamental issues we raised and therefore, those that made the recommendations are on their own...We did not recommend the setting up of any committee under whatever name or guise. We do not recognize the Sultan of Sokoto as the leader of the Muslims...what we are saying is that we want a Shari'a State that will ensure equity, justice and the fear of God. (Idris, 2011:2).

Consequently, their actions and motivations come from their faith-based ideology and interpretation of Islamic religious texts. An ongoing intellectual and ideological engagement with such extremists by Muslim activists, 'former fanatics' and the scholars they respect can dissuade those who are prone to violence as a way of furthering their religious interests. The biggest challenge is finding the appropriate entry point to such engagement. The rationales for religious violence therefore cannot be addressed effectively by the existing law-enforcement agencies, because reducing such extremism requires advocating a more balanced ideological discourse from within the framework of Islam.

According to DCCN (2009) to be credible, such advocacy must be faith-based and involve distinguished Muslim scholars who have the patience to deeply understand their particular extremist positions, who can quote extensively from well-respected traditional authorities, and who can respect the bridge-building Ethics and Etiquettes of Disagreement in Islam (Adab al-Ikhtilaf). As a rule, such extremist groups also have very little knowledge and appreciation of fields such as the Principles and Methodology
of Islamic Jurisprudence (Usul ul-Fiqh) and of the Higher Objectives and Intents of Islamic Law (Maqasid al-Shari'ah).

Without such an intellectual and ideological engagement with such extremists (even though sincere), the use of brutal force can only temporarily silence or frustrate such groups—as indeed the emergence of JASLWJ as a militia army shows. Force often makes them become more fanatical and go underground where they are more difficult to monitor and engage—as the case of the GIA in Algeria clearly demonstrates. With the response of the Nigerian authorities to the JASLWJ being violent, a window of opportunity has now been created for the escalation of that violence through transnational channels that are far more deadly, and with far-reaching consequences, than videotaped and YouTube rhetoric and debates.

Notes

1. By 'orthodox Islam' I refer to conventional traditional Sunni Islam, and thus exclude any debate on Shi'ite Islam in northern Nigeria. This is because the radical militancy alluded to in this paper was contextualized within Sunni Islam.

2. This was www.mansoorah.net, and which contained a pdf file of one of the member's papers. The site was down as of August 2011. However, they opened a blog at http://yusufislamicbrothers.blogspot.com/ which made it clear that they were aware of the debates about them on the Internet, including Facebook.

3. Based on undocumented accounts by informants in Maiduguri who were close to the group at its peak.

4. The quoted debates from the Pantami Debate were in Hausa language. The translations are mine.
5. The actual word “Geology” was also used in this narrative by Muhammad Yusuf.

6. al-Furqan baina Awliya al-Rahman wa-Awliya al-Shaitan [The Decisive Criterion between the Allies of the Merciful and the Allies of the Devil].

7. In this Hausa explanation, Muhammad Yusuf used the actual expression, “theory of revolution” in English – indicating his familiarity with it, although not understanding; for in one scene they were debating the Darwinian theory of evolution, and in the next they were discussing planetary revolutions.

8. I would like to thank Mu'allim Abdalla Sani ibn Shu'aibu of Dandago, Kano city who helped in translating the original passages into Hausa, from which I further translated into English. I also acknowledge the invaluable assistance of Adamun Adamawa of Bauchi who graciously lent a copy of the original Yusuf's book for scanning.

9. As is the case with all his public speeches and debates, this was in the Hausa language. The translations are mine.

10. Using the dating stamped on the files in the CD, since there was nowhere in the debate where the date of the debate was recorded, as in the Pantami Debate.

11. These attacks were fully chronicled by Maje El-Hajeej, an investigative reporter for Hausa Leadership in the edition of the newspaper dated 30th June 2011, pp. 4-5, 20.

Sources and Filmography
At least five video recordings were available in northern Nigerian markets and traffic light DVD vendors that capture three of the main manifestos of JASLWJ. In addition, there are claimed to be
many books written in Arabic by the late leader of the group, Muhammad Yusuf; although these do not seem to be widely available. The most recent was Hazihi Akeedatum wa Minhaju Da'awatuna (This is Our Manifesto and Our Path, Yusuf 2009).

The first is what I call the Pantami Debate. This was a muqabala (debate) between Malam Isa Aliyu Ibrahim Pantami, the Chief Imam of the Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University of Technology, Bauchi, and Muhammad Yusuf, who accepted to the debate on a special invitation. The debate took place on 29 Jumadal Ula 1427 (Sunday 25th June 2006) in Bauchi and sold only within the shops/mosques of Boko Haram. After the outbreak of hostilities between Boko Haram and the Nigerian Police Force in 2009 which eventually lead to the death of their leader, Muhammad Yusuf, the Pantami Debate surfaced at various markets in Kano. The debates lasts for 2:48:15 hours, and was produced by CDWEB/Darul Islam, Bauchi (no address listed). The full title of the DVD is Muqabala Kan Matsayin Karatun Boko da Aikin Gwamnati a Najeriya (Debate on the Status of Western Education and Government Employment in Nigeria), although the cover the DVD carries a different title which nevertheless conveyed the content. This was Takaddama – Boko A Musulunci: Halal ko Haram (Debate – Western Education in Islam: Forbidden or Acceptable?). Although the Pantami Debate lasted for over 2:48 minutes, the first 30 minutes were spent by the two scholars setting the scene and establishing the rules of engagement. The actual debate started at the 31st minute, and it is from the transcript of this that I extracted the section of this paper that deals with the epistemology of Boko Haram.

The second was debate by Boko Haram Musabaka No 2, which I call the Democracy Debate, with Idris Abdul'Aziz, also Bauchi as the Pantami Debate, and recorded early February 2008, but produced 26th February 2008. It was marketed by Al-Kitab Wassunah Cassette, Islamic Propagation Center, Jos, and titled “Muqabala kan
Karatuun Boko da Aikin Gwamnati a Najeriya” VCD 3 (Debate on Western Education and Civil Service Employment in Nigeria). Although it was labeled VCD 3 (indicating it is part of a series), there was no listing at the beginning or at the rather abrupt ending of the video of the others in the series. However, a similar CD was also issued by Darul Islam, Bauchi.

The two main issues discussed in debate were general education (especially university level) democracy, constitution and their viability in Islam. This debate was more heated and rowdy, with each of the debaters trying to get a point across, and being interrupted by the other – so much that it is often difficult to discern when a particular point is exhausted. Yet throughout, they both remained almost cheerful towards each other, and the feeling conveyed was that of two people who agree to disagree on certain issues.

The third video from Muhammad Yusuf recorded a single sermon that led to the bloody events of July 2009 which lead to his own death. It was recorded on Thursday 11 June 2009 (from the opening statement made by Muhammad Yusuf himself). It was titled “Budaddiyar Wasika Zuwa ga Gwamnatin Tarayyar Najeriya” [Open Letter to the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria]. The video lasts for 1.16.08 hours, and was marketed by Khairul Huda, Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria. Following the death of Muhammad Yusuf, the video became widely available via mobile phone networks. It was the final testament of a revolutionary and provided the template for the Islamist violence that was follow from January 2010 in northern Nigeria. Over videos were not so widely publicized, but often sent to newspaper journalists (particularly Blueprint, Abuja) who subsequently make them available to the public. The Internet video sharing site, YouTube also has many clips of the group (http://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=boko+haram&suggested_categories=25%2C22%2C28&page=3) – although their
The authenticity cannot be verified.

The fourth video was titled Gazwatu Abi Ibrahim [Abi Ibrahim's War], and released by the Public Affairs unit of the JASLWJ. It details the attack on Bauchi prison in September 2010. However, more than that, it showed a young militia member, Abi Ibrahim, explaining how he strategically planned the attack with Google map—indicating clearly that not all 'boko' is haram.

The fifth and final video, titled Taqaddum [Presentation] was a speech by Abubakar Shekau, who took over the leadership of JASLWJ after the death of Muhammad Yusuf. Released in December 2010, it had a mastering time code of December 20, 2010. In the speech, the group openly declared further their manifesto and what they stood for—including a 'no retreat, no surrender' reaffirmation of their right to practice their religion without fear or molestation from Nigerian security forces.
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Introduction

Nigeria is one of Africa's large countries endowed with various natural resources and the potential of becoming the strongest economy in the region. The development challenge has been on the forefront of national concerns since independence. Her history since then has been dominated by concerns about her development or lack of it. Her potentials have often attracted foreign interest in the country. Nigeria is a relatively large country in size and Africa's most populous country. At 160 million people Nigeria is home to one out of every five sub-Saharan Africans. The stability of the country is of interest to the international community. Nigeria is Africa's largest contributor to international peace keeping operations, and the fifth largest in the world. Despite this contribution to global peace the country has found it difficult maintaining domestic peace. One of the major challenges to economic growth in the country has been the persistent crises that have undermined her ability to mobilize and effectively leverage her natural advantage. Since political independence it has faced a number of insurgencies and a major civil war. The spate of religious, ethnic and regional conflicts have served to weaken the
Nigerian state but more crucial has been the persistent pressure to undermine the state by the political class.

An insurgency is defined as a rebellion against a constituted authority when those taking part in the rebellion are not recognized as belligerents. Insurgency is used here in its neutral form to describe a movement unlawful by virtue of not being authorized by or in accordance with the law of the land. There are different forms of rebellion. It could be riot or uprisings or political actions to undermine the state. It could be violent or non violent. Method of insurgency includes various forms of subversion and armed conflict.

A variety of terms, none precisely defined, all fall under the category of insurgency: rebellion, uprisings, etc. The value of the formal models discussed below is to have a taxonomy to categorize insurgencies. No two insurgencies are identical. The basis of the insurgency can be political, economic, religious, or ethnic, or a combination of factors. Each had different specifics but share the property of an attempt to disrupt the central government by means considered illegal by that government. North points out, however, that insurgents today need not be part of a highly organized movement:

Sometimes there may be one or more simultaneous insurgencies and the Iraq insurgency is not unique in having a government recognised by most other states and multiple sets of insurgents. Historic insurgencies, such as the Russian Civil War, have been multipolar rather than a straightforward model made up of two sides.

Insurgency has been used for years in professional military literature.

Insurgency and its tactics are as old as warfare itself. Joint doctrine defines an insurgency as an organized movement aimed at the
overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. These definitions are a good starting point, but they do not properly highlight a key paradox: though insurgency and COIN are two sides of a phenomenon that has been called revolutionary war or internal war, they are distinctly different types of operations.

"Some are networked with only loose objectives and mission-type orders to enhance their survival. Most are divided and factionalized by area, composition, or goals. Strike one against the current definition of insurgency. It is not relevant to the enemies we face today. Many of these enemies do not currently seek the overthrow of a constituted government...weak government control is useful and perhaps essential for many of these “enemies of the state” to survive and operate."[17]

Robert R. Tomes spoke of four requisites:[18] in a 2004 article, identifies four elements that "typically encompass an insurgency":

1. cell-networks that maintain secrecy terrorism
2. used to foster insecurity among the population and drive them to the movement for protection
3. multifaceted attempts to cultivate support in the general population, often by undermining the new regime
4. attacks against the government

Tomes offers an indirect definition of insurgency, drawn from Trinquier's definition of counterinsurgency: "an interlocking system of actions—political, economic, psychological, military—that aims at the [insurgents' intended] overthrow of the established authority in a country and its replacement by another regime" [20]

Metz [21] observes that past models of insurgency do not perfectly fit modern insurgency, in that current instances are far more likely
to have a multinational or transnational character than those of the past. Several insurgencies may belong to more complex conflicts, involving "third forces (armed groups which affect the outcome, such as militias) and fourth forces (unarmed groups which affect the outcome, such as international media), who may be distinct from the core insurgents and the recognized government. While overt state sponsorship becomes less common, sponsorship by transnational groups is more common. "The nesting of insurgency within complex conflicts associated with state weakness or failure..." [see the discussion of failed states below] Metz suggests that contemporary insurgencies have far more complex and shifting participation than traditional wars, where discrete belligerents seek a clear strategic victory.

Not all insurgencies include terrorism, without attempting a comprehensive definition of terrorism, it would be useful to delineate some broad characteristics of the phenomenon. Terrorism is, in most cases, essentially a political act. It is meant to inflict dramatic and deadly injury on civilians and to create an atmosphere of fear, generally for a political or ideological (whether secular or religious) purpose. Terrorism is a criminal act, but it is more than mere criminality. To overcome the problem of terrorism it is necessary to understand its political nature as well as its basic criminality and psychology.

A pure terrorist group "may pursue political, even revolutionary, goals, but their violence replaces rather than complements a political program."[12] Morris made the point that the use, or non-use, of terrorism does not define insurgency, "but that organizational traits have traditionally provided another means to tell the two apart. Insurgencies normally field fighting forces orders of magnitude larger than those of terrorist organizations." Insurgencies have a political purpose, and may provide social
services and have an overt, even legal, political wing. Their covert wing carries out attacks on military forces with tactics such as raids and ambushes, as well as acts of terror such as attacks that cause deliberate civilian casualties.

While not every insurgency involves terror, most involve an equally hard to define tactic, subversion. "When a country is being subverted it is not being outfought; it is being out-administered. Subversion is literally administration with a minus sign in front." [14] The exceptional cases of insurgency without subversion are those when there is no accepted government that is providing administrative services.

"a generalized intention to (emphasis added) “overthrow or undermine parliamentary democracy by political, industrial or violent means.” While insurgents do not necessarily use terror, it is hard to imagine any insurgency meeting its goals without undermining aspects of the legitimacy or power of the government or faction it opposes. Rosenau mentions a more recent definition that suggests subversion includes measures short of violence, which still serve the purposes of insurgents.[24] Rarely, subversion alone can change a government; this arguably happened in the liberalization of Eastern Europe.[citation needed] To the Communist government of Poland, Solidarity appeared subversive but not violent.[citation needed]

According to a recent global report on terrorism by the State Department's Coordinator for Counterterrorism, Ambassador Dan Benjamin, terrorist attacks in 2011 were more than 10,000 in 70 countries, resulting in more than 12,500 deaths. The largest number of reported attacks occurred in South Asia and the Near East. Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan, together accounted for 85 per cent of attacks in these regions. The activities of Islamic sect, Boko Haram, in Nigeria is said to have worsened the African situation. It
said Africa experienced 978 attacks in 2011, an 11.5 per cent increase over the previous year, attributing this to the aggressive attacks of Boko Haram, which it said conducted 136 attacks in 2011, up from 31 in 2010.

Persistent insurgency as witnessed in Nigeria thrives when there is tacit acceptance, collusion or indifference by a sizeable segment of society. Often this segment of society finds that the outcome of a particular insurgence will be to their advantage or that the process of counterinsurgency benefits them. There is always a constituency that benefits or expects to benefit from insurgency. When this constituency is large the effort to compact the insurgency is often difficult. In consideration of insurgency one is faced with the moral relativity that “one man's terrorist is another man's liberator”. This raises the issue, that while the use of force and violence by individuals and groups may be unlawful and there use by properly constituted authority lawful segments of society could consider some actions of properly constituted authorities as illegitimate soliciting some form or insurgency as appropriate response. Riots and violent protests against a state or its policies constitute such a response. Unlawful as they may seem they could command support from segments of society.

The current insurgency in Nigeria is driven by two economic forces - one local the other external. On the domestic front the economy has over the years sustained a large pool of marginalized citizens that benefit little from the natural resources of the country. A series of social and political issues have intermingled with an initial economic condition to ensure that this segment of society remain at the fringes of the economic system. While poverty and economic marginalization does not automatically result in insurgency evidence from history suggest that the existence of this segment of society provides a veritable manpower for insurgency.

On the external front colonized people generally have a history of
resistance which most often has resulted in one form of insurgency or the other. Opposition to oppression and economic injustice are often the starting point for insurgencies. In each case of insurgency in Nigeria it is imperative to interrogate the nature and character of the insurgency – their economic, political, social and cultural dimensions.

Insurgencies, according to Eizenstat et al. grow out of "gaps".[34] To be viable, a state must be able to close three "gaps", of which the first is most important:

a. **security**: protection "against internal and external threats, and preserving sovereignty over territory. If a government cannot ensure security, rebellious armed groups or criminal nonstate actors may use violence to exploit this security gap—as in Haiti, Nepal, and Somalia."

b. **capacity**: The most basic are the survival needs of water, electrical power, food and public health, closely followed by education, communications and a working economic system.[35] "An inability to do so creates a capacity gap, which can lead to a loss of public confidence and then perhaps political upheaval. In most environments, a capacity gap coexists with—or even grows out of—a security gap. In Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for example, segments of the population are cut off from their governments because of endemic insecurity. And in postconflict Iraq, critical capacity gaps exist despite the country's relative wealth and strategic importance."[36]

c. **legitimacy**: closing the legitimacy gap is more than an incantation of "democracy" and "elections", but a government that is perceived to exist by the consent of the governed, has minimal corruption, and has a working law enforcement and judicial system that enforce human rights.
To develop a successful counterinsurgency strategy you need an insurgency model that fit the particular situation under consideration

Eizenstat's security gap:

i. Military security (securing the population from attack or intimidation by guerrillas, bandits, terrorists or other armed groups)

ii. Police security (community policing, police intelligence or “Special Branch” activities, and paramilitary police field forces).

iii. Human security, building a framework of human rights, civil institutions and individual protections, public safety (fire, ambulance, sanitation, civil defense) and population security.

“This pillar most engages military commanders' attention, but of course military means are applied across the model, not just in the security domain, while civilian activity is critically important in the security pillar also ... all three pillars must develop in parallel and stay in balance, while being firmly based in an effective information campaign."[30]

Former militants in Nigeria's Niger Delta region are threatening to resume attacks if they are not paid $6 million in compensation for last year's killing of one of their leaders, General John Togo. Last year, the Niger Delta Liberation Front laid down their weapons and joined thousands of other former militants in Nigeria's federal amnesty program. In exchange for weapons and a promise of peace, former insurgents were promised counselling, job training, health care and sometimes access to credit.

Some say this program, which began in 2009, has brought calm to what was, for several years, a war zone. Others say the program is
rife with corruption, and that militant activities and oil theft keep the region unstable.

An increasingly violent insurgency by Islamist sect Boko Haram in Nigeria's economically stagnant north has begun pressuring the country's finances by forcing extra spending on security.

It is diverting money away from needed infrastructure spending and could be costing as much as 2 percent of the country's economic output.

Boko Haram, which wants Islamic sharia law more widely applied across Africa's most populous nation, has been waging a low level insurgency against the government and security forces since 2009.

The severity of its attacks has leapt in the last six months with its strikes have been largely confined to the Muslim north, hundreds of kilometers from the commercial hubs of Lagos and the Niger Delta, home to Africa's biggest oil industry.

The Nature of Insurgency in Nigeria

Nigeria is a country endowed with abundant natural resources including oil, but is among the 30 poorest countries in the world with 60% of the population living below the poverty line, according to the UNDP Human Development Index 2006. The oil wells are found in the Niger Delta region with many of them located offshore. At the time the oil industry was being developed, environmental protection and impacts on the host communities were not given full consideration.

There are various models of insurgency. The challenge to experts in Nigeria is describing a model of insurgency that fits the Nigerian experience and on which solutions could be found. Kilcullen describes the "pillars" of a stable society, while Eizenstat addresses the "gaps" that form cracks in societal stability. McCormick's model
shows the interplay among the actors: insurgents, government, population and external organizations. Barnett discusses the relationship of the country with the outside world, and Cordesman focuses on the specifics of providing security.

Beyond the political lines that divide the country into states, there are many different ethnic and religious lines as well. Some of the groups formed out of these divisions compete with one another over territory and wealth in the form of ransoms from kidnapping and stolen oil, especially around the delta. Oil is stolen primarily by way of illegally installed valves in oil pipe lines, which takes the skills of someone who might have originally worked in an oil company. The oil is then taken from the valves and transported onto tankers whose drivers use fake documents to alter the size of their original load. Many of the segregated militias participate in this type of oil theft.

Unfortunately, the problem is much bigger than just warring gangs. Many of the heads of the militia groups are also key political figures who have an incredible amount of political influence.

The role of American-based oil companies in destabilizing the Delta cannot be ignored, nor can the transfer of small arms and light weapons to irresponsible or unaccountable African armies. The deposit of natural resources in any area by God is a design to provide for the needs of the people living on the land. But the people of Niger Delta have not been lucky enough to derive such benefits from the resources found in their land. Who are the people benefitting from the resources and why are they extracted at the detriment of the host communities?

On May 13, Nigerian forces launched an attack in the Niger Delta that resulted in the displacement of 30,000 people. The villages of Oporoza and Okerenkoko were attacked by military men with heavy machine-guns, prompting the Movement for the
Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) to call for an all-out war. Over a month later, the Joint Task Force (JTF) of the Nigerian government continues to patrol the area, making it impossible for community members to return home and to get access to food and water. On July 13, the militant group, MEND openly took responsibility for an attack on the Atlas Cove jetty in Lagos the day prior. The attack killed five people in a key port, prompting concerns over access to the oil supply in the country. MEND spokesman, Jomo Gbomo, stated that the attack was part of a “two pronged approach”, dialogue and increasing attacks as tactics in the negotiations process towards peace. By heightening the attacks, MEND hopes to send a message to the Nigerian government that its efforts to negotiate peace are not because it is weakening or surrendering. Although the militants do not have the capacity to defeat the JTF, the JTF recognizes that militants do have the capability of destabilizing the oil industry in the country. They have already been able to 'cut Nigeria's oil exports by a whopping 40%, or as much as 1 million barrels a day.

The organization of insurgency in recent decades particularly in terms of the resource capability of insurgent groups calls for closer examination of structure of the process in terms of manpower, funding, equipment/supplies, sanctuary and intelligence.

Insurgency in Nigeria could be traced to her colonial history. Nigeria's colonial past as base for current insurgencies

British colonial rule in Nigeria was informed by the need of the colonial power to expropriate resources.

Since the return to democratic rule the nature of insurgency in the country has changed. Ten years after the infamous execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other protesters in Nigeria, the same frustrations that led to their activism against an abusive military government are fueling a rebel movement against the nation's new
democratic government. The oil industry has brought great damage to the Delta region with oil spills that lead to never-ending gas flares, endangering both the environment and the health of the local people. These damaging effects are not countered by any payoffs from the booming oil industry and seventy percent of the surrounding communities live on less than one U.S. dollar a day. The rebel group known as the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) is gaining power and support as the Delta groups have yet to benefit from Nigeria's annual $45 billion in oil export revenues and see that the government doing little to support their well-being.

MEND has already demonstrated its strength by fighting government forces, sabotaging oil installations, taking foreign oil workers hostage and carrying out lethal car bombing.

Since the present administration Islamist group Boko Haram's insurgency previously focused in the northeast of Africa's most populous nation and largest oil producer has spread and intensified, creating fear and deep concern over where it will lead.

The group has continually widened its targets, from assassinations of local officials to suicide attacks on the United Nations in Abuja, police headquarters and one of the country's most prominent newspapers.

Muslims have often been Boko Haram's victims, but the group has in recent months specifically targeted churches in a country roughly divided between a mainly Muslim north and predominately Christian south.

Diplomats say Boko Haram members have received training in Mali from Al-Qaeda's north African branch, and Western nations have been closely monitoring for signs of more extensive cooperation.

The country is also characterized by many linguistic group and two
major religions, Christianity and Islam. Is Boko Haram an insurgency? CAN insists that it is. CAN president insists that “To the outside observer, it may appear as though Boko Haram is not a monolithic group; that it is fragmented and disorganized, but I am here today to give you the Nigerian perspective. Since its creation, the Boko Haram network has never hidden its agenda or intentions, has openly stated that they reject the Nigerian State and its constitution and seek to impose Shari'ah Law An increasingly violent insurgency by Islamist sect Boko Haram in Nigeria's economically stagnant north has begun pressuring the country's finances by forcing extra spending on security.

It is diverting money away from needed infrastructure spending and could be costing as much as 2 percent of the country's economic output.

Boko Haram, which wants Islamic sharia law more widely applied across Africa's most populous nation, has been waging a low level insurgency against the government and security forces since 2009.

The severity of its attacks has leapt in the last six months with its strikes have been largely confined to the Muslim north, hundreds of kilometers from the commercial hubs of Lagos and the Niger Delta, home to Africa's biggest oil industry.

This means that foreign investors have not been unduly rattled in a broad sense.

"The northeast is not all that important economically, so unless they start blowing up stuff in Lagos or they can find a way to disrupt business on a larger scale, I think foreign investors are prepared to live with the threat," said Alan Cameron, analyst at London-based Investment firm CSL.

Foreign direct investors and portfolio managers are, however, concerned about the progress of structural reforms in one of the continent's most inefficient and wasteful economies - and about the
government's ability to keep a lid on spending.

On that latter point, the Boko Haram insurgency is having a bigger impact. Nigeria's security bill has risen to 20 percent of spending in the 2012 budget from 16 percent in 2010, leaving less money for much-needed infrastructure projects and for work on reforms to the power and other social and industrial sectors.

The 2011 budget did not give a breakdown for security costs. "It implies less spending on power infrastructure, education and healthcare, which combined have been allocated a smaller budget than security in 2012," Renaissance Capital economist Yvonne Mhango said in a note.

The direct cost of security is at least 2 percent of Nigeria's $250 billion economy, measured by the share of spending-to-Gross Domestic Product in 2012, Mhango said.

High government spending is also putting pressure on the naira currency. Central bank governor Lamido Sanusi was forced into a controlled depreciation of the naira last year and although it has stabilized, trading is volatile.

Sanusi has urged the government to control public spending to prevent further weakening, which would bite directly into potential investment returns for foreigners.

**Violent Distraction**

Boko Haram killed more than 250 people in a series of attacks in January, according to Human Rights Watch, and security experts believe it has growing ties with outside Islamist groups, including al Qaeda's north African wing.

It has become President Goodluck Jonathan's biggest headache and is threatening to divert the government's attention from the pressing but thorny issue of weaning the economy away from its reliance on crude oil exports.

"You can draw parallels with Japan, which experienced a nuclear
crisis last year. The government was distracted by the disaster to the
detriment of the economy," one European investor in Africa told Reuters.
"If the Nigerian government gets distracted by Boko Haram rather
than economic growth, then it could start to witness weakening
economic fundamentals," he said.

Sources of Insurgencies
Sources of insurgency could be political, economic, religious or
ethnic, or a combination of these. In Nigeria these factors are
intricately interwoven.

Contradiction in the Nigeria project
The Nigerian project was built on shaky and faulty foundation by
the colonial powers and consolidated by military regimes that
simply perpetuated the neocolonial state without resolving some of
the contradictions inherent in the construction of the Nigerian state.
Nigeria population is largely dominated by three ethnic groups –
Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani and Igbo. These ethnic groups predominate
in the West, North and East of the country respectively. However
there are hundreds of other ethnic groups of a wide ranging
population sizes. Nigeria became independent in 1960 and a
republic in 1963. Between 1967 and 1996 several restructuring
exercise were conducted ostensively to create development across
the nation. Today the country is a federation of 36 states comprising
a total of 774 Local Government Areas and the Federal Capital
Territory (FTC) Abuja

The failure of the Nigerian state
The Mo Ibrahim African Government Index report for the year 2011
ranked Nigeria at 41 position out of the 53 African countries in its governance index report. This position reflects the state of Nigeria's socio-economic and political conditions. The report in its assessment of Nigeria on four governance indicators viz; safety and rule of law, Participation and Human Rights, Sustainable Economic Opportunity and Human Development returned a damning verdict on the quality of governance and leadership in the country. It is of concern that Nigeria was ranked 14th of 177 countries in the 2012 global Failed State Index survey released by the US-based Fund for Peace. The country worst than Nigeria are mostly war ravaged countries like Somalia or suffering chronic poverty. Out of the 120 negative marks evaluated, Nigeria scored 101.6. Areas of poor performance include mass movement of refugees and internally displaced people, vengeance-seeking group grievance, chronic and sustained human flight, uneven economic development, poverty, sharp or severe economic decline, progressive deterioration of public services, violation of human rights and rule of law and rise in fractionalized elite. This was not an improvement on the 2010 and 2011 survey results. It should be expected that when a state fails there would be a number of internal forces contesting to replace the state in some aspects. When a state is incapable of protecting its citizens groups would ordinarily emerge to offer such protection. When a state is perceived by its people as been unjust forces will emerge to challenge perceived injustices. The Nigerian state has failed to drive society and the economy in a progressive manner towards a just and egalitarian trajectory.

It is almost as if parliament has gone on leave on this question of Nigeria's national security, and the threat to its corporate and peaceful wholeness. By now, a joint emergency sitting of the National Assembly should been called, and from that, the parliament of the nation should have established the grounds for
declaring a national emergency, and mandating the president with the authority to deal forcefully with this situation, which is no longer a threat, but which has assumed a situation of growing internal warfare.

It has become imperative to deal with Nigeria's security situation by mobilizing all vital national security assets to the purpose of re-establishing full civic order and control of public safety. There is a growing perception in the country that the president and the national assembly are showing listlessness that paints them as unprepared and at their wits end on the continued terror of Boko Haram and other small insurgencies. There are indeed too many insurgencies in Nigeria.

Boko haram has bombed and threatened openly in clear dare and defiance of the federal government, MEND is threatening resumption of hostility in the Niger/Delta, the Ogonis have declared their autonomy, the National assembly is threatening to impeach the President not on account of the security situation in the country but on non-implementation of budget when it is clear that budgets have rear been implemented in the country. The state is definitely failing.

**Globalization**

Globalization has changed both the internal and global logic of capitalism and created the environment for the intensification of local contradictions.

Global interest in Nigeria has to be expected. The possibility of external link of local insurgency to larger global forces has become more apparent in the current insurgency than in the past. Boko Haram has grown stronger and increasingly more sophisticated over the past three years suggesting foreign assistance. It is believed that training might be obtained from more experienced groups outside the country. The president of Christian Association of
Nigeria (CAN) has made a passionate appeal to the United State government to designate Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO). To CAN president it is important that the Nigerian insurgency be seen as part of a global phenomenon. The Assistance Secretary of State for African Affairs, Ambassador Johnnie Carson told the American Congress that the militant religious sect was out to disgrace, discredit and embarrass the Nigerian government. The US administration is resisting designating the sect a foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO). A designation as an FTO would trigger a full US government response against Boko Haram, freezing any assets it holds in the United States and making support of the group a crime.

**Intensification of the “clash of civilizations”**

It is no longer the “cold war” but “clash of civilizations”. Huntington's "clash of civilizations" has provided another concept of the basis for global crisis. The collapse of the Soviet Union and most of Eastern Europe and the emergence of a uni-polar world did not completely resolve the struggle of ideologies for global dominance. The decline of communism as represented by the Easter block and presumed ascendance of the dominance of western style capitalism revealed even greater stress on the global social order. Western hegemony did not last for too long. The world has since then witnessed the intensification on a global scale the clash of civilization. This clash has resulted in a violent challenge to the western way of life and resulted not just of insurgencies but to wars. The world has in the past few decades witnessed the intensification of the clash of civilization that pitches religious groups against each other. The rise of fundamentalism has widened the gap in the differences between groups and has created the basis for conflicts.
Cordesman recognizes some value in the groupings in Samuel Huntington’s idea of the clash of civilizations,[25] but, rather assuming the civilizations must clash, these civilizations simply can be recognized as actors in a multinational world. In the case of Iraq, Cordesman observes that the burden is on the Islamic civilization, not unilaterally the West, if for no other reason that the civilization to which the problematic nation belongs will have cultural and linguistic context that Western civilization cannot hope to equal.

**Rise in religious fundamentalism**

The US has been reluctant to target Boko Haram because as Carson told the congressional hearing “it would serve to enhance their status, probably give them greater international notoriety amongst radical Islamic groups, probably lead to more recruiting and probably more assistance”. This reflects the fear that the rise of religious fundamentalism which has driven global terrorist groups can easily extend to groups across the world that are mobilized due to the internal conditions of these countries. To the CAN president “it is only a matter of time before the international terrorist links and anti democratic Islamic agents of Boko Haram turns its attention to the US”

**Causes of Insurgencies**

Identifying social and technological drivers – technological changes have driven the nature and form of insurgencies. What is available to terrorist have advanced with the growth of technology. Cyber attacks on targets far removed from the source of attack has become a possible choice of sabotage in an internet driven world
Moreover, Nigeria being a former colony of Britain gave concessions to Shell BP without a complete evaluation of the long-term consequences of oil extraction on the environment. Furthermore, there are inadequate legal frameworks to handle the environmental problems created by oil exploitation. Such lack of domestic structures to deal with legislative and policy issues is of great concern in the oil industry. Also, most of the local laws and decrees that are enacted are not in accordance with international agreements.

Oil pollution in Nigeria is enormous and controversial because the oil companies are not prepared to internalize the negative externalities, even though its impact on the health of the people of oil producing communities is recognized. In most cases, oil companies attribute oil spillage to sabotage or accident. According to research conducted by the Nigerian Environmental Society in 1985, offshore and onshore oil spillage amounts to 1,711,354 barrels between 1970 and 1983. In 2006 alone, Shell recorded a total of 241 oil spills in its operation in Nigeria; this figure may not include minor spillage which is less than 25 barrels in inland water and those in their operational areas. Nigeria is the world's eighth-largest oil exporter, with significant oil and gas reserves and a daily output of 2.6 million barrels. In 2006, Shell Development Company of Nigeria paid $3.5 billion in taxes and royalties to the Nigerian government in addition to the $75 million paid to the Niger Delta Development Commission for community development, and another $53 million spent on the company's community development program, according to their annual report. Significantly, Shell made a total profit of US$22.94bn in 2006. Nigeria currently supplies 10 percent of Shell's global output – in other words, an average of $2.294bn in profit from Nigeria alone.
Economic and Political drivers

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Poverty and Insurgency

There is a wide spread belief that poverty provides a fertile ground for insurgency. A large pool of citizens that are marginalized and pauperized are easy to mobilize and indoctrinated to join any form of insurgency. A segment of the population that sees no hope in the system and cannot identify with the aspiration of the nation cannot be expected to defend the nation and are thus at best observers rather than protectors of the nation.

The group is seen as domestically focused and including a number of factions with differing aims. It is viewed in large part as the product of an unjust society that has squandered its oil riches through decades of corruption.

Nigeria's south, where the oil industry is based and where the president is from, is wealthier and more educated than the north, a region where many were opposed to Jonathan's candidacy.

Countrywide, the vast majority of residents live on less than $2 per day while corrupt elites siphon off millions of dollars. A new
Porsche dealership recently opened in the economic capital Lagos, but electricity blackouts occur daily. Despite the fact that Nigerian economy is paradoxically growing, the proportion of Nigerians living in poverty is increasing every year. The proportion of the population living below the poverty line increased significantly from 1980 to 2004.
Relative Poverty headcount from 1980 -2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Poverty Incidence (%)</th>
<th>Estimated Population (million)</th>
<th>Population in Poverty (million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>102.3</td>
<td>67.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>126.3</td>
<td>68.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>112.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Bureau of Statistics. HNLSS 2010

A further breakdown of the information on this table by NBS shows that between 1980 and 2010 the proportion of the extreme poor increased from 6.2 percent in 1980 to 29.3 percent in 1996 and then came down to 22.0 percent in 2004 and then rose to 38.7 percent in 2010. The proportion of non-poor was 72.8 percent in 1980 and had declined to 31.0 percent by 2010. Moderately poor rose from 21.0 percent in 1980 to 30.3 percent in 2010.

Poverty Numbers with 2011 Estimates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2004 (%)</th>
<th>2010 (%)</th>
<th>2011 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estimated Population (million)</td>
<td>126.3</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Poverty</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>71.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute Poverty</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dollar Per Day</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>62.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the US Congressional hearing on Nigeria the Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health and Human Rights, Rep. Christopher Smith, rejected the view that terrorism is caused by social and economic problems, warning that the State Department underestimates the threat of militant sects which seek to impose Sharia. Smith insists that “ideology that is highly radicalized may exploit poverty at times but poor people do not necessarily become terrorists and killers. That is an insult, frankly, to poor people”. To him attacks by the Nigerian Islamic group Boko Haram on Christians were absolutely unprovoked, and they were unconscionable. The president of CAN at the same hearing seem to agree by reminding the hearing “that this (Boko Haram insurgency) is not about economics but about an ideology that has a history of sponsoring genocide across the globe”.

Various researchers and commentators have attributed insurgencies in Nigeria to a series of causes. An international Christian-Muslim task force warned that poverty, inequality and injustice are threatening to trigger a broad sectarian conflict in

### Zonal incidence of Poverty by different poverty measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Food Poor</th>
<th>Absolute Poor</th>
<th>Relative Poor</th>
<th>Dollar Per Day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>59.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>69.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>77.7</td>
<td>70.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>67.0</td>
<td>59.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>56.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nigeria. In a Reuters report, the task force said clashes between Christians and Muslims have already killed hundreds of people this year alone. But although the violence is the worst between members of the two faiths since the Bosnian war of 1992-95, the root causes go far beyond religion, the group's report said. Corruption, mismanagement, land disputes and the lack of aid for victims or punishment for troublemakers have all fuelled terrorism, especially in Nigeria's “middle Belt”, where the mostly Muslim North meets the largely Christian South, it said. Attacks by radical Islamist groups such as Boko Haram that exploit these secular issues and revenge killings by Christian and Muslim gangs have reinforced the religious aspects of the violence.

_Historical fault lines: Religion and insurgency_

Nigeria has the sixth largest Muslim population in the world. It is the world's largest country to have approximately equal numbers of Christians and Muslims: Natives and Settlers; Farmers and Pastoralists; Land scarcity and conflict and Political crises.

The persistent internal crisis of virtually all the major political parties in Nigeria has served to create the environment for insurgency. The National Security adviser, General Azazi in a very breathtaking security estimate situated the insurgencies to the PDP and its internal politics.

The current insurgency in Nigeria has to be traced to the post 2011 election violence. To the CAN president the Boko Haram attacks are outright terrorism and not legitimate political activity or the airing of grievances.

Nigeria Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies has described the violence perpetrated by Boko Haram in parts of the North as being politically-motivated.

In a communique at the end of its 30th annual national conference at
the Ekiti State University, Ado Ekiti, NATAIS said the activities of the sect were “political and not religious.” “The activities of Boko Haram leading to the loss of lives and property of many innocent Nigerians seemed to be more political than religious.

“Government at all levels should address more sincerely the issue of youth unemployment in Nigeria as an antidote against youth restiveness and other criminal activities.

“The crime rate and state of insecurity in Nigeria are as a result of spiritual poverty and joblessness of the youth, the effect of which there is palpable fear for security of lives and property all over the country.

The country's 80m Muslims blame a loss of political influence. When the army ruled Nigeria, northerners were largely in charge, but that ended 12 years ago. A sense of marginalisation has stirred political dissatisfaction which northern extremists feed on. Yet the intelligence services charged with hunting them down rarely seem to find them, whether they are religious extremists or political opportunists. While the spooks persevere, the government must quickly attend to legitimate and longstanding grievances.

So far the opposite has been happening. The government's bold decision to cut fuel subsidies from January 1st, however much economic sense it might make, has further widened the gap between rich and poor. Nationwide strikes have ensued. Tension and lawlessness have risen.

Yet the Nigerian state has shown it can end an insurgency if it plays its cards right. Until a few years ago most political violence in Nigeria took place in the Niger delta in the south. Just as in today's north, residents complained of corruption, poverty, inequality and lack of development. Some delta people backed armed groups; others benefited from their largesse. In the first nine months of 2008, 1,000 or so people were killed in the unrest and nearly 300 taken
hostage. Over the years, the cost to Nigeria through pipeline sabotage and oil theft was estimated at nearly $24 billion.

But a deal in 2009 that included an amnesty brought relative peace to the region. Militants were offered an unconditional pardon and cash. Around 26,000 accepted. According to official figures, 15,000-plus former militants have had vocational training or a formal if belated education. Though the delta is much safer, the amnesty programme has yet to bring total peace. And it has been expensive. Repentant militants each got $393 a month in cash plus food allowances during rehabilitation. In this year's government's budget, $458m will be spent on sustaining the amnesty—more than is given to the Universal Basic Education Commission, which provides free primary education. Some say Boko Haram's real aim is not an Islamist state but a slice of the amnesty cake. If so, the government should at least explore such a possibility.

a. **Contestation of power as means of wealth accumulation** - The challenge of political stability has a lot to do with the looting of national wealth by a tiny segment of the Nigerian society. It is important to clearly establish the nexus between looting and the security problem in the country. Looted funds are central to the struggle for political power in Nigeria. To a large extent oil theft, Oil bunkering and the militarization of the Niger/Delta go hand in hand. Oil theft is responsible for the insecurity that we suffer presently as a nation.

b. **Poor governance** - Disconnect between leaders and the people; Mismanagement of the economy and Corruption

c. **Globalization of terror** - The United State has popularized the concept of the global war on terror implying that there is a globalization of terror in recent times. He said the slogan "war on terror" is directed at "radical Islamism, a movement that makes use of culture for political objectives." He suggested it might be deeper than the ideological conflict of
the Cold War, but it should not be confused with Huntington's "clash of civilizations". The world has witnessed the spread of terrorist activities in the last few decades as a new world global order emerges. What is now considered western hegemony is not going unchallenged despite the collapse of communism. The lack of global response to this trend has created opening in various parts of the world. Nigeria is particularly strategic in this regards.

While it may be reasonable to consider transnational insurgency, Cordesman points out some of the myths in trying to have a worldwide view of terror:[29]

The frequency and sophistication of the violence has led many, especially in America, to suggest that the group is getting support from international terrorist networks. Algeria's branch of al-Qaeda and, more improbably, Somalia's Shabab have been mentioned. Nigeria's government, keen to win lucrative grants as a front-line ally in the West's "global war on terror", has encouraged such explanations.

Religious and political leaders in the mainly Muslim north, however, see things differently. To them, the internationally connected, ferociously active Islamist fringe group described by officials is largely an imaginary bogeyman. They say there are some genuine religious fanatics in the north but suggest Boko Haram has been co-opted into a murky mix of criminal opportunists and disgruntled political operators. "It's something like a Bermuda triangle." says Kashim Shettima, the governor of Borno State, where the group originates. "Boko Haram has become a franchise that anyone can buy into."

Let me now talk more about why the NSA should brace up. You see, the collapse of Ghadaffi was why those fundamentalists migrated from Libya and Islamic State has been declared in Mali so that, from Libya, people are migrating with arms and ammunitions
to cause Bok Haram.

That is the assumption. There are people that are trained with arms and ammunitions in Nigeria and so the NSA should look at it in those two ways. If that is the case, he has to be proactive. What you have as Boko Haram in the North is what you have as militancy in the South; the banditry, the robbery, the kidnapping and it is the same urban terrorism.

So these people can migrate to anywhere. The arms are coming from all the borders and people are making money from it just like the subsidy money. You have to look at that side and tackle it from the source.

Tackling the arms and ammunitions importation from the source means going into the countries of source and fight or what are you suggesting in the light of international laws?

America did four things: it first of all sensitised the people. Apart from the Al-Qaeda that came first, you have not heard of any bomb explosion and, if there is, it would be by a Nigerian. So America sensitised the people by propaganda and, after the propaganda, they updated their technology and developed human capital.

**Possible State Response (Remedies)**

What should be the strategic response of the Nigerian State to the persistent breach of internal peace, social crisis and insurgency in Nigeria? How should this response today be different from those of the past? The state has the overall responsibility of protecting lives and property internally and defending the country from external aggression.

What has been the response of government so far and how effective has this responsive been? Reforms have been started that would make it more difficult for rebel groups like MEND to make money
from the oil companies, but this must be seen only as the most preliminary of steps if it is to be effective in defeating the rebel movement. Cutting off the insurgency's resources may damage their ability to effectively target the government militarily, but it will only add to long-term aggression against the government from the people in the Delta region.

The Nigerian government must invest in an ongoing dialogue with leaders of the Niger Delta communities to restore the relationship broken by these communities' experience of marginalization. These dialogues should address the discrepancies between Nigeria's booming oil industry and the dire poverty that persists in the Delta region. The international community, especially nations with major oil interests in Nigeria, should press for greater transparency in the oil industry and offer to mediate talks between representatives of MEND and the Nigerian government.

The state is central to the elimination of insurgency in Nigeria and a critical question today is whether the Nigerian state has the capacity to neutralize the insurgent groups? Nigeria has a weak and could fairly be described as a failing state. Years of military rule has left the political class unschooled in democratic processes and the essence of democracy. The solution to the continuing spate of insurgency in Nigeria cannot be solely by military force. Force can squeal a particular insurgency but will not address the fundamental forces that propel it in the country. The Nigeria state by its present nature and form is weak. It has been weakened over the years by political instability, corruption, nepotism, sectionalism, tribalism and gross ineptitude in the management of national resources. Weak institutions, self-centered political class, greed and crass materialism has undermined the ability of the state to address the basic needs of the people and has undermined its credibility before the majority of the population. The cynicism with which most Nigerians view government actions reflects the lack of
confidence in the state and the level of legitimacy attached to it.

What strategies can the Nigerian security agencies and other government agencies develop to fracture, delegitimize, delink, demoralize, and de-resource the insurgents? Efforts at increasing the legitimacy of the state in the eyes of the citizenry are critical to delegitimize insurgency groups. When the population does not believe in the credibility of the process that brings political office holders into power they are less willing to see insurgency groups as criminals. In some cases such as the Ogoni insurgency or the Niger/Delta insurgency a significant segment of local communities believed more in the legitimacy of the insurgency that in local authorities and the state.

Fukuyama argued that political means, rather than direct military measures, are the most effective ways to defeat that (Al Quaid) insurgency.[26] "We must distinguish Al Qa'eda and the broader militant movements it symbolises – entities that use terrorism – from the tactic of terrorism itself."

Identifying Strategic Options

Social and technological – technology has changed the counter insurgency strategies in the present century. The use of technology in counter insurgency and intelligence has greatly improved the ability of the state to rein in different forms of insurgency.

Environmental drivers – these are very important and receive little attention in the discuss of insurgency in the country. Mass movement of people due to draught and desertification has created frictions that has triggered a process of sustained antagonism between peoples on which insurgency grows. Climate change impacts are expected to increase the severity, frequency, or scale of extreme whether events, droughts, floods, sea-level rise, precipitation patterns, and spread of live-threatening diseases.
These events threaten the resilience of local communities and in the absence of meaningful support from anywhere result in an inward looking attitude that sees foreigners as unwelcomed. Climate change might be beyond the control of any one state but the response to it could create an environment prone to crisis. The movement of people to the central Nigerian area has become a transformative process which has with it potentials of social conflicts.

In the case of the Niger/Delta environmental degradation as a result of economic activities has been a major cause for persistent agitation in the region.

**Economic and Political drivers** – the environment in which we operate is increasingly defined by countervailing economic and political forces. We are faced by continuing globalization, increasing interdependencies in governance institutions and business, and limited economic growth that are constraining government budgets.

**Advancing and Sustaining Strategic Foresight**

Dynamic Partnership – building strong coalitions and constructive engagement with vulnerable communities. A country is not conquered and pacified when a military operation has decimated its inhabitants and made all heads bow in terror; the ferments of revolt will germinate in the mass and the rancours accumulated by the brutal action of force will make them grow again.[39]

Nigeria must devise a means of build strong coalitions across the deep seated divides in the country. Ambassador Dan Benjamin, the US State Department's Coordinator for Counterterrorism, in a recent global report on terrorism said, “This is a top priority for the
Department. We're concerned about Boko Haram's activities. We've been engaging with the Nigerian government in particular at the highest levels to move them towards greater engagement with communities that are vulnerable to extremist violence by addressing the underlying political and socio-economic problems in the north.”

Reconciliation has been the government's official policy in the Niger Delta since 2009. Former U.S. ambassador to Nigeria John Campbell says fighting the insurgency in the Niger Delta will never bring peace because the militants have too much “acquiescence if not support” from the local people.

"People in the Niger Delta believe that their region is entitled to a larger percentage of the wealth that is produced by the oil than they presently receive. Residents are angry and disaffected from the government," said Campbell.

Campbell said Niger Delta oil funds most government activities and local stability is critical to the stability of the state. He says politics, not arms, is the only way to ensure a long-lasting solution. The Niger/Delta insurgency has local support and legitimacy which has to be broken to undermine it.

What would be the unexpected effects at all levels: tactical, operational and strategic? Examine how the insurgent movements can be fractured through military, psychologically? What strategies can the Nigerian security agencies and other government agencies develop to fracture, delegitimize, delink, demoralize, and de-resource the insurgents? How can the insurgent movement be delegitimized in the eyes of the local population and any international constituency it might have? How can the insurgent movement be de-linked from its internal and external support by understanding and destroying the political, logistics, and financial connections? How can the insurgent movements be de-resourced
both by curtailing

The first challenge in finding solutions to the recurring insurgency in Nigeria is clearly understanding the phenomena in their proper context. The solutions can only be found if society understands the causes and the complex processes that generate the conditions for insurgencies. There is need for more detailed study of the situation and sensitization of the population of the effects of not reforming the system to be responsive to the aspiration of the people.

**Creating a just and equitable society**

A coordinated government effort to provide responsible, accountable governance to all Nigerians, while creating opportunities for economic growth, will diminish the political space in which insurgencies operate.

**Creating a stable and just political system**

Nigeria is still stumbling along the path of democratic development. Many will argue that the democratic process is still fraught with many dangers as autocrats masquerading as democrats and political platforms for grabbing of power rather than authentic political parties dominate the political scene.

**Constitutional amendments**

The various constitutions supervised by the military have imputed certain aspects of military rule aimed at enforcing the unity of the country. The issue of settler indigene has to be addressed immediately to guarantee every Nigerian the rights and privileges available to others in their locations. The land question has to be constitutionally addressed.

**Strengthening the institutions to enforce constitutional provisions**

The right and freedom of religion is enshrined in the constitution
but not respected in various parts of the country.

Overcoming the legacy of the military on Nigeria's political and economic spheres of the country is essential to reduce the space for conflict. The over-centralization of power and the mindset that force is needed to control society which breed violent response to government has to be addressed.

**Empowering the Nigerian people for productive activities**

The marginalization of a large segment of the Nigerian population due to their non inclusiveness in the development process has resulted in part from their lack of access to productive assets. Policies to ensure that Nigerian are productive and have access to productive asset is critical in addressing the pool of alienated citizens that have to faith in the Nigerian project.

**Boosting the middle class**

Capitalist development elsewhere has shown that the middle class is critical in driving economic growth and prosperity and giving society the hope of a brighter future. The destruction of the middle class in Nigeria since the mid-1980s by the military has resulted in a major gap that has now been filled by a parasitic and unproductive political class that thrives on corruption and abuse of political power.

**Growing the Nigerian economy at a rate that would make it inclusive**

Reducing the level of corruption, Promoting education as agent of building capacities and reducing the misleading influences of vested interests

**Strengthen security outfits in the country**

The current security challenges have exposed the weakness of the security infrastructure in the country. It is instructive that after
decades of military governments in the country it was left without an effective internal capacity to defend it population from internal insurgencies. The gross failure of intelligence though not surprising given the decay of security infrastructure exposed the fragility of the Nigerian state.

*Developing an effective counter insurgency strategy for the country*

McCormick insurgency model. The model depicts four key elements or players:

1. Insurgent Force
2. Counterinsurgency force (i.e., the government)
3. Population
4. International community.

All of these interact, and the different elements have to assess their best options in a set of actions:

a. Gaining Support of the Population
b. Disrupt Opponent's Control Over the Population
c. Direct Action Against Opponent
d. Disrupt Opponent's Relations with the International Community
e. Establish Relationships with the International Community

Given the realities of the Nigerian situation and the contradictions that underlay its foundation security challenges will continue without a radical redirection of the state and transformation of the political order. In this situation the state must devise means and build the capacity for counter insurgency. Carson advised that defeating Boko Haram “would require a sophisticated and comprehensive domestic response”. He added that security efforts
at containing Boko Haram's violence must be targeted, tempered and humane. “The Nigerian government must avoid excessive violence and human rights abuses and make better use of police and intelligence services to identify arrest and prosecute those responsible for Boko Haram's violent acts”.

**Global Partnership**

It has been suggested that since local insurgencies are often fueled and in many cases supported by foreign or global forces that its solution would also require global responses. The sources of financing, arms, planning and training are often outside the country and therefore external cooperation is often needed to address the challenges. Increasingly local groups are finding support from international terror groups that are sure that they could drag in their main antagonist (often the US and other Western countries) into these local conflicts in which they believe they can outmaneuver them. Many have wondered how the Boko Haram within a few years has substantially improved on its tactics, recruited suicide bombers, sustained their financing despite closer government attention on fund movements, and conveniently melted into the population. Some have suspected that the North African Arab Spring uprising has seen a number of displacement of fighter and of small arms which has found their way down the continent. Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb has also been suspected of taking some interest in local disputes further down the continent seeking soft areas it could promote insurgencies that would draw it into confrontation with the West. Carson in explaining why only three leaders of Boko Haram were designated global terrorists by the State Department was because the US believes that “the larger element of Boko Haram was not interested in doing anything but attempting to discredit, disgrace the Nigerian government”. The
three leaders were targeted because of their Al-Qaeda links and the US considers it counterproductive to target the entire movement

Conclusions
Nigeria must face the challenge to nation building caused by persistent insurgency since independence. The country's history has been punctuated by a series of insurgencies which often threatened the very existence of the state. The inability to find lasting solution to these insurgencies has weakened the state and prevented it from attaining its development responsibility. We have argued in this paper that the current insurgency in Nigeria is driven by two major economic issues one local the other global. These two issues have to be contextualized within the political developments in the country and the mechanism through which these issues play out in the country – religion. The production and promotion of an army of unemployed, marginalized masses in Nigeria has proven to be a time bomb waiting to explode.

The immediate post independence leadership in the country through diplomacy and consensus building were able to contain some of the most divisive issues in nation building. Over the years the quality of leadership in these respects has faded and the country is less able to address them effectively.

The heart of strengthening weak nations must come from within, and that heart will fail if they deny that the real issue is the future of their civilization, if they tolerate religious, cultural or separatist violence and terrorism when it strikes at unpopular targets, or if they continue to try to export the blame for their own failures to other nations, religions, and cultures.
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INSURGENCIES IN NIGERIA: CAUSES AND REMEDIES
THE SOCIOLOGICAL DIMENSION

Etannibi E.O. Alemika

Introduction

Nigeria is at crossroads where it is plagued by political, economic and social crises, which are threatening its continuing existence as a nation-state. Insurgency is one of the manifestations of the crises. The security and sovereignty of the nation; public order and citizen security in the country are being threatened by terrorist violence. Insurgency has assumed what in sociology is referred to as 'social problem. Sociologists describe social problem as an undesirable condition created by dysfunctional social, political and economic structures that is pervasive, persistent, and destructive in consequences, which is not effectively controlled by existing prevention and control mechanisms and actions. This meeting has been convened to diagnose the causes of insurgency in Nigeria in order to identify effective measures for solving intermittent insurgency and terrorist violence in the country. Insurgency as a concept refers to sustained use of violence with the primary aim of overthrowing a political system with a view to taking over power. It is not geared towards profit making and is different from citizens'
actions like protest, demonstrations, strikes, etc. that are embarked upon to hold government accountable or to express grievances that are capable of being resolved within the prevailing economic and political structures.

The term insurgency embodies different types of collective political violence, especially terrorism, guerrilla warfare and conventional warfare. Terrorism is a technique or strategy of insurgency (Crenshaw 2011; Merari 1993). In this presentation, however, we shall use the term terrorism instead of insurgency for two reasons. First, the term is relatively more precise than insurgency. In usage and consequences, it is more familiar to the public and further, insurgency in Nigeria has tended to be limited to attempt to influence government policies rather than overthrow of the government in order to take over power. Our presentation considers the definitions of terrorism, motivations and intentions of terrorists; techniques of terrorism; structural causes of terrorism; theoretical perspectives on the predisposing factors in becoming a terrorist, insurgencies in Nigeria; challenges of terrorism for security agencies, and the prevention and control of terrorism.

Definitions of Terrorism

Terrorism has been variously defined. This is because specific terrorist action and groups are differently perceived. Terrorism evokes fear and sympathy among victims and supporter of terrorists respectively. As a result the same action or group may be condemned or applauded by different groups. It is often stated that terrorism is like beauty, which is in the eyes of beholders or that 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter'. Hoffman (1998: 32) points out that, “the decision to call someone or label some organization 'terrorist' becomes almost unavoidably subjective, depending largely on whether one sympathizes with or opposes the person/group/cause concerned”. In Nigeria,
successive conflicts during which dozens of people were killed and properties worth millions of Naira were destroyed had sympathizers and supporters, some of who were/are influential in the society. Such people justified the atrocities and government either acquiesced or called upon the same group for assistance to quell the violent conflicts; which is partly why a culture of impunity and vicious cycle of violence have become firmly rooted in the nation.

According to the Revised Academic Consensus Definition of Terrorism (2011):

Terrorism refers, on the one hand, to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties (Schmid, 2012: 158).

Crenshaw (2011: 2) defines terrorism as” a form of violence that is primarily designed to influence an audience. Its execution depends on concealment, surprise, stealth, conspiracy, and deception”. She noted that “terrorism is not spontaneous, or does it involve mass participation. The act itself communicates a future threat to people who identifies with the victims”. Crenshaw further noted that the “choice of time, place, and victim is meant to shock, frighten, excite, or outrage”.

Lutz and Lutz (2011: 2) offered a definition of terrorism that also involves a description of the goals and techniques of terrorists, as follow:
Terrorism involves political aims and motives. It is violent or threatens violence. It is designed to generate fear in a target audience that extends beyond the immediate victims of violence. The violence is conducted by an identifiable organization. The violence involves a non-state actor or actors as either the perpetrator, the victim of the violence or both. Finally, the acts of violence are designed to create power in situations in which power previously had been lacking (i.e. the violence attempts to enhance the power base of the organization undertaking the action).

Terrorism is a purposively chosen action and is therefore an instrumental violence.

The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission Act defines terrorism as a crime involving:

i. “any act which is a violation of the Criminal Code or the Penal Code and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, cause serious injury or death to, any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated to—

a. intimidate, put in fear, force, coerce, or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment of thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act or to adopt a particular standpoint, or to act according to certain principles; or

b. disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency; or

c. Create general insurrection in a state;

ii. any promotion, sponsorship of, contribution to, command, aid, incitement, encouragement,
attempt, threat, conspiracy, organisation or procurement of any person, with the intent to commit any act referred to in paragraph (a) (i), (ii) and (iii) [section 46 of the Act dealing with interpretations].

The Definition of terrorism in the EFCC Act is comprehensive and paradoxically may turn out to be a catch-22 provision that covers anything and everything. This may lead to abuse and engender a form of 'law enforcement terrorism' by the government that may invoke it in many circumstances that are inappropriate. It may also lead to unduly wide discretionary powers of enforcement - arrest, prosecution and judicial disposition.

Motivations and Intentions of Terrorists

Terrorism may manifest in different ways, with different motives and techniques; spurred by various reasons, involving different people, groups and states. It may also refer to the acts of a government used to systematically oppress specific political, religious, ethnic or other groups, including the use of death squads in the security sector, disappearances and detention in violation of international human rights standards. The critical elements of terrorism include the repeated use of violence as an instrument or tactic for the pursuit of primarily religious, ethnic and political objectives. The Revised Academic Consensus Definition of Terrorism (2011) stated that the “

... immediate intent of acts of terrorism is to terrorize, intimidate, antagonize, disorientate, destabilize, coerce, compel, demoralize or provoke a target population or conflict party in the hope of achieving from the resulting insecurity a favourable power outcome, e.g. obtaining publicity, extorting ransom money, submission to
terrorist demands and/or mobilizing or immobilizing sectors of the public (cited in Schmid 2011: 158-159)

Further, the Academic Consensus identified the “motivations to engage in terrorism cover a broad range, including redress for alleged grievances, personal or vicarious revenge, collective punishment, revolution, national liberation and the promotion of diverse ideological, political, social, national or religious causes and objectives” (cited in Schmid 2011: 159-159)

Terrorists aim at achieving different goals (Crenshaw 2011; Schmid 2012; Lutz and Lutz 2011), including the following:

1. drawing attention to grievances;
2. securing concessions;
3. intimidating a group of people or government with a view to preventing a particular course of action;
4. frustrating the implementation of policies and programmes of government;
5. changing the constitutional order of a country: democratic/non-democratic, secular/theocratic, right wing/left wing;
6. achieving or defending political goals (freedom from repression, under-representation, secession, etc.);
7. achieving or defending economic goals (resistance against exploitation and poverty, demand for the control of resources), and
8. achieving or defending ideological (left-wing, right-wing, religious and racial supremacy or freedom).
Techniques of Terrorism

Terrorists use different techniques to harm and instil fear their victims (Lutz and Lutz 2011, Crenshaw 2011; Schmid 2012), including the following common methods:

1. Bombing
2. Hostage taking and kidnapping
3. Assassination - Murder of important personalities
4. Poisoning
5. Tampering with or destruction of facilities, equipment, electronic and electrical systems (e.g. tampering with rail line in order to cause accidents)
6. Computer and telecommunication systems
7. Weapons of mass destruction (e.g. nuclear or biological weapons)

Theoretical Perspectives on Terrorism

Scholars have developed and used different theories to explain terrorism (Crenshaw 2011; Lutz and Lutz 2011). Some of them are as follow:

1. Psychopathology – mental disorder associated with remorselessness for evil and harmful acts
2. Rational choice theory – terrorist acts as rational decision taken to achieve political goal
3. Strategic choice theory – practical, low-cost strategy and actions that a relatively powerless group may leverage against more powerful opponents to achieve its goal;
4. Social learning theory – learning and action that derive from
observation and imitation of violent or aggressive behaviour within community characterized by a culture of violence and/or cycle of violence

5. Frustration-aggression theory: violence, including terrorism, is viewed as a response to frustration and oppression

6. Relative deprivation theory: structured and intergenerational economic disparity provokes violence when the poor cannot see chances of breaking out of poverty, instead the gap between the poor and rich continues to widen

7. Oppression theory: oppression provokes political violence, including separatist or secessionist violence

Structural Causes of Terrorism

Several structural factors associated with presence or absence of terrorism have been identified (Crenshaw 2011; Lutz and Lutz 2011), including the following:

1. Political environment (extent of democracy – including freeness, fairness and credibility of elections, efficacy of democracy in addressing the aspirations of citizens; national cohesion, political stability, tolerance among ethnic and religious groups, etc) and impact on citizens and influence of foreign actors. Political repression, especially of specific ethnic, religious or racial groups

2. Economic environment – quality of living of citizens, extent of inequality (influenced by corruption and economic policies), organized and transnational crime, economic exploitation or/and widespread corruption resulting in gross inequality; widespread poverty and economic
discrimination

3. Political, socio-cultural and religious pluralism that breeds inter-group rivalry and violence

4. Failing states that lacked capacity to promote the human security of citizens; thereby unable to ensure national cohesion or integration, patriotism and loyalty and therefore citizens may be recruited domestically by disenchanted groups (ethnic, religious, political and economic)

5. Weak state capacity for effective conflict-management (prevention, containment, transformation, resolution, etc) that prolong or entrench inter-group conflicts

6. Foreign relation alliances that sections of the nation perceive as inimical to their group interests

7. Lack of capacity to effectively manage the positive and negative aspects of scientific technological and communication developments in the era of globalization.

**Politics, Religion, Ethnicity, Violence and Terrorism**

Historically, politics ethnicity and religion have been associated with violence and insurgency in Nigeria. Several scholars have studied many of these insurgencies or the prevalence of conflicts in the country (Adeniran 1974; Adesoji 2010; Alubo 2005; Ayeni-Akeke 1988; Boer 2003; Federal Republic of Nigeria. 1981; Hiskett 1987; Isichei 1987; Lubeck 1985; Mohammed 2010; Momoh 1996; Ojo 1985; Tamuno 1991; Alemika 2007; 2005; 2004a, 2004b, 2002, 2001). Post-independence insurgencies include:

a. Election related violence in Western Nigeria – 1964/65

b. Agbekoya peasant farmers uprising in Western Nigeria – 1968/69
These cases were precipitated by political, economic and religious motivations. A pattern can be observed. Insurgencies in Southern Nigeria tend to be driven by economic and political logic while they tend to be driven by religious and ethnic factors in Northern Nigeria. This pattern offers a clue as to the causes, actors, sponsors, supporters and victims of terrorist violence in Nigeria.

In the context of Nigeria, we have witnessed the use and abuse of religion to perpetuate violence and terrorism in which thousands of people were killed in the past decade. Religion-inspired violence and terrorism, according to the literature, tend to be highest under certain circumstances, including the following:

1. Prospect for religious violence and terrorism is highest in communities where cross-cutting relationships and loyalties are minimal.

2. Religious violence and terrorism tend to be more prevalent in societies with two or three dominant religions with large adherents. In such context, religion tends to be divisive with potential for inter-religious violence.

3. Coexistence of monotheistic religions tend to be associated with inter-religious violence than polytheistic religions.

4. Socio-economic and political grievances framed in religious terms can lead to prolonged or recurring devastating violent conflicts.

5. Potential for religious violence and terrorism is greater in
societies where membership of particular religions confers political and economic advantages, especially through the patronages of the government

6. Different religions have different degrees of inclination to violence and terrorism.

Politics and ethnicity have accounted for many cases of inter-group violence in the past decade. Several thousands of people have been killed during the incidences in states across the country Alubo 2005, Alemika 2002, 2004a). In many parts of Nigeria, especially in the Northern States, it is difficult to disentangle ethnic and religious violence due to the tendency of the two identities to be closely interwoven. Therefore, it is difficult to classify the numerous violent conflicts recorded since 1999 as either religious or ethnic. This difficulty has given rise to the use of compound term of ethno-religious conflicts.

1. Since the advent of civil rule in May 1999, Nigeria has recorded numerous incidences of ethno-religious and communal violence.

2. Large scale violent conflicts involving loss of many lives and large scale destruction of property have occurred in the cities of Shagamu, Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Abuja, Aba, Owo and Warri as well as in various parts of Plateau, Rivers, Benue, Nasarawa, Sokoto, Borno, Yobe, Taraba, Bayelsa, Adamawa and Kwara States.

3. Ethnicity and religion are being deployed by the elite to gain and retain power to plunder national wealth and to impoverish and relegate majority of the citizens to conditions of illiteracy, ignorance, destitution, begging, homelessness, zenophobia, religious bigotry, etc. Ethnicity and religion have become strategic resources used by the elite from different groups in the competition for power and
superintendence over the looting of the national and sub-national treasuries.

4. Political religion entrepreneurs activate and deactivate religious differences (Tilly 2003) among the religious groups as a means of acquiring political and economic power and resources.

5. The politicization of ethnicity and religion has occurred in the context:
   a. bad governance,
   b. weak state capacity and institutions,
   c. worsening problem of poverty,
   d. decay of the social infrastructure and services,
   e. loss of employment due to decline in the real sector of the economy and retrenchment in public service,
   f. growing mass unemployment especially among young persons,
   g. food insecurity,
   h. high rural-urban migration,

6. These conditions generally provide fertile ground for disaffection, inter-group competition and violence in a country.

9. **Risk Factors in Terrorism in Nigeria**

   Widespread religious violence is already a lingering problem in the country. Nigeria's situation is similar to those ones that are fertile grounds for religious terrorism. The risk factors for terrorism in the country include:

   1. Existence of two dominant religions, each of which is
monotheistic

2. Uneven economic, social and educational development among adherents of the dominant religions,

3. Differential territorial dominance of each of the two dominant religions and the tendency to translate this to economic and political instruments as evidenced by the introduction of Sharia law and prohibition of certain trades widely practiced by non-Muslims in some Northern States.

4. Non-enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution concerning prohibition of state religion and non-discrimination

5. Tendency to express economic and political grievances in religious terms

6. Conferment of economic, political and honorific benefits on the basis of religion by several governments

7. Adoption of state religion in practice in many Northern states where public fund is used to establish religious schools from primary to tertiary level and to feed people observing religious rites while at the same time denying religious minorities in the same places the rights to recognition and participation;

8. The combination of traditional and religious powers by certain classes of traditional rulers,

9. Growing sectarian violent conflict among Muslim sects in the country

10. Existence of violent and extremist Islamic sects

11. Extensive external religious assistances to religious groups and organizations in the country from countries where religious terrorism have taken root or occurred
12. Unresolved problem of internal colonialism brought about by the colonial imposition of alien rulers and traditional systems of rule in many parts of Northern Nigeria, particularly in the North-Central geo-political zone and minority areas within the North-East and the North-West geo-political zones

13. Contentious politics due largely to the opportunity for corrupt wealth and impunity conferred on the Nigerian rulers

14. Culture of impunity that emboldens ethnic and religious violence entrepreneurs

15. Abundance of disposable individuals, especially youths that can be recruited for religious violence

16. Widespread unemployment, poverty, illiteracy and ignorance; lack of access to effective and efficient educational, health, transportation and energy that combined to undermine quality of living.

Security Agencies and Terrorism in Nigeria

Security agencies should have capacity, competence and motivation to prevent and contain terrorism as well as to respond to humanitarian emergencies associated with terrorism. The capacity and preparedness of the Nigerian security agencies to combat terrorism are limited, generally due to numerous constraints, including deficiency in the following areas:

1. Political and economic framework for the prevention and containment of terrorism

2. Legal framework for the prevention and containment of terrorism

3. Foreign policy, border and migration
4. Regional collective security architecture
5. Armed rebellion, insurgency and militancy within the nation and across the region
6. Capacity or capability – quality and adequacy of human resources, training, equipment and technology;
7. Intelligence production, reliability, dissemination, utilization, sharing and coordination
8. Intelligence and surveillance framework
9. Critical information management – collection, analysis, storage, retrieval, security
10. Management competence – administration of persons, money and materials
11. Motivation - remuneration, welfare, career advancement (negative influences of corruption, nepotism),
12. Citizens' security consciousness
13. Relationship between citizens and the security community

**Strengthening Nigeria's Security Agencies Capability**

Greater efforts should be devoted to preventive and proactive measures than reactive and containment measures. The capacity and competence of security agencies should be developed in the following areas:

1. Prevention capacity - surveillance, intelligence gathering and sharing, intelligence utilization and feedback (by policy makers and action agencies), partnership with communities, financial institutions, aviation industry, chemical production, distribution and control organizations
2. Control or containment capacity – critical incident management – population at risk, victims, terrorists, rescue efforts, damage control, self-defence and protection by
security personnel, managing humanitarian emergencies and mobilising and coordinating emergency response agencies

3. Management capacity – post-incidence investigation and decision-making

4. The security agencies need to be strengthened through effective human resources management, especially in the recruitment, selection, training, retention, remuneration, advancement and retirement.

5. Equipping security agencies with necessary surveillance, operational and investigation technologies and aids

6. Data bases – reliable, secure and easily retrievable information

7. Requirements and compliance with vertical and horizontal collaboration

8. Effective organizational framework for decision-making including intelligence gathering, sharing and utilization; investigation, partnerships and coordination

9. Relevant and effective constitutional and statutory framework for organizing, funding, directing, deploying, commanding and overseeing security agencies.

**Conclusion**

Terrorism is a response to or product of defects in the social, cultural, economic and political values, structures and relations in society. The governments at all levels and in different parts of the nation need to address the risk factors identified above and also strengthen the country's security and intelligence agencies. In particular, the governments at the federal, state and local levels
need to implement proactive measures such as the principles and duties outlined to guarantee security, democracy, justice and welfare of citizens in chapters two and four of the Constitution. Further, the governments need to introduce appropriate and effective legal framework for the prevention and control of terrorism, and anti-terrorism laws should be effectively and impartially enforced. There is need for an unambiguous constitutional provision that guarantees freedom of religion while at the same prohibits the fusion of state and religion in the legislative, judicial and executive functions and institutions of the State. Otherwise, the state will corrupt religion and religion will undermine the state by directing the loyalty of citizens away from the state towards religious entrepreneurs and terrorists.
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