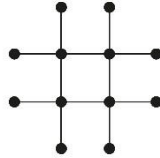**VID SPECIALIZED UNIVERSITY**

VID

UNITED NATION APPROCHES TO GLOBAL TERRORISM

A CASE STUDY OF BOKO HARAM

MASTER THESIS **IN GLOBAL STUDIES**

MGS-320

BY

OJONE FRANCISCA SALIFU

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1 CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The subject of terrorism has become a topic of interest and concern for the world in general. It affects the developed and developing, the rich and the poor, the densely and sparsely populated countries of the world. Its devastating influence has been felt by all the continents and all races of the world and the end does not seem to be very close.

Terrorism in general is complex, its complexity is surrounded by controversies and uncertainties and as such, there is no universally accepted meaning of terrorism, though there have been many attempts by different scholars, legal firms, international organizations and even individuals to define what terrorism is. Even the United Nations (UN) still does not have an agreed upon definition. Terrorism is also interwoven with the cumulative outcome of the interaction of political, economic, religious, ideological, social, psychological and global issues as well as emotions and other factors.

International efforts to eliminate terrorism started years before the United Nations was established. Terrorism has been on the international agenda since 1941 and as such, has become an issue of concern to the international community. In 1937, the League of Nations[1] created after the First World War (1918) to provide a forum for resolving international disputes[2], prepared a draft convention for the prevention and punishment of terrorism.[3] The draft convention defined terrorism as: "All criminal acts directed against a State and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public."[4]

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[1] In 1919, the League of Nations was created to provide a forum for resolving international disputes and cooperate in matters of international concern.

[2] Howard G. Ellis, *The Origin Structure and Working of the League of Nations* (Edinburgh: Riverside Press, 1924) , 9.

[3] M. Tahmisoglu, C. Ozen, *Transportation Security against Terrorism* (Amsterdam: IOS Press BV, 2009) , 95

[4] Larry J. Siegel, *Criminology* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011) , 405

In 1939 the world witnessed an outbreak of the Second World War. This war lasted till 1945, after which nations teamed up together to establish a universal organization of which gave birth to UN to meet the evolving challenges of the modern world.

This organization among other challenges, has been trying to fight terrorism. On the 8th September 2006, the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy was adopted by Member States. The strategy, in the form of a resolution and an annexed Plan of Action, is a unique global instrument that will enhance national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism. The United Nations have 193 member states and Nigeria is one of its member states. No one can ignore the fact that Nigeria has been faced, since the last decade, with the issue of the terrorism perpetrated by a group called Boko Haram. Boko Haram is an anti-western and Islamic fundamentalist group ravaging Nigeria, Cameroon and Niger since 2002.

1.1.1 Motivation

It all happened on the early hours of a faithful Monday, on the 14th of April 2014, when the Boko Haram bombarded a Market at Nyanya in an outskirt of Abuja (the capital of Nigeria). The explosion killed about a 100, injured about 200 persons and left so many hundreds of orphans. This bomb blast took place at about 2 kilometers away from where I lived. I heard and felt the vibrations. The worst thing was that I was there in that market a few days before the explosion and I was even planning to get back there on the 16th April, a few days after the bomb blast. So, I realized that everyone else who ran short of luck could have been a victim of this horror. Before that sad event, I often heard about Boko haram terrorist acts happening in the far northern part of the country. It never happened that close to me until that day. Worst of all, that same market where the bomb blast occurred was the route that lead to where I had my national youth service and often boarded a taxi to go to my station almost every Thursdays and Fridays. After that incident, I became really scared of going to both the popular market and my place of national service. From this close experience and as a Nigerian experiencing this reality on daily basis, knowing people who have died, suffered or have being internally displaced, it has become an object of study for me. I became more interested in knowing more about this nebulous organization called Boko Haram. Hence, I

became more interested in knowing what really Boko Haram is, how it came about, and how the Nigerian government and the international body is fighting this deadly sect.[5]

1.1.2   Aims and Objectives

There are expected aims and objectives every research seeks to achieve. Same applies to this research. These objectives among others are as follows:

To identify the origin and evolution of Terrorism and its accelerating factors.

The research seeks to x-ray terrorism as a global and religious issue.

This research seeks to analyze how Boko Haram came into existence in Nigeria.

To analyze and evaluate the efforts made by the United Nations in its approach to Boko Haram

The persistence of Boko Haram and its Havoc to Nigeria's Development

1.1.3   Research Question

As stated earlier, United Nations has about 192 member states, and Nigeria is one of them. As is associated with every research, there is a research question to be answered. The goal of this research is to explore the role of the United Nations approaches to Boko Haram. The main research question is:

What are the United Nation's approaches and contributions to help Nigeria eradicate and resolve the Boko Haram predicaments?

In a bid to discuss the research question, we shall touch the following sub questions:

To analyze and evaluate the efforts and impacts made by the UN in response to Boko Haram.

To analyze the challenges that the UN is facing.

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[5] A sect is a small organize group that separate itself from a larger religious body and asserts that it alone embodies the ideas of the larger group because it alone understands God's will.

What are the solutions provided so far by the UN in his strive against the Boko Haram terrorism.

Is the UN reacting at all? If not, why not? What and how is it reacting to this problem? Any hope for optimism? To go about this, we must identify the origin and evolution of Boko Haram and its historical context.

1.1.4   Conceptual Framework

In the course of this research, many concepts and ideas shall be broadly defined and systematically organized to provide a focus, a rationale, and a tool for the integration and interpretation of information. Concepts such as Terrorism, United Nations and Boko Haram shall be inevitably encountered. Exhaustive work shall be done on these concepts in Chapter Two, Three and Four. Meanwhile, we shall give a foretaste of these concepts here:

Terrorism: A non-exhaustive list of elements to be found in the concept of terrorism is as follows: the indiscriminate and random killing of persons, especially civilians and non-combatants, assassinations, the emphasis on the surprise nature of attacks, the quest for shocking the community through media coverage, the existence of a self-proclaimed political agenda or "cause" to justify those attacks etc.[6] Terrorism is an extreme form of expression, which is devoid of democracy, humanity and very contrary to the value of civilization. Terrorist acts, methods and practices seem to be adopted by movements which are of an exclusionist nature, which refuses a priori the responsibility of living together with "the other", who is thought to be different. The followers of these movements practically accuse the target groups of being the source of all evils. In the case of religious fundamentalism, the members of "the others" are qualified as infidels and are perceived as the main obstacle to the restoration of the felicitous order of the initial phase of the religion.[7]

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[6] Mi prezi My knowledge, "Terrorism and the humanitarian International Law" ; available at https://prezi.com/rne5ucriz2gv/terrorism-and-the-humanitarian-international-law/?webgl=0 ; site visited 14 May 2017.

[7] Parliamentary Assembly Of Mediterranean First Standing Committee, "Background Paper On Terrorism" ; available at

United Nations: It is an international organization founded in 1945 after the Second World War by fifty-one countries committed to maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights. It was founded with the main purposes of keeping peace throughout the world in order to develop friendly relations among nations so as to work together to improve the life of poor people, to conquer hunger, disease and illiteracy, and to encourage respect for each other's right and freedoms.[8]

In virtue of its unique international character, and the powers vested in its founding Charter, the Organization can take action on a wide range of issues, and provide a forum for its one hundred and ninety three member States to express their views, through the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and other bodies and committees. The work of the United Nations reaches every corner of the globe. Although best known for peacekeeping, peace building, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance, there are many other ways the United Nations and its System (specialized agencies, funds and programs) affect our lives and make the world a better place.[9] The Organization works on a broad range of fundamental issues, from sustainable development, environment and refugees protection, disaster relief, counter terrorism, disarmament and non-proliferation, to promoting democracy, human rights, gender equality and the advancement of women, governance, economic and social development and international health, clearing landmines, expanding food production, and more, in order to achieve its goals and coordinate efforts for a safer world for this and future generations.[10]

https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/ul_kom/akdeniz_pa/docs/istanbul_toplantisi/Background_paper_Terrorism_EN.pdf ; site accessed 14 May 2017.

[8] Encyclopedia of the Nations "Structure of the United Nations system" ; available at http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/United-Nations/Structure-of-the-United-Nations-System.html ; site accessed 26 March 2017.

[9] United Nations, "United Nations Seventieth Anniversary" ; available at http://www.un.org/un70/en/content/history ; site accessed 14 May 2017.

[10] UNVienna, "UN in general" ; available at http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/en/topics/un-general.html ; site accessed 14 May 2017.

Boko Haram: This is an Islamic fundamentalist organization. The movement is not young, emerging from the example of Al-Qaeda or ISIS, but rather has its origins dating from the 80s with the Maitatsine preacher. A detailed explanation on this would be given in chapter four of this work.

The First violent attacks of the Boko Haram appeared already in 2004, yet under Yusuf's leadership it was not the Boko Haram we know today. The group targeted mainly politicians and allegedly corrupted policemen, those who represented the establishment. Therefore, public support for the group grew and so did their numbers. However, tension with police escalated as well and culminated in 2009 with a banal trigger – refusal of motorbike-helmet law. Escalation of the situation was quick, turning into an uprising in four northern states. It was stopped by heavily armed police intervention. Fights caused over 800 casualties and Muhammed Yusuf was detained, later publicly executed.[11] His execution triggered a new era of Boko Haram being led by Abubakar Shekau, the era that would leave an indelible mark in all minds of Nigerians and people worldwide.

After the analysis of both origins, dynamics and adding necessary structural factors, we will be able to answer given research questions. The research question being: what are the United Nations approaches and contributions to help Nigeria eradicate and resolve the Boko Haram predicaments? That shall be the core of the work. To analyze this question it would not be possible for us to have any direct contact with any Boko Haram member nor her victim, neither shall we be able to have any direct contact with the Nigerian government for information. We shall only use so many relevant texts and documents of various authors. Personal points of view shall also be employed where necessary. It is true that a field work would be more tenable since one would be endowed with firsthand information, but given the dangerosity and the sensibility of the fields as at present, we shall limit ourselves to a text study. This would also give rooms for a global view and a global analysis on the subject.

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[11] Laura Feliu and Rafael Grasa, "Nigeria's Boko Haram analyzed through Conceptual Framework" ; available at
https://is.muni.cz/el/1423/jaro2016/MVZ489/61907258/Analysis_Boko_Haram_COMPLETE.pdf site visited 14 May 2017.

1.1.5 Research Methodology

As stated earlier the purpose of this work is to explore the concept of terrorism, Boko Haram and United nation contributions toward helping Nigeria government in its fight against terrorism. In a general view, this research is a qualitative research.

Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials- case studies, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interaction and visual texts- that describe routine and problematic moment and meaning in individual lives.[12] Qualitative research seeks to discover the meaning that motivates men's actions, the quest for 'what is out there', describing what we observe, producing data and discussing these data with established theories.

Qualitative research involves different types of research methods, methodology and qualitative research design. Methodology refers to a specific research paradigm used by the researcher to investigate reality based on the assumption he or she makes about ontology and epistemology. Method on the other hand, are specific research strategies and techniques that undergird methodology in a philosophical foundation of qualitative research.[13] Methodology can simply be described as a guideline system that guides the overall approach to the research. And method, are the specific tools being used to approach the research (Interviews, observations, using document).

The method we employed in this research, is the qualitative document analysis. A document analysis refers to a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents, document that are both printed and electronic materials.[14] Like other analytical method in qualitative

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[12] Helle Neergaard, John P. Ulhøi, *Handbook of Qualitative research method in entrepreneurship* (UK: Edward Eldar, 1997) , 5.

[13] Karin Klenke, *Qualitative Research in the study of Leadership* (UK: Emerald, 2016) , 33.

[14] Glenn A. Bowen, "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method" *qualitative research journals* 9 (2009) : 26 DOI : 103316/QRJ0902027.

research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge.

A document study or analysis is also a text-based file that may include primary and secondary sources. Primary sources refer to the first person account of event in the original document, letters, artwork, literature, music, observational notes, journals, and photographs.[15] Secondary sources are data from letters, diaries, and account descriptions of persons who were not eyewitnesses of the event or who did not personally know the person who is the focus of the study.[16]

In other words, a primary sources is also a document from the time under study, an original source of information about the topic while the secondary sources is a document dealing with and often analyzing information from primary sources. Documents constitute the basis for most qualitative research. From the above explanation of what a document study is, the Methods of data collection for this thesis are reviews of primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include online video clips and written statements made by representatives of Boko Haram, and Security Council documents and other documents from the United Nations website while the secondary sources mainly consist of academic articles, books written by different authors, Journals, Magazines, internet materials and news reports both on the group (Boko Haram) and the UN.

There are many documents bothering on the issues surrounding terrorism. This work does not boast of being capable of looking at all the documents but will have its beam focused on the role that the United Nations has played and will keep playing in its effort to maintain and permanently incapacitate the scion through which some terrorist bodies (with special reference to Boko Haram) have germinated, thrived and have been sustained.

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[15] M.Given, Lisa, *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative research methods* (California: SAGE, 2008), 396.

[16] M.Given, Lisa. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative research methods,* 397.

However, they are different research designs in qualitative research. The research design that is of paramount importance among many others in this is: case study. Case study is a bounded context that has a limited focus; it is fenced up so that one does not go beyond the particular situation or program under study.[17] The case study researcher investigates a contemporary real-life event, program, or process. The explanation of case study here best describes this work. I chose Boko Haram as a case study because terrorism in general is an ambiguous term that needs to be limited to a particular case study.

1.1.6 Ethical consideration

Research ethics always involve the application of fundamental ethical principles to a topic of research. Writers, differ widely on ethical issues in research. They often don't come to agreement on what is and what is not ethically acceptable in social research. According to Nancy Walton, there are three objectives in research ethics. The first and broadest objective is to protect human participants. The second objective is to ensure that research is conducted in a way that serves interests of individuals, groups and/or society as a whole. Finally, the third objective is to examine specific research activities and projects for their ethical soundness, looking at issues such as the management of risk, protection of confidentiality and the process of informed consent.[18] It is very obvious that in the present days, terrorism is a very sensitive and grievous subject to write on. Therefore, certain ethical considerations were observed in doing this work in order not to exaggerate or underestimate the gravity of our subject. Precautions were taken so as not to falsify, fabricate or misrepresent data, since that could alter a real scenario. In order not to put lives at risks we endeavored not to mention certain names whenever we made references to certain heinous situations. As much as possible, we tried to avoid the consultations of those books, articles and texts that are more or less partisan so as to maintain an outmost objectivity in this work. In accordance with the ethical code of conducts for test studies, disciplinary standards and practices were followed in

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[17] Jeffery s. Beaudry, *Lynne Miller, Research literacy: A primer for understanding and using research* (London: the Guilford, 2016) , 76.
[18] Nancy Walton, "What is Research Ethics" ; available at https://researchethics.ca/what-is-research-ethics/ ; site visited 12 May 2017.

order to maintain intellectual property rights of the authors that were evoked to nourish this work.[19]

1.1.7   Research Structure

For a better understanding of this work, this research is designed into eight Chapters. Chapter one is more of an introductory chapter and the general overview of the research topic, the rationale for doing this research, including the research questions that would be elaborated in this research. Chapter two would be focusing on the concept of terrorism in its historical context. Chapter three is basically about UN, its origin, purpose or aims and objectives. Chapter four, will beam it focus on Boko Haram, how Boko Haram came into being, its ideology, mode of operation and leadership. Chapter five will dwell more on different theoretical perspectives. Chapter six is the findings of this research, which is going to be the UN contributions to Boko Haram. In this chapter we shall also briefly try to see the personal efforts of Nigeria. Chapter seven will emphasize on the persistence of Boko Haram and its havoc to Nigeria's development. Chapter 8, which is the last chapter, would present some recommendations and concluding comments.

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[19] Office of Research integrity, "Guideline for responsible conduct of research " ; available at http://www.provost.pitt.edu/documents/GUIDELINES%20FOR%20ETHICAL%20PRACTICES%20IN%20RESEARCH-FINALrevised2-March%202011.pdf ; site accessed 14 May 2017.

2   CHAPTER TWO

2.1   THE CONCEPT OF TERRORISM

2.1.1   The Etymology of the Word Terrorism

According to Alex Schmid the original historical meaning of terror and terrorism are relatively straightforward.[20] The word terrorism is derived from the Latin noun terror meaning great fear, dread, alarm, object of fear, cause of alarm, terrible news" as a verb terrere to fill with fear, frighten" other derivatives means tremble and terrible.[21] From the etymological point of view, the word terror was adopted into the medieval English from Latin via medieval French, where it received some of its present heavily political load only during the French Revolution also known as the "Reign of Terror" (1793-1794) during which a system of terror was used as a means of governance. The term "terrorism," of course, is derived from the experience of the French revolution.[22]

The suffix '-ism' that is added to 'terror' is sometimes held to refer to terrorism's systematic character, either on the theoretical level where the suffix refers to a political philosophy (as in liberal–liberalism, social – socialism, etc.), or on the practical level, where it refers to a manner of acting or an attitude (as in fanatic – fanaticism).[23]

2.1.2   Definitions of Terrorism

The definition to the term "terrorism" is so challenging that many scholarly papers have expressed how problematic and difficult it is to define it. As stated earlier, there is no universal definition to the term that is agreed upon, due to its controversial ambiguous connotations. The complications in defining the term has led to the cliché that one man's

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[20] Alex P. Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism* (London: Routledge, 2011) , 41.
[21] Anna M. Wittmann, *Talking Conflict: The Loaded Language of Genocide, Political Violence, Terrorism and Warfare* (Califonia: ABC-CLIO, 2017) , 325.
[22] G. Chaliand and A. Blin, *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007) , 95.
[23] Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism,* 41.

terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.[24] As a consequence, terrorism however, is a 'contested concept' in the sense that people find it difficult to agree on its meaning or the scope of that meaning.[25]

The following reasons are given by Boaz Ganor on why Terrorism is a difficult concept to define:

Because terrorism is a 'contested concept' and political, legal, social science and popular notions of it often diverge;

Because the definition question is linked to (de-)legitimization and criminalization;

Because there are many 'terrorisms' with different forms and manifestations;

Because the term has undergone changes of meaning in the more than 200 years of its existence;

Because terrorist organizations are (semi-) clandestine and the secrecy surrounding them makes objective analysis difficult;

Because the definition question is linked to whether or not terrorists work for or against one's own (national) interests, and, consequently, double standards tend to be applied;

Because the boundaries with other forms of political violence (e.g. assassination, [guerrilla] warfare) are hazy or unclear;

Because the state, with its (claimed) monopoly of the use of force and its legal definition power, can exclude any of its own activities (e.g. indiscriminate repression) from the definition;

Because it is linked to a discussion of primary responsibility for initiating a downward spiral of action–reaction violence and a discussion of root causes;

Because some authors use two different vocabularies (force vs. violence; terror vs. terrorism) for state- and non-state actors;

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[24] Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism,* 119.
[25] Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism,* 40.

Because the conceptual and normative frameworks of the users of the term differ (e.g. criminal justice model, war model);

Because the discussion on terrorism has been linked to issues regarding self-determination, and armed resistance against foreign occupation and racist regimes;

Because those who engage in acts of terrorism often also engage in other, more legitimate forms of armed conflict and/or engage in party politics;

Because the violence perpetrated by the terrorists' opponent might be as indiscriminate as, or worse than, that perpetrated by those who are deemed to be 'terrorists';

Because the assessment of the terrorist act is intertwined with the discussion concerning the actor's goals and the status of the actor him- or herself.[26]

These divergences have made it impossible for the United Nations to conclude a Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism that incorporates a single, all-encompassing, legally binding, criminal law definition of terrorism. The international community has adopted a series of sectoral conventions that define and criminalize various types of terrorist activities. Since 1994, the United Nations General Assembly has repeatedly condemned terrorist acts using the following political description of terrorism: "Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them".[27] Bruce Hoffman noted that "It is not only individual agencies within the same governmental apparatus that cannot agree on a single definition of terrorism".[28] Experts and other long-established scholars in the field are equally incapable of reaching a consensus. Brian Jenkins (of the RAND Corporation) has called the definition problem the 'Bermuda Triangle of terrorism'[29]

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[26] Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism,* 44

[27] General Assembly Resolution. "Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism" ; Available at www.un.org/en/ global issues/terrorism/ ; site accessed 7 March 2017.

[28] Hoffman Bruce. *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University press, 1998) , 32.

[29] Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism,* 42.

However, having some difficulties in defining terrorism does not mean that terrorism is not definable. Some common definitions of terrorism refers to those act of violence which is intended to create fear and are perpetrated for an ideological goal and deliberately target or disregard the safety of non-combatants.[30] Another common definition is the systematic use of terror especially as a means of coercion. Terrorism is also an act of violence for political or religious purpose by non-state actors. Some definitions now include acts of unlawful violence and war.[31] Criminal organizations use this similar tactics for protection rackets or to enforce a code of silence which is usually not labeled as terrorism, though these same actions may be labeled terrorism when done by a politically motivated group. The usage of the term has also been criticized for its frequent undue equating with Islamism or jihadism, while ignoring non-Islamic organizations or individuals.[32]

In the "Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research" edited by Alex Schmid, they are over 250 definitions of terrorism. Schmid, pointed out that Some key elements of many definitions also refer to the fact that terrorism is usually an instrument for the attempted realization of a political or religious project that perpetrators lacking mass support are seeking, that it generally involves a series of punctuated acts of demonstrative public violence, followed by threats of more in order to impress, intimidate and/or coerce target audiences.[33]

Most people hold an instinctive understanding that terrorism is: "politically motivated violence, usually directed against soft targets (a person or thing that is relatively unprotected or vulnerable, especially to military or terrorist attack) and with an intention to affect (terrorize) a target audience".[34] This instinctive idea would also hold that "terrorism is a criminal, unfair, or otherwise illegitimate use of force".[35].

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[30] Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism,* 88.
[31] Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism,* 88.
[32] McCarthy, A.C., *Spring Fever: The Illusion of Islamic Democracy* (New York: Encounter Books, 2012), 23.
[33] Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism,* 39.
[34] Gus Martins, *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives and Issues* (Los Angeles: Sage Books, 2010) , 5.
[35] Martins, Gus. *Understanding Terrorism,* 5.

While Schmid pointed out some key elements in many definitions, Hoffman highlighted some key characteristics of terrorism. He proposes that by distinguishing terrorists from other types of criminals and terrorism from other forms of crime, we come to appreciate that terrorism is define as:

Ineluctably political in aims and motives

Violent – or, equally important, threatens violence

Designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target

Conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial cell structure (whose members wear no uniform or identifying insignia) and

Perpetrated by a sub-national group or non-state entity[36]

A definition proposed by Carsten Bockstette at the George C. Marshall Center for European Security Studies, underlines the psychological and tactical aspects of terrorism: Terrorism is defined as political violence in an asymmetrical conflict that is designed to induce terror and psychic fear (sometimes indiscriminate) through the violent victimization and destruction of noncombatant targets (sometimes iconic symbols). Such acts are meant to send a message from an illicit clandestine organization. The purpose of terrorism is to exploit the media in order to achieve maximum attainable publicity as an amplifying force multiplier in order to influence the targeted audience(s) in order to reach short- and midterm political goals and/or desired long-term end states.[37]

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[36] Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 32.

[37] Bockstette Carsten, "Jihadist Terrorist Use of Strategic Communication Management Techniques" ; available at http://www.marshallcenter.org/mcpublicweb/MCDocs/files/College/F_ResearchProgram/occPa; site visited 7 March 2017.

In early 1975, the Law Enforcement Assistant Administration in the United States formed the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. One of the five volumes that the committee wrote was titled Disorders and Terrorism, produced by the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism under the direction of H. H. A. Cooper, Director of the Task Force staff. The Task Force classified terrorism into six categories.

Civil disorder – A form of collective violence interfering with the peace, security, and normal functioning of the community.

Political terrorism – Violent criminal behavior designed primarily to generate fear in the community, or substantial segment of it, for political purposes.

Limited political terrorism – Genuine political terrorism is characterized by a revolutionary approach; limited political terrorism refers to "acts of terrorism which are committed for ideological or political motives but which are not part of a concerted campaign to capture control of the state.

Official or state terrorism – "referring to nations whose rule is based upon fear and oppression that reach similar to terrorism or such proportions". It may also be referred to as Structural Terrorism defined broadly as terrorist acts carried out by governments in pursuit of political objectives, often as part of their foreign policy.

Passive Terrorism - (Passive + Terrorism) is an inert or quiescent behavior towards terrorism; an inaction, non-reaction, non-participation, non-involvement in countering terrorism. Passive terrorism describes a behavior of general public or government which silently allows the spread or promotion of terrorism by turning a blind eye or tolerating terrorism. Passive terrorism prevails when there is no deliberate effort or decision to either counter it or raise voice against it.[38]

Other forms of terrorism also include:

Religious motivated Terrorism- This form of terrorism reflects a fundamental belief in the justice of the cause and the methods used in the acts of Terrorism, a justification that

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[38] National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, "Disorders and Terrorism" ; available at http://www.crimemuseum.org/crime-library/types-of-terrorism/ ; accessed 9 March 2017.

emerges from a specific religious belief system. In a way to justify the use of terrorism to achieve a religious goal, the religious terrorist view the act as being sacramental or divine act that has been carried out in response to direct threat to their groups theological imperatives.

Transnational Terrorism- This form of terrorism is set to achieve an international goal by taking a greater chance of attaining their national goal by moving beyond their own frontier.

2.1.3 Brief History of Terrorism

Terrorism is not new to the contemporary world. Historically, the first manifestations of organized terrorism could be traced back to the Middle East in First-Century Palestine,[39] where they had the Jewish Zealot known as the Sacarii a name which is derived from a Latin term sicarius that also means dagger-man which correspond to the weapon they use "dagger". However, the main objective of this organization was both political and religious. It was political in the sense that they fight to prevent Judea to be subjective to the Roman Empire. As a religious group, they strive to impose by cohesion their religious practices. The mode of operation is done in front of the masses in the daylight where they slit their victim's throat with dagger. Overtime, they assassinated quit a number of both political and religious leaders. In 73 CE they were however, completely defeated by the Roman Empire.

The Assassins appeared during the 11th century.[40] They however, emerge from the Ismailis movement which they were rooted in the region of Syria and Iraq. The term 'Assassin' is said to be derived from the Arabic word 'hashashin' those who smoke hashish[41] as with that of the Zealot, their mission was both for religious and political ambition which is also synonymous to modern day terrorism. The targets of the Assassins were mostly individuals associated with power precisely because they are figureheads and not because they had cause against any

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[39] Chaliand and Blin, *The History of Terrorism,* 55.
[40] Walter Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism* (New York: Little Brown, 1997), 8.
[41] Myra Williamson, *Terrorism, War and International Law*: *The Legality of the Use of Force against Afghanistan in 2001* (England: Ashgate, 2009) , 41.

particular individuals.[42] They killed both religious and political leaders including the Caliphs and the governors whose majority of their victims were Sunni Muslims. The Assassins, like the Zealots, killed exclusively with daggers and orchestrated their assassinations in mosques or in markets, where the use of projectile weapons, for instance, might have been easier.[43] They spread terror in form of murder. The Assassins were not the first group to use terror and assassination, they were considered to be the best organized terrorist group to have lived and operated for close to two century. The Assassins was destroyed by the Mongol in 1276. The Zealot and the Assassins are two classic examples of terrorist organization and had much in common with the terrorists of the twenty-first century.

Terrorism is not specifically Islamic or Middle East predicament or limited to a particular region, we have also some few examples of terrorist act in Europe. Scholars like Hegel saw the Enlightenment that followed the French Revolution of 1789 as the spring board of terrorism.[44] The French revolution is said to have marked the turning point in the history of terrorism. In fact, the 'Reign of Terror' which occurred during the French Revolution is the period from which the term 'terrorism' is etymologically derived.[45] During The reign of terror which began on September 5, 1793, ended on July 27, 1794, the revolutionary government of Maximillian Robespierre and the Jacobin party, employed violence systematically to intimidate the regime's enemies and suppress opposition to the government and this include mass executions by guillotine. This act gave birth to the term "terror"—or what might equally be called "state terrorism,"[46] and equally gave rise to the modern day terrorism.

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[42] Chaliand and Blin, *The History of Terrorism,* 61.

[43] Chaliand and Blin, *The History of Terrorism,* 70.

[44] Ozoigbo B. Ikechukwu, "Philosophy And Terrorism: In the light of Boko Haram Insurgency In Nigeria" *Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences* 4 (2016) : 63 ISSN: 2052-6369

[45] Williamson, *Terrorism, War and International Law: The Legality of the use of Force* (London: Routledge, 2016) , 43.

[46] Chaliand and Blin, *The History of Terrorism*, 95.

According to A. Duyan, in his book "Defense against Terrorism"[47], the history of modern period of terrorism is into four waves. In the 1st wave 1890-1920, terrorism was based on ideological and anarchist motivations. The anarchist group that existed in this period was the Russian Narodnaya Volya also known as the people's will. This period served as the development of individual terrorism where selective terror was used against individual or groups in other to bring a government down. The Narodnaya served as a model to others anarchist movement. Kings and notable leaders were assassinated in this period. One of the famous anarchist act was the assassination of the Arch duke Ferdinand Franz in 1914 which led to the spark that ignited World War 1.

In the 2nd wave 1920-1970, the Russian revolution of the 1920's formed the concept of government-sponsored terrorism. In this period, terrorism was use to maintain power and control the entire population. In the 1930's they were assassinations of some political leaders or government officials. Yugoslavian king and French ministers was assassinated by the ethnic separatists. After World War II, terrorism was used as a tool for national self-determination and ending colonialism in the third world. The polarization between the East and the west in this wave, added a new dimension to terrorism whereby government where exporting terrorism to other part of the world for political interest.

In the 3rd wave, 1970-1980, terrorism in this period was based on revolution and with combined motivations such as ideological, ethnic separatists and leftwing/rightwing. In 1970's, there were series of bombings, kidnappings and other types of terrorist activities throughout Europe and it was also said to be the decade of air terrorism where more than 20 events of air hijacking were directed at European and American airline.

In the 4th wave, late 1980s/1990's, there was a decline in the leftwing/right wing and state sponsored terrorism. However, in the past few decades, there are evolutions of new types of terrorism with different features which are being dominated by religious justifications. Al Qaida is a typical example of this. Founded in 1998 by Ben laden, Al Qaida was a militant

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[47] A. Duyan, *Defense against Terrorism: Different Dimensions and Trends of an Emerging* (Amsterdam, IOS Press 2012) , 3.

Sunni Islamist fundamentalist multi-national organization. It was one of the most important threats to the security of the West, in particular, and the world in general. I speak of Al Qaida in past tenses because today, one could say that it has been annihilated by the Americans and Allies after the September 11, 2001 attack perpetrated by the terrorist organization. This attack is the most destructive day in the long bloody history of rebel terrorism[48]. The losses and the economic damage were unprecedented. This prompted President Bush to declare a "war" to eliminate terror from the international world. Therefore, American and the Allie forces disembarked in Afghanistan to put an end to the reign of the Taliban's that was harboring Al Qaida. Nonetheless, terrorism rather became endemic since other Islamic fundamentalist terrorist groups sprouted up later, such as the ISIS and so many others, though it is the Boko Haram that is of special interest to us in this work; the Boko Haram being an enigmatic Nigerian Based Islamic extremist organization ravaging Nigeria and other neighboring countries since 2002. This terrorist group has being defying the Nigerian and Allied forces since over a decade despite all the indefatigable efforts of the coalition forces. The UN efforts and reactions to propel Nigeria out of the Boko Haram problems are of paramount importance to us in this work. That is why, in the next chapter we are going to make a historical overview of the United Nations as a peacekeeping entity.

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[48] David C. Rapport, "The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11", Anthropoetics: The Journal of Generative Anthropology V II (2002) , available at http://anthropoetics.ucla.edu/ap0801/terror/ site accessed 10 March 2017.

3 CHAPTER THREE

3.1 A HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS: BACKGROUND CREATION

The UN's creation is not a sort of "creatio ex Nihilo"[49]. It has some forerunners. Earlier before the creation of the UN, there were already several conferences, organizations and international agreements formed to resolve conflicts between nations. A typical example of that is the international committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) founded in 1863, which operates today all over the world to provide aids to victims of armed violence, natural catastrophe and epidemics. It is an impartial, neutral and Independent organization later mandated by the Geneva Convention of 1949.[50] The ICRC also tries to prevent suffering by promoting and strengthening humanitarian laws and universal humanitarian principles.

In 1899, the International Peace Conference was held in The Hague to elaborate instruments for settling crises peacefully, preventing wars and codifying rules of warfare. This Peace Conference adopted the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes and established the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which began work in 1902.[51]

Another important forerunner of the UN was the League of Nations, which was conceived during the First World War, and was adopted in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles. The First World War left the world with its indelible marks of wanton destruction of properties and loss of lives. It was such a horrible experience that nations never wanted to encounter anymore, so there was a need for a conference to establish the terms of peace. Versailles (outskirts of Paris) was a place chosen for this conference. It was the meeting of the Allied victors, following the end of World War I to set the peace terms for the defeated Central

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[49] Latin expression meaning created out of nothing.

[50] International Committee of the Red Cross, "The ICRC's mandate and mission" ; available at https://www.icrc.org/eng/who-we-are/mandate/overview-icrc-mandate-mission.htm ; site accessed 20 March 2017.

[51] United Nations, "History of the United Nations" ; available at http://www.un.org/en/sections/history/history-united-nations/ ; site accessed 20 March 2017.

Powers following the armistices of 1918. Though nearly thirty nations participated, the representatives of the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and Italy became known as the "Big Four." The "Big Four" dominated the proceedings that led to the formulation of the Treaty of Versailles, a treaty that ended World War I and established the League of Nations to maintain harmony between countries.[52] The International Labor organization was also created under the Treaty of Versailles as an agency affiliated to the League. The League of Nations, despite its loopholes, was able to resolve some territorial clashes and created international structures for areas such as postal mail, aviation, and opium control, some of which would be later absorbed into the UN. Nevertheless, the League lacked representation and significant participation from several major powers, including the US, USSR, Germany, and Japan; it failed to act against the Japanese invasion of Manchuria (a region in East Asia) in 1931, the Second Italo-Ethiopian War in 1935, the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, and German expansions under Adolf Hitler that climaxed in the Second World War. The League of Nations terminated its activities after failing to prevent the Second World War. The UN replaced it later at the end of the Second World War on 20 April 1946 and inherited a number of organizations and agencies that were founded by the League.

The earliest concrete plan for a new world organization began under the patronage of the US State Department in 1939.[53] But the life of the U N would only begin but later, in the painful days of the World War II, as a result of a secret meeting on board the warship "Prince of Wales" which was moored off of the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941.[54] This meeting was between F.D Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. At this time America was not yet fully in World War II. She was only giving help to the Allies as a result of Lend-Lease. Roosevelt and Churchill met to discuss what shape the world might take when the war would have ended. They came up with the so-called Atlantic Charter. This charter summarized the hopes of Churchill and Roosevelt for a better world. The main points to it were:

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[52] Office of the Historian, "The Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of Versailles" ; available at https://history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920/paris-peace ; site accessed 22 March 2017.

[53] Townseed Hoopes et al., *FDR and the creation of the United Nations* (New York: Yale University press, 2000) , 55.

[54] The History Learning site, "The United Nations" ; available at http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/modern-world-history-1918-to-1980/the-united-nations/the-united-nations/ ; site accessed 22 March 2017.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of

> *general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential.*
> *They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measure*
> *which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of*
> *armaments.*[55]

To achieve such optimistic and laudable aims, Roosevelt and Churchill decided to create a wider, stable and permanent kind of general security. This would become the United Nations. The title "United Nations" was coined by Roosevelt to describe the Allie countries. The name UN was adopted unanimously by all the nations who were at war with the Axis. The title was first officially used on the 1st of January 1942, when 26 governments signed the Declaration. All those present at the San Francisco Conference agreed to adopt the name "United Nations" as a tribute to President Roosevelt, who died a few weeks before the signing of the Charter[56].

As the war continued, four nations; Britain, America, China and the Soviet Russia known as the "Big Four" held numerous meetings to discuss how the Atlantic charter could be put into place. In 1943, after their meeting in Moscow, they made the famous "Moscow declaration" which stated that "a general international organization" would be established as quickly as possible and its task would be to maintain peace and security. All nations deemed 'peace loving' could become members.[57]

One of the most important meetings concerning the creation of the UN was the Dumbarton Oaks Conference of 1944. This conference constituted the first important step taken to carry

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[55] The Yearbook of the United Nations "The authoritative reference work of the on the UN System" ; available at http://www.unmultimedia.org/searchers/yearbook/page.jsp?volume=1946-47&bookpage=2 ; site accessed 24 March 2017.

[56] United Nations Publications, "United Nations at a Glance" ; available at https://issuu.com/unpublications/docs/united_nations_at_a_glance/ ; site accessed 23 March 2017.

[57] The History Learning site, "The United Nations" ; available at http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/modern-world-history-1918-to-1980/the-united-nations/the-united-nations/ ; site accessed 22 March 2017.

out paragraph four of the Moscow Declaration of 1943, which recognized the need for a postwar international organization to replace the League of Nations. The deliberations were completed on October 7, 1944, and a proposal for the structure of the world organization was submitted by the four powers to all the UN governments and to the peoples of all countries for them to study before approving it. After lots of reflections and debates, the United Nations officially was born on October 24, 1945, when the Charter had been ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and by a majority of other signatories. The UN, an intergovernmental organization was created to boost international co-operation and to substitute the ineffective League of Nations, and to avoid further blood shedding and devastation of property in the wars. The UN started with fifty-one member states, though Poland signed later to make fifty-five, after a dispute about the representativeness of the Lublin government.[58] Today they are now one hundred and ninety three member states and each of them is a member of the UN General Assembly. The headquarters of the UN is located in Manhattan, New York City, and enjoys extraterritoriality. Other principal offices are sited in Geneva, Nairobi and Vienna. The organization is financially sustained by assessed (Assessed contributions are payments made as part of the obligations that nations undertake when signing treaties) and volitional contributions from its member states. Its aims comprise conserving international peace and security, fostering human rights, furthering social and economic advancement, safeguarding the environment, and supplying philanthropic aid in times of famine, natural disaster, and armed strife.[59]

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the United Nation's charge of maintaining world peace became complicated by the Cold War or the bipolar politics between the US and Soviet Union and their respective allies. Roosevelt's vision of the Security Council as "a board of directors of the world" with the responsibility to enforce "the peace against any potential miscreant" collapsed.[60] This is because, each of the super powers was much more focused on how to preserve order and stability within its own domain of influence. That means that a kind of supper power competition started going on, therefore, creating rooms for an un-

[58]   Paul Taylor, A.J.R. Groom, *United Nations at the Millennium: The Principal Organs* (London: Continuum, 2000) , 15.
[59] Nation States, "UN overview" ; available at https://www.nationstates.net/page=dispatch/id=549814 ; site accessed 24 March 2017.
[60] Kissinger Henry, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995) , 395.

cordial relationship that affected the smooth functioning of the United Nations. Nevertheless, the organization was a player in weighty actions in Korea and the Congo, as well as endorsing the creation of the state of Israel in 1947. The organization's membership grew significantly following widespread decolonization in the 1960s, and by the 1970s its budget for economic and social development programs far outstripped its spending on peacekeeping. After the end of the Cold War, the UN took on major military and peacekeeping missions across the world with varying degrees of success[61] according to its purpose and principles.

3.1.1   Purpose and Principles of the UN

For any organization to function efficaciously there must be stipulated aims and principles. The UN is not an exception to this rule. That was why the UN charter, signed in San Francisco on 26 June 1945, set forth the following purpose and principles:

To maintain international peace and security;

> To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;

> To cooperate in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;

> To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.

The United Nations acts in accordance with the following principles:

> It is based on the sovereign equality of all its members;

> All members are to fulfill in good faith their Charter obligations;

> They are to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and without endangering international peace and security and justice;

> They are to refrain from the threat or use of force against any other state;

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[61] Permanent Mission of the Republic of Uganda to the United Nation New-York, "United Nations" : available at http://newyork.mofa.go.ug/data/qmenu/3/The-United-Nations.html ; site accessed 26 March 2017.

They are to give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter;

Nothing in the Charter is to authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.

The UN system is often referred to as a "family" of organizations because of its numerous aspects. The charter of the UN defined six main organs of the new world body, each with specific tasks and functions. But, because it was impossible to foresee all the demands that might be made on the organization, provision was made for extending its capacities as the need may arose with time. Hence, three of the main organs are specifically empowered to establish a kind of "subsidiary organs" as may be considered necessary for the performance of their functions.[62]

3.1.2   Main Organs of the UN

The UN at its foundation in 1945 has 6 main Organs namely:

The General Assembly (the main deliberative assembly): It comprises of representatives of all member states, each of which has one vote. Decisions on important questions, such as those on peace and security, admission of new members and budgetary matters, require a two-thirds majority. A simple majority is enough for decisions on other questions.[63]

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC): It is the primary body for coordination, policy examination, policy negotiation and recommendations on economic, social and environmental matters, as well as for implementation of the internationally agreed development goals. It serves as the vital mechanism for the activities of the United Nations system and its specialized agencies, and supervises the subsidiary and expert bodies in the

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[62] Encyclopedia of the Nations "Structure of the United Nations system" ; available at http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/United-Nations/Structure-of-the-United-Nations-System.html ; site accessed 26 March 2017.

[63] Department of public information, "The United Nations Today". (New York: asdf, 2008) : 20 ; available at http://www.un.org/ar/geninfo/pdf/UN.today.pdf ; site accessed 27 March 2017.

economic, social and environmental terrain[64]. The members of this council are 54, and they serve for three-year terms. The voting system in this Council is by simple majority. Each member has a single vote[65].

The Secretariat: This organ of the UN carries out the diverse day-to-day work of the Organization. It services the other principal organs of the United Nations and administers the programs and policies laid down by them. At its head is the Secretary-General, who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a five-year, renewable term.[66]

The International Court of Justice: is primarily the judicial organ of the UN. It is located at The Hague, in the Netherlands. It settles legal disputes between states and gives advisory opinions to the United Nations and its specialized agencies. "It also decides disputes of judiciable nature-that is to say, dispute which can be submitted to a court and be determined by principle of justice expressed in rules of law, which may and must of necessity arise between and among nations".[67] Its Statute is an integral part of the United Nations Charter.

The United Nations Trusteeship Council (inactive since 1994): The Trusteeship Council suspended operation on 1 November 1994, with the independence of Palau, the last remaining United Nations trust territory, on 1 October 1994. By a resolution adopted on 25 May 1994, the Council amended its rules of procedure to drop the obligation to meet annually and agreed to meet as occasion required - by its decision or the decision of its President, or at the request of a majority of its members or the General Assembly or the Security Council-Trusteeship council.[68]

The Security Council: The Security Council takes the lead in identifying the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression. It encourages the disputing parties to settle their problems by peaceful means and recommends methods of adjustment or terms of resolution. Where it is necessary, the Security Council can resort to imposing sanctions or even authorize

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[64] United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) "ECOSOC at a Glance" ; available at http://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/about/ ; site accessed 27 March 2017.

[65] Department of public information, "The United Nations Today", 22.

[66] Department of public information, "The United Nations Today", 22.

[67] Front Matter. "The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science" available at http://www.jstor.org/stable/1014856 ; site assessed 27 March 2017

[68] United Nations, "Trusteeship Council" ; available at http://www.un.org/en/sections/about-un/trusteeship-council/index.html ; site accessed 26 March 2017.

the use of force to maintain or restore international peace and security. The Security Council also recommends to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and the admission of new Members to the United Nations. And, together with the General Assembly, it elects the judges of the International Court of Justice.[69] The Council has 15 members: five permanent — China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States — and 10 members elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. Each member has one vote. Decisions on procedural matters are made by an affirmative vote of at least 9 of the 15 members. Decisions on substantive matters require nine votes and the absence of a negative vote by any of the five permanent members[70].

It was through this Security Council that the UN observed and expressed deep concern that the activities of Boko Haram, which we are going to talk about in the next chapter, continue to undermine the peace and stability of Nigeria, the West and Central African region. "The Council strongly condemned all terrorist attacks, abuses of human rights and violations of humanitarian law by the group in the region, including those involving killings and other violence against civilians, notably women and children, abductions, rape, sexual slavery and other sexual violence, recruitment and use of children, and destruction of property".[71]

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[69] United Nations. "Security Council" ; available at http://www.un.org/en/sc/ ; site accessed 27, March 2017.

[70] United Nations Security Council, "Security Council" ; available at http://www.un.org/en/sc/ ; site accessed 27 March 2017.

[71] UN News center, "Security Council demands Boko Haram 'immediately' end all violence in Lake Chad Basin" ; available at http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=53937#.WNpf6WR94y5 ; site accessed 28 March 2017.

4   CHAPTER FOUR

4.1   BOKO HARAM

Whenever you talk about terrorism in Nigeria, people immediately think about Boko-Haram, perhaps because of the famous "bring back our girls" campaign. Insurgency and violence perpetuated by groups and individuals are not something new in Nigeria. Since Nigeria got its independence in 1960, they have been a record of inter-ethnic clashes and religious violence. So many insurgencies and act of violence have happened in the past that could be considered as terrorist acts, though they were not recognized as such by the UN or the international communities.

The most famous terrorist group in the Nigerian history, if not in Africa as a whole, is the Boko haram. Boko haram did not just fall from "hell" it has a historical background that dates from the Maitatsine of the 1980s. Boko Haram came to the consciousness of most Westerners for the first time in April 2014 through the "Bring back our Girls" campaigns, though it has been a growing force in Nigeria for over a decade.

Boko Haram's story begins with the Maitatsine preacher Mohammed Marwa who established himself as a great Islamic scholar over the years and was highly respected among his followers. He had large followers among the people of Kano state. He was so virulent that he became known as Maitatsine, meaning "The one who damns."[72] The Maitatsine ideology was so radical that it even went quite contrary to the teachings of mainstream Islam. Muhammed Marwa at some points declared himself as the true and approved prophet of Islam. His followers were forbidden from mentioning the name of prophet Muhammed to whom they refer to as a common Arab. The Maitatsine style of teachings and preaching was offensive and conflicting with the general Muslims, which he even went further to regard the Muslims

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[72] Abimbola O. Adesoji, "Between Maitatsine and the Boko Haram: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Response of the Nigeria State", *Africa Today* 57 (2011) : 99 DOI: 10.1353/at.2011.0016.

who are not members of the Maitatsine as infidel and encouraged them to use violence against them including the civil authority whom he held in contempt. They Maitatsine had a clash/riot with the Nigeria police during which Marwa was killed along side with many of his followers. After the riot, surviving followers scattered across other different northern states, taking their believe, faith, teachings and the massage of their leader with them. As time went on, they kept on evolving through series of metamorphosis until Boko Haram came up.

4.1.1 Etymology of the word "Boko Haram"

The term Boko-Haram is the combination of both Hausa and an Arabic word. Boko- an Hausa word, while Haram- an Arabic word. Boko refers to book which means ''education'' while Haram refers to ''forbidden''. The word, Boko was particularly used derogatively in reference to the colonial-styled of education, as opposed to the ilimin Islamiyya (Islamic education). Fundamentally, Boko Haram is widely believed to be translated in its literal meaning as Western Education is forbidden (a sin or sacrilege). One of its members as at August 2009 rejected the meaning and claimed:

> *Boko Haram does not in any way mean 'Western Education is a sin' as the infidel media continue to portray us. Boko Haram actually means 'Western Civilization is forbidden. The difference is that while the first gives the impression that we are opposed to formal education coming from the West... which is not true, the second affirms our belief in the supremacy of Islamic culture (not Education), for culture is broader, it includes education but is not determined by Western Education.*[73]

Its contextual meaning is "western education and civilization is forbidden". However, Boko Haram is a nickname given by the local Hausa-speaking communities to describe the group's

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[73] Freedom C. Onuoha, "From Âhlulsunna wal^jama^ah hipa to Jama^atu Ahlissunnah lidda^awati wai Jihad: The Evolutionary Phases of the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria", *Africa Insight* 41, 4 (2012) : 160.

view that Western education and culture have been corrupting influences that are haram (forbidden) under its conservative interpretation of Islam.[74] Boko Haram emerged from the Northern Nigeria in the state of Borno, West Africa. The group calls itself Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad, which roughly translates as "People Committed to the Prophet's Teachings for Propagation and Jihad". [75] However, The Boko Haram metamorphosis and evolution is more complicated than that of a butterfly, as we can see beginning from its emergence here below.

4.1.2   Emergence

It is said earlier that the then Maitatsine, other militant, violence group and insurgencies prepared ground for the emergence of Boko Haram but when it comes to the precise origins and identity of Boko Haram there's a great level of obscurity of when the group emerged. Different accounts have been giving by different individuals and scholars on the emergence of Boko Haram.

In one of the account given by Andrea Brigaliga[76] the founder of Boko Haram, Muhammed Yusuf was said to have broken out of a religious movement called Ahlus Sunna as a result of a misunderstanding between them. Though Muhammad Yusuf's movement was, as Ahlus-Sunna, rooted in the ideology of the Salafi/Wahhabi da'wa. The strategies of the two movements were divergent, and this divergence might have been, in fact, the origin of the split. Jaʿfar who was one the leaders of Ahlus- Sunna was in fact engaged in pushing towards an increased Islamization of the political institutions of the country, while Muhammad Yusuf advocated the necessity of a radical withdrawal from anything related to the Nigerian state, including working for the police, participating in the government, working in the administration of Sharia within the framework of the state, and studying in formal

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[74] Blanchard L. Ploch. "Nigeria Boko Haram: Frequently Asked Question" ; available at https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43558.pdf ; site visited 3 April 2017.

[75] Marie Trémolières, "Conflict over Resources and Terrorism: Two Facets of Insurgency". (Sahel and West Africa: OECD, 2013) : 100 ; available at file:///C:/Users/franca/Downloads/Insecurity-BOKO%20Haram%20etc-146%20pages%20(2).pdf ; site accessed 3 April 2017.

[76] Brigaliga Andrea, "The Volatility of Salafi Political Theology: The War on Terror and the Genesis of Boko Haram" ; available at

educational institutions (hence the nickname Boko Haram) "modern education is forbidden".[77] Yusuf however, broke out of this movement in the early year 2000 to form Boko Haram.

In another account of the emergence of the group, the group was known by Nigerian authorities to have existed in the late 90's under the name of Ahlulsunna wal'jama'ah hijra[78]. The sect is believed to have flourished under various names such as: the Nigerian or Yobe Talibans, Yusufiyyah (named after the successor of Lawan, Yusuf), and then Boko Haram.[79]

One can also trace it's origin to 1999 due to sect's emphasis on strict implementation of Sharia law among the northern states. Different dates postulated also include 1995 which is the time the sect emerged as a Sahaba group under the leadership of Abubakar Lawan, who was succeeded by Mallam Yusuf upon the former's departure for studies at the University of Medina.[80]

Reasons for this confusion is, these various groups activities to some extent, promote the same ideology. In any case, some differences can be identified among some of these groups. For instance, while it has been identified that Boko Haram originally emerged in 1995, the Yobe Talibans, who were neither infiltrates from the widely known Taliban of Afghanistan, only emerged in 2002.[81] They consisted essentially of Nigerian university graduates, ex-

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file:///C:/Users/franca/Desktop/Thesis%20Document/Genesis%20of%20Boko%20haram.pdf; site visited on the 3rd of April 2017.

[77] Brigaliga Andrea, "A contribution to the history of the Wahhabi Da'wa in the West Africa: The Career and the Murder of the Shaykh Ja'far Muhhamed Adam Daura, ca. 1961/1962-Kano 2007)" , *Islamic Africa* 3 (2012) : 22 DO1: 10.5192/21540993030101.

[78] Onuoha, "From Âhlulsunna wal^jama^ah hipa to Jama^atu Ahlissunnah lidda^awati wai Jihad", 160-175

[79] Onuoha, "From Âhlulsunna wal^jama^ah hipa to Jama^atu Ahlissunnah lidda^awati wai Jihad", 160.

[80] Shehu Sani, "Boko Haram: History, Ideas and Revolt (3)" ; available at http://www.vanguardngr.com/2011/07/boko-haram-history-ideas-and-revolt-3/ ; site visited 7 April 2017.

[81] Asuelime E. Lucky, David J. Ojochenemi, "Boko Haram: The Socio-economic Drivers". (London: Springer, 2015) : 67 ; available at

military personnel and professionals, and were "easily identified by their Spartan dress code and long beard, reminiscent of Osama bin Laden. They call themselves Al Sunna Wal Jamma, which in Arabic language translates: followers of Prophet Mohammed's Teaching". Nonetheless, like the Boko Haram, they envisaged replacing "the corrupt incumbent administration with a holier government founded purely on the teachings of the Qur'an and the bb Hadith". [82] Among all the different accounts of its emergence given by different scholars, the one of Boko Haram hailing from Maitatsine seems more tenable. Its evolution, as we are going to see, shows a certain ideological similitude with Maitatsine.

4.1.3   Evolution of Boko Haram

Boko haram was said to be officially founded in 2002 by a group of Clerics in Borno State, northern Nigeria. As indicated above, there's a great level of uncertainty surrounding the precise origin and identity of the sect. Even more backward, as stated earlier, in terms of its ideological background, the sect's evolution has been traced to the Maitatsine uprisings of the early 1980s.[83] Indeed, certain facades are noted to exist between the two Islamist groups especially in terms of modus operandi and mission and enabling conditions, even though the two groups existed at different times in the history of Nigeria.

At the same time one could trace the sect full-blown activities to 2009, it will be inappropriate to state that the evolution of the sect began that year. While there are different claim to the origin of the sects, some claimed that the sect emerged from a minor groups of Islamic militants who openly challenged the Nigeria state between 2003 and 2004 without a success.

Mohammed Yusuf led a group of radical youth scholars in the 1990's in Maiduguri, giving roots to the movement. However, its origins are most commonly dated to 2002, when Yusuf

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file:///C:/Users/franca/Downloads/[Lucky_E._Asuelime,_Ojochenemi_J._David_(auth.)]_B(BookZZ.org)%20(2).pdf ; site accessed 20 November 2016.
[82] Asuelime E. Lucky, David J. Ojochenemi, "Boko Haram" , 67.
[83] Asuelime E. Lucky, David J. Ojochenemi, "Boko Haram" , 67.

and his followers, in protest against the corruption of Nigerian society, left Maiduguri for the neighboring state, Yobe where they are to really define their aims and objectives.

> *Boko Haram has stated that its aim is to establish an Islamic caliphate in northern Nigeria, the first step towards the establishment of an Islamic state. Boko Haram opposes the Sharia law that has been in force in twelve of Nigeria's states since 1999, and considers Muslims who practice the prevailing interpretation of Islam to be heretics. According to a US Homeland Security Committee (2011) report, "the group was not founded as a violent insurgency bent on overthrowing the Nigerian government" but as a "religious study group". A series of attacks against security outposts in the north-east are conducted between 2004 and 2008. It escalated its attacks after security forces killed its leader and hundreds of members during a raid targeting its headquarters in Maiduguri in July 2009. Nigerian officials believed the death of Yusuf and his top leadership would mark the end of the movement. This is not the case, and Yusuf's deputy leader, Abubakar Shekau, recruited new militants and rearmed.[84]*

The movement tried to establish a 'state within a state' – its own community where true Muslim values could be pursued, with morality police and a welfare system (hence the resemblance to the Afghan Taliban). Following a conflict with the local community in 2003, the remaining followers of the movement regrouped back again in Maiduguri in 2004.

Among all the militant groups that have long been in existence in the history of Nigeria, Boko-haram remains the most mysterious in terms of the rational beyond their existence. It is also the most violent and the most destructive when we talk about their mode of operation. The radicallity of their ideology is very flagrant and particular.

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[84] Marie Trémolières, "Conflict over Resources and Terrorism", 101.

4.1.4 Ideology

Boko Haram is an indigenous Salafist movement which transformed into a Salafist jihadist movement in 2009. The ideology of the sect could be seen in their mission to establish an Islamic state where orthodox Islam is practiced. Orthodox Islam according to Muhammed Yusuf frowns at Western education and working in the civil service because it is sinful. Hence, for their aim to be achieved, all institutions represented by government including security agencies like police, military and other uniformed personnel should be crushed[85]. Yusuf emerged from an Islamic educational background where Northern parents are convinced that koranic education is better for their offspring because it would give them the necessary moral training.

The sect however, rejects the secular authority and instead pursues the quest to Islamize the whole of Nigerian states and this is seen as the core ideology of Boko Haram which is the introduction of strict Sharia law in the whole of Nigeria. Its ideology is also embedded in deeply traditional Islamism, and is but one of several variants of radical Islamism to have emerged in northern Nigeria. Its adherents are reportedly influenced by the Koranic phrase: "Anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors."[86]

Yusuf's motivation is rather ideological than material. He is said to have been influenced by the 13th century Islamic Scholar, Ibn Taymiyya who sternly advocates a strict adherence to the Qur'an and authentic Sunna (practices) of the Prophet Muhammad, which he argued contains all the religious and spiritual guidance necessary for salvation in the earthly and heavenly lives.[87]

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[85] Ali S. Yusufu Bagaji et al., "Boko Haram and the Recurring Bomb Attacks in Nigeria: Attempt to Impose Religious Ideology through Terrorism?" *Cross-cultural Communication* 8 (2008) : 38 DOI:10.3968/j.ccc.1923670020120801.1370.

[86] Daniel E. Agbiboa, "Peace at Daggers Drawn? Boko Haram and the State of Emergency in Nigeria", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37 (2014) ; 55 DOI:10.1080/1057610X.2014.853602.

[87] Ahmed Sadika, "Another look at the Boko Haram Philosophy" , Premium time; available at http://www.premiumtimesng.com/opinion/106108-another-look-at-the-boko-haram-philosophy-by-ahmad-salkida.html; site accessed 17 April 2017.

4.1.5 Founder, Leadership and Membership

Boko Haram was founded in 2002 in the city of Maiduguri, Borno State Nigeria, by Mohammed Yusuf, born on the 29 January 1970, in Girgir village in Yobe State, Nigeria.[88] At its beginning, Boko Haram was led by Muhammed Yusuf until he was killed in the police custody shortly after a clash between the police and the sect in 2009. At the time of his death, Yusuf was the commander in chief (Amir ul-Aam) of Boko Haram who had two deputies (Na'ib Amir ul-Aam I & II) and each state and local government where Boko Haram existed had its own amir (commander/leader). After his death, the mantle of leadership was taken over by Mallam Sanni Umaru, although it was for a short period in 2009. However, Abubakar Shekau has been the leader of the group since July 2010 till date. To say leadership, presupposes membership or subjects.

The majority of its members are mostly people from the Northern Nigeria and also Migrants form the neighboring countries. Its members are drawn from different socio economic background. These include unemployed, illiterates, unemployed graduate, political elite, bankers, university lecturer's dependent, almajiris etc.

The sect attracted more and more people under its roof by offering welfare handouts, food, and shelter. Many of the people the group attracted were refugees from the wars across the border in Chad as well as jobless Nigerian youths. The sect also attracted some Muslim graduates who could not get a job upon graduation. In terms of recruitment, just like the Maitatsine of the 1980's both sects took advantage of youths who are enraged in the socio-economic situation of the country coupled with marginalization, corruption and lack of good governance. Their anger has been translated into a religious idiom. Already, John Campbell noted, "Boko Haram, once an obscure, radical Islamic cult in the North, is evolving into an insurrection with support among the impoverished and alienated Northern population.[89] Boko Haram would never survive if hadn't any source of founding. Testimonies from some of its arrested members have disclosed some of its obscure sources of funding.

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[88] Agbiboa, "Peace at Daggers Drawn?" , 41-67
[89] Agbiboa, "Peace at Daggers Drawn?" , 41-67

4.1.6   Source of Funding

Prior to Yusuf death, payment of membership dues was one of its sources of funding[90]. As it is associated with most terrorist organizations, Boko Haram use illicit act to support its other activities. The sect finance itself mainly through illicit trafficking of weapons. While some sources refer to Boko Haram as smuggling weapons, an informant downplayed the characterization of Boko Haram as traffickers and emphasized the group as consumer within the market.[91]

The sect also used extortion as one its earliest forms of criminality[92]. They extort money from their victims in a way of paying money for protection. Wealthy northerners and politicians were also threatened to pay some protection fee in order not to be attacked. Few of the notable politicians from the northeast were being accused as its sponsors.

Some key members of the sect that were earlier arrested opened up by giving some important information, that its link to other terrorist association paved way for more funding[93]. For instance, some member of the sect that were arrested claimed that, the sect receive funds from Al Qaeda, a UK based organization, a group known as Al-mutada trust, also based in the UK, from Islamic World Society, with its headquarter at Saudi Arabia and other Islamic organization. They also finance their activities through robbery and kidnapping.

With all these as backbone, they got the impetus to commit several attacks that caused the wanton destruction of lives and properties.

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[90] Onuoha, "From Âhlulsunna wal^jama^ah hipa to Jama^atu Ahlissunnah lidda^awati wai Jihad", 160-175

[91] Start, "Boko Haram: An Assessment of Strengths, Vulnerabilities, and Policy Options" ; available at https://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/START_%20SMAAFRICOM_Boko%20Haram%20Deep%20Dive_Jan2015.pdf ; site accessed 17 November 2016.

[92] Start, "Boko Haram: An Assessment of Strengths, Vulnerabilities, and Policy Options".

[93] Taiwo Adisa, "Boko Haram's funding traced to UK, S/Arabia *Sect planned to turn Nigeria into Afghanistan *Arrested kingpin opens up", Nigeria Tribune; available at http://odili.net/news/source/2012/feb/13/600.html ; site accessed 7 April 2017.

Books cannot contain the numbers of attacks carried out by the sect since its foundation. So many attacks have marked the spirit of both Nigerians and the international world. We can only mention but a few in this work:

December 24, 2003: Boko Haram members attacked and occupied police stations in Geiam and Kanamma in Yobe State, raising the flag of the Afghanistan Taliban over buildings for several days (unknown killed, unknown wounded).

July 27, 2009: Boko Haram launched a series of attacks in Maiduguri, Borno, Nigeria, setting several churches, police stations, and a prison on fire (75+ killed, unknown wounded)

August 26, 2011: A suicide bomber from Boko Haram crashed a car filled with explosives into the main building of the United Nations headquarters in Abuja (23 killed, 87 wounded)

December 25, 2011: A suicide bomber drove into worshippers at St Theresa's Catholic Church, Madalla, Niger State, The attack killed at least 43 persons and injured more than 70 others. Several houses, cars and the roof of the church were damaged.

January 20, 2012: Boko Haram coordinated a series of bomb attacks and shooting sprees in the city of Kano, mainly targeting police stations (187 killed, 50 wounded)

September 17, 2013: Boko Haram raided the town of Benisheik. Members disguised in military uniforms set up checkpoints just outside of the town and shot all those who tried to flee (142 killed, unknown wounded)

April 14, 2014: A twin bombing that left about 80 persons dead and at least 200 injured at Nyanya Park in Nyanya, Nasarawa State.

April 14, 2014: Boko Haram kidnapped more than 300 girls from ages 16 to 18 from a secular school in Chibok over the night of the 14th-15th. In November 2014, Boko Haram claimed that the abducted girls had been converted to Islam and married off. As of May 2016, 219 girls were still missing, but a few of the girls were rescued and were found living as wives and mothers among Boko Haram fighters. Those rescued reported that most of the girls were still alive, with the exception of 6 (unknown killed, unknown wounded

January 3, 2015: Boko Haram attacked the towns of Baga and Doron Baga, Borno, Nigeria from January 3-7. Reports indicate that Boko Haram shot indiscriminately from armored vehicles and set over 620 buildings in Baga and 3,100 in Doron Baga on fire. On January 12, the Nigerian government reported that only 150 people had died in the attacks, but satellite images released by Amnesty International on January 15 suggest the number of dead much higher (2,000 killed, unknown wounded

February 2015: Boko Haram suffered 300 casualties and lost control of 11 towns in conflict against the Nigerian Army (300 killed, unknown wounded)

December 2015: Explosives detonated at a mosque in Maiduguri, Borno, Nigeria (20 killed, 65 wounded)

February 1, 2016: Militants attacked Dalori, Nigeria with suicide bombs and allegedly burned children alive (86 killed, unknown wounded)

February 9, 2016: Two female suicide bombers detonated explosives at a displaced persons camp in Dika, Nigeria (58 killed, 80+ wounded).[94]

January 8, 2017: Boko Haram attacked a military base in Yobe State. Five soldiers including a captain, who is a medical doctor, were killed during the attack.

January 16, 2017: A bomb blast by Boko Haram at the University of Maiduguri Mosque in Borno State (5 killed, 20 wounded)

February 22, 2017: A suicide bomber attack in Maiduguri, Brono State (11 killed, unknown wounded)

April 2, 2017: 18 girls below the age of 17 were kidnap in Pulka Village and 4 girls in Dumba village in Brono State.

We could go on and on but as I said earlier, for the cause of this work we listed just a few. Though these are the list of attacks perpetuated by the insurgency within the Northeast Nigeria, the neighboring countries such as Chad, Niger and Cameroon are not left out of the

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[94]Stanford University, "Mapping Militant Organization: Boko Haram" ; available at http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgibin/groups/view/553?highlight=boko+haram ; site accessed 12 April.

victims of the sect. What Nigeria securities observed was that, their attacks became more intense as they link themselves to other international terrorist organization such as Al Qaeda, Al-Shabaab, IS and so on.

4.1.7   International Link

Over the years, the activities of the sect and some of its official statement have proven that Boko Haram is not just a domestic terrorist group but a jihadist organization having an international link with other international terrorist organization.

It is reported that One of Boko Haram's major goals is to become a key player in global jihad, which has been fought by transnational terrorist groups like the Islamic Maghreb's Al Qaeda, its affiliates in Mali and in the entire Sahel, and Somali-based Al-Shabaab.[95]

Boko haram in a way share the same ideology with other Islamic movement such as Al Qaeda. One of the member of the sect even acclaim that Boko haram is just a version of Al Qaeda in which they ascribe some sorts of respect and loyalty. Another of its member, a spoke person for the sect in an interview, claimed that:

> *Our [Boko Haram] relationship with Al Qaeda 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 Qaeda leadership in order to strengthen our negotiation position.[96]*

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[95] Agbiboa, "Peace at Daggers Drawn?", 57.
[96] Onuoha, "From Âhlulsunna wal^jama^ah hipa to Jama^atu Ahlissunnah lidda^awati wai Jihad", 160-175

In 2015, Boko Haram also pledge an allegiance to Islamic State (IS) and rebranded itself to Islamic State of West Province (ISWAP) followed up by an increased pace in virtual exchanges from Boko Haram's leader Abubakar Shekau as well as the group incorporating IS's black jihadist banner and de facto anthem, "My Umma, Dawn has Arrived" in its video releases.[97]

However, aside the link between Boko Haram Al Qaeda and IS, the sect has links with other Islamic terrorist group such as Algerian Salafist Group which also gave Boko Haram members training opportunities, especially technical training including the making and using of the IEDs and dirty bombs as well as training for combat.

The emergence and longtime survival of this terrorist group in Nigeria country can be based on various theories that we are going to elucidate in the following Chapter.

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[97] Osman ANTWI-BOATENG, "Boko Haram and the Islamic State: A Tale of Two Terrors" available at http://www.csq.ro/wp-content/uploads/Osman-ANTWI-BOATENG.pdf ; site visited 13 April 2017.

5   CHAPTER FIVE

5.1   THEORETICAL APPROACH

The radical, systematic and sophisticated modus operandi of the Boko Haram has made this terrorist group a sort of nebulous to the Nigerian omnipresent security machineries. But before a problem can be solved, the causes must be identified. In order to understand Boko Haram, several bodies, persons and scholars have carried out serious studies. The theoretical approaches advanced by these bodies are as diverse as the arteries of this great nation called Nigeria. The most tenable theoretical approach to the understanding of the tenuous Boko-Haram, which would mainly guide this work, is State failure. Under state failure come other approaches like deprivation theory, youth unemployment theory, ethnic and religious hatred theory. In order to conveniently talk of state failure, I think it would be right to begin by knowing what a state is.

5.1.1   A State

States have being existing in this world since thousands of years. They are the most powerful bodies in the world system. According to Aristotle, "The state is a union of families and villages and having for its ends a perfect and self-sufficing life by which we mean a happy and honorable life''.[98] His definition of a state is as socially inclined as the one given by Beblawl and Luciani, who said that the term "state" has a dual overlapping meaning in the ordinary usage. The first one is that state is being taken as "the overall social system subject to a government or power" and "the apparatus or organization of government or power that exercises the monopoly of the legal use of violence"[99]. The German sociologist Max Weber defines the state as a "human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the

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[98] Subrata M. and Sushila R., *A history of political thought Through: Plato to Marx* (New Delhi: Phil Learning, 2011) ,118.
[99] Hazem B. and Giacomo L., *The Rentier State* (London/New York: Croom Helm, 1987) , 4.

legitimate use of physical force within a given territory."[100] From this definition, one can infer that the state is not the only body that can use force, but it is the only body that can use physical force legitimately, either directly or by delegation. Any other parallel organization resorting to using force is doing it illegitimately. That is the case of Boko-Haram in Nigeria.

Other renowned contemporary jurists and Political Scientists have given other definitions of state also. According to Woodrow Wilson a state is "a people organized for law within a definite territory."[101] To Bluntschli, a "state is a politically organized people of a definite territory."[102]

From the above definitions given by various writers we can observe that there are four elements of a state namely Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty. Of these four elements, the first and the second are physical, the third is political while the fourth is somehow spiritual. Since state is a human institution and highest of all human associations there can be no state without human beings. A modern state can neither exist without territory. A state without a government is not a state. Government is an essential component of a state through which the will of the state is formulated, expressed and realized. Finally, sovereignty means the supremacy of the state. It is its sovereignty that differentiates it from all other organizations. Unfortunately, some times, this sovereignty can "fail" someway.

5.1.2 State Failure Theory

A failed state is a country that the government cannot or will not deliver necessary political goods, such as public services, to its citizens. It does not matter if the state is holding a seat in the United Nations and function as a sovereign entity in regional and world politics. A state

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[100] André Munro, "State monopoly on violence" ; available at https://www.britannica.com/topic/state-monopoly-on-violence ; site visited on the 10 April 2017.
[101] University of Calicut, "political science (part-1)" ; available at **http://www.universityofcalicut.info/syl/PoliticalScience.pdf** ; site visited on 15 April 2017.

[102] University of Calicut, "political science (part-1)".

fails when it demonstrates an extreme inability to perform state functions adequately. Thus, failed states are those political entities in international politics that supply deficient qualities and quantities of political goods and, simultaneously, no longer exercise a monopoly of violence within their territories. Robert H. seems to be more categorical when he defined a failed state as state that cannot or will not safeguard minimum civil condition, i.e., peace, order, security, etc., domestically. He went further to say that "failed states are hollow juridical shells that shroud an anarchical condition domestically"[103]. Williams admits that a true meaning of a failed state is "a morally reprehensible government that breeds terrorism"[104]. That means that a failed state is always having secessionist elements that challenge the government's legal authority.

Though Nigeria cannot be completely categorized as a complete failed state, it is epitomized by so many of the characteristics of a failed state discussed above. Nigeria is the most ethnically diversified country in Africa. A country with such a huge population needs a strong selfless government of high integrity to maintain peace and order. Whereas, the history of Nigeria since independence has been characterized with a high rate of belligerency. This is simply because the government has failed or has been incapable of maintaining peace and order within the nation. So many parallel obscure armed groups have ruled a part of the country at any particular point in time since independence. Today we talk of the Boko-Harams terror persisting since more than a decade, but before them, things were not brighter neither. A few years after the Nigerian independence, a Southeastern secessionist's armed group called Biafra, came up and lasted from 1966 to 1970. In the 80s, Maitatsine and different Islamic fundamentalist groups unfolded their reign of terrors in the Southeast. In the 90s, and even up till now, the "Delta Boys" now transformed to Niger Delta Avengers, created chaos and anarchy in the South. All these are signs of a failed state. State failure is also the canopy that shades some other theories like the relative deprivation theory.

5.1.3   Relative Deprivation theory

The deprivation theory is one of the most widely accepted explanations for the perpetration of terror. What we are trying to say here is that people who are not having their basic needs satisfied have more tendency of employing violent means to express themselves. In most African countries, especially in Nigeria, poverty is one of the most prominent factors that explain terrorism. "A hungry man is an angry man says an English expression". The Vision 2010 Committee Report showed that:

> *50% of Nigerians live below the poverty line. Only about 40% have access to safe drinking water. About 85% of the urban population lives in single rooms with more than 7 occupants of the average. Only about 62% of Nigerians have access to Primary Healthcare. Most Nigerians take less than one third of the minimum required protein and vitamins.*[105]

The above statistics is talking about poverty in Nigeria, generally speaking. It is more awful when you talk about the Northern region of Nigeria where the Boko Haram besieges. Whenever poverty is being mentioned concerning Nigeria, most minds spontaneously move to the Northern part where there is a high level of child destitution and illiteracy. The 2010 National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) survey done with the support from the World Bank, the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFIDUK) and UNICEF shows that, on a geo-political assessment, the North-West has 77.7% of its population living in relative poverty while the North-East came second with 76.3% of its population living in relative poverty. The North Central States has 67.5% of its population living in relative poverty[106]. Since most parents are poor in this region, children are also inadequately brought up with high level of illiteracy. Western education is still not very accessible to them, so most of the times, their only recourse is to go into the "Almajiri" in order to survive. "The term Almajiri (singular) is derived from the Arabic word 'Al-muhaajirun' which is by inference, a learned ulama who propagates the peaceful course of Islam. But the Almajiri concept has

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[105] Ngbea T. Gabriel and Achinike H. Chukwuka, "Poverty in Northern Nigeria", *Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* 2 (2014) : 268 ISSN: 2321 – 2799.
[106] Ngbea and Achinike, "Poverty in Northern Nigeria" , 266-272.

since outlived its purpose in Nigeria and has become a breeding ground for child begging and potential terrorist's camps in Nigeria"[107]. The Almajiri system now nurtures most of the belligerent thugs and vagabonds in the Northern Nigeria today. In essence, deprivation is causing a serious havoc to the Nigerian peace and stability since the term is intimately linked to the similar terms; poverty and social exclusion. It is a classical thing that a people who feel excluded or deprived of their rights, struggles to obtain their due through violence sometimes. Boko Haram started somehow that way, though at the beginning it was not even a violent group as such. It was trying to raise funds to provide for the poor masses those amenities that the state was not able to provide for them. That was how it was even able to gradually win the hearts of the people before finally luring them into the violent means that they employ today. In a nutshell, the poor economic conditions in Nigeria coupled with the state's failure to fix these conditions are having the lion share of the culpability concerning the persistence of Boko Haram, though ethno-religious and the divided nature of the Nigerian society is also to blame.

5.1.4   Youth unemployment theory

Even if Nigeria has recorded so many violence in her annals of history, the Nigerian civil war taught Nigeria great lessons of life. After the Biafra war in the 60's so many Nigerian youth realized that wars do not lead the country further, instead it retrogrades the prospects of the country. Also, with the development of the modern communication systems, so many Nigerian youth have got access to information. They see the improvements of other nations that are pacific today. So, this awareness has made them to generally vouch for peace and pacific solutions to their problems, be it political, religious or otherwise. But why is it that despite that, many young Nigerians join this violent and horrific organization?

Though, there are some other underlining reasons behind this fact of the youth joining the Boko Haram, unemployment and idleness remains one of the major reasons. An English expression says "an idle mind is the devils workshop", though the Boko Haram was not that devilish at the beginning. When it started in its early days, the Boko Haram group enjoyed some support among the population of the Northeast. At the beginning, even if the group was

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[107] Ngbea and Achinike, "Poverty in Northern Nigeria" , 266-272.

preaching the virtues of jihad and the necessity for an Islamic state governed by Sharia, it had not yet become a violent jihadist insurgency group. Furthermore, it was even criticizing some of Nigeria's familiar problems such as poverty, corruption, and crime. These were popular messages that made the group to be pleasing and blindfolding to some people in the northeast. It was when the group became violent and started attacking churches, mosques, schools, and government institutions and personnel in 2009 that the sympathies people had for them faded. The group's atrocities, especially those perpetrated against fellow Muslims, turned the Muslim-majority population of the Northeast undoubtedly against it. Nevertheless, so many young people still join them for reasons beyond their controls. There are many youth who have little or no secular education for many reasons. These youths cannot easily find employment in Nigeria where unemployment is the order of the day even for those who have credentials. So these young men become very cheap preys to the Boko Haram who promises them a lot of money than they would ever have imagined. Even some military men from the Nigerian regular army have even been said to have decamped to join the Boko Haram because they could earn much more money with the Boko Haram. Many don't even join the sect as a result of radicalization. They join them simply for money. So many apprehended Boko Haram fighters have demonstrated their inability to recite even a surah of the Quran. All they went in for was their daily bready which is very important in a country where poverty reigns.

Another non-negligible reason young man in the Northeast join Boko Haram is that when the group attacks a community it forces surviving young men to join it. It gives them a choice between joining Boko Haram or being killed. Of course, most young men choose membership of Boko Haram over death.

5.1.5 Ethno-religious hatred theory

According to Stewart and Brown, this theory is based on the premise that cultural differences coinciding with economic and political differences between groups may cause deep resentment that may lead to violent struggles[108].

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[108] Frances Stewart, "Horizontal Inequalities as a Cause of Conflict: A Review of CRISE Findings" ; available at

It may be very important to know that Nigeria is one of the most multicultural and multiethnic countries in the world. There are over 250 ethnic groups, each one, having its different tradition, culture, language etc. Out of these multiple ethnic groups, there are three major tribes called the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo[109]. These tribes make up nearly 70% of the country's population. The Hausa-Fulani are mostly Muslims they are the predominant ethnic groups in Nigeria's northern region. Although the groups originated from different parts of West Africa, it is now a unified group because of the intermarriages and the adoption of the Hausa language by the Fulani. Since the Nigerian independence in 1960, this group has been the most politically predominant. The Yoruba people are mostly found in the southwestern Nigeria. They are one of Nigeria's most urban ethnic groups. Historically, their culture centered on densely populated city-states like Lagos, Ibadan etc., each controlled by an Oba, or king. Traditionally, their religion was the "Ifa religion", a sort of animism. Today, they have as much Christians as the Muslims. Since independence, the Hausa-Fulani has somehow overshadowed this group, though they played important political roles during the colonial era. The Igbos lives in the South-Eastern Nigeria. They are predominantly Christians because their society was traditionally decentralized and non-hierarchical, thus making its members easier to be converted by the European missionaries. They are the staunch opponents of the famous Sharia law. They feel this law unjustly targets them.

Before the colonial era, culturally speaking, these groups were not one nation because they did not have much in common. Colonialism left so many positive and negative legacies in Nigeria. One of the negative legacies is the artificial regroup of different ethnic and religious groups into national identities they did not identify with. By the way, Boko Haram has used the notion of colonialism in one of the sermons by stating that "Europeans divided the countries" and "left them in poverty or created ethnic problems", while adopting the rotation system of governance between different groups and tribes, which caused their political

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http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTWDR2011/Resources/64060821283882418764/WDR_Background_Paper_Stewart.pdf ; site visited 16 April 2017.

[109] Study.com, "Nigerian Ethnic Group" ; available at http://study.com/academy/lesson/nigerian-ethnic-groups.html ; site accessed 14 April 2017.

instability"[110]. This rotation system of governance based on ethno-religious grounds has created a lot of discriminations, ethno-religious hatred and sentiments of being victimized. This can be vividly perceived in the 2009 speech of Yusufu, the founder or Boko Haram, when he stated that "the government of Nigeria has not been built to do justice…It has been built to attack Islam and kill Muslims"[111]. He was accusing Nigerian government of plotting against the Muslim communities. In the same vein, Abubakar Shekau, current Boko Haram leader, the successors of Yusuf, considered Yusuf´s death as unjust and added that "They're fighting us for no reason, because we've said we'll practice our religion, we will support our religion and stand on what Allah has said."[112]

At this juncture, it may be judicious to emphasize the fact that Boko Haram doesn't only kill the Christians alone. Though the Boko Haram group is of an Islamic foundation, the Islam they practice is not the mainstream one. Majority of the Nigerian Muslims are the pacific ones who cohabit with other religions without problems. All around the middle-belt and even in the Northwest of Nigeria, Muslims and Christians are living together without much hurdles. The Boko Harams Islam is rather a fundamentalist one, a radical branch of Salafism whose aim is to implant the radical Islam throughout the whole country, from the North to the gulf of Guinea. Anything or any person that stands as an obstacle against the realization of this objective is to be combatted, according to them, including the mainstream Muslims that they consider as "Kafiri" or unbelievers. For them, it is not enough praying to Allah five times a day. Being able to recite the Shahada[113] is not enough to qualify someone as a Muslim. From them, a good Muslim is the radical Muslim. Any Muslim who is not radical deserves the same treatments reserved for the pagans. That is why the Boko Haram has killed so many Muslims since its foundation. As Mr. Haruna would say, "Boko Haram has indeed

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[110] Lenka Vybíralová, "Nigeria and Boko Haram Insurgence The Roots of Political Violence" ; available https://is.muni.cz/el/1423/jaro2016/MVZ489/61907258/Essay.pdf ; site visited 15 April 2017.
[111] Lenka Vybíralová, "Nigeria and Boko Haram Insurgence".
[112] Lenka Vybíralová, "Nigeria and Boko Haram Insurgence".
[113] "The word "Shahada" comes from the Arabic verb « *shahida »*, meaning, "he testifies" or "he bears witness." It is the Islamic profession of faith. In reciting the Shahada, a Muslim bears witness that Allah is the only true god, and that Muhammad is Allah's prophet. Shahada is the first of the Pillars of Islam."

attacked Christian targets but they have killed far more Muslims than Christians".[114] Majority of the people leaving in the Northeast are Muslims. The terrorists, at the peak of their folly, go about killing the maximum number of people from home to home indiscriminately. They have even targeted Mosques and Muslim religious gatherings several times killing dozens of people. The deadliest attack in a Mosque was in July 2015 when more than 140 people were killed while praying in mosques before breaking their Ramadan fast. They mowed down men and boys by gunfire as they prayed in mosques in the northeastern town of Kukawa (state of Borno, close to Lake Chad). The terrorist simultaneously went down home to shoot the women who were preparing food for their husbands. Therefore, the least we can say here is that, the Bullets, bombs and machetes of the Boko Haram do not differentiate between Muslims and Christians as such. Boko Haram is a bloodthirsty group that brings down anyone who does not belong to her radical school of thoughts. This is what was most preoccupying to Nigeria and the international world to the extent of necessitating the intervention of the United Nations.

The next chapter shall dwell on both Nigerian and United Nation's approaches and contributions towards eradicating and resolving the Boko Haram predicaments.

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[114] Muhhamed Haruna, "Boko Haram has killed more Muslims than Christians", Premium Times; available at http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/93481-boko_haram_has_killed_more_muslims_than_christians_says_mohammed.html site accessed 19 April 2017.

6   CHAPTER SIX

6.1   UNITED NATIONS APPROACHES AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO HELP NIGERIA TO ERADICATE BOKO HARAM PREDICAMENT.

To say "helping someone" means that that person himself is making some personal efforts too. That is why, before going into finding out the United Nations (UN) efforts and help given to Nigeria, I think we have to briefly look at some personal efforts Nigeria herself has made in curbing the Boko Haram menace. Given that Nigeria is a country with one of the greatest armies in Africa, the issue of Boko Haram should not have escalated to the peak where it is today, if the Nigerian Government had taken it more serious right from 2009 when the group started using violence. Unfortunately, at the beginning, everyone else, including the government was a passive spectator of the Boko Haram ordeal. As stated earlier in the previous Chapter, the group started as a non-violent group, though they were already showing some symptoms of danger that were ignored by the government. Perhaps, because they were once used as a political leverage in the election of the Borno State governor[115]. However, the Nigeria police force was obliged to look into its suspicious activities in 2009. This investigatory work was bearing a code name "operation flush" which led to a lot of casualties. Many of the Boko Haram members were arrested and killed including its leader, Mohammed Yusuf who was extra judicially killed in the police custody. Probably the Nigeria police force was with the misconception that the death of its leader will end the Boko Haram dilemma, but they were wrong, because ever since 2009 till this very moment, Nigerian government is still cut up with the security challenge amongst many of it challenges especially in the North east. That notwithstanding, apart from the operation flush attempt, they have been so many attempts by the federal government of Nigeria to resolve the issue of Boko Haram as we shall briefly outline below:

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[115] Osaretin Idahosa, "Boko Haram and the Nigerian State: a Different Perspective" , *Glocalism Journal of culture, politics and innovation* 3 (2015) : 5 DOI: 10.12893/gjcpi.2015.3.5.

August 2011 the government undertook the back channel talks with the sect by a panel task to negotiate with the group and provide amnesty for those who renounced violence. In the same 2011 the former president of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo had a negotiation with the sect in which they tabled their demands. Their demands were submitted to the then president Goodluck Jonathan who promised to look into them but nothing was implemented.

In 2012, the president of the supreme council on sharia/ attempted to reach out to the sect, but the contact was broken by the sect who accused the government of bad faith after the media got wind of their talk. In the November 2012, the president in a televised interview admitted that he was still open for negotiations with the sect but none is ongoing because they were no one to negotiate with.

In April 2013, president Goodluck instituted a 26 member amnesty committee which comprises of past and present government officials, religious authority, and human right activist. To dialogue for a peaceful resolutions of security challenges in the North and to convince the sect to lay down their arms in exchange for state pardon and social integration. But the Abubakar Shekua rejected the amnesty and vowed not to stop it violent campaign to establish Islamic state in Nigeria.[116]

In 2014, right after the abduction of the over 200 chibok school girls, the government attempted to negotiate with Boko Haram to exchange the over 200 Chibok girls for 12 imprisoned Boko Haram leaders. In the same year, particularly in October, a spoke person for the government claimed an agreement has been reached for ceasefire and the release of the girls. But the sect lunched an attack the following week and even abducted more women and girls.[117]

In between all these series of negotiations or attempted fruitless negotiations by the Nigeria government, they have been countless of times, that the government had deployed thousands of troops of soldier to the northeast to wage war against the sects. Amidst all the open combat confrontations by the military, Boko Haram continues to gain grounds and took over a vast region of Northeast as vast as the whole of Belgium with its headquarter in Sambisa forest. With these, one can categorically infer, that the efforts of the president Goodluck Jonathan led government was not remarkable enough.

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[116] Agbiboa, "Peace at Daggers Drawn?" 41-67.
[117] Start, "Boko Haram: An Assessment of Strengths, Vulnerabilities, and Policy Options".

However, Buhari[118] might not have done well enough in the country's economy or in its fight against corruption and poverty, but he has made a major move so far in the country's effort to defeat the sect. When he assumed office, he moved the Nigerian Military Command Centre from the federal capital of Abuja to Maiduguri. Between 2015 to 2017, the military, under his government was able to get back some of the regions under the sect control, shrink Boko Haram to a great extent and diminished its activities. The government was even able to release about twenty-one schoolgirls abducted by Islamic militants in 2014, though the sect is still very far from being completely extinguished.

Haven taken a look into how Nigeria herself has been able to strive against the Boko Haram, let us now study the efforts the UN has disbursed towards curbing the Boko Haram's scourges.

6.1.1   UNs Contributions

Nigeria has been a full and "bonafide" member of the United Nations since 1960, as we have previously observed. Since then, the UN has, on several occasions, intervened for peace and stability in Nigeria. The first and most popular occasion was during the unfortunate Nigerian civil war that claimed over a million lives in the late sixties. We can still remember how this was of great concern to the UN and the world in general. The diplomatic and humanitarian roles of the UN at that period can never be overemphasized. Over forty years later, Nigeria got entangled again with another war; a war against the terrorism of the Boko Haram that had to attract the world's attention and UNs intervention again. The contributions of the UN to help Nigerian to curb and eradicate the Boko Haram can be enumerated under the following headings.

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[118] The current president of Nigeria. He took over the mantle of leadership in May 29th 2015

6.1.2 Declaration of Boko Haram as a Terrorist Group.

On the 22 May 2014, the UN officially blacklisted the Boko Haram as an Al-Qaida-linked terror group[119]. With this designation, the Security Council took an important step in support of the government of Nigeria's efforts to defeat the Boko Haram. The designation came into effect after no objections were raised by the Security Council's 15 members. It was immediately welcomed by Britain and the United States, followed by France. The United States was the forerunner in this matter since they had even already designated this group as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) since November 2013[120]. One is hereby tempted to ask why did the UN not blacklist them earlier than they did? Whereas, Boko Haram had been all the while, blasting and killing people all over the nation, most especially in the Northeast and the capital city of Abuja. Apart from the blasts in the market places and in schools, there were some major events that gradually led the UN to finally designate the Boko Haram as a terror group. One of it was the car bomb explosion of the UN building in Abuja that left about 21 people dead and 17 injured. That was on the 26 August 2011, the first time in Nigeria that Boko Haram was targeting an international organization, which for them, was one of the strongest symbols of western civilization and domination. The second one, which was the one that really rang the Alarm, was the incomprehensible kidnapping of the Chibok girls. On the night of 14–15 April 2014, over 200 female students were kidnapped from the Government Secondary School in the town of Chibok in Borno State of Nigeria. Boko Haram terrorist claimed responsibility for the kidnapping. This sparked international outrage that triggered-up the famous ''Bring Back Our Girls campaign''. Before this incredible and unprecedented act, not many persons knew about the Boko Haram in the world out there. People who knew about them considered them as just a small group of people causing little nuisance. Even in Nigeria, initially, people had mixt-feelings about them. While some already saw them as a horrible sect that was going to engender the "waterloo"[121] of Nigeria, if not controlled fast

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[119] Staff Writer, "UN Declares Boko Haram Terrorist Group" ;available at http://www.sabreakingnews.co.za/2014/05/23/un-declares-boko-haram-terrorist-group/ site accessed 28 April 2017.

[120] Open Doors, "US Declare Boko Haram a Terrorist Foreign Group" ; available at https://www.opendoorsusa.org/christian-persecution/stories/declares-boko-haram-foreign-terrorist-group/ ; site accessed 22 April 2017.

[121] "This expression is used here with reference to the 1815 battle outside the Belgian town of Waterloo in which Napoleon Bonaparte was finally defeated by forces commanded by the Duke of Wellington. The term *Waterloo* quickly became synonymous with anything difficult to master. It was referred to as such the year after the Battle of Waterloo by another English hero - Lord Byron, in a letter to Thomas Moore."

enough, others took them as a "god sent" sect to deliver his oppressed people from the bondage of the government and the western imperialism. Many people of Borno state had this good impression of them since the sect, at the beginning, presented itself behind the facade of philanthropism and humanitarianism. In a way, the sect was benefiting from the aura of "messiah" until their declaration, by the UN, as a terrorist group finally came up in 2014 to clear all doubts in the eyes of the people that they were nothing but a terrorist group that should be abhorred. This really helped the Nigerian government to take clear measures to combat them. Before, the UN admitted and declared them as a terrorist group, it was very difficult for the Nigerian government to make any drastic move against them since even the UN herself could accuse the government of violating human right or committing crime against humanity. The UNs declaration of Boko haram was a great trampling that finally propelled Nigeria into taking so many actions against Boko Haram. Unanimous stands could now be easily taken in the Nigerian senate house of assembly to combat the sect as a declared enemy of the nation.

6.1.3 Embargo

A lot of significant miles stones of UNs contributions to help Nigeria were entrenched in 2014. Earlier in that year, the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) urged the United Nations Security Council to "move swiftly to impose targeted sanctions against Boko Haram and their backers to end persistent attacks against children and other civilians.[122] In a statement dated 11th May 2014 and signed by SERAP executive director Adetokunbo Mumuni, the organization said that, "By its Resolution 2068 (2012), the UN Security Council has stated its readiness to adopt targeted sanctions against armed groups like Boko Haram that persistently violate the rights of children in armed conflict, including through abduction and attacks on schools."[123] The SERAP felt that with the escalation of violence, the abduction of over 200 Chibok girls, the hours have now come for the UNs Security Council to show that it can deliver on its mandate and implement its resolution when it matters most.

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[122] SERAP, "Missing School Girls, SERAP Seek Security Council Sanctions against Boko Haram" ; available at http://serap-nigeria.org/missing-schoolgirls-serap-seeks-un-security-council-sanctions-against-boko-haram.ngo/ ; site accessed 22 April 2017.
[123] SERAP, "Missing School Girls, SERAP Seek Security Council Sanctions against Boko Haram".

Four weeks after the militant group abducted the Chibok girls, the UN Security Council approved a sanction against Boko Haram. The sect was then added to a list of al-Qaeda linked organizations subject to arms embargo, assets freeze and travel ban. Security Council Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee stressed the need for robust implementation of the Al-Qaida sanctions regime as a significant tool in combating terrorist activity, and urges all Member States to participate actively by nominating for listing additional individuals, groups, undertakings and entities which should be subject to the sanctions measures."[124] Another strong reason for the Committee to have added Boko Haram to the list was because they found out that Boko Haram has maintained a relationship with the Organization of Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) for training, material and financial support purposes. For example, Boko Haram gained valuable knowledge on the construction of improvised explosive devices from AQIM. A number of Boko Haram members fought alongside Al-Qaida affiliated groups in Mali in 2012 and 2013 before returning to Nigeria with terrorist expertise.[125] As a result of the new listing, any individual or body that gives financial or material support to Boko Haram, including the provision of arms or recruits, was designated eligible to be added to the Al-Qaida Sanctions List and subject to the sanctions measures. This initiative was applauded by Nigerian government and also by the USA whose envoy, Samantha Power, said "it was an important step in support of efforts to defeat Boko Haram and hold its murderous leadership accountable."[126] These sanctions were big reliefs to the Nigerian government since Boko Haram was, to some extent, brought to bay. It was a big slap on its face. Some parts of its financial means were blocked and ammunitions coming in through the "semi-legal" means were stopped. Communications with the other international terrorist groups became relatively difficult for them. This led to a partial impoverishment of the terrorist group; an impoverishment that relatively reduced their strike force.

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[124] United Nations, "Security Council Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee Adds Boko Haram to Its Sanctions List" ; available at https://www.un.org/press/en/2014/sc11410.doc.htm ; site accessed 24 April 2017.

[125] United Nations, "Security Council Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee Adds Boko Haram to Its Sanctions List".

[126] BBC News, "UN Committee imposes Sanctions on Nigeria's Boko Haram" ; available at http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27529566 site accessed 30 April 2017.

6.1.4 Humanitarian

Earlier as the Boko Haram continued to strike, the violence continues to escalate. The intensification of Boko Haram violence and the military counter operations continues to affect about 26 million people living in the Northeast Nigeria. So many families became homeless because of wanton destruction of lives and properties. Some of these people are left with no option than to live in the internally displaced centers while some had to flee to the neighboring countries seeking for protection and refuge. Borno, Adamawa and Yobe States are the most directly affected by the conflict and mass forced displacement with Bauchi, Gombe and Taraba largely affected by the fact of hosting some of the displaced.[127]

As stated earlier, United Nations serves different purposes that work together for the growth of the organization and its member states. One of the purposes is the humanitarian one. The United Nations Office of the Coordination of the Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) is ensuring this purpose. OCHA is the part of the United Nations Secretariat responsible for bringing together humanitarian actors to ensure a coherent response to emergencies. However, the OCHA also work in partnership with national and international actors to ensure that humanitarian needs are meet.

There's no way UN can offer help "from without" but "from within". UN cannot help a country that is not ready to be helped. And anyone who is ready to be help will contribute its little stone to the edifice. Nigeria herself has made a lot of its own contributions to tackle the humanitarian crises. For UN to stand it needs other partners. Since the mission of OCHA is to mobilize and coordinate effective and principled humanitarian action in partnership with national and international actors, in regards to the humanitarian crises in North-east Nigeria, UN work in close partnership with other humanitarian partners. These humanitarian partners include 17 Nigerian government agencies, 29 international NGO, 17 national NGO, 9 United Nations agencies and 2 Red Cross movements.

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[127] Reliefweb OCHA, "Humanitarian Needs Overview" ; available at http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ocha_nga_2017_hno_13012017.pdf ; site accessed 25 April

According to UN statistics, an estimation of about 14 million people is in need of humanitarian assistance.[128] In the 14 million people in need of humanitarian assistance, the host community comprises of 11.0 million people, 1.8 million people are internally displaced, 1.0 million people are returning internally displaced (IDP) and 0.2 are returning refugees. Children under the age of 18 are a total of 8.1 million, adult from the age of 18 to 59 are a total of 5.2 million, elderly from 59 years above are a total of 0.7 million. These bring us to a total of 6.8 million male and 7.2 million female all in need of humanitarian assistance. And these humanitarian needs are being categorized under different sectors such as:

Food Security, Protection, Child Protection And Gender-Based Violence, Health, Nutrition, Water Sanitation And Hygiene (WASH), Education, Shelter and Non-Food Items, Displacement Management Systems/ Camp Coordination Camp Management (CCCM), Recovery and Response Planning (Durable Solutions).[129]

And in these sectors, 5.8 million people are in need of food security, 6.7 million are in need of protection, 2.1 million people are in need of child protection, 1.7 million are in need of gender-based violence protection, 12.4 million are in need of health care, 6.7 million are in need of nutrition, 3.8 million are in need of water sanitation and hygiene (WASH), 3.0 million are in need of basic education, 2.8 million are in need of shelter and non-food item, 2.4 people are in need of displacement management system and 14 million are in need of recovery and response planning (durable solution).

The United Nations OCHA and its partners have made several contributions to help Northeast Nigeria to handle the humanitarian crises. And these contributions are being done in each of the above listed different sectors. So far, about 2.7 million people now have access to basic education, about 9.8 million people got access to basic or primary health care, about 3.7 million people got nutrition, about 14 million people now have access to good water

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Reliefweb OCHA, "Humanitarian Needs Overview".
[129] Reliefweb OCHA, "Humanitarian Needs Overview".

sanitation and about 1 million people received food assistance both in cash and in kind. As stated earlier, 26 million people living in the northeast Nigeria are being affected by the crises with about 1.8 million people are internally displaced. The 1.8 million people internally displaced comprises of about 321, 514 households. About 27,766 received shelter and about 127,707 Nonfood items kit are being distributed among these households.

6.1.5   Mobilization of other Nations to support Nigeria

Though, since the 14 April kidnapping, the interest of the international community in Boko Haram has grown significantly, the UNs declaration of the Boko Haram as a terrorist group mostly opened the ways for international mobilization against the Boko Haram. It fully awoke the consciousness of the international community on the fact that Boko Haram was not just a domestic problem. Hence, countries such as China, France, the UK and the US offered their support to the Nigerian government to help rescue the abducted girls. In addition, in an effort to mobilize regional coordination and support, France convened a summit-level meeting of the countries bordering Nigeria on 17 May 2014 and the UK organized a similar high-level meeting on 12 June the same year.[130] These efforts, among others, resulted in the decision to operationalize a regional intelligence fusion unit and the establishment of a multinational joint task force to enhance border security. The Cameroun, Chad and Nigerien borders were reinforced in order to contain the Boko Haram in a localized environment. In 2015 during a regional meeting in Niger to discuss a regional response to the Boko Haram problems, the UN urged regional countries to undertake planning to put into operation a "sustainable, viable and effective" Multinational military operations against Boko Haram. It also welcomed the vote by Chad's National Assembly which authorized Chadian troops and security forces to assist Cameroonian and Nigerian soldiers in the fight against Boko Haram terrorists. This initiative really counteracted the efforts of the sect to spread and ravage other neighboring countries.

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[130] Peace and Security Council Report, "Nigeria; Boko Haram not just a domestic problem" ; available at https://issafrica.org/pscreport/situation-analysis/nigeria-boko-haram-not-just-a-domestic-problem ; accessed 2 May 2017.

The UN also has this merit of mobilizing other countries to provide even financial help to Nigeria and the victims of the terrorist attacks. In 2015 the United Nations was already appealing for $174 million to help Nigerian refugees who had fled to neighboring nations following militant attacks.[131] Earlier this year again, the UN had sought an emergency funding to prevent a famine in Nigeria/Lake Chad region. In a summit in Oslo this year, Norway led the efforts by pledging $192m (£153m) of the $672m promised by international donors for the next three years.[132] That is a third of the $1.5bn sought by the UN. Further contributions were even said to be expected later this year as the UN warns Europe that if it ignores the humanitarian crisis in Nigeria, it would be at her own peril. UN assistant secretary general, Toby Lanzer, says "urgent aid to help stabilize communities in the Lake Chad region is also in Europe's broader interests".[133] Therefore, in terms of the mobilization of other nations to rally around Nigeria, we can rightly say that the UN is doing a good job. Nevertheless, there are some lacunas in the UNs holistic approaches and contributions to help Nigeria to resolve the Boko Harams predicament which we shall discuss below.

6.1.6   Criticisms of the UNs contributions

To make a just appraisal of the UNs efforts and contributions towards combatting the Boko Haram terrorists, I think it would be fair enough to also point out some of the loopholes of these efforts. Apart from the fact that the UNs reactions started coming very late, there are also other criticisms leveled against her. For instance, a lot of people believe that the declaration of Boko Haram as a terrorist group by the UN was a boon to the group. It was a godsend bargain to them, since that was all they were looking for was to have an international

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[131] CNN, "Nigeria refuges: U.N. appeals for $174M for Victims of Boko Haram" ; available at http://edition.cnn.com/2015/04/10/africa/nigeria-un-refugee-help/ ; site accessed 30 April 2017.

[132] The Guardian, "Donors pledge $672 at Oslo summit to avert famine in Nigeria and Lake Chad " ; available https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/feb/24/oslo-donor-conference-raises-672m-for-nigeria-and-lake-chad-food-crisis ; site accessed 30 April 2017.

[133] The Guardian, "Europe ignores Nigeria humanitarian crises at its peril, warn top UN official" ; available at https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/jan/31/europe-ignores-nigeria-humanitarian-crisis-at-its-peril-warns-top-un-official-toby-lanzer-lake-chad   ; site accessed 2 May 2017.

recognition. That is the outmost dream of all the terrorist groups. They need international publicity, which was given to them through this UNs declaration.

Concerning the sanctions and embargo imposed on Boko Haram, so many analysts would say that it would not have any practical effect on the group since the "Boko Haram commanders and their leaders do not travel with passports. They travel on the ground in hijacked vehicles; they don't have any formal assets that anyone can point to - it is not a formal organization,"[134] says Omoyele Sowore. In addition to that, sanctions will barely have any real impact on a group based in a part of Nigeria that operates on a cash economy, where people don't even naturally believe in using the banks. Mr. Sowore went further to say that he regarded the UN's move as merely "symbolic". "I'm trying to be very nice using the word symbolic otherwise I would have called it ridiculous,"[135] says he. Embargoes can have an immediate effect on a big terrorists group like al-Qaeda but not on a group like Boko Haram. Osama bin Laden and his colleagues were multi-millionaires; they had scallywag states like Afghanistan behind them. Those kinds of assets can be easily traced and frozen; but the Boko Haram is engaging in bank robberies, they are taking money for ransom, they don't have any defined and traceable assets that one can go after, so they don't care much about embargos.

The UN is encouraging the regional regular army to wage war against the Boko Haram. The question is how can one rely on conventional tactics to fight an enemy waging a guerrilla war? It's very difficult. If it were that easy, the Colombian army would have put an end to an over 40 years war with the FARC rebels. The Angolan government would not have got to fight for almost thirty years in Angola with the UNITA before killing Jonas Savimbi and his men etc., (to mention but a few examples).

6.1.7   Challenges faced by the UN

The UN was faced with certain challenges that engendered her mediocrity in her contributions towards helping Nigeria to resolve the Boko Haram problems. I think the foremost challenge was that; Nigeria refused the military help proposed by the UN ab initio. Earlier, in 2015, The Nigerian then President Goodluck Jonathan told the UN Security

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[134] BBC News, "UN Committee imposes Sanctions on Nigeria's Boko Haram".
[135] BBC News, "UN Committee imposes Sanctions on Nigeria's Boko Haram".

Council not to focus on deploying an international force to fight Boko Haram but instead help victims of its terror. He said the UN intervention should not be based on Chapter 7 of the UN charter, which can require military enforcement of peace, but instead on Chapter 8, which recognizes the role of regional organizations in promoting peace and security. [136] He somewhat urged the United Nations to focus more on helping Nigeria with the rehabilitation and reconstruction of persons and communities affected by terrorism in northern Nigeria rather than deploying an international force.

I think it was lack of foresight of then Nigeria government to have refused to accept the military help proposed by the UN. He accepted only the humanitarian help as if "prevention was not better than cure". It would have been better to quickly attack the Boko Haram, at the beginning, with full force in order to prevent them from rendering people homeless in the first place. The UN peacekeeping force with its great arsenal and martial intelligence, in collaboration with the Nigerian army, may have brought to an end the Boko Haram menace by now, if only the Nigerian government had accepted their offer.

Another big challenge faced by the UN in providing humanitarian needs to the IDPs is that of the risk involved in reaching people in need due to the high levels of insecurity, degree of military control and consequently restricted access. Six LGAs in Borno remain inaccessible (Kukawa, Mobbar, Abadam, Guzamala, Marte and Kala/Balge), due to security and military restrictions.[137]

Since Boko Haram is engaged in a sort of guerilla war. The fighters are like the "chameleons". Sometimes they can even infiltrate the IDP camps to cause havoc through human bombs and so on. It is very difficult to identify the members.

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[136] News24, "Nigeria: No need for UN Military enforcement to battle Boko Haram" ; available at http://www.news24.com/Africa/News/Nigeria-No-need-for-UN-military-enforcement-to-battle-Boko-Haram-20150417-3 ; site accessed 4 May 1st 2017.
[137] Reliefweb OCHA, "Humanitarian Response Plan" ; available at http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ocha_nga_hrp_2017_19122016.pdf ; accessed 1st May 2017.

There is also a very defaulting communication system around the Northeast. Roads are in such a state of shabbiness; many affected communities are extremely hard to reach. Mobile phone reception is frequently cut out due to fighters attacking phone towers, stealing the cables, or the government cutting mobile phone reception themselves. Without access to mobile phone connection, aid organizations must rely on satellite phones, although at one point the Nigerian army banned those as well.[138] Due to these communication/accessibility problems, humanitarian partners do not know exactly how many people in these areas are in need of urgent life-saving support.

The consciousness of these and other difficulties would make one to rather be more clement in his criticism of the UNs endeavors to help Nigeria resolve the Boko Haram problems.

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[138] Jessica MacLean, "Difficulties in delivering aid in Northeast Nigeria: Boko Haram, vigilantes and other challenges" ; available at https://www.eisf.eu/news/difficulties-of-delivering-aid-in-northeast-nigeria-boko-haram-vigilantes-and-other-challenges/ ; site visited 3 May 2017.

7   CHAPTER SEVEN

7.1   THE PERSISTENCE OF BOKO HARAM AND ITS HAVOC TO NIGERIA'S DEVELOPMENT

The least one can say of the Boko Haram problem is that "it is a complicated issue". In fact, the former President, Goodluck Jonathan admitted that the current security situation in Nigeria is more complex as compared with the civil war. He also said that Boko Haram sympathizers are in his government and security agencies, thus adding to the complexity of the situation.[139] In the same vain, the vanguard would say that it would be naive to think that the Boko Haram has no connection to the powers that be in Nigeria's Game of Thrones-style politics.[140] Neither diplomacy nor the use of force has yielded any definite desired result in combatting the Militant group. The Boko Haram is not dead. It is still persisting. It is still launching some sporadic attacks on various targets. It is still keeping a good number of the Chibok Girls and other numerous hostages. For security reasons, barricades are still being put in front of all establishments that symbolize the western civilization in Nigeria.

Nigeria's failure to contain the Boko Haram can be ascribed to many reasons. First, Nigerian officials did not, at first, pay due attention to the militant group. They underestimated them. A typical example of this underestimation and neglect was when, in 2009, the then President, Umaru Yar'Adua, went ahead with a scheduled state visit to Brazil right in the middle of Boko Haram's uprising, despite the fact that the revolt was intensifying in four states; a revolt that was as serious as to have eventually, left more than 700 people dead and destroyed numerous public buildings. The Nigerian government completely neglected them and considered them then as an insignificant localized problem, and hoped that it would fade

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[139] Babjee Pothuraju, "Boko Haram Persistent Threat in Nigeria"; available at https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/143905/ThreatInNigeria_BabjePothuraju.pdf site visited 2 May 2017.

[140] The guardian, "Boko Haram: S reasons why the Nigeria militant group is so powerful" ; available at https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/14/boko-haram-why-nigerian-militant-group-powerful ; site visited on the 1 May 2017.

away with time. Paradoxically, times have gone by but Nigeria is still facing the embarrassment of the Boko Haram ordeal till today, 2017. The second reason for the persistence of Boko Haram is that of human-shield strategy. It may be important to recall that Boko Haram has links with foreign extremist groups such as ISIS, al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and al-Shabaab. Theses have influenced the militant group with both tactical knowledge and ideological affinity. Consequently, the Boko Haram earlier realized that they were very vulnerable since they could be easily localized and bombarded in the Sambisa forest where they were hiding out, so they earlier adopted the tactic of kidnapping and keeping with them some important people as human shields, so as to prevent the military from raining bombs on them randomly. They intensified this strategy when they went and did the incredible operation of abducting over 200 Chibok Girls in 2014. This strategy is really working for them till date, since neither the regional coalition force, nor the Nigerian army could bombard the forest arbitrarily for the fear of killing the innocent girls on hostage with them. Therefore, they continue to perpetrate their atrocities all around the country. In short, the Boko Haram terrorist groups are far from being extinguished. They are far from being contained today. Boko Haram terrorism is still a major threat to the Nation. Aside so many lives that are lost, people being injured and internally displaced, it is also a threat to the economic, political and social security and a major factor associated with under development in Nigeria today.

The issue of terrorism as an impediment to Nigerian national development and growth can be seen in different ways. For the purpose of this work, we shall be focusing on three aspects: National security, Education/socio economic, Destruction of trusts and the Enhancement of tribalism and ethnocentrism, and Islamophobia.

7.1.1 National security

Boko haram has continually rejected the cease-fire, proposed by the federal government of Nigeria. In return, they keep placing attacks in almost every corner of northeast, Borno in particular. This is a threat to the African top oil producers and biggest economy. Exposing the youth to extremist influences. Their link to an international terrorist group like ISIS has made them to gather more momentum to constitute a threat to the national security, economy,

unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state and her citizens. The activities of the Boko Haram in the northeast affect the 36 states of Nigeria and its capital and this brings the country backward in the economic, social and political growth. This is because, instead of the government to invest on some other sectors like education, health, transport etc. is busy spending money on security. The money is just being wasted since the Boko-Haram is still very active and destructive. The escalating level of violence in Nigeria fits the description of a failed state, and the central authority's lack of control to quell the wave of bombings and indiscriminate killings by Boko Haram strongly confirms the underlying hypotheses of a failed state.[141] The international reputation of Nigerian army and security intelligence are in doubt and its citizens are beginning to lose hope in the military and security agent to stop Boko Haram and the government keeps assuring that it will win the war against terror. The foundation and unity of Nigeria as a political entity has become threaten by the menace of Hoko Haram, the match to nationhood that began since amalgamation in 1914 has become jeopardized by the threat of Boko Haram insurgency. National insecurity is rather the talk of the day in Nigerian at this present time.

7.1.2   Education/ Socio-economic Activities

The importance of education and its contribution towards the development of a democratic society can never be overstressed. Franklin Roosevelt says Democracy cannot succeed unless those who express their choice are prepared to choose wisely. The real safeguard of democracy, therefore, is education. Education is therefore an inevitable pillar of national development. Without education a country can never move forward. Boko-Haram, judging by its meaning, "western education is forbidden", is a great obstacle to the development of Nigeria. Schools are their main targets. Women should be relegated to the purdah system according to them. The only books that should be found in homes, according to them, should be the Koran. How can Nigeria develop under such a system?

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[141] Babalola, Oluwatosin, "Combating Violent Extremism and Insurgency in Nigeria" ; available at http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/Collaboration/universities/Boko-Haram-Scourge.pdf ; site visited 25 November 2016.

Another strong steep back that the Boko Haram inflicts on Nigerian development is directly on the economic sector. They go about destroying both private and public amenities. So, instead of people and the government investing on new things to develop the country, they are obliged to replace the ones destroyed. This prevents the country from growing economically.

Terrorist incidents have economic consequences by diverting foreign direct investment (FDI), destroying infrastructure, redirecting public investment funds to security, or limiting trade. If a targeted country loses enough FDI, which is an important source of growth and development, then it may also experience reduced economic growth.[142] In terms of finance and investment, though direct and indirect loses are unquantifiable, a World Investment Report (WIR) of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), estimated that the domestic economy lost a whopping N1.33 trillion Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), owing to the activities of insurgents going by the name "Boko Haram." And, these conditions create fears making investment chances for Investors narrow.[143] UNCTAD report indicates that, FDI flows to Nigeria fell to $6.1 billion (N933.3 billion) in 2010, a decline of about 29 percent from the $8.65 billion (N1.33 trillion) realized in 2009 fiscal year.

Terrorism diverts foreign direct investment by creating uncertainties in the minds of investors who prefer to invest in a climate that is favorable and safe to run a business. Similarly, terrorism raises the costs associated with doing business in the forms of extra security measures and higher insurance premiums with far reaching consequences on the overall profit, growth and productivity of a company. Armed violence equally reduces tourism activities. According to one study, over the long run, tourism is reduced by 25% when there

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[142] Rotimi Aigyi, Joseph O. Fashagba "Understanding Goverment Politics in Nigeria" (Kwara: Landmark University, 2014) : 359 ; available at file:///C:/Users/franca/Desktop/Thesis%20Document/Terrorism%20in%20Nigeria.pdf ; site accessed 26 November 2016.

[143] Eme, O.Innocent and Ibieta Jide, "The Cost of Boko Haram Activities in Nigeria" , *Arabian Journal of Bussness and Management review*, *(OMAN Chapter)* 2 (2012) : 20 DOI: 10.12816/0002238

are substantial increases in political violence, and in countries with small tourism industries the reduction tends to be substantially greater.[144]

It is observed that states often fail to provide adequate security for citizens or undermine democratic governance through acts committed in the name of security calls into question top-down approaches to reducing violence.[145] This ugly development has some implications. Governance in times of insurgency presents a challenge to economic progress where development is arrested because of the absence of peace.[146] The cost of insecurity in Nigeria could also be seen on the percentage of annual budget allocated to security agencies on a yearly basis. Infrastructure and human capital development are almost foregone alternatives; hence, capital expenditure is struggling from the rear. According to Kantiok Many governments justify excessive expenditures on security as intent to secure the homeland.[147] Many governors, particularly in the northern part of Nigeria have justified their non-performance and lack of development of their states to the fact that they are fighting terrorism in their various states. Huge sums of money are designated to security and have been embezzled by these governors while failing to secure their various states. More often than not, they justify the expenditure on equipping the police and the manning the various checkpoints in their states. The same thing can be said of the federal government in its huge expenditure on defense, yet not fully equipping the security forces with the needed equipment. That the insurgency sometimes outguns the security agents tells on the dilapidated equipment that they use in trying to contain the terrorism.

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[144] Mike Omilusi, "The Multi-Dimensional of insurgency and armed conflict in Nigeria" , *Asian Journal of Social Science, Arts and Humanities* 4 (2016) : 31 ISSN 2311-3782

[145] Citizen DRC Policy Briefing, "Broadening Spaces for Citizens in Violent Context" ; available at http://www.drc-citizenship.org/system/assets/1052734708/original/1052734708-hilker_etal.2010-broadening.pdf ; site accessed 26 November 2016.

[146] Sahara Reporters, "Challenges of Governance in the Era of Insurgency" ; available at http://saharareporters.com/2014/08/10/challenges-governance-era-insurgency-mohammed-sambo-dasuki ; site visited 26 November 2016.

[147] Kantiok B.James, "Boko Haram, the Government and Peace Negotiation"; available at file:///C:/Users/franca/Downloads/bokoharamthegovernmentandpeacenegotiation%20(2).pdf ; site visited 24 May 2016.

7.1.3   Destruction of Trusts and the Enhancement of Tribalism and Ethnocentrism.

Terrorism destroys inter-communal trust. The book-Haram terrorism has created some ethnic and tribal problems that affect the national cohesion and unity. Since most of the Boko Harams are from the Hausa regions and tribe, everyone else has this tendency of pointing an accusing finger to any Hausa man as a potential danger forgetting that the Boko Haram terrorists kill mostly the Hausas because they live together there in the same region. The Hausa man, in the other way round sees the Ibo and the Yoruba man as a potential enemy. This creates a labyrinth of suspicions and distrusts among ethnic groups. The impact of violence felt in cities and region is best exemplified in Kaduna and Jos. Kaduna is a state best known for its prosperousness in textile firms and trading companies. But due to inter communal violence between the Christians living in the south and the Muslims living in the north, the prosperous companies are now being shut down. Inter communal violence have caused a lot of disunity among the middle belt states thereby making the Indians and Lebanese expatriate who established theirs businesses in the this state to move to Abuja and the south thereby destroying local economies. A good numbers have left the country altogether. "Hotels, banks and other business sectors have witnessed significant reductions in their activities."[148]

Since the federal government imposed states of emergency on Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Boko Haram attacks on villages and towns have dramatically increased. In the attacks, Boko Haram has killed civilians, pillaged property, and destroyed schools, homes, and businesses, which were often razed to the ground. Due to these attacks, infrastructures are being destroyed as a result of bombing, causing food insecurity, farmers and a lot of persons are being internally displaced fleeing for their lives. Since 2009, northeast has recorded the highest numbers of internal displacement and migration. The cost of setting an internally displace persons (IDP) camps for their rehabilitation and provisions is an economic burden for federal and state government. And these displaced persons contribute little or nothing to the national economy as the resources meant for development are being used, even to carter for them. Terrorists

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[148] Adebayo A. Anthony, "Implications of "Boko Haram" Terrorism on National Development in Nigeria" , *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 5 (2014) : 16 Doi:10.5901/mjss.2014.v5n16p480

attacks most of the times result in a countless numbers of death, injuries, psychological stress and loss of means of livelihood.

7.1.4 Islamophobia

Islamophobia is a pure consequence of Islamic fundamentalism. The coming to limelight of this coinage ''islamophobia'' can be conceptualized in the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center. This doesn't mean that this word was not in use before then. It only became popularly known after the al-Qaeda terrorist attacked the USA in the name of Islam. In a nutshell, "Islamophobia denotes the irrational fear, prejudice and discrimination against Muslims that is usually directed at a real or imagined Muslim threat".[149] This phenomenon is a growing trend all over the world today. The irrational fear for and prejudice against Islam and its devotees, which is known as Islamophobia, is gone to its peak in Nigeria with the advent of Boko Haram. The terrorists have seriously scoffed Islam which is fundamentally supposed to be a religion of peace. They are obviously doing a disservice to the same religion they claim to defend, because their actions apparently denigrate the religion. For moderate and non-violent Muslims, their actions grossly misrepresent Islam. The Christians are completely fed up of the mischiefs of the terrorists. At a point, the Christians got so much fed up of the Boko Haram attacks on them that they even revolted on a few occasions, but on the wrong targets. A typical of this was a time in 2012 when the president of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) unconsciously sparked Anti-Islamism in the North by encouraging Christian youth to pick up arms to attack the terrorists who attack them. In answer to the CAN presidents call, following the Boko Harams attack on churches in Kaduna, Kaduna Christian youth picked up arms and killed innocent Muslims on Bikes, traveling by in cars, buses, etc. Over 200 innocent Muslims were killed in youth mad rampage. [150]

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[149] Onyinyechi P. C. Wariboko, "PROSPECTS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN NIGERIA AND ITS DANGERS" ; available at file:///C:/Users/franca/Downloads/119647-330045-1-SM%20(1).pdf ;site visited 4 May 2017.

[150] Hamza Suleiman "Islamophobia: At all time high among Nigerians online" ; available at http://newsrescue.com/islamophobia-time-high-nigerians-online/#ixzz4gcyuhBXK ;   site visited 4 May 2017.

The story of Aisha Alabi that happed in Lagos, on February 5, 2013, is also symptomatic of the Islamophobic atmosphere in Nigeria today. Aisha Alabi was a secondary school pupil, who was allegedly flogged 40 times by Mrs E.C Ukpaka, the principal of Kadara Junior School in Ebute Metta, Lagos state, for wearing hijab during the school hours. Such disrespectful violation of the right to freedom of expression and religion was also reported a few weeks later, when Elizabeth Omidele, the Mafoluku Senior Grammar School principal, was accused of harassing a girl named Barira by telling her to pull off her hijab outside the school premises.[151] Stories like these were seldom heard of in Nigeria a few decades ago. We only hear of this kind of stories in some parts of Europe, most especially in France where the parliament can spend hours debating on the futile issue of where and when to wear the Islamic veils or not.

Islamophobia cause a great havoc to Nigerian integral development in the sense that it prevents people from cohabiting and collaborating in a harmonious and cordial way as to engender the growth and development of the nation. For Nigeria to develop, Boko-Haram must under-develop.

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[151] Kseniya Mironovich "A Growing Trend Of Islamophobia In Nigeria" ; available at https://www.naij.com/553996-worrisome-growing-trend-islamophobia-nigeria.html ; site visited 4 May 2017.

8   CHAPTER EIGHT

8.1   RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

8.1.1   Recommendations

It is a historical fact that development only thrives in a peaceful environment. Until the Boko-haram is eradicated, Nigeria would not develop at a remarkable pace. And for Boko-Haram to be eradicated, everybody must put his or her hands on the plough because this organization is highly inimical to national development. Boko-Haram and its likes, such as kidnappers, armed robbers, and assassins have created a lot of fears in the minds of the foreign investors that Nigeria has been depending on since independence. They have given bad publicities to the country, discouraged the foreign investors, shortened the national funds available for further developments, and finally shrank the market size of the nation. During my travels to Switzerland sometime ago, I came across a successful business investor in Nigeria who told me that he had closed down all his business enterprises in Nigeria because of the Boko-Haram insurgency and insecurity in the country. This is just one among thousands whose companies went belly-up as a result of insecurity in Nigeria. One can then imagine the rate of unemployment and inflation that Nigeria is suffering from at this present time. Insecurity is highly inimical to industrialization that can pave ways to national development.

I would therefore, recommend that the government, via the UNs support, tackles this problem with all seriousness. Security agencies should be highly empowered and furnished with the most adequate arms to combat terrorism. Intelligence agencies should go into full action. No stone should be left unturned in the bid to gather information.

Nevertheless, this war against terrorism cannot be won only through bombs and riffles. If many youth join the terrorist groups, it is also because of poverty and unemployment. "An idle mind is the devils workshop", they say. If the youth are left without any job, it becomes

easier for them to join these terrorist groups that can pay them at least their daily bread. Viable poverty alleviation programs must be introduced in order to combat terrorism.

Another thing the government must do is to also try to look into the so-called Almajiri system in the north. I think it must be reformed in a way to enable the Children to be useful to the society and to themselves. I think the fact of keeping these children under the system of Almajiri makes them to be easily brainwashed and indoctrinated with the fanatical ideology. That means that western education should be made compulsory for these Children, to a certain level, in order to open their horizons of thought.

8.1.2 Conclusion

The overriding purpose of this work was to x-ray Terrorism, Boko Haram jeopardy to Nigeria and the various ways the UN intervened to help Nigeria out of this labyrinth of difficulties. We enumerated the various recommendable contributions of the UN. A few criticisms of the UNs contributions were outlined, though not without also pointing out the difficulties and challenges that the UN faced is her endeavors to rescue Nigeria from the ordeal. This took us through getting to briefly take a look at how Nigeria, her self, strived (and still striving) against the Boko Haram. It was of a paramount importance for us to have consecrated time and energy in going about this research, because, the exercise is really knowledge broadening about terrorism in general and about the Boko Haram in particular. Also, before this work, the UN for me was a complex entity. It was almost all about a big secretariat in Geneva and in New York. I was not feeling the direct impact of the UN on the fields. This work now made me to take a deep look into the "corridors" of the UN in order to apprehend its impacts, most especially in the humanitarian and diplomatic domain in what concerns terrorism in Nigeria. It is true that the enormity of the Boko Haram terrorism has made it look as if all the efforts of the UN are like a drop of water in an ocean. It doesn't seem to make a big visible difference in the level of the mass of water in the ocean, but if those drops were not there, the ocean would be empty of its contents. By this expression am trying to say that, though the UNs efforts may not be too visible, if they weren't there, the situations in Nigeria would have been much more catastrophic than it is today. Nonetheless the fact remains that Boko Haram is still a threat to Nigeria, in particular, and to the world in general. It is a threat to the world in the sense that we live in a globalized world today. Whatever happens to a certain country affects the other. A war in a country must have a domino effect on the other. A typical

example is the Iraq and the Syrian wars that are the root causes of the modern refugee crisis in Europe. A lot of European governments are cracking their heads to sort out solutions to this crisis today without success. The far-right political parties are progressing today because of this issue. Even the European Union and the Shenghen agreement are being highly indirectly endangered, owing to this crisis. Whereas, if these wars were prevented or contained very quickly right from the beginning, it would not have caused the much havoc. The same is the case with the Boko Haram in Nigeria. If it were contained very quickly, with the proactive intervention of the UN, it wouldn't have been that destructive in all ramifications. The areas where the UN mostly needs to base here intervention is on the root causes and the factors that sustain the insurgency and terrorism in Nigeria. The United States of America's Institute of Peace has identified religious ignorance, grinding poverty, unemployment and illiteracy as reasons why Boko Haram has continued to be successful in recruiting young men into its ranks of deadly foot soldiers and potential suicide bombers.[152] A priori, Nigeria as a nation should not need any external help to be able to provide for herself the necessary tools to prevent or combat terrorism. Nigeria is a great nation, one of the greatest nations in Africa. It is having an amassing population of 182 million people[153] and it is the n°1 African oil producer[154]but unfortunately, the strong points of Nigeria are also the causes of its weak points. The oil money brings a lot of corruption since there is an uneven distribution of wealth among the giant population. The rich becomes richer and the poor, poorer. This creates ghettoization and rivalries that eventually become the "business assets" of groups like the Boko Haram. Since the activities of such groups does not only constitute a danger to Nigeria alone, but to the world at large, the UN must, of necessity, encourage her members to place world peace and security interest above their national interests. That way alone can the UN be able to overcome her ongoing in-house disagreement over security issues and in so doing, galvanize the needed support and collective response in the fight against Terrorism. If the UN does not continue to keep her flag flying in Nigeria by way of encouraging the rehabilitation programs and the provision of basic amenities etc., even if the

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[152] Bankole Orija, "Why yound Men join Boko Haram" ; available at http://www.nigeriacommunicationsweek.com.ng/news/revealed-why-young-men-join-boko-haram ; site visited 12 May 2017.
[153] National Population Commission, Nigeria, "Data for national Development" ; available http://www.population.gov.ng ; site accessed 13 May 2017.
[154] William Carpenter, "The Biggest Oil Producers in Africa" available at http://www.investopedia.com/articles/investing/101515/biggest-oil-producers-africa.asp ; site visited 14 May 2017.

Boko Haram is eradicated, another "Boko Haram" may resurface again, perhaps under another nomenclature.

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