GLOBILIZATION OF TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF BOKO-HARAM IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

The recent phenomenon of Boko Haram in Nigeria has become a subject of concern in the country and one of the major impediments to global peace and security in the contemporary world is the alarming rate of terrorism all over the globe. Terrorism has become a global syndrome not only in Africa but all over the world. Analysts contend that it was September 11, 2001 attack on America that the new face of terrorism was consummated. Terrorism is spreading like a wildfire in every part of the world and its impact reverberates beyond the location of the actual incident. Thus, the growing of terrorism has become a fundamental security concern to states. it remains a serious and on-ongoing threat unlike primitive method of terrorism followed by the modern method as well as the recent development called globalization of terror just as we have Boko –Haram in Nigeria, Al –Qaeda in the Maghreb ,Hezbollah in Lebanon, Al-Shabab in Somalia and the recent Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. The major flashpoints of the security problems could be seen in the area of recent phenomenon of Boko- Haram suicide bombings in some Northern states of the country, the unrestrained attacks on individuals and institutions of the government during some of the crises suggest that there is an element of terrorism in Nigeria. The fundamental questions are these: what is terrorism and does Boko –Haram stand alone without the cooperation from other terrorist groups? This paper sets out to reflect the connection between Boko –Haram and other terrorist organizations, the principles and objectives of the group as well as its impact on Nigerian state.

Keywords: Terrorism; Insurgency; Islamic extremism; Boko- Haram; Nigeria.

Introduction

The emerging trend of terrorism in the contemporary world has become a subject of concern both at national and international levels. The increasing number of terrorist organizations across the globe has become one of the major impediments to global peace and security. Acts that are now referred to as terrorism have historically remained part of the management tools for addressing violent conflicts. In the fifties and sixties, terrorism was a prominent instrument used by both sides in revolutionary or liberation struggles across the globe, be they in Asia, Africa, Middle East or Latin America. For example Global Market Institute (GMI) Poll conducted in 2006 among 8,001 respondents in US, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, UK, Russia, Japan, showed that the fear of terrorism is the preeminent issue in all G8 countries (Onuoha, 2013:296). Terrorism is spreading like wildfire in every part of the world, and its impact reverberates beyond the location of the actual incident. Thus, the growing incidence of terrorism has become a fundamental security concern to states. International terrorism remains a serious and on-going threat. No region in the world has been spared and Africa is one of the hardest hit regions partly due to other developmental issues that help to intensify the consequences of terrorism (Ogada, 2013:283). Terrorism is generally considered a recent development in West Africa, however, the 1989 Bilma bombing, involving UTA flight 779 over Niger, showed the existence of terrorism in a region accustomed to varied forms of threats and insecurities.

> In 1994, journalist Robert Kaplan wrote an article warning that West Africa's ungoverned spaces, weak borders and impoverished masses had the potential to breed threat not only to state but the continent of Africa as a whole. Kaplan declared: we ignored this dying region at our own risk" Ten years later, two other writers, Douglas Farah and Richard Shultz, picked up the argument where Kaplan had left off stating that West Africa had become a terrorist sanctuary. Three years later after 9/11 attacks, the authors proclaimed, "Weak and corrupt governments, vast, virtually stateless stretches awash in weapons and impoverished, largely Muslim population make the region an ideal sanctuary. The now identifiable presence of Al Qaeda in other countries show that these once marginal wars and regions matter. We ignore the warnings at our own peril (Ogada, 2013:282)

More than ever before in the political history and external relations in this country, Nigeria is passing through a phase that seem the most challenging for the foreign policy experts, observers and average Nigerians. This country is experiencing various terrorist attacks and activities making Nigeria ungracefully popular among the comity of nations. Boko- Haram is a made-in-Nigeria terrorist group that has become a menace that everyone dreads and fears because of the dimensions its activities have taken, from just an ordinary religious sect to notorious terrorist group (James & Olusola, 2013:29).

Boko-Haram is the reflection of the Nigerian society. It pictures the paradox in the country; a country so wealthy yet so poor, so endowed yet so deprived. Its citizens wallow in abject poverty. This state of affairs manures the prosperity of the sect. The youth who are now instruments of manipulations in the hands of the leaders of the sect are among the teeming unemployed and deprived one that Nigeria has abandoned.

The activities of this terrorist group called Boko-Haram in recent time has contributed to the dented image of the country among the comity of Nations not only that, economic development most especially in the north east is nothing to write home all about while Nigeria's foreign policy is being determined by this internal crisis. Consequently, since the insurgence of the nefarious activities of Boko –Haram, Nigeria's external relations have been affected negatively while its image is seriously battered. To value the cost of the activities of this sect on Nigeria, they have slowed down the development strides of Nigeria leaving the citizens poorer and wealth creation effort discouraged

Base on research conducted, it will be discovered that the fear of terrorism is the beginning of security wisdom and this was demonstrated in the 69[th]session of United Nations General Assembly where world leaders used the opportunity to express their concern on the emerging trends of international terrorism. Boko Haram in Nigeria, Al-shabab in Somalia, Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb as well as the recent Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, they operate within the same network.

The focus of this research is to examine the impact of globalization of terrorism on Nigerian development with special focus on Boko Haram. Not only that, the research also brings into limelight the different attacks by this Islamic sect called Boko Haram.

Conceptual Clarifications

The concept of terrorism is a contested concept in the literature, it lack universal acceptable definition and there is neither an academic nor an international legal consensus regarding the concept of terrorism. The difficulties arise from the fact that the term is politically and emotionally charged. (William, 2009:1) International community has never succeeded in developing an accepted comprehensive definition of terrorism. During the 1970 and 1980, the United Nations attempt to define the term foundered mainly due to differences of opinion between members about the use of violence in the context of conflicts over national liberations and self determination. This divergence has made it impossible to conclude on a comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

As a result of this the international community has adopted a series of sectoral conventions that define and criminalize various types of terrorist activities and since 1994,the United Nations General Assembly has 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 circumstances unjustifiable whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological ,racial, ethnic ,religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.(Burgess, 2002:34)

More so, terrorism is a pejorative term. It is a word with intrinsically negative connotations that is generally applied to one's enemies and opponents or to those with whom one disagrees and would otherwise prefer to ignore. Hence terrorist becomes almost unavoidably subjective depending largely on whether one sympathizes with or opposes the person/group/cause concerned (Diaz-Paniaga: 2009:3). He also noted that, the need to provide a precise definition of terrorist activities in international law has three purposes. To declare that the act is forbidden, to express the society's condemnation for the wrongful acts and invokes social censure and shame;

more so, by creating and reaffirming values, criminalization may serve in the long run as a deterrent to terrorism.

It must however be noted that the definition of the offence in criminal law treaty plays several roles:

1. It has the symbolic, normative role of expressing society's condemnation of the forbidden acts.

2. It facilitates agreement since states tend to be reluctant to undertake stringent obligations in matters related to the exercise of their domestic jurisdiction, a precise definition of the crime which restrict the scope of those obligations makes the agreement less costly.

3. It provides an inter- subjective basis for the homogenous application of the treaty's obligation on judicial and police cooperation.

4. It helps states to enact domestic legislation to criminalize and punish the wrongful acts in the treaty in conformity with their human rights obligation. In particular states define precisely which acts are prohibited before anyone can be prosecuted or punished for committing crime.

Numerous debates and definitions continue to proliferate about the meaning of terrorism. In fact, there are many definitions of terrorism as there are people, scholars and institutions grappling with it. Simon (1994:29), for instance has identified no fewer than 212 different definitions of terrorism in use, with 90 of them used by governments and other institutions. The avalanche of definitions derives from the fact that terrorism is intended to be a matter of perception and is thus seen differently by different observers (Cited in Fred, 2013:294)

According to Wardlaw (1982:3), terrorism refers to the use or threat of use of violence by an individual or a group, whether acting for or in opposition to establish authority, when such action is designed to create extreme anxiety or fear including effects in a target group larger than immediate victims with the purpose of coercing that group into acceding to the political demands of the perpetrators. Terrorism is herein defined as the premeditated use or threat of use of violence by an individual or group to cause fear, destruction or death, especially against unarmed targets, property or infrastructure in a state, intended to compel those in authority to respond to

the demands and expectations of the individual or group behind such violent acts. Such demands or expectations may be for a change in status quo in terms of the political, economic, ideological, religious or social order within the affected state or for a change in the action or policies of the affected state in relation to its interaction with other group or states (Fredom, 2014:71)

Similarly, African Union also recognized the contested nature of terrorism and it provides the comprehensive framework of what terrorism connotes through the instrumentality of Convention on the Prevention and Combating Terrorism. It defines a terrorist act as:

(a)Any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a state party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of ,or cause serious injury or death to, any person any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources , environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to (i) intimidate, put in fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint , or act according to certain principle or (ii) disrupt any public service, the delivery of any emergency; or (iii) create general insurrection in a state.(b) any promotion sponsoring, contributing to, command, aid, incitement, encouragement, attempt, threat, conspiracy, organizing, or procurement of any person, with the intent to commit any act referred to in paragraph (a) (i) to (iii) (cited in Fred,2012:294)

Basically, despite the multiplicity of definition and divergence on terrorism ,it is not an overstatement to note that, terrorism has the following attributes: Premeditated use of violence or threat of use of violence by an individual or groups to cause fear, destruction or death, especially among non – combatants found in the targeted state, with a view to compelling those in political authority of such state to respond to the demands and expectations of individuals or groups responsible for such violent acts and the ultimate motive for the resort to those in political authority to respond to the demands or expectations of the individual or the group behind the attack.

In view of this Boko Haram is a classical example of terrorist group in Nigeria with the network of operation with other terrorist groups in the world. The outbreak of the Boko-Haram Insurgency in Nigeria marked yet another phase in the recurring pattern that violent uprisings, riots and disturbances have become in Nigeria. Given the heterogeneous nature of the Nigeria society, the religious sensitivity of Nigerians, and the prolonged military rule that ended with the advent of civil rule in 1999 but during which a significant section of the society became highly militarized. The situation could not perhaps have been different. But what is alarming is the forceful attempt by religious fundamentalists to impose a religious ideology on a constitutionally recognized secular society (Kelechi, 2011:43).

The deteriorating nature of Nigeria's internal security has become a subject of concern to not only Nigerian government but international community. The increase in religious extremism, armed robbery and kidnapping has just assumed frightening dimension and this is making the image of Nigeria to return to the previous status. The growing spate of terrorism and bombings associated mostly with religious extremist called Boko-Haram has exacted a devastating effect on the safety and security of Nigeria .This Islamic sect comprises of people from Nigeria and other neighboring countries and they are too faceless and all the attempt of Nigerian government to negotiate with them has hitherto proven fruitless.

Typologies of Terrorism

It is common today for people to hear the word terrorism and quickly think of Al-Qaeda or other Islamic extremists. While Islamic extremism does contribute to certain types of terrorism, there are many other terrorist forms as well all with their own characteristics and challenges for policy makers. Types commonly overlap to describe single terrorist organizations but are useful in providing a way of differentiating what these groups will target and what motivates them. More so, the use of violence to physically and psychologically terrorize a population by an individual or a group in order to draw attention to a cause, enact political change or gain political power. More so, there are various forms of terrorism.

Religious terrorism: Terrorism can be motivated by religious ideology and grievances. Religious terrorism is particularly dangerous due to the fanaticism of those who practice it and their willingness to sacrifice themselves for the cause. Religious terrorists are more likely to use "all in"tactics such as suicide bombing. This is made possible by religious teaching used to justify and even encourage the kind of self – sacrifice (Bruce, 2006:11) Al-Qaeda is perhaps the most prominent example of a group that can be characterized as religious extremist. Religious terrorism also have long history from catholic- protestant violence or Muslim –Hindu tension in Pakistan and India .Not only that, Boko-Haram in Nigeria is also an example of religious terrorist group as we have Al Qaeda in the Maghreb, Al shabab in Somalia, Hezbollah in Lebanon etc.

Name of terrorist Organization	Country	Nature and principle	Major Attack	
Boko-Haram	Nigeria	Islamic extremist	UN Building in Abuja	
Al-Shabab	Somalia	Islamic extremist	Kenya Mall	
Al-Qaeda	Maghreb	Islamic extremist	September11 2001,attack in New York	
ISIS	Syria and Iraq	Islamic extremist	Attack in Syria and Iraq	
Hezbollah	Lebanon	Islamic extremist	Biggest foe in Israel	
Taliban	South Asia.	Islamic extremist	Creating unrest in south Asia	

Source: Compiled by the author.

Looking at the above table it is not an over statement to generalize that the trend of terrorism can be attributed to Islamic world; it is a doctrine that emanates majorly from Islamic extremists in Islamic countries. The issue of religious terrorism is prominent in contemporary world. Today, it is violence within Muslim communities that has become the source of so much human misery. It is time to acknowledge the destruction wrought by proxy wars and terror campaigns between Sunni and Shia across the Middle East. A brutal civil war in Syria has already killed nearly

200,000 people and displaced millions. Iraq has come perilously close to plunging back into the abyss. The conflict has created a fertile recruiting ground for terrorists who inevitably export this violence. (The Nation 23, 2014:63)

State terrorism: State terrorism is the original form of terrorism. It implies the systematic use of terror by a government in order to control its population, a situation where state sponsors terrorist groups. State terrorism is entirely carried out by the group holding power in a country and not non-governmental organizations. The French revolution of 1793 where thousands of execution took place can be regarded as the first instance of state terrorism though rulers have plausibly been using it to control their subjects. Another notable example, just about every dictator in history has arguably utilized state terrorism as a way of controlling his or her population; another example was the use of violence by Saddam Hussein against the Kurds or even the suppression of democratic protester in Syria.

State sponsor of terrorism is a designation applied by the USA Department of State to countries which have provided support or safe haven for acts of international terrorism. The countries on the list are Cuba, Iran, Sudan, and Syria. This list began on December 29, 1979 with Libya, Iraq, south Yemen and Syria.

Syria March 1, 1982

Iran January 19, 1984

North Korea 1988

Sudan 12, 1993

Iraq was added on December 29, 1979 and removed in 1982 to allow US companies to sell arms to the country during Iran-Iraq war but it was put back in 1990 following the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq after Hussein government was overthrown, subsequently President Bush announced the removal of Iraq from the list on September 2001.

Right wing terrorism-This type of terrorism aims to combat liberal government and preserve traditional social orders. Right wing terrorism is commonly characterized by militias and gangs, many times these group are racially motivated and to marginalize minorities within the state.

This terrorist group called Klu Klux Klan in USA and fascist group in Germany are living examples of right wing terrorism.

Separatist terrorism: It seeks to cause fragment within a country and establish a new state. This type of terrorist group is typical of minorities within the state that desire their own, commonly due to discrimination from majority group.

Origin and Development of Boko- Haram in Nigeria

Boko –Haram today is a product of history, though the precise date of their establishment still remains a contested debate .The exact date of the emergence of Boko-Haram sect is mired in controversy, especially if one relies on media accounts. Most local and foreign media trace its origin to 2002, when Mohamed Yusuf emerged as the leader of the sect. However, Nigeria security forces date the origin of the sect to 1995(Taiwo and Olugbode, 2009:4). When Abubakar Lawan established the Ahlulsunna wal'jama'ah hijra sect in University of Maiduguri, Borno State. It flourish as a non –violent movement until Mohammed Yusuf assumed leadership of the sect in 2002,shortly after Abubarkar Lawan left to pursue further education in Saudi Arabia.

Boko-Haram was formed by Muslim cleric, Mohammed Yusuf in 2002, in Maiduguri. Initially peaceful, in June 2009 the radical sect waged a short-lived armed uprising in a bid to establish an Islamic state in the north. This was brutally crushed by the military, leaving many people dead, mostly sect members. Mohamed Yusuf established a religious complex that included a mosque and school where many poor families from across Nigeria and from neighboring countries enrolled their children. The centre had ulterior political goals and soon it was also working as recruiting ground for future jihadists to oppose and fight the Nigerian state. The group included members who came from neighboring Chad and Niger, and spoke only Arabic (Kelechi, 2014:43).

The said complex established by Yusuf was relocated to his home state Yobe in a village named Kanamma near Niger border. This supposes that Yusuf successfully attracted followers from unemployed youth by speaking out against police and political corruption. Boko-Haram has been described as Sunni salafi Jihadist group. Salafists adhere to austere innovations or modern

influence on Islam, it is against this background, and that of the notorious corruption among the political   elite increasing poverty of the citizens over the past years in Nigeria, coupled with stolen election mandates, that a growing disenchantment with the western system of governance grew, particularly among jobless young men.

The origin of Boko –Haram and the conditions that made Northern Nigeria susceptible to this brand of Islam, which is violently opposed to the modern state and its institutions, and seeks to establish an Islamic state governed by Sharia is instructive. The term Boko-Haram comes from the Hausa word " Boko" meaning ,Animist, western or otherwise non Islamic education and the Arabic words " Haram" figuratively meaning sin. Boko Haram opposes not only western education, but western culture and modern science as well and the ideological underpinning is that evil in the society is a result of the embrace of western civilization, and in order to curb such evil, an Islamic society must be entrenched by destroying modern state institution. (Kelechi, 2014:43)

Understanding the Boko Haram: Ideology, Membership and Funding

Undoubtedly, Salafists see themselves as reformers who want to establish a sacrosanct Islamic ideology that has been tainted by Western culture and doctrines of other Muslim groups like the Sufis and the Shites. Radical groups operating under this ideology include the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Boko Haram has been ascribed to this branch of Islamic fundamentalism due to its beliefs, enunciated goals, targets and activities .Apart from believing that western education is a sin, Mohammed Yusuf, the late Boko Haram leader had stated he did not believe in scientific explanation of many natural phenomenons. Boko Haram, in its statement has not only sworn to wage Jihad but also sworn allegiance to Osama bin Laden, the late former leader of Al Qaeda.

Because of the ideology to reject western education, Boko Haram sought to impose Sharia across all Nigerian state. Therefore, the ideological similarity between Boko –Haram and other Salafi Jihadist groups meant that it should be expected that they will most likely turn to other established groups, like Al Qaeda in the Maghreb for guidance on how to unleash more terror. There are strong beliefs that such relationships are already being fostered coupled with the establishment of strong presence of Boko Haram on Jihadist Website and is believed to have

received training from Al Qaeda in the Maghreb and Al Shabab in Somalia. To this end, local issues affecting Muslim people are being co-opted by international terror groups in order to create unstable areas where terrorists can thrive.

Conversely, the attack on the Emir of Kano, one of the most formidable institutions of Islam and Sharia in Nigeria, whose cause and reformation BH claims to be committed to, was a negation of its stated goals. Could it be BH identified the Emir of Kano as one of the collaborators with the enemies of Islam in Nigeria, particularly the federal government of Nigeria, in betraying it? Such a poser is crucial given that in a five minute video, Abu Shekau assured civilians that Boko Haram would not harm them, revealing that their target was the government, its security forces and any collaborator (Omotola, 2014:21) Abubakar Shekau described the UN as a common enemy who along with Nigerian government and United States, is infringing on the right of the Muslims, for him and his cohorts, therefore, the UN is nothing but the forum of all global evil

The fundamental question now is what does Boko Haram stand for? The attempt to answer this question has generated a schism in the academic and public policy domains. For many, BH is simply an Islamic sect that believes politics in northern Nigeria has been seized by a group of corrupt, false Muslims and believes in creating pure Islamic State ruled by Sharia law. Boko is a movement for the propagation and consolidation of an Islamic theocratic state. Even Nigeria's policy and political cycles, the definition of BH remains controversial and flawed. According to General Mohammad Buhari, a former Nigerian military head of state, there are three categories of BH, namely the original, the criminal and the most lethal of them all, the political, namely the federal government. As Buhari puts it in a press conference responding to his nomination by BH as one of its representatives in a proposed negotiation with the federal government (Omotola, 2014:2)

Membership

Boko –Haram draws its members mainly from disillusioned youths, unemployed graduates and former Almajiri, mostly in northern Nigeria. It also draws members from neighboring countries such as Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Sudan (Lawal, 2009:35). The sect also has some well

educated, wealthy and influential people as members. For instance, Alhaji Buje Fai, an ex commissioner in Borno State, Kadiru Atiku, a former university lecturer and Bunu Walil, a Borno based contractor are known to be members of the sect (Lawal, 2009:35).

Funding

Boko Haram has been sustaining the activities through several means.

1. Membership dues donations
2. External assistance
3. Bank Robbery
4. Donations from Politicians

The payment of membership dues was the basic source of funding for the sect before Mohammed Yusuf was killed; members had to pay a daily levy of 100 naira to their leader. The activities of the sect have become secretive after the death of Mohammed Yusuf, making it difficult to know whether the payment of membership dues has been discontinued. They also receive donation from politicians, government officials and other individual or organizations within Nigeria. In January 2011, security operatives arrested Alhaji Bunu Walki and 91 other persons, he was a contractor and indigene of Borno State. He was alleged to be the main financier of the Islamic sect (Idris, 2011:13) and there are several other cases of senators and strong politicians behind the sponsorship of Boko Haram (Alanamu, 2011:134)

Looking at the emerging trend of Boko Haram in Nigeria, it will be discovered they enjoyed external financial support. , For instance, late Mohammed Yusuf and Mohammed Bello Damagun were tried for terrorism –related offences. Mohammed Damagun was arraigned in a federal high court in Abuja on three count charges, namely belonging to Nigerian Taliban, receiving a total of US $300,000 from Al Qaeda to recruit and train Nigerians in Mauritania for terrorism and aiding terrorists in Nigeria. Mohammed Yusuf was arraigned on five count charges, among which includes receiving monies from Al Qaeda operatives in Pakistan to recruiting terrorists who would attack residence of foreigners, especially Americans living in Nigeria. it has also been discovered that the Mohammed Abubakar Shekau had met Al Qaeda

leaders in Saudi Arabia in August 2011 and was able to obtain from Al Qaeda whatever financial and technical support the movement needed (Mark,2012:12)

Boko Haram also finances its activities through bank robberies. Arrested member of the sect have confirmed that they raise money through raiding banks or supporting robbery gangs to raid money. For example Kabiru Abubakar Dikko Umar, alias Kabiru Sokoto, the suspected mastermind of the 2011 Christmas Day bombing of a church in Madalla who was arrested by security operatives confirmed that BH raised money for its operations through bank robbery. The loot is usually shared among five groups: the less privileged, widows of those that died in the jihad, Zakat, those that brought in the money and to the leadership for use in propagating the jihad (Onuoha, 2012).

In 2011, Sheriff Shetima , a member of a robbery gang arrested by security operatives confessed that his gang was responsible for some robbery operation in Borno State to raise funds for the BH, including an October 2011 raid on First Bank Nigeria Plc, Damola branch where they killed a policeman and stole 21 million naira (Blawa, 2011).Unsurprisingly, over 30 of the 100 bank attacks in 2011 were attributed to the BH funding.(Thisday, 24, 2011:6)

Globilization of Terrorism and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria
Boko Haram has taken the advantage of globalization to unleash their terror to the extent that their operational network cuts across African countries and their friendly relationship with some other big terrorist groups across the globe. They receive physical and financial support from Al Qaeda in the Maghreb and Al Shabab in Somalia to the extent that Boko Haram has been listed as an international terrorist organization. Just as we have Multinational Corporations across the globe we also have different terrorist groups all over the world working together to cause global chaos. Infact, the activities of Boko Haram would have been a limited one but with external support they have unlimited network of actions. Boko Haram is potentially allied with Al Qaeda and their network of death cuts across the globe.

Recently ,President Good luck Jonathan, made a declaration that foreign fighters aiding Boko Haram and they have added a new dimension to the emerging phase of terrorism in the world ,he also pressed further……

> Addressing the United Nations (UN) Security Council High Level Meeting on the threat of terrorism to global peace and security, President Jonathan said the world must act immediately to stop the new phenomenon of terrorists and foreign fighters attacking and trying to hold parts of sovereign nations. He said the international community must do more to support countries like Nigeria, which are in the frontline of the war against terrorism. He lamented that from targeted attacks by Al-Qaeda a few years ago, there are now mobile bands of thousands of terrorists sweeping across vast areas, destroying lives and even attempting to hold territory and appealed to UNSC to seek more innovative responses to the threat of terrorism and in, particular, the growing menace of foreign fighters. The council should be concerned about the existence of sources of arming and funding of terrorists. Evidence has shown that Boko Haram for instance, is resourced largely from outside our country. According to him "we must also commit to ensuring that countries which are in the frontline of this challenge, receive adequate support from international community (The Nigerian Tribune, 23 September, 2014:45)

The new phase of terrorism in Nigeria has justified the globalist theory of terrorism which argued that virtually all the terrorist groups are interconnected. Their approaches and methodologies are the same all over the globe. Boko Haram in Nigeria enjoys support from other terrorist organizations that have made them to grow beyond domestic terrorism. They are qualified for international terrorist group and as a result of this they are on top of the list of international terrorist organizations. Through their sophisticated weapons they have killed over 13,000 innocent Nigerians. There are strong indications to suggest that Al-Qaeda, the global terror organization founded by the late Osama Bin Laden, have strong connection with Islamic sects called Boko Haram in Nigeria. The Intelligence report revealed that Boko Haram had collaboration with Al Qaeda in the Maghreb since 2010.According to Algeria government's

intelligence reports, the extremist Islamic group, Boko Haram has linked up with Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb which has its North Africa headquarters in Algeria. They also added that Boko Haram has received training and support from Al Qaeda and even Algerian Deputy Foreign Minister, Abdelkader Massahel, told the journalist intelligence report showed both groups had been coordinating and there is no doubts that coordination exists between Boko Haram and Al Qaeda.(Vanguard, 0ctober 24, 2014:4)

Algeria's assessment of ties between AQIM and Boko Haram carries authority because Algeria has the biggest intelligence gathering operation on Al Qaeda of any country in the region. It has been observed that the group sent out some six members to Algeria to learn how to make improvised Explosive Devices, IEDS. Indeed, the students, in the light of Boko Haram's bombing raids, appeared to have learnt well. The funding of the sect members is not only derived from their robbery activities but from links with AQIM, the sophistication of their attacks is also as a result of the strong involvement of AQIM. On the other hand the struggle of Boko Haram is being exploited to advance the cause of some politicians as evidenced by the alleged support given to them by some members of the political elite who are functionaries of the current government of the federation .This reality therefore questions the suggestion that the group has extensive linkage with Al Qaeda or its affiliates.

In a situation where a terrorist group receives support from other foreign terrorist organizations globalization becomes inevitable. Terrorism has become a worldwide phenomenon. On a regular basis, terrorists kill hundreds, maim thousand and deprive millions a sense of security. Increasingly, places with high civilian population and relaxed security such as hotels, churches, schools, bus and train stations, mosques, planes, and hospitals are now prominent targets of terrorist attacks. Boko Haram has killed thousands of people both foreigners and natives. Consequently, terror has been globalised and states have been forced to prevent, prepare for and respond to terrorism. Similarly, terrorist organizations, insurgents, and militias around the world, are developing new methods and strategies for inflicting fear, harm, destruction and death in a bid to remain relevant (Friedman, 2009:315)

The Activities of Boko Haram and its Implications on Nigerian Economic Development

By far the biggest and most the pressing challenge now facing Nigeria is the destructive Boko-Haram insurgency in the North East of Nigeria that has claimed hundreds, if not thousands of lives, over 200 school girls abducted in April in Chibok, Borno State, by the insurgents have not yet been released. Regrettably, this is disturbing the national security of Nigeria .The PDP federal government has failed to deal adequately with insurgency. There have recently been some false hopes raised on this security issue and federal government is currently involved in delicate negotiation with insurgents to free the girls and even before this period the sect has continue to pose serious security threat to the Nigerian state, many people have lost their lives; children have become orphans and many women widowed by the unscrupulous and incessant killings perpetrated by this group. Boko- Haram constitutes a threat to Nigerian's national security. The security agencies are being restructured to ensure efficiency and effectiveness in tackling terror. (Kelechi, 2012:51)

More so, there is no doubt that Boko- Haram sect enjoys the support and patronage of powerful and highly placed individuals in the country and beyond. It is therefore important that the government not only identify the patrons and financiers of this highly destructive sect, but also punish them according to the laws of the land for the atrocities they have committed. The attack of Boko Haram on United Nations Building in Abuja really announced the activities of Boko Haram in the international system and among the Comity of Nations. The Nigerian image which has been on the path of redemption has been clearly revisited, the economy cannot flourish in the region, lack of active foreign policy has become the order of the day, some western countries have warn their citizens not to visit some states in Nigeria because of the activities of Boko - Haram and the possibility of seeing Nigeria on the path of disintegration in 2015 has been clearly suggested.

In a nutshell, Nigeria has two records in 2014.First; it became the largest economy on the continent after rebasing its GDP. It also experienced the deadliest attack by Boko-Haram. At the moment, the only economic impact the group has had is slowing down production in a region that is already struggling. Agriculture account for roughly a fifth of the nation GDP and engages

more than 35 percent of youth aged 18 to 35, but it is showing signs of strain .In some part of the north, the security situation has affected farmland production and that has led to some increase in food prices.

Boko Haram and External Implications on Nigerian State

Undoubtedly, Nigeria is a member of the international community; some of the events in the country have reverberating impacts on the ways other countries relate with the country. It is obvious that the recent communal violence and terrorist attacks in Nigeria have serious international consequences on the country, especially given the nature of attacks and targeted places. The area which violent attacks have externally affected Nigeria is in the image of the country in the comity of nations. It is matter of fact that no nation will command respect among the members of international community if it harbors terrorists. It is the way in which a nation is internally organized that will accord it respect at the international level. (Ismail, 2014:219) The vital decisions are taken in the international system based on the perceived image of nation-states.

Since the commencement of democratic system of government in 1999, the spate of conflicts and especially terrorist bombings in parts of the country have drawn the attention of the international community to Nigeria, some western countries have issued warnings to their citizens working in Nigeria not to visit some cities because of fear of terrorist attacks. Also, the 25th December, 2010 attempted terror attack on an American Airplane in the US by a Nigerian, Farouk Abdulmutallab, who was later sentenced to life imprisonment drew the attention of western countries on Nigeria as a potential terrorists haven (Nigeria Tribune, February, 2012:1-2). The action of Farouk, who received training in Yemen in the middle East, has significantly affected the way Nigeria Muslims are being perceived in the West. The position of Nigeria as an oil producing country coupled with the vast resources has been attracting the interest of Western nations to come and plunder.

The western nations do not have much commitment to the economic development in Nigeria, but they are mainly concerned about the security of the country so as to protect their business

interests. Paden (2008 :103) states that United states has two major security concerns in Nigeria, both related to the underlying issue of system stability: turmoil in the oil-producing areas of the Delta and potentially disruptive extremist religious element in the north, it can be stated that the increasing rate of terrorist activities in Nigeria could affect the chances of the country to have much influence in the international system. It could also be argued that if the current wave of insecurity in Nigeria continues, it will affect other countries in the West African sub-region.

The Panacea

International law, in dealing with terrorism, has been confronted with what has been so far an insurmountable obstacle to obtaining a comprehensive counterterrorism instrument: the impossibility to agree on a common definition of terrorism. This is essentially due to what has been qualified by many as a "cliché": one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. Indeed, there has been a lot of debate within the international community on what constitutes a terrorist group and what does not, especially in the context of national liberation movements, from the period of decolonization to the Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation. In the words of Carol Bahan, "the inability to define terrorism is predominantly due to the fact that states have different beliefs about which acts constitute international terrorism. It must also be noted that state itself could provoke reactions that could lead citizens to take up arms against it. When that happens then there is a questioning of the way the affairs of the country is run, and this requires taking new and creative steps to address the security challenges.

Security is collective responsibility and the security organizations led by the police and military should be reoriented to see the public as their ally in gathering information. Security awareness and sensitization programmes should be embarked upon. Not only that, government must improve the welfare of Nigerians, especially the rate of unemployment in the country should be addressed, the principle of federal characters should be upheld. Nigerian military should be trained on conflict management and peace building because gun to gun cannot bring lasting solution. There is also need for inter-agency collaboration among security agencies as well as the involvement of more groups beyond uniformed forces with the adoption of the community policing philosophy and respect for human rights.

The politicization of the security situation in the country cannot bring any good development, security issues should be tackled without any political and ethnic sentiment. Elections in the country since the 1999 have not been able to convince the international community that the country is ready for true democratic government. It has also been discovered that the allocations to defence sector have not been judiciously utilized, corruption should be tackled in its totality because if a country is corrupt then violence of various magnitudes become inevitable .The government should also embark on well-thought out national awareness campaigns to sensitize people about all aspects of terrorism.

Timeline of Boko- Haram Activities and Attack

S/N	DATE	TERRORIST ATTACK
1	February 12, 2003.	In a video broadcast on al jazera, Osama bin Laden lists Nigeria as one of seven countries that is "ready for being liberated from the slavery of this ruling, apostate, unjust regime which is enslaved by America.
2	July 26-29, 2009	Boko-Haram launches a short lived uprising in several states of northern Nigeria, but the uprising is quelled by a military crackdown that leaves more than 800 dead, including leader Mohamed Yusuf
3	August 26, 2011.	Boko - Haram claims responsibility for suicide bomb blast on the UN Headquarter in Abuja, Killing 23 people
4	November, 13, 2011	Algeria's deputy foreign ministers says that intelligence reports show coordination between al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb AQIM and Boko- Haram

Source: Compiled by the author

Conclusion

The established fact in the literature cannot be diluted on the etymology of Nigerian development crisis and even though there is contradiction inherent in every epoch of Nigerian society, Nigeria is passing through a period that has undermined the national and human security as well as democratic political systems whose continent-wide consolidation is being pursued so

desperately. Nigeria as a country that is greater than any ethnic or religious group that wants to hold the country to ransom. Terrorism is a criminal act and should be treated as such. Boko Haram leaders and followers, whether political or religious should walk the path of peace for Nigeria to make progress and the idea of negotiation with the Boko Haram leaders should be seen as an opportunity for them to embrace peace at the same time it must be done with all technicalities to avoid negotiation with the wrong groups. The sovereignty of Nigeria is at stake if the country fails to confront and tackle all its internal problems and given the fact that general election is gradually coming on the way the possibility of having mixed crises of electoral violence and terrorist attacks that may likely lead to failed state must be noted.

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