Islamists Terrorism In Sub-Saharan Africa: Boko Haram And Nigeria In Perspective

By

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Abstract

Terrorism is described as the intentional use of violence to instill fear in a community in order to achieve a specific political goal. Terrorism is seen as an organized violent attack on a target with the aim of undermining a lawfully constituted authority and to cause fear among the populace. It is an act that has been plaguing Nigerian state since 2003. It has been perpetrated by right-wing and left-wing political parties, nationalistic and religious organizations, revolutionaries, and even state agencies like armies, security services, and police.This paper is a graphic analysis of Terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa with focus on islamist terrorism and Boko haram in Nigeria. The article considers the initial stages of terrorism in the region,its causes, the current situation, as well as governments efforts to tackle the menace. The research method adopted in the paper is doctrinal, thus reliance was placed on newspaper publications, articles, and internet sources amongst others.

Keywords: Terrorism, Boko haram, Islam, Security, Political goal, Revolutionaries, Violence, Fear, Intentional.

1.1 INTRODUCTIONS

Terrorism constitutes a serious challenge and threat to peace and security all over the world. State sponsorship of terrorism, though not as predominant as in earlier many years, is still a complex situation. Since the return to civilian rule in May 1999, the Nigerian State has been grappling increasingly with insurgency, militancy, kidnapping, and ethno-religious conflicts. Nigeria is currently witnessing several violent attacks by an extremist sect known as Boko Haram (BH) and has led to the loss of hundreds of lives. In 2010, the US designated Boko Haram a terrorist organization amid fears that it had developed links with al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and other extremist terrorist organizations to wage a global jihad.

Attacks of Boko Haram have transcended Nigerian borders to Chad and Cameroon (International Crisis Group, 2014). Attacks of BH have also transcended Nigeria's borders to

Cameroon and other countries in the West African region. The defensive relationship that exists between a state sponsor of terrorism and its non-state militant proxy is rarely thought of. Qatar are accused of sponsoring terrorism and the relationship between the two is a complex one. The relationship between Qatar and its militant proxy, Boko Haram, has been described as 'highly suspicious'

The sect flourished as a non-violent movement until shortly after its first head, Lawan, left for further studies in Saudi Arabia and Mohammed Yusuf assumed leadership in 2002. The groups activities did not become a matter of serious national concern until the negative social, economic, security and political implications of its increasing violence became too alarming to be ignored. The BH terrorists activities are curiously escalating at a time when there are similar crises worldwide. Iraq, Afghanistan, Mali, Indonesia and China, are all witnessing Islamist uprisings that are similar in nature to BH activities in Nigeria.

Terrorism has likewise been obvious in Africa, such as Morocco, Kenya, Tunisia, Tanzania, Morocco, Sudan, and Nigeria. In any case, regards Nigeria, the situation has found expression in the militancy act executed by the Niger Delta Militancy group such as the Niger Delta Youth Congress (NDYC), the Niger Delta people Volunteer Force (NDPV), the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), and the most deadly terrorist group called the Boko Haram. The Islamic terrorist group, Boko Haram,operates in the north-eastern axis of Nigeria, especially in a state such as Yobe, Borno, and Adamawa state and their deadly activities haveclaimed numerous lives, and haveforced many residents to be internally displaced. According to Ocha (2016), over 20,000 people have been killed, thousands of women and girls abducted and numerous children drafted as suicide bombers into the groupsince the start of the conflict in 2009. Ochastated further that about 2.1 million individuals fled their home at the height of the conflict, 1.9 million of whom are internally displaced, and over 200,000 are still in Niger, Cameroon, and Chad after having been forced to flee (Ocha, 2016). The deadly activities of kidnapping, bombing, maiming, and daily sporadic gunshots have jeopardized the economy of the country especially the Northeast, as residentscan't

go on their daily businesses especially the farmers, which has led to famine and hunger in Nigeria.

1.2 DEFINITIONS OF TERRORISM

Definitions of terrorism are normally intricate and disputable, and, due to the inherent fierceness and violence of terrorism, the term in its mainstreamuse has developed an intense stigma. The word was first coined in the 1790s to allude to the terror utilized during the French Revolution by the revolutionaries against their opponent. Although terrorism in this context implies an act of violence by a country against its domestic adversaries, since the 20th century the term has been usedmostly to violence aimedat governments, either directly or otherwise, in an effort to influence policy or topple an existing regime.

Terrorism is the utilization or threat of violence aimed at creating fear, not just within the direct victims but among a wide audience. The extent to which terrorism depends on fear distinguishes it from both conventional and guerrilla warfare. Much as the conventional military forces perpetually engage in psychological warfare against the adversary, their chief means of victory is strength of arms. Additionally, guerrilla forces, which often depend on acts of terror and other forms of propaganda, aim at military victory and occasionally succeed (e.g., the Viet Cong in Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia).

Terrorism proper is therefore the calculatedutilization of violence to create fear, and thereby to accomplish political objectives, when direct military victory is impossible (Jenkins, J. Britannica, 2012). This has led some researchers to allude to terrorism as the "weapon of the weakest." While guerrilla warfare as the "weapon of the weak". Terrorism was also defined as the use of violent actions in order to achieve political aims or to force the go to act (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 6th Edition).

The aim of this paper is to examine the main causes of, or reasons for terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa with focus on islamist terrorism and Boko Haram in Nigeria. The paper shall offer

recommendations and implementation strategies for mitigation.

1.3 GEOGRAPHY OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA AND NIGERIA

Sub-Saharan Africa is an area of the African continent that ethno culturally and geographically lies in the south of Sahara. According to the United Nations, Sub-Saharan Africa comprises all African states and territories that are partially or fully south of the Sahara. While the UN geo scheme for Africa does not include Sudan from its definition of Sub-Saharan Africa, the AU's definition does not exclude Sudan, it excludes Mauritania instead.

Sub-Saharan African countries include Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Gambia, Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Somalia, Uganda, Togo, Zimbabwe and Zambia amongst others.

But it would not be possible to explore the whole Sub-Saharan countries in a single work of this nature. Thus, we shall use Nigeria as a case study. Nigeria is a nation located in West of Africa and shares borders with Chad and Cameroon to the East, Benin to the west, and Niger to the north. The main ethnic groups in the country are Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa. Nigeria is the most populous African nation with the most fastest growing economy in Sub-Saharan Africa and indeed, the continent. Islam and Christianity are the two major religions in the country alongside traditional religion

1.4 GENERAL OVERVIEW OF TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

There is a Relationship between Islamism, fundamentalist ideas and terrorism in Nigeria. History of terrorism in Northern Nigeria is traceable to Islamism. Nigerian government has avoidedmarking these groups as terrorist groups. The UN lists individuals and entities linked to Al Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, and the Taliban. The AU, in article 3(1) however notes that armed struggle against colonialism, occupation, aggression and

domination by foreign forces is not a form of terrorism.

It is important to conceptualize terrorism in Africa within an African context. The activities of different groups that target civilians are definitely terrorist in nature, but the attempts of the government in Nigeria to use this label may have created some confusion, especially when civil society groups, opponents of governments and political opponents, have also been branded terrorists. The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime states in Article 3(2) thereof that an offence is transnational if it is committed in more than one state. Religious, racial, political, ideological, philosophical, ethnic or other motives arenot recognizedas defenses to terrorist acts.

Nigeria is presently experiencing increasingly volatile relations between its Christian and Islamic communities. Destabilization of this strategically pivotal West African nation would ripple through the region and beyond if precipitated by new confrontations among politicized Christians and Muslims. Economic distress only exacerbates

the danger, (Morrison, 2004: 77). About 140 Million Muslims live in West Africa. The region can account for a quarter of U.S. oil imports by 2015, (Lyman 2003). Although there are only small pockets of support for terrorism regionally, al Qaeda has taken advantage of the regions interlocking conflicts and cases of state breakdown to acquire funds through local diamond purchases,

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and the seventh largest oil producer in the world. Nigeria has a reputation for being a regional peacekeeper in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and other countries. It does, however, have a shaky internal political order. Nigeria's population is almost evenly divided between Muslims from the north and Christians from the south. The possibility of further violence is heightened by religious and ethnic tensions. Nigeria had endured ethnic tensions, civil war, and regular military coups prior to the emergence of a legitimate democratic government at the end of the 1990s.

Nigeria's oil wealth was mismanaged, resulting in a sharp drop in the average Nigerian's living standards. With President Olusegun

Obasanjo's election in 1999, expectations soared, but ethnic strife in Nigeria's oil-producing Niger Delta region, growing religious tensions, and a lack of discernible economic improvement soon cast a pall over the democratic experiment. Since the election, more than 10,000 people have died in ethnic and religious conflicts. Even this large amount, however, does not accurately characterize the country's governing institutions.

1.5 CAUSES OF TERRORISM

Terrorism's root causes and terrorists' goals have been studied in depth. Economic, social, religious, racial, and political factors have all been identified as root causes. We'll take a closer look at these studies now.

i.   *Economic and Social Causes*

Some studieshave identified unemployment and poverty as common causes of terrorism. Accordingto the theory of relative deprivation,people become discontent when they feel deprived of something they are expect to have therebyusing violence to express their grievances. Gassebner and Luechingerin their study found a negative relationship between terrorism and lack of economic opportunities. Countries that restrict economic freedom are susceptible to more terrorist attacks than countries that promote economic freedom(Martin Gassebner and Simon Luechinger, 2011). countries that subject minority groups to economic discrimination are more likely to experience domestic terrorism than countries where they are not (Adesoji O. Adelaja et al, 2018).

ii.   *Ethno-religious Causes*

Religious tension and religious fundamentalism are believed to also be causes of terrorism. Boko Haram is a good example. The group holds extreme religious ideology, which they use as the basis to commit their crimes. A study, why do people join Boko Haram? found that ignorance of religious teaching constitutes a leading factor that influences the adoption of

extreme religious views, especially among youth (Freedom Onuoha, 2014)

iii. Political Causes

Lack of civil liberties, Corruption, weak political institutions, political instability, weak government, high level of repression and civil Wars can foment the incidence of terrorism (William Eubank and Leonard Weinberg, 2001). Societies with intricate multiparty systems have high tendency to terrorist incidence than those with few homogeneous systems. Also, democratic countries, which are assumed to be in a better position to stop terrorist attacks, are More prone to attacks than autocratic countries. On the domestic terrorism in theNortheasternpart of Nigeria, some studies blamed elitepolitics for the emergence of Boko Haram.

1.6 RISE OF TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

In terms of politics, Islam has played a significant role in the development of Nigeria's polity, but it must be weighed against the country's formidable political and economic challenges. Northern Nigeria's predominantly Muslim Hausa Fulani citizens have long had transnational links to Middle Eastern academic institutions and West African Sufi brotherhoods.

Sulayman Nyang observed that control of Northern Nigeria by political Islamists was bolstered by the British colonialism. Ahmadu Bello was able to insist on the teaching and practice of Islam in this region in exchange for support of British rule. Traditional Islamic clans coalesced into a northern party that effectively excluded Westernized intellectuals and secularized non-Muslims, (Ken.2008). According to a 2001 study by the United States Institute of Peace, an influx of Saudi-educated religious scholars who questioned less austere interpretations of Islam affected the revival of Islamic fundamentalism in Nigeria following independence. With the election of President Obasanjo, a born-again Christian from the south, Islamic fundamentalism gained a stronger political foothold as the ruling Muslim national elite's fortunes plummeted. Northern Muslims felt

marginalized after nearly four decades of playing a significant, sometimes dominant, position in the government and military. Obasanjo's expulsion of politicized military officers, who were overwhelmingly Muslim, was one of the reasons for these feelings.

In the midst of a northern Muslim political downturn, a gubernatorial candidate in Zamfara state won a landslide victory on a platform of restoring sharia, or Islamic rule. Sharia law was soon implemented in eleven more of Nigeria's thirty-six states. Paden emphasized that sharia gave the prospect of law and order to the Muslim masses who were outraged at how their children were being seduced by the siren calls of easy money and sloppy morals. The spread of sharia was also a byproduct of Nigerian Muslims' urge to reassert their political prerogative in reaction to what they saw as a newfound southern Christian political hegemony, according to the ruling elite. On the contrary, many Christians in Muslim dominated and mixed religious nations view sharia as a foreign religious and cultural imposition designed to delegitimize both their religion and political standing. Paden

pointed out that therequirement for cross-religious and cross-regional alliances in Nigerian electoral systemprevented sharia from achieving a formal national platform but yet it remains a potential source of religious and cultural tension and is symptomatic of the depth of national religious divisions,(Keenan, J. 2006).

Fears of looming ethnic religious violence in Nigeria became a reality in Kaduna City in February and May 2000, with at least 2,000 people killed, and again in Kaduna in 2002, when a newspaper published a story considered an affront to the Prophet Mohammed. Religious violence has also been recorded in the states of Kano and Sokoto, as well as the cities of Jos, Baluchi, and Yelwa. It may be untimely to describe 2003conflict between the Nigerian police and religious students in Yobe state and security forces and Islamic militants in September 2004 as the start of a battle against transnational Islamic-inspired terrorism, but the conditions for such a battle may emerge.

A volatile formula includes the economic and political marginalization, political mobilization of marginalized youth and the intelligentsia, and the

injection of radical Islamic ideologies into the body politic. The use of violence to settle political scores has a long history in Nigeria, and those interested in the country's success cannot be sanguine about recent examples and possible hot spots of violence in the country.

1.7 THE NORTHERN NIGERIAN TERRORIST THREAT

Terrorism is a terrifying condition of existence, one that normalizes violence and so destroys the everyday trust that lives are safe and justice prevails. It is usually linked to Taliban or al-Qaeda. There is need to query if terrorism is a threat or reality in West Africa. Priorto the terrorist bombings of the Pentagon and World Trade Centre, between 1999 and 2000 twelvestate governors in northern Nigerian (Zamfara, Sokoto, Kano, Kebbi, Yobe, Katsina, Bauchi, Jigawa, Gombe, Adamawa and Bauchi) declared their commitment to the full-blown establishment of Sharia law in their states. (There are thirty-six states in Nigeria.)

Led by Zamfara states governor, they proclaimed the urgent need to sanitize state legal systems that did little or nothing to implement Quranic justice and governance; in two or three years, however, kleptocratic governance ensured that Sharia, too, became comatose so Islamist religious sect leaders began preaching again for governance reform and justice according to the Quran. After twelve northern Nigerian states implemented Sharia law, different views at home and in US-European metropoles began to be expressed regarding the likelihood of Nigerian terrorism.

Opinions about terrorism in Nigeria have changed. To begin, some writers in 2000-04 saw no proof of al-Qaeda linked terrorist cell infiltration of northern Nigeria, nor that the terrorist and criminal syndicates trafficking people, drugs and gunshad linked up. Militantsused information technology (IT) to come together; some were getting more frustrated and enraged at the self-centeredness of corporate chief executives, police, plutocratic politicians, military and intelligence services in not distributing down the client list chain financial profits in stolen state funds and trafficked illegal goods; they were beginning to move beyond ethnic

nationalism/religious fundamentalism into common sense of under-class alienation from largesse, livelihoods and lands (Ifeka 2006).

Second, a few authors wrote about the perceived terrorist threat posed by forms of Islamisation, including Sharia law, to West African security and the USs need for sustainable energy flows from Nigeria (Volman 2003). Certain analysts started to comprehend that US policy could be more nuanced, less inclined to cause undesirable terrorist strikes in North Americas homeland, if the Pentagon took on board that Nigeria'sconsiderable Muslim population was estimated in 1998 to be the fifth largest in the world at c. 78 million relative to Indonesias c. 196 million (Islamic Web 1998; ABC 2009) does not exist in a social, cultural or economic and historical vacuum. Rather, Muslims, about 57% of c. 140 million Nigerians in the 2001Population Census, largely Sunni and Sufi adherents, braggedof historic connections via the ancient trans-Saharan trade routes with the Middle East and North African Maghrib (Parker and Rathbone 2007: 7-8ff). Such memorable connections and mutual understandings suggest

both the possibility of US/Maghribi diplomacy exercised for peace, and some radical Ummah states support for Islamist fundamentalist cells (dubbed terrorist by AFRICOM-NATO) in Nigeria.

Third, many persons observed that the Federal Republic of Nigeria could split. In 2004 a defense analyst identified Nigeria as a potent mix of communal tensions, radical Islamization, and anti-Americanism, in their view fertile grounds for militancy that threatens to tear Nigeria apart (Morrison 2004: 75-8). In late 2009, another defense analyst advising the US Pentagon predicted that Nigeria could fragment.

1.8 THE NATURE OF ISLAMIC RADICALISATION IN NIGERIA

"Before we condemn this attack on America we have to see who carried it out and then, see their reasons Most of the people here (in Northern Nigeria) are happy with the attacks because of what America stands for and what it does, in its attitude to the Palestinians, for example. The Cowboy way of blazing two guns to get Osama bin Laden dead or alive will definitely lead to a confrontation

between America and the Islamic world" _Abubakar Mujahid, a Nigerian Islamic radical.

"There is Islamic radicalization in Nigeria, but the manifestation is not along the widely recognized lines. It is not radicalization that manifests in the form of suicide missions, bomb blasts, plane hijacks or other similar trends. And it is not likely that radicalization in the country will ever follow these patterns because Nigerians love life so much that they will not lay it down for any cause. It may interest you to know that nobody in Nigeria has ever committed suicide in the pursuit of a cause. It is not just our style" _AladeFawole, a Nigerian social scientist.

Radicalization is a process of strict adherence to a belief-system that involves the use of non-conventional means to aspire and effect change. Any argument on Islamic radicalization in Nigeria shall first acknowledge two things -the first is that the situation is not a post-independence development. The second issue is that radicalization is not a monopoly of the Islamic religion, as Christianity, Islam and traditional religion, have all undergone phases of radicalization. Indeed, as will be shown in this study, some of the manifestations of Islamic radicalization can only be understood against the activities of other religions, especially Christianity.

Most radical Islamic groups in Nigeria hold on to the five tenets of Islam. They believe there is only "one God", Allah, who is the creator of the universe. They also believe that life on Earth is a test and only a preparation for the eternal life to come. Some of the radical groups believe that there are some developments in the country that make it difficult or even impossible, for them to carry out the tenets and pillars of Islam .

Radicalization of Nigeria has come in three hardly distinguishable phases. Early 1970s was the first phase. Then the late Mohammed Marwa, popularly known as Maitatsine, began espousing radical Islamic preaching in Northern Nigeria. This prompted massive riots that engulfed the Northern city of Kano and led to the deaths of thousands of people. The crisis exhibited many key issues that were later to become common features in Nigeria's Islamic radicalization. These include the use of

intra- Islamic differences, marginalized groups, and alleged government connivance.

The emergence of an Islamic government under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini motivated Muslims the world over. The new Islamism filled gaps left by the near-collapse of local services, from road upkeep to education. Muslim youths, operating against the assumed belief that Christians had enjoyed advantages, came up to assert Islamic doctrine and called for the establishment of an order that would recognize the doctrine in some parts of the country.

The Sheikh Ibraheem El Zakzaky led Muslim Brotherhood was the first group to come out as a radical one during this phase. El Zakzaky has been imprisoned many times for his radical views, most especially during military regimes. Sedition or inciting disaffection against government were the charges that he was severally charged for. Many other individuals joined his group and they struggled for an Islamic state within Nigeria, which was built on ignorance or jahiliya (a term used in reference to pre-Islamic Arab-society). The rhetoric of the Nigerian Muslim Brothers had a unique quality of revolutionary idealism that was found in the works of the Egyptian Sayyid Qutb.

El-Zakzaky's identification with shiites led to rebellion and fragmentation in the group. Thus, a splinter group emerged under the leadership of Zakzakys most loyal members, including Abubakar Mujahid. The new group, however, stated that its points of disagreement with Zakzaky was purely on doctrinal aspect only. They stuck to Sunni but remain committed to the revolutionary process of Islamisation being undertaken by the led El-Zakzaky's led group.

Third phase of radicalization in Nigeria was marked by the introduction of the Sharia penal code in some states in 1999. This same phase also captured the national reaction to global war against terrorism. Majorityof Muslims in the North are for orthodox Sunni and the Maliki School of Sharia jurisprudence. Shiite Islam on the other hand is an Iranian variant.

In Kano, many Islamic sects coexist. There are newer and more fundamentalist sects like the Izala and the Shiite. Both groups are believed to be

inopposition to application of Sharia throughout Nigeria until the political affairs of the country had been taken over by religious leaders.

The Sunni group in Katsina comprises several sects of which five are particularly important. Some of these have programmes that focus on Sharia. Other sects seem less committed to politics and are more centered on the practice of Islam as a nonmilitant doctrine.

Radical Muslims in Nigeria are united in their belief that Israels attitude in the Middle East is unjust. Since the September 11 attack on the United States, there has been a resurgence of radical tendencies in Nigeria. As a5 late as May 2008,Sheik Zakzaky claimed that Israel was created on the basis of terrorism. Al sunnaWalJamma (Followers of the Prophet), on the other hand was created around 2001. Nigeria n Taliban also emerged in 2002 demanding that all the 12 states in the North should be declared Sharia states.

There was a new wave of attacks in Kano in April 2007 during which radical groups protested that governments in Northern Nigeria were not strictly enforcing Islamic laws. This was after the

Kano leaders sought to offset the influence of Saudi Arabia and Iran, which are funding hard-line Islamist schools that some fear are educating a generation of extremists. Another organization that has become very prominent in the politics of radicalization is the Tabliq group. They are a group who believe in missionary enterprise with beliefs similar to the Franciscan group. Currently, the Tabliq remain a very strong radical group in some parts of Lagos and the South West. Again as would be shown later, the sect also has areas of disagreements with other Muslim sects (Abrahamsen, R. 2005).

1.9 BOKO HARAM

This is an Islamic militant sect operating in northern Nigeria, particularly, in Yobe and Bauchi states. The group is thought to be in existence since 1995. Boko Haram has attacked a number of police stations and other public facilities, leading to death of thousands of people. The group is a fundamentalist group with anti-western ideologies

and holds western civilization to be sinful, while propagating the Islamic culture.

The group has made various locations in Bauchi, Yobe, Kano and Borno states quite inhabitable as it attacks persons and state agencies alike. Though some militants in this group are not Nigerians, and they come in from outside the country to commit deadly attacks on people and public facilities, it points even more to the vulnerability of the country to terrorist infiltration which also stems from the North.

According to Shehu (2011), the causes of the activities of Boko Haram insurgency include the repressive attack against the religious group by the security forces in 2009 and the extra-judicial killing of the groups leader Muhammad Yusuf. He further mentioned that failure of the Federal Government and administrations in Borno and Yobe States to address poverty, unemployment, education and infrastructural issues contributed to the crisis. According to Onuoha (2012) some of the obvious causes of the prolonged menace include proliferation of arms in northeastern states attributed to poor border management. Sagir (2013),

identified that there are over 250 footpaths from Damaturu/Maiduguri axis that link or lead directly to Cameroon, Chad or Niger with links to Mali, Libya and Sudan. Sagir opines that these paths are mostly unmanned, unprotected and thus serve as routes for arms and ammunitions trafficking and illegal migration in to Nigeria.

The report of the Federal Government Committee on Security in the North East traced the critical propelling factors for the Boko Haram insurgency to high level of poverty and illiteracy in the North-East Zone of Nigeria. Other factors identified by the Committee include the ineffective institutional structures to manage inter-religious affairs and promote harmonious co-existence as well as the existence of a large population of unemployed semi-skilled and unskilled youths who could be used to foment trouble (Olamilekan, 2014). Another causative factor was the existence of private militias, set up, funded, used and allegedly dumped by politicians. Olamilekan, further reiterated that the availability of almajiris, and illegal aliens who enter through Nigerias porous borders, could be used to prolong the crisis.

From the foregoing, it is evident that most scholars have cited developmental, political and law enforcement issues as causes to rising Boko Haram crisis. Others are social developmental issues as well as availability of illegal arms and ammunition (Solomon, 2012). These issues therefore need to be addressed to attain long-term solutions to the Boko Haram menace.

Radicalization in its links to violence has also brought a number of other special considerations, especially ethnicity, chieftaincy matters, natural resource governance and others. For example, in many parts of the north, but most especially in Kano, religious radicalizations links to violence have also manifested through the economic and commercial rivalry between the southern Ibo traders and the indigenous Hausa-Fulani.(Agamben,2005).

1.10 CONCLUSION

Terrorism is a lethal act, and its effect on a country is tremendous loss of lives and property. To deal with the situation in Nigeria, prompt effort and economic solutions are needed, in addition to the recently amended terrorism prevention law of 2011.

In the early 21st century, violent Islamism has become the main ideological basis for terrorist activity at the transnational level. It is also one of the main extremist ideologies of groups that use terrorist means in a number of more localized, national contexts. A lothas been said in differentpolitical, academic, and security quarters on the need to curb Islamic extremism through ideological ways, most especially by using Islam moderately.

Most propositions of this sort boil down to a set of standard recommendations. For example, they include calls to encourage mainstream Islamic groups, madrasas, charities and foundations both in their practical social, humanitarian and reconstruction activities and in their political, ideological and religious debates with Islamic radicals. These discussions are centred on such issues of critical significance to anti-terrorism as the concepts of jihadand martyrdom and. For instance, they encourage the efforts of the moderate Muslim clergy in promoting the traditional religious bans on

targeting the enemies women and children (so long as they do not wage war) and on annihilating structures that are not directly related to a battle. Over the years the efforts to utilize moderate Islam as a strategy against Islamist terrorism have generally failed.

Part of the issue is that these well-thought efforts are based on an understanding of the threatsof the Islamist terrorist from their religious nature, as opposed to their quasi-religious nature. This strategytherefore overestimates, for example, the force of theological arguments and the role of moderate clergy in facing the violent radicals. Contrary to radical movements at local level which combines elements of Islamism and nationalism and displaysdifferent degrees of pragmatism in their political and social behavior, the extremist ideology of the postal- Qaeda movement unlikely to be moderated.

The term terrorism has been defined in various ways and has gone through various transformations in new aspects. Terrorism includes acts of violence by groups of people with a political motive or purpose. Terrorism has now become more threatening and its acts more dangerous. The fight against terrorism is a very complex and difficult task because the terrorists are not a structured or specified enemy, it has an elusive nature which makes it even more difficult to cope with. One way to oppose terrorism is the importance featuring the very clear understanding of the essence and objectives to oppose terrorism. Diplomacy too plays a significant role in the development of this international issue. The fight against it can sometimes be simple, because the state can fight only against small terrorist groups, by issuing orders against them.

A significant tool utilized by terrorists to advance their cause is the media. The role played by the media is a wild aspect of the fight against terrorism, being in a time that all information are conveyed by the media. In the framework of the recommendations we enumerate: A clear and complete policy of the war against terrorism should be formulated by the state based on the understanding of the nature, type of terrorism and risk analysis. A national policy against terrorism must have cooperation and international links

because most of the terrorist activities today have international connections. Thereshould be joint action planby relevant government agencies in fighting terrorism. There shouldbe efforts to assess the threat of new terrorism and to adopt new strategies to deal with it. Actions and policies against terrorism oughtto be guided by fundamental principles of democracy. Adequate resources should be made available to effectively implement a plan against terrorism, otherwise the cost of failure will be extremely high.

RECOMMENDATION

Education and job opportunitiesto the Muslim and non-Muslim populations is highly recommended. Economic opportunity can as well reduce inter-religious tensions. There shouldbe support for human rights, democratic structures, and liberalization in the governmental sector and civil society. Accountability and transparency in governance will also go a long way indiscouraging extremist-sponsored popular mobilization fostered by political marginalization.

Then United States should establish a military and intelligence structure to address military and terrorist-related issues on the subcontinent. A coherent examination of sources of instability and necessary policy responses would follow.

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