

Terrorism, Insurgency and Islamism: A Trio-human Disaster in Nigeria

Prof. Thomas Tanko Shut & Vrenzak James Dawap

Plateau State University (PLASU), Department of Political Science, Bokkos, Plateau State, Nigeria

Abstract: We examine whether the relationship between terrorism, insurgency and Islamism do not share or support one another in their expression of violent development. We find that when comparing their strategies and methods, they have a meeting point in political, economic and religious platform. In this paper, we present cogent reasons that represent these three terms as having causal and historical eventualities that are repetitive and suggestive of a trio-human destructive activity that largely caused the down-turn in economic development in Nigeria. Collectively, our findings show evidence of political and non-political factors related to the trio virus above that slow the pace of economic development in Nigeria, especially in the last three decades.

Keywords: Boko Haram & Insurgency, Islamism and Terrorism.

I. INTRODUCTION

Violence against Nigerians expressed in economic, political and religious colorations has not only slowed economic development in Nigeria but has triggered further self-inflicted economic injury that has destroyed property and relationship, manifested in displaced people, denied opportunities of livelihood and compounded by the recent pain of recession through self-inflicted activities perpetrated by groups we have identified as terrorist, insurgents and extreme Islamist.

We cannot discuss the challenges to the collective existence and economic development of Nigeria without attempting an operational definition of the three interrelated activities of terrorist, insurgents and Islamic extremists that has heightened tension in the country. Hence, by definition terrorists maybe concerned with regime change, reallocation of power, or challenging existing social orders. While, doctrine identifies insurgency as the violent arm of a given resistance movement—centers on attacking regimes. On the other hand, “Islamist is a term increasingly used, including by Muslims, for those who seek to make Islam into a politics and a political movement....” (David Selbourne 2005:13).

We cannot ignore Boko Haram’s brutality that has not only led to loss of innocent lives and separation of family members; we are equally worried about the abduction and use of young and innocent minds indoctrinated by Boko Haram as suicide bombers by these mindless groups resulting to the impoverishment of Northeastern States in Nigeria.

According to the Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), after Nigeria rebased its GDP in 2014, Nigeria’s GDP was hovering around US\$560 billion, However, Nigeria has

been a shining example of growth without development as it has not been able to address poverty, provide social services and improve human capital.

Economic Development encircles elements such as growths in real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and per capita income; reductions in unemployment and poverty levels; and improvements in literacy and life expectancy rates. Often included in the criteria for evaluating the degree of economic development are also the level of industrialisation, and amount of widespread infrastructure.

It is the aspiration of most young Nigerians to economically develop that has been wrongly used by politicians to intimidate and inflict violence on their political opponents is not only a disturbing symptom but portrays the abuse of energy meant for development and diverted for self-destruction.

At independence, Nigeria’s GDP was US\$4.1 billion. Between 1960 and 1966, the economy grew at an outstanding average annual rate of 8.3% (led by agriculture) more than the 4% that was targeted in the first National Development Plan. Nigeria’s population living below poverty line currently stands at 33.1% (one third of the population).

For instance, employment in 2015, Nigeria’s unemployment rate was at 9%, and by the first quarter of 2016, it has increased to 12.1%. This increment was as a result of the country’s FOREX crisis, overdependence on oil which made the country vulnerable to fluctuations in international oil prices, weak manufacturing sector and lack of comprehensible policies to address unemployment. This implies that there are many poor Nigerians especially in Northeast as a result of the Boko Haram skirmishes than there were at the country’s independence.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper is premised on the analytical approach of the theory of social constructivism arising from conflicting construction of worldviews, ideas, identities and historical experiences. According to this approach, influences in shaping the structure of politics and public policy are derivations from renaissance scholar like Giambattista Vico, Immanuel Kant, Max Weber and as well as philosopher John Dewey. This approach, stress that human consciousness is shaped by the shared meanings that shape the worldviews of a people and how they interpret events and circumstances. Reality is thus

shaped less by truth than by conditioned learning and received tradition. David Selbourne recently applied Constructivism to the conflicts in the Soviet bloc, Middle East – from their strait-jackets, both a revived Arab Nationalism and a renewal of ardour for Islam in politicized form have come to make the anti-Western running in many parts of the globe. This revivalism has brandished guns in one hand and sacred texts in the other. Demonizing America, “Zionism” and often Christianity also, it has demonized. These many wars (terrorism, insurgency and Islamism) since 1945, especially in Africa, which have nothing to do with Islam, and with many (including in Africa) in which Islam stands at the heart of the conflict. The analyses simply suggest that there have been few boundaries, whether of territory or moral principle, of method of combat or falsification of word that have not been transgressed on the battlefield of the trio-concepts, implying that the competing templates for finding solutions to Nigeria’s problems becomes more complex and sometimes mystical. (David Selbourne 2005). For instance, over the year in Nigeria, most of those who have ascended leadership positions in the country are from the Northern part of the country, but this region is termed the most backward in education and economic development. This situation has also been complicated with the abuse of religious teaching by some Islamic scholars and well as some Politicians leading to what researchers in Nigeria describe as “political Islam”. Weighing side by side the opportunities that many Northern Political elite had and the near absence of key development indices as mentioned earlier is alluded by most researchers as the main factor(s) to the vexing and frustrating state of young people in the North which has either attracted them to all forms of insurgency and terrorism or using Islam as a smokescreen to perpetuate violent crimes. This thinking falls within the theory by Zillman (1979), which says that frustration makes it a sufficient and necessary condition for aggression and extremism. Thus, in Nigeria, the above hypothesis easily applies and mostly given to explain the cause of the Boko Haram violence and the economic disaster experienced today. Thus, when we situate these differences on fundamental ideological and historical foundations, they oftentimes become irreconcilable and hence less amenable to long lasting solutions in the search for peace in Nigeria.

Therefore, our adoption of the Constructivist approach places significant binary notions of the three concepts as a form of consensus- formation through which they all have a meeting point in violence to politics, economy and religion itself. Addressing them will require returning to the fundamentals of nationhood and reinventing the grammar and syntax of political discourse.

Link between terrorism, insurgency and Islamism

Boko Haram, when translated, literary means – western education is forbidden. Officially, Boko Haram took its name from the Arabic phrase *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad*, meaning ‘People committed to the propagation of the prophet’s teachings and Jihad’. Ploch (2013) recorded this

group to have emerged in 2002 as a small radical Sunni Islamic sect that demanded Sharia law for the Nigerian state and in particular, the predominantly Muslim Northeastern states. In 2015, the group claimed to have pledged allegiance to Islamic States of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). (BBC News, 2015).

Terrorism originates from the Latin word *terrere*, which means ‘to frighten’. It however, obtains its modern form ‘terrorism’ in the 18th century France. Since that time, the word has become complex, because there is hardly a country in the world that has not experience one form of terrorism or the other, even among so called powerful western countries.

In Nigeria, terror was used in the establishment of the colonial regime. Likewise, the indigenous people that occupied the pre-colonial states also countered this act used by the colonial hegemony to occupy their territories.

It should however be noted that modern terrorism in Nigeria was first witnessed during the so called ‘Maitatsine movement’ in 1980 led by Alhaji Marwa Maitastine, who is reported by many scholars as an immigrant who launched his ‘puritanic’ Islamic ideology in the Northern States of Sokoto, Borno and Kano that led to religious uprising in Kano (twice in 1980), and later in Yola and Maiduguri in 1982 and 1983 respectively. (Ajayi 2012).

The United States Department of Defense (DoD) in this attempt says “distinguishing between guerrillas, insurgents, and terrorists may seem like a purely academic exercise, deeper analysis may reveal some extremely pragmatic understandings to help in combating each.

Doctrinally, (DoD) defines terrorism as “the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.” (DoD 2005)

Doctrinally, (DoD) defines insurgency as “an organized resistance movement that uses subversion, sabotage, and armed conflict to achieve its aims. Insurgencies normally seek to overthrow the existing social order and reallocate power within the country. They may also seek to

1. Overthrow an established government without a follow-on social revolution.
2. Establish an autonomous national territory within the borders of a state.
3. Cause the withdrawal of an occupying power.
4. Extract political concessions that are unattainable through less violent means”.

In comparison, the goals of terrorists are not specific to governments but rather focus on broader ideological intentions. Furthermore, we see that terrorists may not even feel the need to target governments. Instead, they may choose to attack societies directly in order to achieve a particular end state.

Another way to look at it is this: insurgents use ideology to target governments, but terrorists target governments (or societies) to advance ideology.

“Islamism is a complex phenomenon with multiple dimensions and various ramifications. Like other political doctrines, Islamism, in its contemporary shape, is an ‘ideology’, a ‘movement-organisation’ and a ‘form of government’. This study is predominantly devoted to the analysis of Islamism as a totalitarian ideology. We are interested in knowing how and when this concept has been fabricated; how it has evolved and what differentiates it from ‘Islam’. Aiming at a conceptual clarification, we propose a definition of Islamism which enables us to grasp the essence of this phenomenon in its variations (Sunni, Shi’a and Wahhabi) and its different shapes (global and national). Our analysis shows that, despite sectarian and other differences between various Islamist groups, their final objective remains the same. They all aim at the re-installation of the Islamic might in the world: to achieve this goal, the use of violence is not rejected”.(Mozaffari 2007).

In a write up ‘Globalism in Islam’ Sheikh Ayub (2016), alluded that “The doctrine of Islamic globalism is rooted within the basic principle of Islam that is *Tawheed*, belief in one Allah. This doctrine is the corner stone of the whole Islamic message. It is mentioned in the Quran: *Knowest thou not that it is Allah unto Whom belongeth the sovereignty of heavens and earth; and ye have not besides Allah, any friend or helper.xix Allah (Himself) is witness that there is not God save Him. And the angels and men of learning (too are witness). Maintaining His creation in justice, there is no God save Him, the Almighty, the Wise.xx*

In spite of the position held by some Muslims (even scholars) there are majority of Muslims who prefer to operate on moderate grounds and sometimes refuse to accept the position of Islam as projected by scholars like Sheikh Ayub. The problem tends to become much greater when analysts like us attempt to deal with issues as controversial as the links between Islam, extremism, and terrorism.

It may be too easy for us who are Non-Muslim to focus on the small part of the extremist threat that Muslim extremists pose to non-Muslims in the West and/or demonize one of the world's great religions, and to drift into some form of Islamophobia-blaming a faith for patterns of violence that are driven by a tiny fraction of the world's Muslims. This is partly because religion is only one of many factors that lead to instability and violence in largely Muslim states, as is the case of North-East Nigerian States. It is a critical ideological force in shaping the current patterns of extremism, but it does not represent the core values of Islam and many other far more material factors help lead to the rise of extremism in Northern Nigeria.

It is equally easy to avoid analyzing the links between extremist violence and Islam in order to be politically correct or to avoid provoking Muslims and the governments of

largely Muslim states. The end result is to ignore the reality that most extremist and terrorist violence does occur in largely Muslim states, although it overwhelmingly consists of attacks by Muslim extremists on fellow Muslims, (in the case of Nigeria on the two major religions Christianity and Islam) and not only some clash between civilizations.

That explains partly why in the 1980s, the French sociologist Michel Wieviorka conducted research that determined terrorists are estranged from both the social movements that spawned them and the societies they oppose. He uses the term “social anti-movement” to describe the intermediate stage between legitimate social movements and terrorism. Anti-movements may employ violence, but they maintain some association with the parent social movement. It is only when that linkage dissolves, a process Wieviorka calls “inversion,” that a militant becomes a terrorist. The violence of terrorist actors no longer is purposeful – in pursuit of a rational political goal – but replaces the parent social movement’s ideology. In essence, this conclusion underscores a frequent contention in the literature on political violence: that terrorism is the domain of organizations, where the strategic repertoire of violence conflates means and ends. Importantly, Wieviorka’s construct does not provide a means upon which one can hang a consensus definition of terrorism. Instead it offers another means to distinguish terrorism from insurgency. Specifically, this theory posits that the degree of linkage remaining between a given radical group and its parent social movement determines what Wieviorka refers to as “pure terrorism.” There is a connection between this notion and the broader political nature of insurgency, though it is not an angle Wieviorka himself examines. Organizations which have not yet inverted, and which maintain connections to a significant segment of society, represent not just social anti-movements, but potential insurgencies.

Using the three analytical lenses – definitions, organizational traits, and Wieviorka’s inversion theory – where does al-Qaeda fall on the terrorism vs. insurgency scale? Certainly al-Qaeda meets the component tests of the various terrorism definitions: (1) unlawful (a non-state-actor);

(2) political/religious/ideological in intent (fatwas calling for the removal of Islamic regimes guilty of religious heresies); and

(3) targeting civilians (e.g., the World Trade Center).

It also comprises “an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through use of subversion and armed conflict” in accordance with the DOD’s insurgency definition. In terms of exhibiting a political component, some have called al-Qaeda an armed political party and the extremist wing of a political religion. The group’s political works include propaganda efforts such as the issuance of fatwas, protection and projection of Salafist (a transnational religious-political ideology based on a belief in “physical” jihadism) religious infrastructure, and mobilization of grass roots support through cooperation with Islamist

parties as well as orchestration of favorable media coverage in the Islamic press. The al-Qaeda training manual underscores its commitment to both politics and violence as a mechanism for change: Islamic governments have never been and will never be, established through peaceful solutions and cooperative councils. They are established as they [always] have been by pen and gun by word and bullet by tongue and teeth.

In like manner, the terror tactics employed in pursuit of Boko Haram's ideological goals qualifies it for either insurgent or terrorist status.

Notwithstanding the differences between these irregular warriors, it is conceivable that a terrorist may also simultaneously be an insurgent and an Islamist. Depending upon the ideology that the terrorist wants to advance, regime change may be a critical component of that effort. (DOD 2005)

Neither here nor there: standing on the sinking sand or the deep blue sea.

“Religion plays a highly influential role in the lives of most Nigerians. Eighty-seven percent of Nigerians rank religion as “very important” in their lives. This context of religiosity shapes and influences the religious freedom landscape in the country, particularly as religious institutions often overlap with social and political institutions in Nigeria. Religious leaders' voices carry special weight, and many Nigerians are more likely to listen to and believe the words of their religious and traditional rulers than they are to trust political and state officials. The intense overlap between religion and other aspects of social and political life in Nigeria has had ramifications for interreligious harmony. Several analysts report that Nigeria is home to deeply entrenched religious divisions and mistrust. Often religious dynamics overlap with ethnic identity, exacerbating ethno-religious conflicts that play on both religious and ethnic aspects of victims' and perpetrators' identities. For example, violence between predominantly Muslim herding communities and primarily Christian farming communities in Nigeria's Middle Belt has often exacerbated sectarian divides. Fulani-affiliated militias have burned churches, abducted and killed pastors, and used religious terminology while conducting violent attacks against civilians in predominantly Christian communities. Armed Fulani-affiliated elements reportedly have selected individuals for abduction and execution based on their Christian identity. These actions suggest the attackers seek to Islamize the region and eradicate Christians. Fulani communities in some areas also accuse Christians of targeting them in an attempt to eliminate Muslims from the area. In this context of heightened religiosity, political, ethnic, and resource conflicts easily take on a religious dimension. According to Reverend Hassan John: “The drivers of the violence in Nigeria may be complex but generally speaking Nigerians are deeply religious.... So, while there are social, political and economic drivers, the

average Nigerian sees all these from their religious perspective first....” (USAID Nigeria 2020).

“What confused me the most was that I was told to preach about an Islam of love, kindness and forgiveness. At the same time, Muslims fundamentalist – the ones who are supposed to be practicing true Islam – were bombing Churches and killing Christians.” (Mark Gabriel 2002:2)

Similar, a Son of Hamas as he titled the book supports strongly that “Traditional Muslims stands at the foot of the leader, living in guilt for not really practicing Islam. At the top are fundamentalist, the ones you see in the news killing women and children for the glory of the god of the Qur'an. Moderates are somewhere in between”. He furthers his argument by saying that “A moderate Muslims is actually more dangerous than a fundamentalist, however, because he appears to be harmless, and you can never tell when he has taken that next step towards the top. And suggested that “Most suicide bombard began as moderates” (Mosab Hassan Yousef 2011:12).

Narrating his experience with his biological father, Yusuf said “his father didn't work for wages; he worked to please Allah. For him, this was his holy duty, his life's purpose”.On the other hand, he didn't see those Muslims who killed settlers and soldiers and innocent women and children as wrong. He believed that Allah gave them the authority to do that. On the other hand, he personally could not do what they did. Something in his soul rejected it. What he could not justify as right for himself he rationalized as right for others” (M. H. Yousef 2011:105). “Islam taught that a devoted servant of Allah who became a martyr went straight to heaven. No questioning by weird angels or torture in the grave” (M. H. Yousef 2011:148).

More than an apologist for Islam, my father lived his life as an example of what a Muslim should be. He reflected the beautiful side of Islam, not the cruel side that requires its followers to conquer and enslave the earth.

Again, for Yusuf “The only law respected by Muslims is Islamic law, defined by *fatwas*, or religious rulings on a particular topic because there is no central unifying rule maker, different sheikhs often issue different fatwas about the same matter. As a result, everyone is living by a different set of rules, some much stricter than others”. (M. H. Yousef, 2011:39-40).

For him, “The United Nations, the whole international community, every free man in the world recognizes our right to fight. Allah, himself, may his name be praised, requires it. Why do we wait? These young men, fighting become its own goal – not a means to an end, but an end in itself. (M. H. Yousef, 2011:46-47).

Since we are discussing economic development, our argument corroborates with the DOD, that notwithstanding the technicality in trying to draw differences in the trio warfare activities, all of them cause colossal damage to property and

lives which invariably impoverish people and communities visited by the violence of these groups.

As indicated earlier, Boko Haram, whose name means “Western education is forbidden”, reflects the confusion and contradiction it projects. While its official name is a “people committed to the propagation of the Prophet’s Teaching and Jihad”, as translated from *Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awatiwal-Jihad*. (Wikipedia 17/04/2012). The name suggests how strongly they are opposed to anything Western, which according to them corrupts Nigerians and particular Muslims in Northern Nigeria leading to the disaster itemized below:

Time lines of Boko Haram Activities

- 2002: Founded by Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf
- 2009: Hundreds killed; Maiduguri police stations stormed
- 2009: Mohammed Yusuf captured by army, later found dead
- Sep 2010: Freed hundreds of prisoners from Maiduguri jail
- Sep 2010: Attack on Bauchi prison leading to escape of 721 prisoners
- Dec 2010: Bombed Jos, killing 80;
- Dec 2010: New Year's Eve attack on Abuja barracks
- 2010-2011: Dozens killed in Maiduguri shootings
- May 2011: Bombed several states after president's inauguration
- June 2011: Police HQ bombed in Abuja
- Aug 2011: UN HQ bombed in Abuja
- Aug 2011: Prominent Muslim cleric Liman Bana killed by the sect
- Nov 2011: Coordinated bomb and gun attacks in Yobe/Borno
- Dec 2011: Christmas bombing, St. Theresa's Church, Madalla
- Jan 2012: Massive attacks in Kano, killing over 200.
- Feb 2012: Attacks on Church of Christ in Nigeria, Jos, 35 killed
- Feb 2012: Suicide bombing of army headquarters, Kaduna
- March 2012: An Italian and Briton kidnapped by a splinter group of
- April 2012: Taraba attacks, with 11 killed
- June 2012: Bombing of Bauchi church, 15 casualties
- June 2012: Attacks on Kaduna and Zaria churches, 50 casualties
- June 2012: 130 bodies found in Plateau State, killed by the sect
- July 2012: Massacre in Jos funeral church service, 60 killed
- Aug 2012: Suicide bombing, Damuturu, Yobe, 6 soldiers killed

Source: Cf. Jana Krause, the Deadly Cycle: Ethno-Religious Conflict in Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria, Geneva Declaration Secretariat, Working Paper, Geneva, Switzerland, 2012.

Consequences of Boko Haram activities on trade & investment, Agricultural & related economic development

From the early 2010 when Boko Haram reared its head, trade, investment and other agro-related economic activity drastically reduces in Nigeria. World Investment Reports (WIRs) of 2013, 2014 and 2015 indicated how poorly Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) flow into Nigeria has been dwindling from \$8.9 billion in 2011 to \$7 billion in 2012 and \$4.7 billion in 2015 which is less than 16.3%. (UNCTAD) 2011 – 2015.

Similarly, Nigeria appeared nowhere in report showing promising investor home economies for FDI in 2014–2016, as it is with Multinational Enterprises (MNEs) top prospective host economies for 2015–2017. (UNCTAD) 2011 – 2015.

This crash in FDI with a period of about five years has further escalated the recession currently faced in the country. FDI into Nigeria has a direct impact on trade, investment and progressive economic growth. FDI inflow supplements the available domestic capital by stimulating the productivity of domestic investments. What is most worrisome currently is the high co-dependency ratio between the inflow of FDI and the plummeting oil sector thus affecting the country's GDP. This implies that Boko Haram disturbances has distracted and cause fear to foreign investors in Nigeria or intending to come.

Heightened by recent kidnapping of not only expatriates as it where in the past, prominent Nigerian citizens are also in the news daily being harassed across all regions, thus discouraging investors friendly environment even to the neighboring states of Nigeria.

The mass movement and emigration of people from the north eastern part of the country is affecting the profitability of trade and business establishments like banks, markets and other financial institutions that are either reducing their business durations or are completely closing trade transaction. No surprise then, banks for instance, are laying off their workers and so too several business and marketing organizations.

These massive denials of opportunities for livelihood create:

- More pressure and make more citizens susceptible to financial and economic psychosis;
- Widen the unemployment and job opportunity gap;
- Expose and make more young people vulnerable to crimes and criminality including the temptation to join miscreants like Boko Haram, Avengers and Cattle Rustlers, as well as
- Unnecessarily populate the few city centers that are termed “safe havens” with challenges attributable to urbanization and over population.

Further damages to economic development as a result of the trio-menaces

Any rancorous and anarchy-laden economic atmosphere is obviously breed fear, and insecurity among citizens that would prevent them from participating in positive political, economic, cultural and religious activities. This implies that Nigerians cannot go to farms, participate in politic or congregate in a worship center

Such systematical destruction of rights will further close our doors from tourist, and deny as living and having abandon life which ultimately represents huge capital flight not only in the north-east, but simultaneously across Nigeria stifling the economy more and aggravating the hardship already being experienced in all sectors directly or indirectly.

III. CONCLUSION

What is being done to prevent hundreds of thousands of people at risk of starving to death? And is there a long-term solution to the region's problems? (Aljazeera 2015)

We're fighting a war that can't be won with arrest, interrogation and assassination. Our enemies are ideas, and ideas don't care about incursions and curfews. We can't blow up an idea with a Merkava. (Mosab Hassan Yousef 2011:236)

Boko Haram has led to mass emigration of citizens who are non-indigenous to the northern region of Nigeria. This has a negative impact on the profitability of business in the region. It can be noted that a number of banks are closing down due to a decrease of economic activities in the area.

The mass withdrawal of people from the north implies that economic affairs in the area are completely stagnated.

The UN is warning that three million people are at risk of starvation in northern Nigeria.

About 1.2 million more are affected in countries neighboring Lake Chad, in what officials say is the most devastating food crisis in years.

A seven-year conflict between regional military forces and the armed group Boko Haram has crippled food production and forced two million people to flee their homes.

IV. RECOMMENDATION

- As indicated earlier in our writeup, the impression that there is causality and link between terrorism, insurgency and Islam can drastically be reduced if the vast majority of Muslims opposed to violent extremism and terrorism, intensify their campaigns against Muslim extremists and continue to partner with governments and countries actively involved in fighting extremism and terrorism and particularly, joining forces with Non-Muslim States in counterterrorism efforts.
- Nigerian government should open a dialogue channel in order to know what the grievances of the sects

(Boko Haram and ISWP now) and go after their sponsors as claimed by the sects.

- Reports from the battlefield indicate that security personnel are not being provided with modern fighting equipment. The government should endeavor to supply the security operatives with sophisticated equipment to counter violent extremism. This we believe will impact on the Nigerian economy, and increase effort to stabilize the northern region;
- Improved and coordinated intelligence gathering is needed to curb future violence. What Nigeria has been witnessing are the consequences of lack of coordinated and committed national intelligence in the security system, that demands more reliable and timely intelligence than guns and armoured personnel carriers;
- In view of the above point, the Federal Government of Nigeria should strengthen Immigration service by tightening the borders in collaboration with Niger, Cameroon and Chad to check movements of unscrupulous extremists' sects who crisscross borders;
- The political, religious and traditional leadership in Northern Nigeria in particular need to show deeper concern for their people instead of the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few;
- Policies and schemes at rebuilding education and creating employment with women, children and youths as the target group for a robust social protection, is the bedrock to addressing the root causes of the insurgency, unemployment and poverty. This should be complemented with some empowerment and vocational trainings initiated by worship places and NGOs;

REFERENCES

- [1] Abonyi, C. J. (2009). The Impact of the September 11 Attack on the World Politics. *Journal of International Current Affairs*, vol.2 No.1.
- [2] Alexander Wendt (1999), *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [3] BBC News (2015) "Boko Haram pledges allegiance to Islamic State" 7th March.
- [4] David Selbourne (2005) *The Losing Battle with Islam* Prometheus books, New York
- [5] Dolf Zillmann, (1979) *Hostility and Violence*, published by Hillsdale, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates; New York.
- [6] <http://usiraq.procon.org/sourcefiles/InsurgentsvsTerrorists.pdf>
- [7] <http://usiraq.procon.org/sourcefiles/alQaeda AsInsurgency.pdf>
- [8] https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fspublic/publication/171017_Report_Islam-War_on_Terrorism.
- [9] <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/insidestory/2016/08/africa-forgotten-crisis-160818182709279.html>
<https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/2020%20Nigeria%20Country%20>
- [10] ISSN 1469-0764 Print/ISSN 1743-9647 Online/07/010017-17 © 2007 Taylor & Francis DOI: 10.1080/14690760601121622)
- [11] Mehdi Mozaffari (2007) What is Islamism? History and Definition of a Concept *University of Aarhus (Totalitarian*

- Movements and Political Religions*), Vol. 8, No. 1, 17–33, March 2007
- [12] Mark, G. (2002) “Islam and Terrorism” Published by Frontline Florida, USA.
- [13] Obadiah mailafia (2012) “Conflict and Insurgency in Nigeria: impact on development prospects and nationhood”. Paper Prepared for the Roundtable Seminar Organized by Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Abuja
- [14] Ploch, I. (2013) “Nigeria: Current Issues and US Policy” Congressional Research Services. November 15th.
- [15] United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 2015
http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/wir2015_en.pdf
- [16] Yousef, M.A. (2010) “Son of Hamas”. A Gripping Account of Terror, Betrayal, Political Intrigue, and Unthinkable Choices.