

**TERRORISM IN NIGERIA:
A SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS**

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AWKA**

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
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CERTIFICATION

I, Afunugo, Kenechi Nnaemeka with Registration Number: 2013097004F hereby certify that this dissertation is original and has been written by me. It is a record of my research and has not been submitted before in part or full for any other Diploma or Degree of this University or any other institution or any previous publication.

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APPROVAL

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Almighty God, who had made all things possible for me to undergo this study.

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Afunugo, Kenechi Nnaemeka
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACN	-	Action Congress of Nigeria
AIIB	-	Anti-Imperialist International Brigade
ALIR	-	Army for the Liberation of Rwanda
AP	-	Associated Press
APC	-	All Progressive Congress
AQIM	-	Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
CIRA	-	Continuity Irish Republic Army
EEDC	-	Enugu Electricity Distribution Company
ETA	-	<i>Evzkadi Ta Askatasuna</i>
FDLR	-	Force for the Liberation of Rwanda
FPM	-	Morazanist Patriotic Front
FPMR	-	Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front
GRAPO	-	Grupo De Resistance Anti-Fascita Premero De Octubre
IMU	-	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
IRA	-	Irish Republican Army
ISIL	-	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
JRA	-	Japanese Red Army
MASSOB	-	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign States of Biafra.
MEND	-	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
NDPVF	-	Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force
NNPC	-	Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation
NPA	-	New People's Army
NEPA	-	National Electrical Power Authority
PA	-	Palestinian Authority
PDP	-	Peoples Democratic Party
PHCN	-	Power Holdings Company of Nigeria
PIRA	-	Provisional Irish Republican Army
PKK	-	Kurdistan Worker's Party
PLO	-	Palestine Liberation Organisation
RN	-	Revolutionary Nuclei
RSF	-	Republican Sinn Fein

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Following: Abuja Bomb Blast Scenerio.

Figure 1.2 Following: Demolished Kdinappers Den in Aguleri and Onitsha Environs.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page	i
Certification	ii
Approval	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgements	v
List of Abbreviations	vii
List of Figures	viii
Table of Contents	ix
Abstract	xii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1	Background to the Study	1
1.2	Statement of the Problem	11
1.3	Purpose of the Study	13
1.4	Scope of the Study	14
1.5	Significance of the Study	15
1.6	Methodology	17
1.7	Definition of Terms	18
1.7.1	Terrorism	18
1.7.2	Search	19
1.7.3	Solution	19
1.7.4	A Search for Solution	19
1.7.5	Nigeria	19

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1	Conceptual Framework	21
2.2	Theoretical Framework	36
2.3	Empirical Studies	55

CHAPTER THREE: TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

3.1	The Historical Background to Terrorism in Nigeria	85
3.2	Indices of Terrorism in Nigeria	90
3.3	Terrorist groups in Nigeria	99
3.4	Ethnic Terrorism in Nigeria	115
3.5	Terrorism in the 2015 Democratic Elections in Nigeria	120
3.6	Reasons for the prevalence of Terrorism in Nigeria	107

CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMPACTS OF TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

4.1	The Negative Impacts of Terrorism in Nigeria	125
4.2	The Positive Impacts of Terrorism in Nigeria	137
4.3	Previous Solutions to Terrorism in Nigeria	140

CHAPTER FIVE: SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS TO TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

5.1	Security measures as collective responsibility	151
5.2	Security Consciousness	152
5.3	Employing Neo-Welfarism ideology	153
5.4	Sovereign National Conferences	154
5.5	Rebranding Nigeria Campaign	157
5.6	Compulsory Study of History	158
5.7	Nationalization of Production in Nigeria	159
5.8	Checkmate of Privatization Policies	160
5.9	Effective Check on Subversion	161
5.10	Effective Anti-Corrupt Campaign	162
5.11	Gainful Employment	162
5.12	Respect for the Sanctity of Life	163
5.13	Basic Moral Teachings in Schools and amongst Religious Groups	164
5.14	Adequate Budget for the National Security Operatives	165
5.15	Imbibing the Culture of Peace	165

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1	Summary	169
6.2	Conclusion	171
6.3	Recommendations	173
6.4	Contribution to Knowledge	176
6.5	Suggestions for Further Studies	178
	References	180
	Appendix I: Letter of Introduction	201
	Appendix II: Research Questions	202
	Appendix III: List of Interviewees	203

ABSTRACT

Terrorism is on the increase in Nigeria. Basic socio-political activities in Nigeria feature acts of terrorism as citizens employ terroristic modes to actualize their goals. Almost all the ethnic groups in Nigeria have splinter groups that purposes to be agitating for their peculiar ethnic rights through terroristic means. The government of Nigeria is finding it hard battling the current eruptions of terrorist cell groups and acts of terrorism in the country as using force has proved not to be a vital and lasting solution. This work adopts the secondary means of data collection as it consulted the previous works of both foreign and indigenous scholars that wrote specially on the relevant issues on terrorism. It equally employed the primary means of data collection as in personal communication on the subject matter at hand; the necessary generalisations and conclusions were drawn purely on the analysis and synthesis of the gathered data made through culture centered approach. The peace process theory projected by Ibeanu (2006), was employed as a means of building the culture of peace in Nigeria in place of terrorism which appears to be rife; the Queer Ladder theory posited by Okoli and Agada (2014), was employed in exposing the reasons for the persistence of terrorism in Nigeria. Whereas the Rational Action theory posited by Victoroff (2005), was applied in surveying the rationality and psychological stance of terrorists to put their expertise in proper use and perspectives. This work scrutinizes previous solutions to terrorism in Nigeria by various personalities and authors; and then proffers practical solutions to confronting terrorism in Nigeria, while introducing the imbibing of the culture of peace in place of terrorism in Nigeria. The Queer Ladder theory, exposed that ignorance created by the lack of proper sensitization before the 1914 amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria breeds bad governance mainly propelled by ethnicity which results in all round bad conditions in Nigeria, that more often than not triggers acts of terrorism. It was discovered from the Rational action theory that the ingenuity of terrorists externalized in their ability to build locally made explosives and in organizing themselves systematically and tactically to carry out terroristic activities can be employed when they are converted for use in the military and even in the Nigerian 'secret service units'. Finally, it is realized that as peace studies and talks is woven into the education system of the country both in the primary and tertiary education; and parents and guardians through informal modes inculcates peaceful means of living into the lives of children at homes: peaceful way of life and using non-violent means will become the average Nigerian medium of seeking redress to unjust treatments and issues.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Terrorism is a problem that is hard to ignore. Almost everyday television news shows, newspapers, magazines, and websites run and re-run pictures of dramatic and usually bloody acts of violence carried out by ferocious looking terrorists or claimed by shadowy militant groups. Levin (2006), pointed out that no other single issue has dominated the global strategic landscape as terrorism. Imobighe (2006), on his part added that the global anxiety and concern for terrorism today can only be compared with the anxiety and concern that gripped the international community in the immediate post-second world war years over the possibility of a nuclear holocaust. While the fear of a nuclear holocaust arising from inter-state confrontation among the nuclear powers has subsided, a new fear has emerged arising from the concern over the possibility of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction serving the purpose of terrorism. Terrorism has obviously become the 21st century monster the international community is finding difficult to tame if not to eliminate. Individuals and groups easily take to acts of terrorism as the only or last resort to achieving their desired goals from state governments and specific parastatals in given nations. Veith (2000), even tagged it the postmodern brand of warfare.

Terrorism has not only become rife in various nations like Nigeria; it has taken the central stage in the strategic calculation of the global community and has also completely altered the shape of the global security equation. Apart from universalizing the threat to

international peace and security, terrorism has devalued the utility of the age-long strategic notion of security through state-centric grandiose military preparedness.

The reality of today's world is that while terrorism has become so pervading, many of the key role-players in the present efforts to deal with the problem have either failed or are slow to grasp the exact nature of the problem posed by terrorism. Many of them are yet to brace up to the new strategic climate terrorism has imposed on the present global system; whereby everybody is a potential victim, either as direct target of attack, or a victim by association. Besides, they are yet to realize that, rather than the old strategic concept of massive military response, the present situation needs a more comprehensive global response with a lot of non-military content. For instance, President George Bush, one of the prime movers of the recent crusade to rid the world of terrorism according to Annan (2005), belongs to the group of leaders who believe in maximum military response. As a result he seems to feel that committing the full weight of American military power to the "war" is all that is needed to eliminate the menace of terrorism. Consequently, he engaged the United States military personnel in different theatres of the world in pursuance of his policy of hunting down the terrorist in their home grounds. While his strategy led to an apparent over-stretch of American military power, the battle against terrorism is still far from being won.

In recent times, terrorist activities had spread to new areas and in particular to those parts of Africa that were hitherto regarded as relatively safe of which Nigeria is not an exception. African states are now falling into the mainstream of terrorist threats and terrorism. The recent Boko Haram terrorist groups attacks which had gained ground in Nigeria of which surrounding West African countries to Nigeria like Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Republic of Benin had become affiliates and are lending helping hand is a quintessence of this observation.

Chuke (2006), observed that Africa is becoming a breeding ground for terrorists. T. Nwafor (personal communication, September 2nd, 2013), equally pointed out that most African states like Nigeria in particular are breeding terrorist cells but ignorance makes the nations involved to over look it. R. Ade, and B. Adu (personal communication, January 15th, 2014), respectively intimated that terrorist cell groups in Nigeria had grown beyond the imagination of the countries security searchlight owing to their employment of sophisticated weapons arsenal in destroying lives and properties. The recent Boko Haram terrorist threats and other terrorist groups in Africa like the Al-Shabaab group based in Somalia, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) based in Algeria and Northern Mali and Ansar al-Sharia based in Tunisia and Libya who are resisting tyrannical rule; and some perpetrating terrorism to actualize their whims and caprices have started to attract international terrorist groups who are eager to extend their tentacles to areas not yet covered by them.

The threats posed to the Nigerian government had taken a more dangerous turn as the Boko Haram terrorist group had pledged allegiance to the Islamic State of Iraq, and the Levant (ISIL); and are in affiliation with Al-Qaeda terrorist group. They are equally receiving huge financial supports from Islamic sympathizers all over the world as Caulderwood (2014), recorded. Moreover, B.M. Nasarawa (personal communication, August 20th, 2014) and R. Ukeaku (personal communication, August 2nd, 2013), both agreed that Boko Haram terrorist cell groups in Nigeria are receiving foreign aids. The nefarious activities of the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria is posing a great challenge to the Nigerian government authorities irrespective of the recent reinforcement of her military with arms and ammunitions supplies from Russia in an all out war on Boko Haram; the British Government equally assisted the Nigerian Government in training and retraining her military personnel for capacity building to crush the

Boko Haram terrorist group. Besides, before now, traces of terrorist acts and activities are seen in various modes from other terrorist groups like the Niger Delta peoples volunteer force (NDPVF), and Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND).

In lieu of the aforementioned assertions, it is evident that individual persons and groups in Nigeria more often than not resort to acts of terrorism in pursuing their course. It then appears that terrorism is becoming a culture in Nigeria wherein people use violence to instill fear and threats to the populace to achieve their goals. T. Muojama, K. Akpadi, and C. Mbeledogu (personal communications, January 16th, 2014), all concurred that terrorism has become a culture in Nigeria as citizens easily resort to terroristic mode in achieving perceived denied rights. I. Egbuonu (personal communication, November 27th, 2015), condemned the recent Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign States of Biafra's (MASSOB) aggressions, vandalisations and brutal massacre of people's lives and properties in Onitsha environs as terroristic in nature; in line with his definition of terrorism as inducing fear through violent means to achieve perceived denied rights. The recent just concluded Nigerian presidential elections featured lots of terroristic attacks, acts of violence and irrational outbursts of antagonisms as members of the two major opposing parties, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressive Congress (APC) lashed at each other in strife to see which party emerges the winner. Abah (2014), in an instance reported that the bomb attack on Monday, April 14, 2014, around Nyanya axis of Abuja, beside El-rufai bus stop, near Nyanya bridge, Abuja, which claimed the lives of innocent Nigerians, was politically motivated and could be traced to the utterances and comments of desperate APC members who sought to undermine and discredit the then incumbent administration and make the nation ungovernable by instituting a reign of terror against the people, and to equally heighten it should their candidate

loose in the election, (this can be seen in figure 1.1. following). I.C. Eke (personal communication, September 2nd, 2014), the police commissioner in Abuja reiterated that most recent bombings in Abuja were politically motivated even though it is hard to pin it on one political party, individual or another. Again, the burning of pro-Goodluck Jonathan campaign vehicles then was condemned and referred to as the manifestation of APC's evil agenda for Nigeria. Prof. Rufai Alkali (cited by Olatunji, 2015), speaking on that maintained:

The incidence on Jos, Plateau state where our campaign vehicles were touched by irate youth supporters of the APC underscores the need for vigilance as we progress towards the general elections. This criminal behaviour, which is meant to intimidate others and deny them their freedom of choice, stands condemned. (p. 9).

In the same vein, the state commissioner for information of the Edo state, Louis Odion pointed out that the then presidency and the PDP political party is sponsoring smear campaign against the governor of the state, Adams Oshiomhole as a desperate last resort to cover lost ground in the state. He underscores that as (cited by Olatunji):

The devilish design consists of a vicious smear campaign against Edo governor, comrade Adams Oshiomhole, in form of newspaper adverts/articles and sponsored television documentary dripping of lies and slander as well as intimidation and detention of APC leaders across the 18 councils in the state on trumped up charges. (p.12).

The various inter-tribal and intra-tribal terrorist activities in different localities in Nigeria over land disputes, the various tribal insurgents groups in Nigeria all in pursuance of ethnic rights and clamour for secession like the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign States of Biafra (MASSOB), Oduduwa People's Congress, Arewa group and the likes equally proves terrorism endemic in the country.

Suffice it to highlight that even when some individual persons are disciplined by the authority as a result of offence, breach of contracts, disobedience to laid down rules and regulations; and criminal offences, some equally resort to terrorism to threaten those authority that made sure that justice is properly dispensed to thwart their decisions and sweep the truth under the carpet. Quintessence of this is an incident at Delta State Polytechnic as reported by Ogoigbe (2015); he noted that suspected dismissed students of the Polytechnic unleashed terror on the institution. The said students, numbering about 500, were dismissed from the institution for cultism and examination malpractices. According to the investigation conducted in the campus, two lecturers were kidnapped and yet to be released as their abductors were demanding N20 million ransom; another lecturer whose name was withheld, sustained serious gunshot injuries, and was flown abroad; whereas, most female students were raped at random. The focal point in this case is that most lecturers targeted were the members of the Senate in the Institution; all in the attempt to intimidate, coerce and instill fear in the rest of the members of the senate in order to make them reverse their decision.

As these acts of terrorism are always on the increase, the Nigerian government is demystified by this for it equally affects the economic activities and security of the nation; and also hampers the all round development of the nation. Against these backdrops was the burden for this work forged. It is timely and geared towards proffering practical solutions on how to

tackle the challenges of terrorism to Nigeria; since head on military encounter and the several use of force has proved abortive in recent times. This work then attempts to source and posit solutions to terrorism in Nigeria because “terrorism” as an act especially in the words of Peschke (2004) “Wounds and Kills, ... is likewise to be considered a crime against human life” (p. 324).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ever since the September 11, 2001 bombing of the world trade center in New York and the Pentagon in the suburb of Washington D.C. (United States Of America), the battle against terrorism has assumed an unprecedented global proportion. The campaign, which was formerly led by the United States, is recently being conducted across the globe (The United Nations being at the forefront) with various levels of intensity and violence. In Afghanistan, for instance, it has led to the sacking of the Taliban Government. In other places, such as Palestine in the Middle East and Chechnya in Eastern Europe; it has led to the destruction of towns, cities and even refugee settlements and, of course, the elimination of innocent lives as Roth (2003), recorded. While the mainstream “anti-terror” campaign with purely militaristic focus is being led by the United States, some regimes are hiding under the cover of anti-terrorism to wage their own private wars against their political opponents. To some of them, the campaign against terrorism has become a veritable excuse to hunt down opposition elements and suppress human rights. Liberation movements and freedom fighters are indiscriminately portrayed as terrorists. Thus regrettably, many of these “anti-terror” campaigns, just like the terrorist acts themselves, have resulted in the shedding of much innocent human blood across the globe.

The same stage is set in Nigeria. The government and the security force fighting terrorism in the country often gets disappointed, worked up, frustrated and confused as terrorism is ever on the increase irrespective of the efforts made in fighting it. The Nigerian government authority had equally realised that terrorists in the country are not just operating within the domestic or local level, but had equally gone viral when Dukor (2010), delineated a vertical interpretation of the Nigerian al-Qaeda, Umaru Farouk Abdul Mutallab, who on Christmas day, 2009 put Nigeria on the global map of terrorism, when he attempted to blow up a North-West airlines, flight 253 carrying 278 passengers and 11 crew members from Amsterdam, as it prepared to land in Detroit. The fact that this Nigerian beat all the security check points at the Nigerian airport is a significant pointer to the lack of rule of law and of security of life and property in the country.

Keeping the aforementioned in view, there remains the need to seek more solutions to terrorism in Nigeria for in fighting terrorism, the so called counter-terrorists groups ends up becoming terrorists themselves. Wiping out the Boko Haram insurgents at random in the Sambisa forest for instance, resulted in the loss of lives of some innocent babies, mothers and even those held captive by these terrorists. The puzzling issue now is, what then should be the next step? Where do the Nigerian government go from here? Using force to fight terrorism is necessary only at extreme cases but there is need for other means of tackling terrorism to be forwarded, explored and employed.

This work sets out to scrutinize previous solutions to terrorism in Nigeria by various personalities and authors; and then to come up with calculated, technical, tactical and practical solutions to terrorism in Nigeria. This then is the problem that this work seeks to address because terrorism had eaten deep into the fabrics of the average Nigerian economic, political,

social and even religious affairs as sampled in the incessant use of violence and terror to make the governmental authorities oblige to the peoples demands whether just or unjust, tribalism, nepotism, fanaticism and violent rate in the country: Thus becoming a way of life and that which is easily obtainable.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The essence of this work is to portray with the tool of reason, from historical records, and from contemporary occurrences, what terrorism is all about. It attempts to clarify that not all acts of violence constitutes a terrorist act. This work will shed more light on the terrorists cell world and how they are constituted. It will survey the psychological stance of terrorists and posit to the fur what facilitates their networks and activities.

This work will equally point out how terrorism had eaten deep down into the fabrics of the national affairs of Nigeria. How it has transcended to becoming an alternative to pursuing individuals cum groups and ethnic goals; thus metamorphosing into a common and modern trend in Nigeria. This work equally sets out to expose that marching terrorism with force is never the solution to combating it, but rather will continue to ignite the wild fire behind terrorism as it makes martyrs of terrorists.

In addition, this study will scrutinize previous solutions to terrorism in Nigeria by various personalities and authors, and then will posit calculated, systematic and practical solutions to terrorism in Nigeria as will deal with the root causes. It will introduce imbibing the culture of peace in place of violence and terrorism rampant in Nigeria. It will present that Nigeria can forge ahead as one nation exorsed of tribalism, religious fanaticism and thoughts of

secession endemic in the minds of the average Nigerian citizen. This study intends to prove that peace studies and thoughts when inculcated into the lives of children at homes through their parents and guardians, the citizens of Nigeria will learn to tolerate one another and come to respect each other's beliefs, culture and rights. This in turn will eradicate acts of terrorism from the national affairs of Nigeria.

1.4 Scope of the Study

This study focuses on terrorism rampant in Nigeria. It posts vividly that the worst form of violence is when it graduates to terrorism. This work will feature the Boko haram, Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) and the Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF), as terrorists groups that carries out acts of terrorism in Nigeria. The study chiefly centers on the socio-political terrorism in Nigeria between 1990 and 2015.

Again, the acts of terrorism in the just concluded Nigerian 2015 democratic elections especially as it was reduced to tribalism will be cited as an example of inter-ethnic terrorism in Nigeria, whereas the terrorist acts emitted between Owerre Ezukala and Ogbunka Communities of Orumba South Local Government Area of Anambra State between 2002 and 2003 cum that equally witnessed between Ikulu and Bajju communities in Kaduna state in 2001; all over land disputes, will be cited as intra-ethnic terrorism in Nigeria.

The tribalism, ethnicitism and religious fanaticism prevailing in Nigeria as some of the geo-political zones clamour for secession and a sovereign state will equally be flashed as examples because almost all the tribes in Nigeria has an insurgent group that fights their cause

through violent means and acts of terrorism. The rampant kidnappings in the eastern part of Nigeria between 2010-2015 will equally be cited as acts of terrorism in the country.

This study condemns all forms of terrorism as it makes distinction between “circumstantial terrorists” – representing those who are forced into violence because normal channels of negotiations to redress perceived grievances are not open to them. Hence they resort to violence out of necessity: And “mainstream terrorists” – representing those who are not prepared to use available channels of negotiations to redress perceived grievances but prefer to coerce opponents into submission through the indiscriminate use of doses of violence. The study then submits practical solutions to terrorism in Nigeria and introduces the culture of peace in place of terrorism endemic in Nigeria.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Granted that many scholars, individuals and conflict analysts have potentially analysed terrorism, the significance of this study centers on the fact that not all acts of violence can be termed a terrorist act. It serves as an eye opener that terrorism is the worst form of violence: Terrorism declares war when there is peace and destroys its victims happily without any pinch of conscience. This study brings to the fore that terrorism has graduated to becoming a way of achieving goals and targets for some groups, individuals and religious sects in Nigeria; thus becoming a common trend and that which is evidenced in almost every national affairs in the country.

This work goes on to posit that terrorism is a faceless monster that actually kills its “prisoners of war” when placed on the platform of the “horrors of war”, thus terrorism is a

disease that can sink into a groups or persons life style and way of pursuing peculiar endeavours. This study exposes that terrorism can never be quenched with physical force as it has its alchemic mode of making those using force to fight it becoming worse than that which they are fighting against: Besides, force fuels the fiery furnace of terrorism.

However, this study avers that force could be used against terrorism only as a last resort on extreme cases. This study in order to get the nitty-gritty solutions to terrorism in Nigeria as will deal with the root causes will scrutinize previous solutions to terrorism in Nigeria by different personalities and authors; it will then posit down to earth practical and systematic solutions to terrorism in Nigeria while introducing imbibing the culture of peace over the contemporary trend of terrorism rampant in Nigeria. This study maintains that through imbibing the culture of peace in Nigeria, the nation can comfortably forge ahead as one without the distractions of religious fanaticisms, nepotism and ethnicism: The average citizen of the country will learn to tolerate one another especially those that are not of the same ethnic group or geopolitical zone.

The suggested solutions to terrorism in Nigeria in this study will serve as a working document which will also be a reference point to scholars researching into terrorism. The Nigerian government and the presidency will benefit from this study as those whom the security of the country lies in their hand. The family as a primary unit of the society and the wider society will draw heavily from this study as this will inculcate peaceful means of addressing issues in the general way of life of an average citizen of Nigeria. Most of all, this work makes the pursuance of peace and stability in Nigeria a concerted efforts of all the citizens without leaving it only at the hands of the leadership of the country.

1.6 Methodology

The nature and purpose of any historical investigation determines the sources and methods of data collection. This research work is empirical and historical. It will adopt the secondary means of data collection hence previous works of both foreign and indigenous scholars that wrote specifically on relevant issues about terrorism in journals, magazines, newspapers, books of readings, personal authored books, lecture notes, seminar papers, symposia and the likes will be consulted for reference purposes to make valid and give credence to the work.

This study as well will employ the primary means of data collection as in personal communications on the subject matter at hand; and the necessary generalisations and conclusions will be drawn purely on the analysis and synthesis of the gathered data made through culture centered approach. The interviewees are intelligible persons selected randomly from six states; each of the state is equally representing one of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria viz: Abuja (North Central Zone), Borno (North East Zone), Lagos (South West Zone), Delta (South South Zone), Anambra/Enugu (South East Zone), and Zamfara (North West Zone). Those interviewed are persons between the ages of 25 and 70 years. This will make this work to be in-depth and balanced, thus facilitating the achievement of the purpose of this work.

Finally, this work will employ the theory of peace process projected by Ibeanu (2006), as a means of building the culture of peace in Nigeria in place of terrorism which appears to be rife; and the Queer ladder theory posited by Okoli and Agada (2014), in exposing the reasons for the persistence of terrorism in the contemporary epoch and Nigeria in particular, as well as

the Rational Action Theory posited by Victoroff (2005), in surveying the rationality and psychological stance of terrorists to put their expertise in proper use and perspectives.

1.7 Definition of Terms

In order to properly place this dissertation in the intellectual cognition, certain basic terms that will be constantly in use throughout this study will be contextually defined. These terms are: Terrorism, Search, Solution, A search for Solutions and Nigeria.

1.7.1 Terrorism

Gray (2000), defined terrorism as a deliberate creation of terror by killing people, maiming others and injecting fear into the rest, in order to force and effect a change in the society to the tone or favour of the terrorists or their sponsors. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), (cited by Valerie, 2002), defined terrorism as “the unlawful use or threatened use, of violence by a group or individual committed against person or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (p.31). This study adopts the FBI’s definition of terrorism (cited by Valerie), but in the expanded form for the working term as Levin (2006), added, “the unlawful use, or threatened use, of violence by a group or individual... committed against person or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political, social, or personal objectives” (p.6).

1.7.2 Search

In relation to this work, “search” simply means – A careful look to discover something. A thorough look to discover anything concealed in any form. The act of seeking or looking diligently. Investigating; inquiry. It reflects a critical examination or scrutiny.

1.7.3 Solution

In line with this study, solution means the act or process of explaining, settling, or disposing as of a difficulty, problem or doubt. A way of solving a problem, dealing with a difficult situation. An answer to a puzzle.

1.7.4 A Search for Solutions

This means to think hard and carefully in order to find the answer to a problem. To examine all alternatives with close attention and probe in order to pin point the actual remedy to a problem.

1.7.5 Nigeria

According to Eluwa, Ukagwu, Nwachukwu and Nwaubani (2011), the name Nigeria was taken from the Niger River which ran through the country. The name was coined by Flora Shaw, wife of Baron Lugard (although she was still his fiancée by then), a British colonial administrator in the 19th century. Carland (1985), declared that the amalgamation of Southern and Northern protectorates of the country took place in January 1, 1914 and was fostered by Sir Frederick Lugard. Nigeria is a country in West Africa which is a federal constitutional republic presently comprising 36 states and its federal capital territory is in Abuja. Nigeria has six

geopolitical zones namely: North Central, North East, South West, South South, South East and North West zone. The country shares land borders with the republic of Benin in the West, Chad and Cameroun in the East, and Niger in the North. Its coast in the South lies on the Gulf of Guinea on the Atlantic Ocean. The three largest and most influential ethnic groups in Nigeria are the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. However, she has a total number of about 256 ethnic groups. The total population in Nigeria was last recorded at 178.5 million people in 2014; however, as at February 15th, 2016, the United Nations estimated that the Nigerian population was about 185.5 million people.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The focus in this chapter is to carry out the review of relevant literatures which helps to establish that the subject of this study is original and researchable. It will also posit that there is a genuine gap to be filled in scholarly research by the present study. The review will therefore be presented under the following headings: conceptual framework, theoretical framework and empirical studies.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

The need to seek a clear definition of terrorism can never be overemphasised. More often than not, people ask question as to why ever being perturbed regarding determining a clear cut definition of terrorism. Martin (2010), in an attempt to make an imput affirmed that such questions as that is not all too irrelevant, hence his declaration that “Asking this question is essential in order to uncover the motives behind and purpose of the desired definition, as well as to ensure that this pursuit is more substantive, value than simple semantics” (p.9). Thus defining terrorism is essential inorder not to be carried away with the euphoria of tagging anyone challenging ones views, decisions, or demonstrating sincerely or even any acts of violence or war, terroristic.

Definitions are vital to academic inquiry. As a building block of theory and empirical investigation, a definition informs the subject, scope and direction of study, as Godall (2013),

intimated. The classification of the phenomena that fall under this category is an essential first step of research. Hence, Papacharissi and Oliveira (2008), maintained:

This is crucial, as theory and empirical investigation directly influence the wider discourse and knowledge of terrorism, as well as the attempt to obviate its threat. Definitions of terrorism determine how research is conceptualized, executed, and employed in public policy and not simply within the academic world. (p. 55).

Thus this lends the meaning of terrorism to the lay man that might not be learned, but only wise and inquisitive.

Definition is also of particular relevance to data collection, as incident and mortality rates vary wildly depending on the specifics of the definition employed; hence the claims of Schmid and Jongman (1988), that “there can be no uniform data collection and no responsible theory building on terrorism without definition” (p. 3). The need for valid definition is, then, certainly not confined to academic sphere. The lack of clear definition also has real and serious consequences on international efforts to counter the terrorist threat. It is quite obvious that wrong definitions will definitely lead to wrong counter strategies. Acharya (2008), firmly noted that “absence of an internationally accepted definition of terrorism has led to international lawlessness and unilateral vigilantism” (p. 678). It can thus be seen that definitions have far reaching effects and perform a crucial role within wider international politics, law and counter terrorism strategy.

Two different authors posited two slight different views concerning the etymological meaning of terrorism; they are Simon (1994), and Crenshaw (1995), respectively. According to Simon, the term “terrorism” comes from the French word “*terrorisme*”, and from the Latin

word “*terror*”, both meaning, “great fear”, “dread”, they can be related to the Latin verb “*terrere*”, meaning “to frighten”. The terror cimbricus was a panic and state of emergency in Rome in response to the approach of warriors of the Cimbri tribe in 105 BCE. The French National Convention declared in September 1793 that terror is the order of the day. Simon recorded that the period 1793-94 is referred to as *La Terreur* (Reign of Terror). Maximilien Robespierre (cited by Simon), a leader in the French revolution proclaimed in 1794 that terror is nothing other than justice, prompt, severe and inflexible. The Committee of public safety agents that enforced the policies of “The Terror” were referred to as “Terrorists”. Simon then noted that the word “terrorism”, was first recorded in English language dictionaries in 1798 as meaning the systematic use of terror as a policy. This actually does not posit any clear cut meaning of terrorism.

On the other hand on the etymological meaning on terrorism, Crenshaw (1995), pointed out that the reign of terror was a product of the French government, in modern times, terrorism denotes the killing of humans by nongovernment political actors for various reasons – usually as a political statement. Crenshaw maintained that this interpretation came from Russian radicals in 1870s. Sergev Nechayens, the founder of people’s retribution in 1869, viewed himself as a terrorist. In 1880s, German anarchist writer Johann Most (cited by, Crenshaw) helped promote the modern gist of the word by giving out advice for terrorists. Moeller (2002), pointed out that worldwide, many governments are incredibly averse to defining terrorism because they are worried about how an official definition of terrorism would expose the legitimacy of self-proclaimed combats of national liberation. In certain countries, the word has become virtually synonymous with political opponents. For instance, as Moeller recorded, the Chinese call pacific Tibetan Buddhists Vicious terrorists. In Zimbabwe, President Robert

Mugabe regards the democratic opposition in a similar fashion. White (2011), declared that terrorism is a pejorative term. When people employ the term, they characterize their enemies actions as something evil and lacking human compassion. Terrorism to him is considered worse than war, torture or murder. A pejorative term here implies a term that is fraught with negative and derogatory meanings.

Studies have found more than 200 definitions of terrorism. Simon (1994), reports that at least 212 different definitions of terrorism exist across the world, 90 of them are recurrently used by governments and other institutions. Schmid and Jongman (1988), two researchers at the University of Leiden (Netherlands), adopted a social science approach to figure out how to best define terrorism. They gathered over a hundred academic and official definitions of terrorism and examined them to identify the main components. They discovered that the concept of violence emerged in 83.5% of definitions; political goals emerged in 65%; causing fear and terror in 51%; arbitrariness and indiscriminate targeting in 21%; and the victimisation of civilians, noncombatants, neutrals, or outsiders in 17.5%. What Schmid and Jongman actually did was a content analysis of those definitions. A content analysis is a careful, thorough, systematic analysis and interpretation of the content of text (or images) to identify patterns, theme, and meanings. Merari (1993), found that, in the United States, Britain, and Germany, there are three common elements that exist in the legal definitions of terrorism of those countries: (1) the use of violence, (2) political objectives, and (3) the aim of propagating fear in a target population.

Irrespective of the fact that various scholars have attempted to define terrorism. Yet, the term is so loaded with conceptual problems that a totally accepted definition of it still does not exist. The irony is that the recurrent theme of terrorism has become the daily part of the

political drama of modern times. One just needs to turn on the TV to hear about it constantly. Hence, more definitions still abound, whereas some scholars review already proffered definitions. Frank and Lockwood (cited by Malcolm, 1997), offered a definition of terrorism that relates to a sub-state violence as “a criminal act against a state, which is intended to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons, a group of persons, or the general public” (p. 803). This is obviously a state-centric or establishment-laden definition of the term. It tries to exclude institutionalized or official terrorism against those perceived to be opposed to the existing order. Fromkin (1977), once defined terrorism as “violence used in order to create fear” (p. 27). This was in line with Martin Thornton's definition (cited by Wardlaw, 1974), that terrorism is “a symbolic act designed to influence political behaviour by extra-normal means, entailing the use or threat of violence” (p.9). The essential point is that such use of violence is with the intention of altering the behaviour of the targeting community.

In an attempt to get a better classification of the concept, some scholars like Laqueur (1999), have come up with different categorization of terrorism such as criminal terrorism and psychological terrorism. Criminal terrorism relates to the use of acts of terror for private material gains, such as kidnapping people for ransom, while psychological terrorism has to do with terror perpetrated by mentally unbalanced persons; what one might call violence perpetrated without a rational or definite purpose or motive. Thornton (cited by Wardlaw, 1974), for instance, has made a distinction between what he calls “enforcement terror and agitational terror”. (p.10). Enforcement terror, according to him, is used by those in power who wish to suppress challenges to their authority, while agitational terror is used by those who want to disrupt the existing order and supplant it with their own. Thornton's distinction has some bearing with May's distinction (cited by Wardlaw), between what he calls “regime of

terror and siege of terror” (p.10); which according to him, refer respectively to “terrorism in the service of established order” (p.10), and “terrorism in the service of revolutionary movements” (p.10). the two perspectives by Thornton and May (cited by Wardlaw), respectively, have helped to reinforce the earlier argument that terrorism is as much a tool for the revisionists as it is for those who defend the status quo.

Kadirgamar (1998), in the lecture he gave at Catham House in London in April, 1998 tried to broaden the scope of terrorism beyond a political objective by expanding the definition contained in the 1996 Lord Berwick Report to the British House of Commons. In it he defined terrorism as the use or threat to use serious violence against persons or property, or the use or threat to use any means to disrupt vital computer installations or communications, to intimidate or coerce a government, the public or any section of the public in order to promote political, social, ideological, religious or philosophical objectives. Forst (2009), however utilises what seems to be a more substantial definition:

Terrorism is the premeditated and unlawful use of violence against a non combatant population, civilians, military or target having symbolic significance, with an aim of either inducing political change through intimidation and destabilization or destroying a population identified as an enemy. (p. 5).

Here there is mention of intent, description of the targets, of motivations and of certain goals.it highlights planning and legal elements of terrorism and places emphasis on the significance of the targets. Whilst this definition then perhaps could be seen to be more inclusive, it does neglect to define if terrorists are state or non-state actors, and to reference the use of threat of force. This is one of the definition under examination which makes reference to “intimidation”

of targets, which is a component of the psychological consequences of terrorism. Fear and psychological effects fall within the bracket of “terror”, which would appear to be a self-evident and crucial component of terrorism, but one which is in fact frequently lacking from many definitions. Again, this definition falters as many others in the area of relegating terrorists to those seeking primely “political power, change or desires in general”. Terrorists aims can be all too personal and even carried out for the fun of it as seen in serial killings and victimisations.

Burke (2001), who writes about radical Islamist activities cites the case of Islamists militancy who are more often than not referred to as terrorists in his words thus:

There are multiple ways of defining terrorism, and all are subjective. Most define terrorism as “the use or threat of serious violence” to advance some kind of “cause”. Some state clearly the kinds of group (“sub-national”, “non-state”) or cause (political, ideological, religious) to which they refer. Others merely rely on the instinct of most people when confronted with innocent civilians being killed or maimed by men armed with explosives, firearms or other weapons. None is satisfactory, and grave problems with the use of the term persist. Terrorism is after all, a tactic. The term “war on terrorism” is thus effectively nonsensical. As there is no space here to explore this involved and difficult debate, my preference is, on the whole, for the less loaded term “militancy”. This is not an attempt to condone such actions, merely to analyse them in a clearer way. (p. 22).

The bone of contention here lies on the fact that whether one chooses to call terrorists “militant groups” or “insurgent groups” and refers their mode of operation as militancy or insurgency; terrorism is all about the “tactics” used and not that which is being projected by the culprits. An

insurgent or militant group can end up becoming terroristic; besides, a single individual person can create high magnitude of terror in a society without even belonging to any terrorist cell. Militant and insurgent groups are mainly sub-state groups that are agitators and targets majorly state projects, the military and civil service facilities. However, once they end up inducing fear through violent means, they become terrorists.

The Lutz brothers brought out another psychological stance in examining terrorists in their definition of terrorism irrespective of the fact that their definition is lacking in the area of the motives and aims of terrorists. Thus they; Lutz James and Lutz Brenda (2008), declared;

Terrorism involves political aims and motive. It is violent or threatens violence. It is designed to generate fear in a target audience that extends beyond the immediate victims of the violence. The violence is conducted by an identifiable organization. The violence involves a non-state actor or actors as either the perpetrator, the victim of the violence, or both. Finally, the acts of violence are designed to create power in a situation in which power previously had been lacking. (p. 9).

Apart from the major weakness of this definition as others, which is relegating terrorists objectives to only “politics”, religion can be a motive as well as “total dominance” and others: This definition however introduces the fact that terrorists can be lovers of “power”; seeking power since they cannot achieve it through candid and normal channel. The power may either be political or other wise. Thus some terrorists are simply, “power drugged assassins and vandals”. This majorly relates to state perpetrated terrorism by political leaders and individual persons suffering from one psychologically related ailment or the other.

Brain Jenkins in Bruce Hoffman (cited by Onwuka, 2010), pointed out that terrorism is a word with intrinsically negative connotation that is generally applied to one's enemies and opponents, or to those with whom one disagrees and would otherwise prefer to ignore. Jenkins quoted by Hoffman as (cited by Onwuka), stated:

Terrorism depends on one's point of view. Use of the term implies a moral judgement; and if one party can successfully attach the label terrorist to its opponent, and then it has indirectly persuaded others to adopt its moral view point. Hence the decision to call someone or label some organization terrorist becomes almost unavoidably subjective, depending largely on whether one sympathizes with or opposes the person, group or cause concerned. If one identifies with the victim of the violence, for example, then the act is regarded in a more sympathetic, if not positive (or at the worst an ambivalent) light: and it is not terrorism. (pp. 21-22).

Supporting the view that terrorism depends on one's viewpoint, it was reported by Onuoha (2014), that during the regime of Ronald Reagan as American President, the Afghan Mujahideen was called freedom fighters by that government because they supported them during the war against Soviet Union. But twenty years after when a new generation of Afghan men began a fight against what they perceived to be a regime installed by a foreign power, they are labeled terrorists by another American President, George W. Bush from the same Republican Party. The truth still remains that the course being fought for does not exonerate a sect or group operating and pursuing their peculiar goals through a terrorist mode from being a terrorist group. Terrorism is terrorism; any one group that uses violence means to destroy properties or lives in order to instill fear, horror or to coerce a government, individual or another group to meet their demands is a terrorist group.

Jeffrey (2013), cited the United State Department of Defence as in their definition of terrorism as the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate government or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological. The department of state in the same United States of America (cited by Dowse and Hughes, 2004), defined terrorism as premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience. The United Nations (cited by Dowse and Hughes) on their part defined terrorism as an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violence action, employed by clandestine individuals, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby in contrast to assassination; the direct target of violence to them are not the main targets. Whereas the British government in 1974 (cited by Davies 1980), viewed terrorism as the use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public, in fear. A cursory look at all these definitions from various state security and civil service departments posits that what is common to them is violence. Again, the motives for terrorism varies but their tactics, systems and strategies ever remains the same; “trying to coerce by insulating fear through extreme violent means inorder to achieve their demands”.

Still weighing the various definitions of terrorism on the balance, there are considerable variations on how various countries enshrine the definition of terrorism, even among countries that have their laws from common origin. All the same, the legal status in most countries around the world as Sageman (2008), pointed out, regard terrorism as a crime. Instances includes, the United States Federal Statute (cited by Kochler, 1993), definition of terrorism as violent act or acts dangerous to human life that appear to be intended; to intimidate or coerce a

civilian population, to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or to affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping. Thus terrorists, according to this definition can go to the extent of causing obstructions in a peculiar governments administrative tenure in order to be noticed as well as realizing their whimsical and capricious aims. Likewise, the United Kingdom's legislation entitled: Terrorist Act 2000 (cited by Bearden, 2004), defined terrorism as "the use of threat of action... designed to influence the government, or to intimidate the public or a section of the public... for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause" (p. 17). It should be marked that this definition and a good number of others pin points that acts of terrorism are planned and carried out systematically, thus it is an organized crime.

The Israeli Law in its prevention of terrorism ordinance No.33 (cited by Gray, 2000), defined terrorism from a terrorist "organization point of view", viewing it as "a body of persons resorting in its activities to acts of violence calculated to cause death or injury to a person or to threats of such acts of violence" (p. 6). In this definition, it posits that terrorist acts are geared towards causing pains and even death. Canada's Anti-terrorist Act (Bill C-36) on its part (cited by Huntington, 1998), narrows down "terrorist activity" as:

An act or omission... that is committed in whole or part for a political, religious or ideological purpose, objective or cause and in whole or in part with the intention of intimidating the public, or a segment of the public, with regard to its security, including its economic security, or compelling person, a government or a domestic or an international organization to do or to refrain from doing any act, whether the person, government organisation is inside or outside Canada. (pp. 16-17).

In lieu of this definition as afore referenced, Emesowum (2008) declared:

Terrorism is a deliberate creation of terror by killing people, maiming others and injecting fear into the rest, in order to force and effect a change in the society to the tone or favour of the terrorists or their sponsors. In this modern time, terrorism seems to aim at perpetual destruction of humanity and the structure of the society other than frightening the society, carried out by non-governmental groups and individuals, but officials of some governmental regimes have been discovered to be involved in the inhuman acts, both in its direct activities, and in sponsorship. (pp. 2-3).

Thus to him, terrorism is not only geared towards intimidating or threatening those at the helm of affairs; those in authority can use terrorist modes to be ruling their subjects in order to instill fear: However, more often than not they carry it out indirectly using secret thugs to achieve that. Again, one discovers from this definition that acts of terrorism at times are targeted towards destruction and causing havoc to disorganize a peculiar society in order to create a perpetual air of unrest; such that, terrorism has eaten deep into the life pattern of such terrorists, it becomes their nature.

Various distinguished scholars and institutions definitions of terrorism still abounds; Rapport (1977), defined terrorism as “the use of violence to provoke consciousness, to evoke certain feelings of sympathy and revulsion” (p.55). This definition somehow reduces the horrific, despicable and barbaric nature of terrorism. To say that their aim is only to evoke sympathy and certain sentimental feelings removes completely the “creation of fear” and “threatening idea” behind the mask of every act of terrorism. It may even make one to view

terrorists as if they are always fighting a just course which is not so. Besides, whether one or a group is fighting a just course or not, the truth still remains that using the means of terrorism to achieve a goal is seeking the right thing in that mode through the wrong means. Yonah (1976), on his part defined terrorism as “the use of violence against random civilian targets in order to intimidate or to create generalized pervasive fear for the purpose of achieving political goals” (p. xiv). for Yonah then, terrorism is simply geared towards realizing political goals; power, dominance or control: However, terrorism as already exposed so far surpasses strife for political emoluments, it may be religiously motivated, socially, economically or even psychological motivated; these will be treated vividly under the various types of terrorism.

Sloan (2006), instead of strictly positing his own definition of terrorism, declared that the definition of terrorism has evolved over time, but its political, religious and ideological goals have practically never changed. One thing Sloan fails to underscore is the fact that some terrorists have no ideology whatsoever; and equally not only restricted to political and religious motivations: some terrorists are simply mentally imbalanced and clearly enjoys getting into the act for self satisfaction and amusement like serial killers. Imobighe (2006), however brought out what appeared to be an all inclusive definition of terrorism when he defined it as:

The indiscriminate use of different shades of violence, ranging from hostage taking and assassination to the use of explosives and bombs, for the management of hostile relationship in which the target is not limited to the main combatants, but inclusive of all those with ancillary relationship with the target enemy, and in which the overall aim is to impose one’s will on the latter. (p. 20).

This definition is inclusive of those government agencies who, while combating terrorism, equally resort to terrorist acts through indiscriminate bombing of settlements, villages, towns and cities, thereby causing not only militant but civilian casualties.

As seen from the review of the concept of terrorism from the various scholars standpoints so far; there are problems about attaining an all-inclusive definition. One can mark a definition all inclusive as one chooses; it is purely subjective. As Yasser Arafat, late chairman of the PLO (the Palestine Liberation Organization), (cited by Shikaki, 2001), notably said in a 1974 speech before the United Nations that “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter” (p. 3). This statement exemplifies the ease with which politicians biases can influence their definitions of terrorism. Barnett and Reynolds (2009), posited that at best, the most universally acceptable definition of terrorism is the following:

Terrorism is the use of violence to create fear (i.e, terror, psychic fear) for (1) political (2) religious, or (3) ideological reasons (ideologies are systems of belief derived from worldviews that frame human social and political conditions). The terror is intentionally aimed at noncombatant targets (i.e civilians or iconic symbols); and the objective is to achieve the greatest attainable publicity for a group, cause, or individual. The meaning of terrorism is socially constructed. (p. 7).

Terrorism is different from murder, assault, arson, demolition of property, or the threat of the same; the reason is that the impact of terrorist violence and damage reaches more than the immediate target victims (example, government or military). It is also directed at targets consisting of a larger spectrum of society (example, civilians or even society as a whole). According to Rush (2002), terrorism is distinct from regular crime because of its powerful

objectives. The change is desired so desperately that the inability to achieve change is perceived as a worse consequence than the deaths of civilian. Terrorist acts in Rush words are both “*Mala prohibita* acts and *mala in se* acts” (p.204). *Mala prohibita* acts are crimes that are made illegal by legislation and *mala in se* act are crimes that are immoral or wrong in themselves.

Finally, it is pertinent to note that terrorism is, first and foremost, a method, and it is used in times of peace and conflict as Hoge and Gideon (2001) pointed out. A terrorist organization is an illicit clandestine organization that generally consist of planners, trainers, and actual bombers, killers or hit men and women. Mordechai (2008), added that a terrorist organisation can have various structures, such as an identifiable hierarchy of command, and a horizontal structure where leaders are non-identifiable or have no major role; or a cell structure where the terrorists can be “Lone wolves” (p. 44). Terrorism according to Mordechai is also asymmetric warfare. Asymmetric warfare refers to the use of random and unpredictable violence by a weak group (one with a smaller force) against a stronger power (like, military, government, or even society in general) to gain advantage. Asymmetric warfare is fought between grossly unequal sides, the less powerful force never attacks the more powerful force under the conventional rules of war because it cannot win by following these tactics. The centrality of asymmetric warfare is the use of unexpected and unconventional tactics in combat. White (2011), added that it is similar to the notion of war without front lines, a war waged in the shadows against an indescribable enemy, without a clear understanding of where it would lead or how it would end.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

There are some theoretical frameworks propounded over the years that gives aids in fanning the embers of terrorism and the terrorists cells frame of mind. These theories includes: that of Anomie, Utilitarianism, Nihilism, Anarchism, Absolutism, Prisoner Radicalisation theory, religious Fundamentalism and Marxism.

The Peace Process Theory that this work adopts as a tool for imbibing the culture of peace in Nigeria, the Queer Ladder theory adopted by this work for veering into the essence of the formation of the terrorist cell groups and reasons for its persistence, and the Rational Action theory to survey the rationality of terrorists actions amongst themselves (that is their basic understanding within their cells) and vis a vis the way that the wider society views their dispositions, will be posited here as well. It should be noted that hitherto, scholars had not actually bothered to link some of these theories with terrorism: However, as one studies these theories in the light of this works disposition, their relationship to terrorism is as glaring as the broad day light.

The Theory of Anomie: Durkheim (cited by Schaefer, 2005), pointed out that the theory of Anomie is used to describe the loss of direction felt in a society when social control of individual behaviour has become ineffective. Anomie is a state of normlessness that typically occurs during a period of profound social change and disorder, such as a time of economic collapse. People become more aggressive or depressed, and this results in higher rates of violent crime, suicide and terrorism.

The corruption amongst the political leaders in Nigeria and its gross negative impacts on the economic growth of the country causes violent reactions that lead to terrorism from

various quarters in Nigeria. The truth still remains that no reason justifies indulgence in terrorism. Peaceful demonstrations can still lead to positive change.

The Theory of Utilitarianism: The two most influential contributors to utilitarianism according to Hutcheson (2002), are Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. It is a theory in normative ethics holding in the way that Gay (2002), posited it, that the moral action is the one that maximizes utility. Utility as Rosen (2003), pointed out is defined in various ways including as pleasure, economic well-being and the lack of suffering. Utilitarianism is a form of consequentialism, which implies that the consequences of an action are of moral importance. This view can be contrasted or combined with seeing intentions, virtues or the compliance with rule, as ethically important. However, Bentham (cited by Warburton, 2006), who takes happiness as the measure for utility maintained that, “it is the greatest happiness of the greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong” (p.10). Broome (1991), added that according to this theory, an action is morally right if its consequences leads to happiness (absence of pain) and wrong if it ends in unhappiness (pain). Since the link between actions and their happy or unhappy outcomes depend on the circumstances, no moral principles is absolute or necessary in itself under utilitarianism.

Terrorists adopts this theory as an ideal stance owing to the fact that anything or action can go provided it ends in the so called “happiness”. The truth remains that the weakness of this theory is in its inability to separate the means” from, “the end”; the end in this theory justifies the means: if a person or group kills, destroys or maims to achieve their peculiar desired end or target, that will eventually bring such a person or group happiness; it is morally acceptable and

justified by the larger society. Thus, the evil deed employed to achieve an end is never put in proper perspective as long as the end satisfies group or personal desires. It is basically self-centered and despicable all through.

The African cultural heritage with special reference to the Nigerian parlance, abhors achieving desired end through evil means. It is a taboo and sacrilege for one to live a life of perpetual habit of emitting evil in order to intimidate fellow humans to indulge ones desires or aims. Terrorism for instance is a taboo in Igbo land as it means the destruction of valuables, life which is so precious in the Igbo parlance and the peace, tranquility, stability and common life of the society.

The Theory of Nihilism: This theory as Burleigh (2009), recorded comes from the Latin word *nihil* meaning nothing. It is a theory that suggests the negation of one or more reputedly meaningful aspect of life. The Greek philosopher and sophist, Gorgias (Ca. 485 BCE – 380 BCE), is perhaps the first to consider the Nihilistic theory, whereas the term was first used by the philosopher Fredrick Heinrich Jacob's as Harper (2009), pointed out. Russell (2004), noted that most commonly, nihilism is presented in the form of existential nihilism, which argues that life is without objective, meaning, purpose, or intrinsic value. Bret (2004), averred that moral nihilists assert that morality does not inherently exist, and that any established moral values are abstractly contrived. Nihilism can also take epistemological or ontological cum metaphysical forms, meaning respectively that, in some aspect, knowledge is not possible, or that reality does not actually exist. Woodward (2002), added that the term is sometimes used in association with anomie to explain the general mood of despair at a perceived pointlessness of existence that

one may develop upon realizing there are no necessary norms, rules or laws. Movements such as futurism and deconstruction, among others, have been identified by commentators as nihilistic at various times in various contexts.

Terrorists over the ages use this theory to form their cells, thus for them, anything goes. One can shed blood at will and instill terror in order to achieve ones aim. When one feels any form of deprivation, the tendency to resort to terroristic means appears the only option under the influence of this theory because all things are meaningless and aimless. The weakness of this theory is vivid. If life is meaningless, why go on stress to destroy it in shedding blood. Why fight for ones right at all through terrorism. There should be no human rights, no structures nor human institutions at all. At best, the theory of nihilism is actually a mental illness. Life is meaningful, and that which is concrete exists because abstract objects depends on them as Gonzalo (2000) maintained. If life is meaningless and all is waste. Where did life itself spring from? What do terrorists fight for?

In the African cosmology especially as relevant to the Nigerian platform, life is valuable and has intrinsic meaning. The thought that life is base and meaningless is only but a western and foreign influence. The Igbo man in Nigeria for instance will tell you that life is sweet (*Ndu di utọ*), life is the most precinct (*Ndu bu isi*): Thus terrorism should have no place in Nigeria and this theory holds no water in relation to the Nigerian values and morals.

The Theory of Anarchism: Mbah (2013), stipulated that anarchy is a Greek word that literally means “without rule”. As a mode of thought, it holds that society can and should be organized without the coercive authority of the state. That is to say, that as a theory, anarchism believes

that man does not require any form of authority, government or rule. Pejorative meaning have continued to be assigned to anarchism according to Brookes (2005), as a result of barraging and spectacular actions associated with main stream anarchists: The Haymarket riot in Chicago in 1886, the assassination of Alexander II of Russia in 1881, assassination of President Carnot of France in 1894, and President William McKinley of the United States of America in 1901, incessant suicide bombings and attacks in the middle East and other parts of the world; especially the September 11, 2001 attack in the United States of America had been related to terrorists acts of anarchists. Gunarathna (2006), noted that as a result of tumultuous events associated with anarchists, the ideology is seen as synonym for moral and political disorder in which its adherents are depicted with flowing hair, shaggy beard, a knife between their teeth and a lighted bomb in either hand. Arendt (1986), stipulated that the origin of anarchism can be traced back to the philosophical schools in Ancient Greece, especially the stoics and the cynics. Anarchism is also traceable to the diggers of the English Civil War. William Godwin (1756-1836), a British political theorist, was regarded as the first thinker who argued in no unshakeable terms for a stateless society in his work “Enquiry Concerning Political Justice”, published in 1793.

Anarchists are anti-church; their disdain for the church is a reinforcement of their dislike for authority too. Norzick (1974), averred that anarchists believes that religion and political authority usually work hand in glove. Religion, according to the anarchists, is one of the pillars of the state; for it propagates an ideology of obedience and submission to both leaders and earthly rulers. Anarchists are also against the church because religion seeks to impose a set of moral principles upon the individual and to establish a code of acceptable behaviour. Thus, these moral principles set by religion may stand as a barrier for their

philosophical maxim “do as you like”. People with this mind set tend to be ungovernable and are liable to terrorist acts.

The weakness of this theory as Carter (1978), exclaimed lies in its excessive teachings geared towards insubordination to ruling authority. Anarchists often use any possible means to achieve their aim which always results in terrorism. If one will not be submissive to authority, there is bound to be chaos and disorder in the society. Anarchism is an offshoot of nihilism. Turner (1993), and Guaba (2007), both pointed out that anarchism is objectionable in principle and impracticable in execution.

Nigeria practices democracy which lends freedom of speech and participation in government to the populace. There is then no reason for the citizens of the Nigerian state to dwindle towards anarchism. Nigeria used to be a very easy state to govern as citizens easily cope with the vicissitudes in the socio-economic, socio-political and socio-religious affairs in the country. Anarchism is simply foreign and cannot be used by any citizen in Nigeria as an excuse even if the government does not meet up with the expectations of the masses.

The Theory of Absolutism: Heywood (1992), affirmed that absolutism is an ideology that argues that the activities of a legitimate government which will usually be in the form of an absolute anarchy is unlimited. Thus their decisions and the extent to which their decrees will go is without limits. Legitimacy is often claimed through the accident of birth, but at some stage in history legitimacy must have been acquired by force. Johari (1993), indicated that absolutism as a theory can be traced back to the Leviathan written by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), soon after the mid seventeenth century English War (1642-52), in support of the British monarch as

the guarantor of stability and order. The theory had an earlier root in the medieval European doctrine of “the divine right of kings” or “historical inevitability”.

Mbah (2013), pointed out that originally, in 1733, absolutism was a theological concept, referring to God’s total power to decide about salvation. But when the ideology was extended to the realm of politics, it came to mean a regime in which the ruler might legitimately decide anything. According to Maximoff (1953), the weakness of this theory is its absence of any constitutional form of government, or a popular assembly or judiciary to counter executive powers; and the denial of the right to form political parties or other forms of organized pressure groups or movements. This theory simply encourages kings into becoming tyrants and terrorists to their subjects. This makes them hold the destiny of the state and their subjects in their hands: It makes kings God amongst men. At the end, the theory is generally bad because Machiavelli (cited by Bull, 1999), declared that power corrupts whereas absolute power corrupts absolutely. No mortal can wield absolute power responsibly, objectively and wisely without being driven to frenzy and drugged by such a power.

This was the kind of frame of mind that the Late Gen. Sani Abacha, the one time military ruler of Nigeria had. Hence Odey (1999), pointed out that Abacha errand boys during his regime used to assert that to oppose Abacha is like opposing God himself. Nobody equally dares question his decrees as either you are imprisoned or assassinated.

Prisoner Radicalisation Theory: Prisoner radicalization theory was of little interest to researchers until the September 11th, 2001 Al-Qaeda terrorist attack in the United States of America. Hamm (2014), highlighted that central to this development was the discovery of an

Al-Qaeda training manual, seized during a 2000 police raid on a safe house in Manchester, England, which identified Western prisoners as candidates for conversion to Islam because they may harbor hostility toward their governments. Since then as recorded by Beckford, Daniel, and Khosrokhavar (2005), Islam has become the fastest growing religion among prisoners in Europe and North America. Ammar, Weaver and Saxon (2004), maintained that experts estimate that among those who seek faith while imprisoned in the United States, an astounding 80 percent turn to the Muslim faith. The yearly number of conversion to Islam in municipal, state and federal correctional institutions is estimated at 30,000 or perhaps as many as 40,000. Based on these estimates, some 250,000 American prisoners according to Ammar, Weaver and Saxon, have converted to Islam since September 11th, 2001 Al-Qaeda terrorist attack.

In this theory, the prison is transformed into incubators for radical Islam and terrorist ideology. Spalek and Hassan (2007), posited that because Islam feeds on resentment and anger all too prevalent in prison, Islam is thought to pose a threat of unknown magnitude. This theory then focuses mainly on the process by which prisoners adopt extreme views, including beliefs that violent measures must be taken for political or religious purposes. Prisoners as they feel resentment for being incarcerated are faced and nurtured with the theory that on release the best way to ease their pain, frustration and traumatic experiences should be to make the government that placed them in prison suffer through enrolling with any Islamic terrorist group, in order to be afforded the opportunities of unleashing terror on the government in question.

The weakness of this theory lies with the truth that any state criminal offender deserves to be punished. The resentment they feel ought to lead to a change of heart and character knowing full well that they deserved what they are facing; and likewise their frustrations and

traumatic experiences should be relieved as they enroll themselves into social services instead of Islamic terrorist groups. Thus the judgment meted to criminal state offenders is just and upright. Cillufo and Saathoff (2006), indicated that every government has order and state offenders deserve just punishment even amongst Islam. This theory then is baseless and is equally fallacious.

Apart from the incessant cases of placing criminal suspects in prisons under “awaiting trials”, which basically wounds, kills and is equally gross injustice on the part of the Nigerian law and vis-a-vis the basic fundamental human rights. Prisoners in Nigeria who are found guilty by the law need to face their sentences in all acceptance knowing that they are guilty. They need not allow themselves to be recruited into terrorist cell groups as that will simply mean doing more damage to a country that is sincerely trying to rehabilitate their lives for wrongs done in the prison. This is equally why this research condemns the recent federal governments of Nigeria transferring of high profile terrorists suspects of Boko Haram members to the Ekwuluobia prison that has no maximum security. Terrorists are not just mere criminals but lovers of destruction and all round annihilations hence should be properly secluded in a maximum security prison.

Religious Fundamentalism: Mbah (2013), recorded that fundamentalism is derived from the Latin “*Fundamenium*” which means base. It was first used in debates within American Protestantism in the early 20th century. In its current usage, fundamentalism is associated with all the world’s major religious: Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism as well as Christianity. Ikenga-Metuh (cited by Nmah, 2009), said that religious bigotry and spiritual

arrogance are the key causes of conflicts. Gubernau (1996), on his part averred that religious fundamentalists do not regard toleration as a virtue, and most treat it as a vice which must be eradicated. This implies repression, and intolerance. Religious fundamentalists are ever ready to maim and kill to project their religious ideologies especially when they feel ignored or challenged by other religions adherents. Gubernau added that religious fundamentalism has therefore come to be associated with inflexibility, dogmatism and authoritarianism – which religious fundamentalists see as demeaning.

Gubernau (1996), revealed again that religious fundamentalism is seen as expression of nationalism through other means; for instance, in the 16th and 17th centuries in Europe, one had to be a Catholic to be considered authentically French, while to be Catholic in England was tantamount to treason. In the 1930s during the Nazi regime, to be Jewish or have even one Jewish great grand parent in Germany was enough to earn expulsion and seizure of property. In these countries, adherents of other religious groups other than the national religion envogue in the country are maimed, tortured and most times killed.

Calhoun, Light and Keller (1998), argued that religious fundamentalism arises from confrontations with others who do not share their beliefs, either because they are members of competing religions or because they are not religious. It is possibly a reaction to identity crises, confusion and chaos that have pervaded modern social and political structures. Iwe (2002), asserted that intolerance of religious fanaticism has often led to religious totalitarianism which seeks to impose religious conformity and uniformity on the society by force and other questionable means. The reformation era in Europe, he rightly observed, was a classical example of the devastating consequences of the fanatical desire by force of religious homogeneity, uniformity and totalitarianism.

The weakness of this theory as Otite and Ogiunwo (1979) maintained is its militancy nature. The nature of its political activity is characterized by vigorous, militant and more often than not violent actions. They celebrate being labeled militants and this leads to terrorism. Violence is most times extolled as a virtue a committed adherent must imbibe.

Most of the violence acts that leads to terrorism in Nigeria are triggered by religious fundamentalists. Adherents of religious groups especially when incited through false teachings can take to fanaticisms which results in violence and ends up in terrorism. This is evidenced amongst adherents of different religious groups like Islam and Christianity in northern Nigeria; and even the same religious groups but different dominations, example, between the Roman Catholics and Anglicans in Anambra state: There is this incessant strife that is not witnessed on the face look amongst them but it is always there; more often than not they lash at each other in violence and terror as evidenced in some parts of Ontisha environs, Adazi Nnukwu and Agulu, (in Anaocha local government area of Anambra state, Nigeria).

The Theory of Marxism: This theory was first developed by Karl Marx (1818-1881) and his life long friend and collaborator Friedrich Engels (1820-95), in order to lay scientific foundations of socialism. Nosiri (2013), averred that the objective of Marxian theory is the overthrow of capitalist mode of production through the revolution of the working class, who are forced into subservient position by the power of capital, which has stripped the means of contradiction inherent in the capitalist system of production from them.

Guaba (2007), noted that Marxism is the view of Karl Marx aimed at the revolution of the working class to overthrow the capitalist system whose mode of social and economic relations, by nature, subjugates the masses. It was the prediction of Karl Marx that as a result of contradiction inherent in capitalist system or mode of production, a class struggle is inevitable, leading ultimately to the crash of the system and the replacement of same with what Marx referred to as the dictatorship of the proletariat or of the working class.

Ekwonna (2012), exposed that according to Karl Marx, class conflict is part and parcel of historical materialism. The central contradiction inbuilt in a capitalist society stems from the existence of private property which creates a division between two major contending classes: The bourgeoisie – the capitalists and property owning class and the proletariat – the working class, the property-less class that subsist by commodifying their labour power to be bought and sold in the market. Thus the division between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is not a simple one; rather it is conflict prone. Thus conflict, is part and parcel of that obtainable in any given society.

Marxian theory as it is, is visible in all the given human social institutions. The Islamic agenda in the world today to Islamise the whole world via terrorist cell group in conquering states and nations is more often than not encouraged with the Marxian theory. Most Islamic nations view developed nations like the United States of America as the cause of the poverty ravaging their countries hence the need to destroy the United States as they declare all out war on everything concerning them. It is however, worthy of nothing that Marxism should not be regarded as a system of thought exclusively belonging to Karl Marx as Guaba (2007), maintained; that it infact comprises a rich tradition of social thoughts.

The major criticism against Marxian theory as Nwizu (2010), pointed out is that it is now increasingly clear that the problem of fight out the forces of domination and exploitation is no longer restricted to the struggle of working class against capitalist class as originally envisaged in the late nineteenth century. The dependency theorists according to Nwizu believe that in the 20th century the focus of struggle has shifted to the fight of the developing nations against the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism. That some Marxists have equally demonstrated that denomination and exploitation in human society assume many complex forms. The critics therefore submitted that the framework of Marxism must be modified suitably to tackle all these problems in the contemporary context.

The Niger Delta crises that resulted in the formation of various militants groups like the Movement For The Emancipation Of The Niger Delta (MEND) and the Niger Delta Peoples volunteer force (NDPVF), that ended up becoming terroristic in their mode of operation which learnt them as terrorist groups can be related to the Marxian theory of class struggle. The Niger Delta core indigenes believes that the Nigerian federal government is mining the oil in their land which brings about the destruction of Agricultural mode of their livelihood as the land is no longer good for farming while the fishes in the rivers die off. Besides, their youth are not even gaining much employment from the oil companies in their land. They virtually see themselves as being used.

The Peace Process Theory: This theory was born to clear the peculiar misconception that conflict is always present in the society, and in different gradations without the corollary knowledge as well that peace exists in all societies in different gradations as well. Ibeanu

(2006), who projects this theory pointed out that one thing that extant conceptions of peace have in common is that there is a state of affairs or condition in thought, nature and society that is characterized as peace. This condition is pristine, perfect, ordered and tranquil. It is a condition in which, according to Rousseau (cited by Ibeanu), “all men are born free and exist as gentle savages, but subsequently social conditions put them everywhere in chains (p.9).

It is important to throw more light to this theory by acknowledging some scholars definition of Peace Process theory before delving deep further into Ibeanu’s (2006), stance, viz: Former Track 1 and Track II diplomat Harold, according to Saunders (2001), defined peace process as, “a political process in which conflicts are resolved by peaceful means... they are a mixture of politics, diplomacy, changing relationships, negotiation, mediation and dialogue in both official and unofficial arenas” (p.483). To Saunders, peace process operates simultaneously in four areas:

- **The Official Arena:** This is the area of official “track I” diplomats who establish personal relationships with their counterparts on the other side, negotiate interim and final agreements, and work to improve relationships between governments.
- **The Quasi-Official Arena:** The people involved are outside of government, but have close ties to government and trade information back and forth. The Oslo agreement between the Israelis and the Palestinians was forged through quasi-official negotiating with a Norwegian mediator. Burgess (2004), underscored that Susan Allen Nan in her essay on Track I – Track II coordination called this Arena track one-and-a-half.
- **Public Peace Process:** This is the arena of sustained dialogue between non-officials, who try to address the “human” (as opposed to governmental) causes of conflict: perceptions, stereotypes, distrust, sense of hopelessness. Such dialogues have been

taking place between Israelis and Palestinians for years, though much less now than before as Burgess exposed.

- **Civil Society:** This is the arena in which civilians live and work. It is comprised of networks of relationships, often between disputing groups. In intractable conflicts according to Burgess, these relationships breakdown, causing tears in the framework of civil society which must be rebuilt in any peace process.

Another definition is given by Sisk (2001), who defined peace processes as “step-by-step reciprocal moves to build confidence, resolve gnarly issues such as disarmament, and carefully define the future through the design of new political institutions” (p. 787). He further maintained that in other terms, a peace process is an intricate dance of steps-choreographed by third-party mediators – among parties in conflict that help to gradually exchange war for peace. Burgess (2004), added that the term to “Exchange war for peace” suggests that Sisk is limiting his definition to violent international and civil conflicts. Another typology is suggested by Ball (2001), he divided peace processes into two stages and each of these into two phases. The first stage of a peace process is cessation of violent conflict. This she broke up into two phases: Negotiation and Cessation of hostilities. The second stage is peace building, which moves from a transition phase to a consolidation phase. Thus a look at all these definitions, posits that peace process is slow but steady, unflinching and steadfast, positive, objective, understanding and ever hopeful.

This works adoption of the Peace Process Theory as Ibeanu (2006), projected stems from the fact that he is from Africa and a Nigerian and equally understands the peculiarities and the challenges of violence and terrorism in Nigeria. He is an insider, and his description is down to earth. Ikejiani-Clark and Ani (2009), suggested that Ibeanu’s idea of peace process

theory can, be related in some measure to Aristotle's idea of peace. Thus Aristotle (cited by Ikejiani-Clark and Ani), saw peace as the purpose of human life attainable in a polis since it is the organization that enables man to develop his potentials and be happy: Politics must be tied to the ethical to enable man to achieve peace, the purpose of life. He must live in an ethically built society, which is organized that the socio-economic democratic and justice minimalists are assured the citizens and that they are allowed to participate in governance.

The crux of the matter then is that in peace process theory, peace is extremely vital in Nation building, for raising incorruptible judges, for astute democracy-effecting good governance and free and fair elections; for making patriots out of citizens of the Nation. Ibeanu's (2006), peace process theory then is a process involving activities that are directly or indirectly linked to increasing development and reducing conflict, both within specific societies and in the wider international community; relates to existing social conditions, rather than an ideal state or condition; is a dynamic process (rather than a static conditions) and it is possible to precisely identify and study the factors that drive it; is not a finished condition, but always a "work in progress". It is never finished because human societies continue to aspire to higher levels of development and less conflict; and finally, peace is not a linear, unidirectional process, instead it is complex and multifaceted. This mind set then, can focus every citizen of Nigeria towards pursuing peace because peace is achievable and Nigeria can comfortably build and actualize true Nationhood on this terms.

Queer Ladder Theory: According to Okoli and Agada (2014), The Queer Ladder theory was influenced by an American sociologists, Daniel Bell (1919-2011), who coined the idea of "Queer Ladder" in an attempt to explain the instrumental essence of organized crime as a desperate means of economic empowerment and social climbing. Organized crime on its own

had been defined in ways that succinctly showed that terrorism is an organized crime, examples follows: Finckenauer and Voronin (2001), defined it as crime committed by criminal organisations whose existence has continuity over time and across crimes, and that use systematic violence and corruption to facilitate their criminal activities. These criminal organizations have varying capacities to inflict economic, physical, psychological, and societal harm. The greater their capacity to harm, the greater the danger they pose to society. Hagan (2010), added that the stock in trade of organized crime is the use of violence or threats of violence. Hess (2009), definition collaborates with that of Hagan's when he maintained that it is a continuing criminal conspiracy seeking high profits with an organized structure that uses fear, intimidation, extreme violence and corruption. Thus in a broad sense, borrowing a leaf from the definition of Albin (1971), organized crime is any criminal activity involving two or more individuals, carried out in a systematic, technical and scientific order, encompassing some form of social structure, with some form of leadership, actualizing their aims through acts of violence geared towards intimidating, scaring and frightening individuals, government or the populace in which the ultimate purpose of the organization is found in the peculiar whims and caprices of their leadership or the enterprises of the particular group. Thus organized crimes features, mass murders, vandalizing, victimization, character assassinations, wild and destructive propagandas and harming of the innocent. Terrorism then is the worst form of organized crime because its perpetrators are often desperate and can go to any length to achieve their aims.

As terrorism had been graded as an organized crime, the queer ladder theoretical framework is widely used in contemporary crime studies. The basic assumptions of the Queer ladder theory as Mallory (2007), and Okoli and Olinya (2013), posited respectively are:

- Organized crime is an instrumental behaviour; it is a means to an end.
- It is an instrument of social climbing or socio-economic advancement.
- It is a means to accumulate wealth, build power and dominate through creation of fear in the government and the public.

Often ascribed to this theory is the notion that organized crime thrives in contexts where the government's capacity to dictate, sanction and deter crime is poor; where public corruption is endemic; and where prospects for legitimate livelihood opportunities are slim as Nwoye (2000) and Lyman (2007), posited respectively. Under these circumstances, the incentive to indulge in crime is high, while deterrence from criminal living is low. In other words, the benefits of committing a crime surpasses the cost or risks. Thus according to Okoli and Olinya (2013), it creates ample pretext and motivation for criminal impunity and franchise.

Applied to the analysis of this research, The Queer Ladder theory will enable one to come to terms with the prevalence of terrorism and sundry acts of criminality in Nigeria. In this regard, it is to be observed that the phenomenon of terrorism in Nigeria has been driven by criminal quest for economic accumulation in an environment that more or less condones and conduces crimes. This has been worsened by the prevailing socio-economic malaise, irregular disbursement of revenue allocations, that results in deprivations of basic social amenities to some tribes in Nigeria, bad government and concomitant livelihood crises in the country. The apparent lethargy of relevant government agencies to ensure efficient punishment of crime in Nigeria has all the more complicated and accentuated the problem. Necessary fallout of this is prevalence of criminal impunity.

The idea of “ladder” in the Queer Ladder theory denotes untoward pattern of social mobility. In effect, those who take to terrorism, do so as a desperate means of social climbing. The adoption of the Queer Ladder theory for this research is informed by its analytical utility in providing insights into the socio-political foundation of organized crime, prominent among which is terrorism, in Nigeria.

Rational Action Theory: At present, one popular theoretical approach to explain collective terrorist behaviour is rational action theory as Hepworth (2013), suggested. According to Victoroff (2005), a good deal of research has found that terrorist groups act in a collectively rational manner, learning from failure and from one another. They apply cost-benefit concepts to examine the risks and rewards of their potential choices, taking what is seen as the most efficient route to reach their goals. Crenshaw (1995), maintained that rational theorists refer to this type of instrumentality as an instrumental relationship between ends and means. This approach according to Crenshaw (1995), has been successfully applied to terrorist hijackings and kidnappings, the operational strategies of terrorists in Chechnya, Palestinian terrorist in Israel and suicide terrorism in general; of which Boko Haram and other terrorist groups in Nigeria falls into.

Three caveats should be noted in the discussion of the application of rational action theory to terrorist organisations. First, as with any theoretical explanation for a phenomenon, research exists that raises questions about the applicability of this particular theory that should be considered. Miller (cited by Hepworth, 2013), makes a very valid case for questioning not only the rationality of terrorist organisations, but also the value of applying rationality theories. He points out that different people within an organization have different goals (perhaps different from those of the organisation itself) and that rational behaviour can be rooted in

either hedonistic self-interest or socially conscious morality, which means that almost any behaviour maybe explained as rational.

Second, no theory should be construed as a catchall explanation for all behaviour. As applied to terrorist organizations, rational action theory is used to explain, at least in part, the behaviour of the group as sanctioned by its leaders. However, decisions may be made at any level of the organization, and each of these decision-makers maybe aware of different information, leading to different rational decisions. Additionally, not all decisions are made rationally, especially when made by those who are reactive and or emotionally compromised.

Finally, since it is clear that there exists a latent rational cognition in the minds of an average terrorist and their cells in general, critically, it behooves that they can still come to some level of understanding and agreement with the government, personality or the wider society which they are terrorizing in order to see their goals actualized. This should be utilized in seeking diplomatic talks towards peaceful resolution with terrorist groups especially in Nigeria. Terrorist can divert their concerted efforts to terorise to united efforts to nation building and in supporting the government of the Nation.

2.3 Empirical Studies

The relevant literatures on the terrorist activities of notable persons and terrorist groups that unleashed renowned terrorism on a wide scope in concrete situations will be reviewed here. This research will focus on four major case studies of terrorists namely; Yasser Arafat, Osama Bin Laden, Anders Behring Breivik and Mujahid Dokubo-Asari: And twenty major world terrorist organisations. Effort will be made to reflect what some specified terrorist

analysts said concerning each of these terrorist and terrorist groups being understudied under this section.

Netanyahu (1993), recorded that Yasser Arafat, not Osama Bin Laden was without question, the premiere terrorist of recent years in Palestine and amongst the Islamic fold. Born Abd al-Rahman Abd al-Rauf Arafat al-Qudwa al-Husseini on August 27, 1929, he shortened his name to omit the telltale al-Husseini. His main purpose was to hide his relationship to his grandfather's cousin; Haj Amin Mohammed al-Husseini, already referred to, who was appointed Grand Mufti of Jerusalem by the British in 1921. Kierman (1976), pointed out that this Jew-killing partner of Hitler as Hitler once gave him \$500,000 to fight the Allies and Jews; was a terrorist in his own right and Arafat's "mentor and guide". Arafat called himself "Yasser" in memory of Yasser al-Birah, a leader of the Grand Mufti's reign of terror in the 1930's. Kierman noted that "Arafat committed his first murder at age twenty – of an innocent Palestinian, Rork Hamid" (p. 138).

Becker (1984), averred that the Palestine liberation organization (PLO) was founded in 1964, not in Palestine but in Cairo, by Gamel Abdel Nasser, Egypt's president, supposedly to represent the "oppressed Palestinian people" (p. 14). Yasser Arafat, already the head of the terrorist group known as Fatah, became chairman of the PLO in 1969. Under Arafat, it became the wealthiest (with an annual income exceeding \$1.2billion, of which Arafat hid billions in his own personal Swiss accounts) as documented by Laffin (1984); and most vicious international terrorist organisation on record, involved in hundreds of "bombings, shootings, hijackings, rocket attacks, and kidnappings in twenty-six countries" (p.18). Most of the victims and more than 90 percent of the thousands of hostages were not Israelis.

Hunt (2006), underscored that negotiating with Arafat and the PLO was and is meaningless, yet Israel was forced into that role by world opinion. Arafat ran the Palestinian territories like the Royal family runs Saudi Arabia. There is no freedom. No one dared to disagree or even to question Arafat and his Palestinian Authority (PA). It later became worse under the rule of Hamas. Voting is never considered but rather a joke. The press is controlled. An experienced Arab journalist (cited by Hunt) once wrote, "Every journalist who wishes to interview a senior Palestinian official must be equipped with the following items: a casket, a burial plot for himself and his family, and a will prepared in advance" (p.88).

Truth meant nothing to Arafat or his partners in crime according to Hunt (2006), who (like communists have always done) invent "history" as they need it. Soviet dissidents had a saying that applies equally to the Palestinians: "The Soviet union is the only country with an unpredictable past" (p.89). Arafat was the president of the state of Palestine from April 2nd 1989 till his death on November 11, 2004. Arafat's remains was buried at Ramallah with high honour amid a frenzied mob clamouring to touch the coffin. His body, however, was placed in a concrete coffin so that it could be moved to Al-Aqsa when Israel shall be finally ousted from the land.

Laffin (1984), pointed out that Yasser Arafat, was a sociopath. He described him as a power drugged assassin that spells bad omen on anyone, persons or even a city standing between him and his ambition. Ditching orders to kill means nothing to him and family ties does not deter him from passing death sentences on persons he deemed insubordinate to him. In like manner, Hunt (2006), described him as being volatile, dubious and gravely unpredictable; ever dwindling between madness to terrorise and desire to lead as a patriot.

Osama Bin Laden is another case study. Emesowum (2008), recorded that Osama Bin Laden was born in 1957 to the Bin Laden family of Saudi Arabia. His father had a civil engineering firm, and made so much money which ran into hundreds of millions of dollars, having been directing construction projects for the Saudi royal family for several years. Osama, being trained in construction had originally prepared to take over the family business, having inherited much of the family wealth. In 1982 with huge amount of money at his disposal, he contributed in financing the various anti-Soviet resistance groups in Afghanistan. He also recruited over 20,000 Islamic Arab volunteer fighters around the world and personally led them into battles. He founded his group Al-Qaeda (the base) in 1988. However, Hunt (2006), noted that The “World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and the crusaders” organization was co-founded by Osama Bin Laden and his personal physician, Dr. Ayman Zawahiri, in February 1998. Zawahiri comes from one of the most aristocratic families in Egypt. He and Bin Laden met in Afghanistan in 1987 and have been partners in terrorism ever since. According to Hunt, Zawahiri is, in fact, the mastermind behind Al Qaeda whereas Bin Laden himself is the major financier and frontline. Osama Bin Laden’s declaration of Jihad against United States citizens, and all their allies according to Arabi (2001), states:

The United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of its territories, Arabia... and using its bases (there) to fight against the neighbouring Islamic peoples.... To kill Americans and their allies, both civil and military, is an individual duty of every Muslim who is able By Allah’s leave, we call on every Muslim... to obey Allah’s command to kill the Americans and plunder their possession wherever he finds them and whenever he can. (p.9).

It was in line with this that the United States embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salam, Tanzania was bombed on August 1998. Bin Laden had in the past claimed to have masterminded the bombing of the United States troops in Aden, Yemen in December 1992, and the killing of United States servicemen in Somalia in 1993; as well as the bombing of the joint Saudi-American military training center in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia in 1995, in which five Americans died.

However, his deadliest blow and attack on the United States of America was the September 11, 2001, disaster. Gold (2003), pointed out that the enormity of the destruction gave Osama Bin Laden a global presence: The World Trade Center's towers were devastated by two hijacked air planes, the Pentagon heavily damaged by a third hijacked jetliner, a fourth flight crashed in rural Pennsylvania, and more than 3,000 people were killed. Little wonder the incumbent president of the United States of America celebrated the death of Osama Bin Laden on May 2, 2011 (May in the United States), in a televised speech, he declared (cited by Johnson and Rowen, (2007):

For over two decades, Bin Laden has been Al-Qaeda's leader and symbol. The death of Bin Laden marks the most significant achievement to date in our nation's effort to defeat Al-Qaeda. But his death does not mark the end of our effort. There's no doubt that Al-Qaeda will continue to pursue attacks against us. We must and we will remain vigilante at home and abroad. (p. 2).

In lieu with the September 11, 2001 attack on the United States soil, Tanter (1999), described Osama Bin Laden as a freelancer who is completely independent of states yet operates within a state and may collaborate with rogue regimes. Hence, his ability to carry out

such a complex attack on the United States soil as in the September 11, 2001 disaster. Osama Bin Laden has brilliantly established a nexus between those who hate the United States for what it is – the great seductress, spreading a culture and religion of material plenty around the globe – and those who despise it for what it does in the middle East, as they see it – extending support to Israel, turning its back on the Palestinian quest for justice and continuing to punish Iraq for transgressions of a decade ago.

Tanter (1999), averred that Osama Bin Laden possesses patience as a virtue which is one of the emotional stance every terrorist ought to possess. Osama's ability to undergo training under the United States Army for years, yet, planning his terroristic escapade and bearing it in his mind portrays him as a man that is extremely patient. Johnson and Rowen (2007), on their part ascribed unto Osama Bin Laden the title of being the most brave, grave and phlegmatic of all the Arabic terrorists. His blow on the United States posited them as if they are vulnerable and the United States is still wavering under the shock deep down the fabrics of their National Security till date.

Anders Behring Breivik, is another case study in this research work. His terrorist activity is worthy of exposing as his case is still confusing – whether his motive is purely racial psychotic, phobia for women, political and economic related. On July 22, 2011 in the record of Willsher (2011), Anders Breivik then only 32 years old, was the perpetrator of two successive terrorist attacks on the government, the civilian population, and a summer camp in Norway. In total, 77 people were killed and 151 were injured. This was the most devastating attack on Norwegian soil since World War II as Walshe (2011), puts it. In his 1,500 – page manifesto, titled 2083: A European Declaration of Independence, in which he slightly modified his name to Andrew Berwick, he describes his reasons for taking actions against Europe's real enemies.

One of the reasons, wrote Breivik (2011), is “the rise of cultural Marxism/multiculturalism in Western Europe” (p. 5). This is made clear in the following excerpt:

Multiculturalists/cultural Marxists usually operate under the guise of humanism. A majority are anti-nationalists and want to deconstruct European identity, traditions, culture and even nation states. As we all know, the root of Europe’s problems is the lack of cultural self-confidence (nationalism). Most people are still terrified of nationalistic political doctrines thinking that if we ever embrace these principles again, new “Hitler’s” will suddenly pop up and initiate global Armageddon.... Needless to say, the growing numbers of nationalists in western Europe are systematically being ridiculed, silenced and persecuted by the current cultural Marxist/Multiculturalist political establishments. This has been a continuous ongoing process which started in 1945. This irrational fear of nationalistic doctrines is preventing us from stopping our own national/cultural suicide as the Islamic colonization is increasing annually. This book presents the only solutions to our current problems. You cannot defeat Islamisation or halt/reverse the Islamic colonization of Western Europe without first removing the political doctrines manifested through multiculturalism/cultural Marxism. (pp. 5-6).

On looking at the list of victims who fell at the hands of Breivik as Ward (2011), identified, one would quickly notice that few of them were actually Muslims or Arabs. Many victims were young Norwegians with left-wing tendencies. A deduction could be that Breivik’s reason to kill them had to do with guilt by association. From this vintage point, it is not just Muslim immigrants who pose a threat to European values, but also those who support Islamic immigration. Based on the excerpt above, it also seems like Breivik was attempting to break the sacred cow of the political left; multiculturalism, or what he refers to as “Cultural Marxism”.

The latter, he claims, would eventually lead to “national and cultural suicide”. Whatever Breivik is positing, the truth still remains that confusion still abounds regarding his true intent.

In lieu with the confusion surrounding his terroristic motive, one of his neighbours (cited by Ward, 2011), described Breivik simply as a “city dweller, who wore expensive shirts and who knew nothing about rural ways” (p. 2). Another local bar owner(cited by Ward) once described him as one who had nothing unusual about him as he was just an occasional customer at his bar. Thus to most persons, he was just a normal young man, living normal life. However, Breivik underwent his first examination by court – appointed forensic psychiatrists as recorded by Huseby and Sorheim (2011), in 2011: The psychiatrists diagnosed him with paranoid schizophrenia, concluding that he had developed the disorder over time and was psychotic both when he carried out the attacks and during the observation. He was also diagnosed with abuse of non-dependence-producing substances antecedent of 22 July. The psychiatrists consequently found Breivik to be criminally insane.

The Oslo district court ordered a second expert panel to evaluate Breivik’s mental state, after much pressure as reviewed by Engh and Holden (2012), on 10th April, 2012, the second psychiatric evaluation was published with the conclusion that Breivik was not psychotic during their evaluation. Instead, they diagnosed antisocial personality disorder and narcissistic personality disorder. Finally, it should be noted that the sky news (cited by Engh and Holden) described Breivik in prison as a “manipulative convicted terrorist” (p.4). This might had stemmed from his conscious and calculated effort towards deceiving the press, posing as deluded at times and as well, posing to be determinate, objective and focused at times. In all, Breivik is a case study that still portrays that terrorism is an act that no one in his or her right frame of mind ventures into.

In Nigeria, terrorists and terrorist activities abound. One major terrorist and his peculiar terrorist cell worthy of studying is that of Mujahid Dokubo-Asari. He was born in 1964, and his birth name was Melford Dokubo Godhead Jr. After dropping out of school, Asari converted to Islam and changed his name to Mujahid Dokubo-Asari to reflect this. He became the president of the Ijaw Youth Council in 2001 and led the group to pursue an agenda of resource control and self-determination by every means necessary as Francis, Lapin and Rossiasco (2011) noted. This led him into terrorist activities which ranged from series of kidnappings of oil merchants in the Niger Delta region to killing of security guards at the oil companies at the region.

The activities of Asari Dokubo were absolutely terroristic in nature which made him to be charged with treason by the Nigerian federal government under the Olusegun Obasanjo administration. According to Obi and Rustad (2011), Asari's terroristic activities and threats to attack oil wells and pipelines via the insurgent militia group he formed "The Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force" (NDPVF), caused companies operating in the area to withdraw most of their personnel from the Delta, resulting in a massive drop in oil production of 30,000 barrels per day and pushing up the price of petroleum worldwide significantly. The reasons for his arrest equally includes his refusal to endorse the legitimacy of the Olusegun Obasanjo government and his public support for self-determination of his native Ijaw people and independence for the Niger Delta.

Irrespective of all odds, some scholars still applaud Asari Dokubo and maintained that he was fighting a just course like Moro (2009), he described Asari as one who boldly and courageously challenged the injustice in Niger Delta region. Moro maintained that Asari.

Questioned and challenged the unbridled injustice in the Nigerian System. He could not imagine how the stupendous oil wealth of the Niger Delta is expropriated without the Niger Delta taken along. Asari boldly told the whole world the crude oil in his father's land belonged to him, and he was taking it, not stealing it. (p. 325).

Moreso, The Sons and Daughters of Buguma in the United states of America (cited by Amanye, 2006) described Asari Dokubo as a strong advocate for the just and equitable distribution of the oil resources extracted in the Niger Delta, the land occupied by Nigeria's persecuted minorities.

The focal point in terrorism lies not on the motive but the means and acts. Any acts that is geared towards destruction of lives, properties of both individuals and the government to threaten or coerce in actualizing of ones or groups aims is simply terrorism. On this ground, Asari Dokubo and his group he formed in 2004 (Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force) are terrorists. It should be noted that on 14th June, 2007, Asari was released on bail as part of the new president Umaru Yar-Adua's pledge to try and bring peace to the Niger Delta region. One major information provided by Marquardt (2007) is worthy of mentioning with special regard to Asari Dokubo and the formation of the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force. It reads:

Among the restive Ijaw population in Nigeria's troubled, energy-rich region, one man stands alone as the most recognizable face of resistance: Mujahid Dokubo-Asari. Asari has been a central figure in the Ijaw cause, forming in late 2003 one of the Delta's most notorious Ijaw militant groups, the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF). Through this militant youth organization, Asari fought rival gangs, siphoned oil and gas from pipelines, destroyed energy infrastructure and declared an "all-out war" on the

Nigerian state. Despite his arrest in September 2005, Asari continued to communicate with his followers, and he became an important symbolic figure for various Ijaw armed groups in Delta. These groups listed Asari's detention as one of their core grievances against the Nigerian state. On June 14, 2007, partially in an effort to pacify Ijaw demands, the newly-installed government of president Umaru Yar' Adua released Asari from prison. (pp. 2-3).

It is not known when exactly the NDPVF was created, as Asari himself (cited by Marquardt, 2007) had said, yet the general time frame is in late 2003. Related to the NDPVF is the movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta" (MEND). This group had been claimed to be formed by the scattered NDPVF members when Asari was imprisoned. This study will not delve into their activities now since Asari denied having anything to do with them nor the reality of its existence at all as in his words (cited by Hansen, 2007), "MEND is a decoy put up by Niger Delta militants to protect themselves" (p. 2). He stressed that there was no such organization in real life. According to him (cited by Hansen), "there is no organization known as MEND" (p. 2). No one actually knows if Asari Dokubo is lying on this because the terroristic activities of MEND was highly devastating. Asari might be defending himself to reduce tension on him owing to the high level of destruction of lives and properties perpetrated by MEND terrorist group. This will be reviewed later under the terrorist groups in Nigeria. The future is yet to be revealed on Asari Dokubo as he still breathes threats of violence even after the just concluded Nigeria's 2015 presidential elections. Sotubo (2015), reported it thus:

Asari-Dokubo also added that the voting pattern in the recently conducted polls showed that South-West and the North had ganged up against the South-South and South-East geo-political zones.... Former militant, Mujahid Asari-Dokubo has said that with this

recent development, he and his brother-in-arms might be forced to return to the creeks as a result of President Goodluck Jonathan's defeat in Nigeria's presidential elections (p. 1).

In lieu with the afore-statement, one may not be taken to the gallows if one asserts that the recent bombing of oil refineries and threats to bomb government owned facilities in Nigeria by the Niger Delta Youth Militants is being master-minded by Asari Dokubo; even though all hands is pointing to the Niger Delta ex-militant group leader Government Ekpemupolo alias Tompolo, as an Abuja High Court recently ordered his arrest in relation to the oil refinery bombings and threats.

In the case of the twenty terrorist organisation under focus in this empirical study, this work will highlight only twenty out of the proscribed 67 terrorist organisations in the world; these organisations were proscribed terrorist organisations according to the terrorism Act of 2000 as recorded in the home office account, proscribed terrorist organisations of 27th March, 2015. These identified terrorist organisations were handpicked from various country regions in order to avoid selecting terrorist organisations from a cluster in peculiar milieu like the United Arab Emirates region and the regions surrounding Cuba that had produced leagues of terrorist organisations. This work does not actually claim to be exhaustive in the named terrorist organisations here as it is actually dealing with the major ones noted to have caused great havoc and panic in the world in the contemporary epoch.

Al-Qaeda Network

According to Seth and Libicki (2008), it was established in the late 1980s Cronin (2006), said it was founded in 1988 by Osama Bin Laden. Its focus has been on the United

States of America and its allies. The group, on September 11, 2001 destroyed the World trade center twin towers and part of the United States Pentagon, with flight-bombs. The fourth flight the group hijacked to use as a bomb, land-crashed in a field in Pennsylvania, these attacks registered 3,000 deaths with many injured. It also conducted the bombing of the United States USS Cole in Aden, Yemen in October 2000. It claimed responsibility for the bombing of the United States embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in August 1998. The group also claimed responsibility for the shooting down of United States helicopters in Somalia in 1993, in which several United States Servicemen died. The organisation, in December 1992, conducted three different bombings of the United States troops who were stationed in Aden, Yemen. Al-Qaeda has several thousand members under its terrorist training.

Al-Qaeda has a worldwide outreach, with cells in a number of countries. It also enjoys ties with a number of extremist networks such as Sunni, like the Boko-Haram terrorist group in Nigeria. The group as Cronin (2006), indicted, now operates from its scattered cells in various countries since it was driven out of Afghanistan by forces of the Global coalition against Terrorism. Al-Qaeda's goal have been to establish Pan Islamic caliphate throughout the world by working to overthrow government regimes, it deemed "non-Islamic". It also aims at expelling Westerners and non-Muslims from Muslim countries. The group serves as an umbrella organisation for some terrorist networks worldwide which include many Sunni Islamic extremist group such as Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya factions, Harakat Ul-Mujahidin, and the Islamic movement of Uzbekistan.

Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)

This terrorist group is also known as the Islamic state of Iraq and Syria or the Islamic state of Iraq and ash-sham as Ishaan (2014), registered; or simply Islamic state. It is an unrecognized state that seeks the establishment of a transnational Islamic caliphate. The group controls territories in four countries, including Libya, Nigeria, Iraq, Syria with operations or affiliates in Lebanon, Egypt, and other areas of the Middle East, North and West Africa, South and Southeast Asia.

The group proclaimed itself to be a worldwide caliphate on 29th June 2014, with Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi being named its Caliph; and renamed its self “Islamic state”. The new name and the idea of a caliphate has been widely criticized and condemned, with the United Nations, various governments and mainstream Muslim groups refusing to acknowledge it. As caliphate, it claims religious, political and military authority over all Muslims Worldwide and that the legality of all emirates, groups, states, and organisations becomes null by the expansion of the caliphate’s authority and arrival of its troops to their areas. Mandhai (2014), maintained that many Islamic and non-Islamic communities judge the group as unrepresentative of Islam.

Zovadiski (2014), recorded that the group originated as *Jama’at al-Tawhid Wal-Jihad* in 1999, which was renamed *Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn* – commonly known as al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) – when the group pledged allegiance to al-Qaeda in 2014. As *Jama’at* and later Al-Qaeda in Iraq, beginning in August 2003, the group participated in the Iraq insurgency, which had followed the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. In January 2006, it joined other Sunni insurgent groups to form the Mujahideen Shura Council, which in October 2006

proclaimed the formation of the Islamic state of Iraq. It gained a significant presence in the governorates of Al Anbar, Diyala and Baghdad.

Zovadiski (2014), declared that ISIL is known for its well-funded web and social media propaganda, which includes internet video of the beheadings of soldiers, civilians, journalists and aid workers, as well as the deliberate destruction of cultural heritage sites. Mandhai (2014), pointed out that The United Nations has held ISIL responsible for human rights abuses and war crimes, and Amnesty International has reported ethnic cleansing by the group on a historic scale. The group has been designated as a terrorist organization by the United Nations, the European Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, Canada, Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Syria, Egypt, India, and Russia. Over 60 countries are directly or indirectly waging war against ISIL. This groups commits all sorts of terrorism ranging from sexual abuses and sex slavery of women on wide range, mass killing and slaughter of prisoners and innocent civilians to killing of military men on wide scales and destruction of properties and state treasury and valuables.

Their timeline of recent activities includes: Driving into sexual slavery about 600,000 women in and around Iraq province; the United Nations estimated that about 5,000 Yazidis were killed by ISIL during the takeover of parts of northern Iraq in August 2014; execution of 300 peoples in Western Anbar Province in 8th April 2015. A bomb attack in Egypt that killed at least 13 people and wounded dozens more, ISIL claimed responsibility of a suicide bombing that killed at least 33 people and injured more than 100 persons on 18th April, 2015; production of a video showing the murder by shooting and decapitation of approximately 30 people, who were identified as Ethiopian Christians on 19th April, 2015, and host of other

unimaginable atrocities. ISIL is actually at present, the worst Islamic terrorist group that has carried out far worse atrocities and crimes than any other Islamic terrorist group.

The Khmer Rouge

This was the name given to the followers of the communist party of Kampuchea in Cambodia. According to Kiernan (1997), it was formed in 1968 as an offshoot of the Vietnam people's Army from North Vietnam. It was the ruling party in Cambodia from 1975 to 1979, led by Polpot, Nuon Chea, Leng Sary, Son Sen and Khieu Samphan. Democratic Kampuchea was the name of the state as controlled by the government of the Khmer Rouge from 1975 to 1979. It allied with North Vietnam, the Viet Cong, and Pathet Lao during the Vietnam War against the anti-communist forces.

Mosyakov (2004), said that the organization is remembered especially for orchestrating the Cambodian genocide, which resulted from the enforcement of its social engineering policies. Its attempts at agricultural reform led to widespread famine, while its insistence on absolute self-sufficiency, even in the supply of medicine, led to the death of thousands from treatable disease such as malaria. Arbitrary executions and torture carried out by its cadres against perceived subversive elements, or during purges of its own ranks between 1975 and 1978, are considered to have constituted genocide. In 1994, thousands of Khmer Rouge guerrillas surrendered themselves in a government amnesty. The organization was largely dissolved by the mid-1990s, and finally surrendered completely in 1999. In 2014, two Khmer Rouge leaders Nuon Chea and Kheiu Samphan were jailed by a United Nations backed court for life, which found them guilty of crimes against humanity and responsible for the deaths of

up to two million Cambodians, nearly a quarter of the country's population then during the killing fields era between 1975-1979.

Mauel Rodriguez patriotic Front (FPMR)

This group was formed in 1983 and operated mostly between 1983 and 1999. The leaders were Sergio Apablaza and Raul Pellegrin. According to Anderson and Sloan (2009), they were also known as *EL Frente patriotico*, or simply *El Frente*. They are a far-left urban guerilla movement in Chile. At its height, the FPMR was estimated to have between 1,000 and 1,500 militants. On September 7, 1986, the FPMR attacked Augusto Pinochet's car in an assassination attempt. Five of Pinochet's body guards were killed and eleven wounded. Pinochet, however, only suffered minor injuries. This group's major aim is to overthrow the Augusto Pinochet military regime in Chile.

Other terroristic activities they carried out includes, holding in captive for 48 hours carabineros corporal German Obando on 8th April, 1986 (the incident had a nationwide coverage); this resulted in mass condemnation reported by the press as including political groups normally sympathetic to the cause of the FPMR; simultaneously assaulting the offices of Associated press (AP) and eight radio stations in Santiago, killing an off-duty security guard on 13th April, 1987; series of 15 different attacks on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints between 1988-1994; detonation of a bomb inside a restaurant in the seaside resort of Vina del Mar, wounding three sailors from the United States aircraft carrier Abraham Lincoln, three British tourists and two waitresses on 5th November, 1990; killing of Senator Jaime Guzman on 1st April 1991 and bombing of two McDonald's restaurants and attempted bombing of a Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant in 1993; and series of other terroristic attacks.

Zviadists

This group started being active from 1991. According to Emesowum (2008), Georgian area especially Mingrelia and Russia are its operational locations. It initially aimed at the dismissal of the government of Eduard Shevardnadze who succeeded Zviad Gamsakhurdia. It comprises of extremist supporters of deceased former president Gamsakhurdia of Georgia. The group operates anti-shevardnadze activities from Russia.

Revolutionary Nuclei (RN)

This group started being active from 1995. It is also known as Revolutionary cells. Kassimeris (2013), indicated that the Revolutionary Nuclei was a far-left, anti-United States, anti-North Atlantic treaty Organisation, and anti-European Union terrorist organisation that conducted 13 bomb attacks in Athens between 1996 and 2000. The first attack for which RN took credit was a bomb attack on Greek Coast Guard installations in Piraeus on 11th May, 1997, but it later acknowledged that two earlier attacks were carried out by RN members. RN fought against the imperialist domination, exploitation and oppression of Greece.

On 27th April 1999, Kassimeris (2013), recorded that an RN bomb targeting a conference at the Intercontinental Hotel in Athens killed one person (despite telephoned warnings, the building was not evacuated). In December 1999, RN set off explosives near Texaco's Offices in Athens and a Greek-American sculptor's studio in November 2000. RN later disappeared without explanation.

Morazanist Patriotic Front (FPM)

Its activities were first noticed in the 1980s. Pike (1998), stipulated that the group claimed to be responsible for the bombing of peace corps office in December 1988, the ambushing of United States soldiers in La Ceiba (through grenade attack), wounding seven soldiers, and the United States convoy in July 1989; and the bombing of a BW carrying United State servicemen, in February 1989; wounding three of the servicemen.

The United States believes that the group is mainly sponsored by Cuba and former government of Nicaragua to attack United States military personnel in Honduras. The group struggles to stop the United States intervention in Honduras economic and political affairs. Its strength is unknown, but is relatively small. It has established ties with Nicaraguan former government and Cuba. It has not carried out any terrorist activities of recent.

Kach and Kahane Chai

Under the dictates of the 1948 terrorism law, according to Enesowum (2008), both organizations were pronounced terrorist organisations. According to Medoff (2013), the strength of these two groups could not be ascertained. They operate within Israel and West bank settlement, particularly in Qiryat Arba in Hebron. Their goal, as they stated, was to restore the biblical state of Israel, with supports form sympathizers in the United States and Europe. The founder and leader of Kach was the radical Israeli-American rabbi, Meir Kahane, while Kahane Chai which has its meaning as Kahane lives, is its offshoot. It was founded in 1971; whereas Kahane Chai was founded by Meir Kahane's son called Binyamin following his father's assassination in the United States in 1990. The two groups threatened to give Arab nations and Palestinian campaigns much retaliatory terrorist attacks, and also threatened to

attack Israeli officials for declaring them outlawed. Both organizations were later banned out rightly in 1994.

Japanese Red Army (JRA) Also Known As Anti-Imperialist International Brigade (AIIB)

The dates of operation of this group is between 1971 and 2001. The leader of the group was Fusako Shignobu. This groups active locations according to Farrell (1990), was Japan, Southeast Asia and Middle East regions. After the Lod Airport massacre (Airpot in Tel Aviv, Israel, now Ben Gurion International) on May 30, 1972, wherein 26 people were killed and about 80 others wounded, they sometimes called themselves Arab-JRA. The JRA's stated goals were to overthrow the Japanese government and the monarchy, as well as start a world revolution.

Other terroristic activities of this group includes, the hijacking of the Japanese Airlines flight 351, a domestic Japan Airline Boeing 727 carrying 129 people at Tokyo International airport on March 31, 1970; hijacking of Japanese Air lines flight 404 over the Netherlands, the passengers and crew were later released in Libya, were the hijackers blew up the aircraft in July 1973; In January 1974 – they attacked a shell facility in Singapore and took five hostages; and a host other kidnappings, hijackings, and other series of attacks around the world. JRA terrorist group has history of close relationships with Palestinian terrorist groups. It possibly has links with Antiwar Democratic Front – a Japanese overt leftist political organisation. The group broke away from the Japanese communist league Army Faction.

Hezbollah (Party of God) Also Known As Islamic Jihad, Revolutionary Justice Organisation, Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, and Organisation of the Oppressed on Earth

This group was founded in 1985. It is a Shia Islamist militant group and political party based in Lebanon. Norton (2009), pointed out that after the death of Abbas al-Musawi in 1992, the organization has been headed by Hassan Nasrallah, its secretary-general. The United States, the Gulf cooperation council, Canada and Israel have classified Hezbollah as a terrorist organization, although in 2015, an assessment from the United States director of National Intelligence removed it from its list of terror threats to the United States (while it remains classified by the United States as a terrorist organisation).

According to Shehata (2012), Hezbollah was conceived by Muslim clerics and funded by Iran following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, and was primarily formed to offer resistance to the Israeli occupation. Terrorist activities carried out by Hezbollah group includes: Attack on the United States embassy in Beirut with a car bomb, killing 63 people, 17 of whom were American citizens on April 18, 1983; the group attacked United States Marine barracks with a truck bomb, killing 241 American military personnel stationed in Beirut as part of a peace-keeping force – another separate attack, same day, against the French military compound in Beirut resulted in 58 death casualties; in August 10, 2003 Hezbollah shells kills 16-year-old Israeli boy, and wounded 13 others; in 2012, they bombed Burgas bus, killing 6 persons in Bulgaria: Norton (2009), maintained that Hezbollah's main tactics is the use of suicide bombers. They use human weapons to create mental and physical suffering for the Israelis and to force the Israelis to retreat out of Islamic land.

Irish Republican Army (IRA) Also Known As Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), The Provos

This was an Irish republican paramilitary organization that sought to remove Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom and bring about an independent democratic socialist republic encompassing all of Ireland. It saw itself as the successor to the original IRA as English (2004), recorded, and called itself simply Irish Republican Army (IRA). The IRA is designated an unlawful terrorist organization in the United Kingdom and an unlawful organization in the Republic of Ireland. The Provisional IRA (PIRA) emerged in December 1969, following a split in the IRA. The IRA initially focused on defence, but it began an offensive operation in 1971.

IRA has been existing since 1969. There major terrorist attacks includes: killing of five loyalists and one nationalist in 27th June, 1970; killing of two Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) officers with an IRA booby-trap bomb attached to an abandoned car near Crossmaglen, South Armagh, in August 11, 1970; killing of five men by blowing up their landrover with an IRA landmine at Bougher Mountain transmitting station, County Tyrone in 9th February 1971; killing of 6 soldiers and two civilians between 2nd and 7th January, 1980; killing of eight police men and five civilians between January and February 1990; and host of other terroristic activities. The IRA called a final ceasefire in July 1997, when Sinn Fein were admitted into the Northern Ireland peace talks. It supported the 1998 Good Friday Agreement and in 2005 it disarmed under international supervision. Although their still exists traces of their activities by splinter groups in covert styles at different locations over the world as they have sympathizers in Libya, United States of America and the United Kingdom.

Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement)

This group was founded in 1987 by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi and Mahmoud Zahar. It is a Palestinian Islamic organisation, with an associated military wing, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, in the Palestinian territories and elsewhere in the Middle East including Qatar. Roy (2011), stipulated that the Hamas terrorist organization is responsible for carrying out 425 various terrorist attacks which resulted in the killing of 377 and wounding of 2,076 Israeli citizens and soldiers.

Hamas has an estimate of about 10 thousand militants and sympathizers, and operates primarily in the occupied territories and Israel. The goal of the group has been to wipe off Israel from the disputed territories, and establish an Islamic Palestinian state in its place. Its funds come from Palestinian expatriates and some Arab powers. It also has links in Western Europe and North American Countries for fund raising, and propaganda activities.

 Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path)

This group, the communist party of Peru, more commonly known as the shining path is a Maoist guerrilla insurgent organisation in Peru. The group started operating from the late 1960s, but however launched its first internal conflict in Peru in 1980. Its stated goal was to replace what it saw as bourgeois democracy with New democracy. Gorriti (1999), averred that the shining path believed that by establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat, inducing cultural revolution, and eventually sparking world revolution, they could arrive at pure communism.

The struggle for the realization of their goal made them to become opposed to any foreign governments' positive influence on the Peruvian government. In 1990, it carried out a car bomb attacks on the United States embassy in Peru. It has about 2000 militant members

operating in the rural areas of Peru. The group, in the 1980s became one of the most ruthless terrorist groups in the Western hemisphere, with about 30,000 people going down to their early graves in their hands.

New People's Army (NPA)

This groups dates of operation ranged from March 29, 1960. According to Romero (2015), they are the armed wing of the communist party of the Philippines (CPP). It was formed and founded by Bernabe Buscayno also known as "Commander Dante". The Maoist NPA conducts its armed guerilla struggle based on the strategical line of protracted peoples war. The Philippine Army estimated the NPA's strength at 3,200 fighters at the end of about 6,000 to 8,000 militants and supporters, with interest in dismissing the government of the Philippines through constant guerrilla warfare.

Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALIR) Also Known As Interahamwe, Former Armed Forces (ex-FAR)

This was the radical group largely composed of members of the Interahamwe and Armed Forces of Rwanda that carried out the 1994 Rwanda Genocide. Operating mostly in the eastern regions of the Democratic Republic of the Congo along the border with Rwanda. It carried out attacks throughout the second Congo war against forces aligned with Rwanda and Uganda. As Prunier (2009), researched, in 2000, the ALIR agreed to merge with the Hutu resistance movement based in Kinshasa into the new Democratic forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR). ALIR was largely supplanted by the FDLR by 2001. One other notable terrorist attack of the ALIR apart from the 500,000 Tutsi Rwanda that was reportedly killed by them in genocide was the kidnapping and killing of 8 foreign terrorists at the Congo-Ugandan

border, including 2 United States citizens, alleging that the United States and the United Kingdom were in support of the Rwanda regime. It has about 7,000 militia men.

Basque Fatherland and Liberty Also Known As Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA)

This organisation was founded in 1995 with the aim of establishing an independent homeland based on Marxist principles on the northern Spanish provinces of Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa, Alava, and Navarra, and the southwestern French Departments of Labourd, Basse-Navarra, and Soule. The Basque fatherland and liberty (ETA) group also operates as, or is known as Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna.

As Martinez-Herrera (2002), has it, the ETA is primarily involved in bombings and assassinations of Spanish government officials, security and military forces, politicians, and judicial figures. ETA finances its activities through kidnappings, robberies, and extortion. The group has killed more than 800 persons and injured hundreds of others since it began lethal attacks in the early 1960s. In November 1999, ETA broke its “unilateral and indefinite” cease – fire and began an assassination and bombing campaign that had killed 38 individuals and wounded scores more by the end of 2001.

First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Group Also Known As Grupo De Resistance Anti-Fascita Premero De Octubre (GRAPO)

This group is a Spanish Clandestine Maoist Republican State, based on the model of the People’s Republic of China under Mao Zedong. According to Pike (2004), this group was formed in 1975 as the armed wing of the illegal communist party of Spain during the Franco era. It advocates the overthrow of the Spanish government and its replacement with a Marxist Leninist regime. GRAPO is vehemently anti United States, seeks the removal of all United

States, military forces from Spanish territory, and has conducted and attempted several attacks against United States targets since 1977. It has a numeric strength of about 200 hardliners.

Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK)

This group began its terroristic activities in 1974 as a Marxist– Leninist organisation under the leadership of Abdullah Ocalan. Linden (2002), recorded that in 1978 the organisation adapted the name “Kurdistan Workers Party” and waged urban war between 1978-1980. The organisation restructured itself and moved the organisation structure to Syria between 1980-1984 just after the 1980 Turkish Coup de’etat. They began their campaign of armed violence in 1984. Their rural-based insurgency lasted between 1984-1992. They shifted their activities to include urban terrorism between 1993-1995 and later 1996-1999. The leader of this party was later captured in the early 1999. They declared a self-peace initiative in 1999, and later returned to active stage in February 2004. Since 1974, the group had been able to evolve, adapt, and go through diverse metamorphic stages which was its main factor in surviving. It gradually grew from a handful of political students to a radical organisation that became part of targets of war on terrorism.

Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)

In the work of Akbarzadeh (2005), the IMU was likened to the Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP) in Tajikistan, it is a home-grown fundamental Islamic movement in opposition to the Karimov regime in Uzbekistan, an un-democratic holdover from the Soviet era. Thus the group formed itself to oppose Uzbekistani President Islom Karimov’s secular regime, and to establish an Islamic state in Uzbekistan. Its propaganda includes anti-western and anti-Israeli rhetoric. In 1999 and 2000 respectively, it attacked and took hostages on several occasions,

which included 4 United States citizens. Its militants are probably in their thousands, they operate in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Afghanistan. It also has affiliations to some Islamic extremist groups in the Middle East, Central and Southern Asia.

Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA) Also Known As Continuity Army Council.

This is an Irish Republican paramilitary group. The group started operations in 1994, after the provisional Irish Republican Army began a ceasefire. According to Lewis (2008), report, the CIRA is a radical terrorist splinter group formed as the clandestine armed wing of the political organisation, Republican Sinn Fein (RSF). The RSF itself was put together after the Irish Republican Army announced a cease fire in September 1994. The CIRA are believed to be acquiring arms and other military materials from the Balkans in cooperation with the Real IRA. The group is found to have no real presence or established capacity in the United Kingdom mainland.

It should be noted that all the above highlighted organisations were equally declared terrorist organisations by the European Union, The United Nations Organisations and The National Counter Terrorism Center Worldwide, jointly.

It has been rightly observed by Braimoh (2006), that there is no international consensus or a comprehensive internationally acceptable legal definition of terrorism. He pointed out that one of the reasons for this is that most of the existing works on terrorism weigh in favour of treating the symptoms and effects rather than digging deep into the root causes of the problem in order to find a lasting solution to it. In most cases then, the analyses have been lacking in objectivity as people stick to the interpretations that suit their respective group interests. For instance, the Americans would like the world to believe that those who carry out terrorist acts

are enemies of democracy. Hunt (2006), on his part pointed out that Islamic terrorist groups will like to deceive people that world power nations like America subjugated them to extreme poverty by dominating the economic activities of the Arab Nations hence he cited Schwantz's statement concerning fifteen of the nineteen September 11,2001 hijackers in American soil viz:

These were not poor people from refugee camps on the West Bank or in Gaza. These were not people who had grown up feeling some grievance against Israel and the United States because they lived in difficult conditions. These were not people from the crowded and disrupted communities of Egypt or Pakistan, or people who had experienced anti-Islamic violence in the last 20 years and had therefore turned against the United States. These people had grown up in the country that Americans often think of as our most solid and dependable ally in the Arab world... the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.... Al-Qaeda is essentially a Saudi political movement... twenty-five percent of those detained in Guantanamo are Saudis. (p. 209).

Hunt indicated as already discovered in this research work that even Osama Bin Laden and Dr. Ayman Zawahiri are from very rich backgrounds. All terrorist group always seeks for reasons to project their actions as rational. The Niger Delta terrorist groups in Nigeria will cry out marginalization, unemployment, poverty and abject deprivation of basic social amenities as their reasons for going rogue, the Nigerian government will tag them those creating chaos, disturbing the peace and flagrantly violating the federal constitution of Nigeria, thus committing treason. The list goes on. All these whimsical and capricious ideas affects definitions of terrorism.

Mbaegbu (2010), affirmed on his part that the problem of definition of terrorism stems from the fact that it is often used by state authorities to render unlawful political or other opponents, and potentially legitimize the state's own use of armed forces against opponents: And moreso, the fact that organisations that resort to political violence are seen either as terrorist or freedom fighters, depending on the political standpoint of the speaker. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that the absence of a generally acceptable definition of the concept does not mean that terrorism is an indescribable form of violence or that states are not subject to restrictions under international law in developing their responses to such violence. By identifying the several characteristics frequently associated with the incidents of terrorism, one can gain a good understanding of what, in precise terms, constitutes terrorism.

The point of emphasis in most of the definitions is the indiscriminate nature of the violence involved in terrorist acts, which in many cases often result in the killing of innocent civilians. Borrowing a leaf from the work of Braimoh (2006), who studied the human rights factors in terrorism and counter-terrorism, he averred that "As terrorism represents a gross violation of human rights, so are many of the reasons taken to fight the crime" (p. 67). This work succinctly submits that any act whether in the guise of fighting crime or terrorism or freedom fighting and seeking for ones or groups right; that leads to the gross and deliberate destruction of states individuals or groups lives, properties and deprivation of freedom of expression in order to coerce, threat and intimidate on perpetual scales is simply terrorism. Terrorism is the worst form of violence in that it entails employing violent means as a way of life; in terrorism, violence becomes a culture and this leads to massive destruction and violations of basic human rights with all impunity and in all lawlessness.

It should equally be noted that mass murder of innocent citizen's government officials or security service officials and killing of any sort must not be registered to tag an act a terroristic act. Once an action is geared towards destruction and vandalization of goods, valuables and services, terrorizing, threatening, scaring out of wits in order to coerce; an individual or state, even through the use of African black magic (that is, charms, incantations and so on) on consistent basis tantamounts to terrorism.

Finally, the following had been deduced from this literature review viz: that terrorism has an alchemic mode of making those involved in it to become addicted to terroristic means of achieving desired goals or perceived denied rights. Thus, at this point, terrorism becomes their way of life; their culture. Again, by being addicted to it, it affects their psychological stance and can migrate into a mental illness, hence it being referred to as a psychological problem. Religious fundamentalism breeds terrorism on a very wide range more than any other factors that cause terrorism.

However, the gap in knowledge that exists in this literature review is that most of the scholars failed to indicate that there are mainstream terrorists and those forced into it by circumstances. Chapter three will endeavour to address this basic issue.

CHAPTER THREE

TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

3.1 The Historical Background to Terrorism in Nigeria

It is pertinent to delve into the history of terrorism from the world historical record before narrowing down to the historical background to terrorism in Nigeria. The history of terrorism is a history of well-known and historically significant individuals, entities, and incidents associated, whether rightly or wrongly, with terrorism. Scholars like Willey (1984), Balakian (2004) and Charliand (2007), agree that terrorism is a disputed term, and very few of those labeled terrorists describe themselves as such. It is common for opponents in a violent conflict to describe the other side as terrorists or as practicing terrorism.

According to Charliand (2007), Scholars dispute whether the roots of terrorism dates back to the 1st century and the *Sicarii* Zealots, to the 11th century and the *Al-Hashshashin*, to the 19th century and the Fenian Brotherhood and Narodnaya Volya or other eras. However, a good number of scholars including Nash, (1998), Reich (1998), Rapoport (2001), and Marsella and Moghaddam (2004), consider the earliest acts of terrorism to have started in ancient Palestine during the first century CE, when Jewish citizens sought freedom from Roman occupation by engaging in assassinations of Romans and suspected Jewish collaborators. One group was called the *sicari* because of their favoured use of the *sica* or short dagger to murder Jewish collaborators. Another group, led by Simon Ben Koseba, exhibited intense fanaticism by killing mainly Romans and Greeks, often in open display of violence similar to those seen today. This group was called the Zealots, and it is from them that the present meaning of the word for individuals who are fanatics was derived.

By the early middle ages, a radical Muslim group in the middle East began to kill those who failed to follow fundamentalist versions of Islam. It was rumoured that these killers used *hashish* prior to their killings and it is from the term “*hashish*” that the modern word “assassin” was derived. Another group in India that functioned between the 7th and the 19th centuries are the thugees, from where the word “thug” was derived; they strangled their victims as an offering to the Hindu goddess of terror and violence.

According to Daftary (1995), it is widely held that the beginnings of modern terrorism occurred in Russia around (1880) when a radical ideological group, *Narodnaya Volya* (The people’s will), used terrorism to attempt to overthrow the Czarist state. In the years that followed, anarchists, political ideologues, and demented individuals used assassination and bombings in killing some top political figures in diverse countries; for instance, the killing of the United States of America president William McKinley in 1901 and Ferdinand Archduke of Austria in 1914. Hodgson (2005), averred that the English word “terrorism” comes from the French term “*regime de la terreur*” (the reign of terrors), that swept across the country between September 5, 1793 – July 28, 1794, in the course of the French revolution. Hodgson however, noted that some modern scholars do not consider the reign of terror a form of terrorism in part because it was carried out by the French State.

In the record of Ross (2006), it is important to reflect that he averred that one of the earliest groups to utilize modern terrorist techniques (in the likes of powerful, stable and affordable explosives – especially the use of dynamite) was arguably the Fenian Brotherhood and its offshoot of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. They were both found in 1858 as revolutionary and militant nationalist groups both in Ireland and amongst the emigre community of United States of America. Ross, equally pointed out that there has been recent

debate following the release of the film “Exodus, Gods and kings” on whether the actions of Moses depicted in the Bible and the plagues visited on the Egyptian people including the mass murder of children could be considered terrorism. As it is, it is not in the scope of this work to define that, that of course, should be a suggestion for further study.

In general human life experience, every problem has a cause. The violence which grew to terrorism endemic in Nigeria today did not evolve from the blues. Abinitio, there reigned peaceful state of affairs in Nigeria, hence Madubuko (2008), rightly observed:

The history of pre-colonial Nigeria indicates that the independent entities of Nigerian nation lived in peace and harmony. There was socio-political and economic stability in these various entities. Leaders proved to be leaders in matters affecting their various ethnic populations. The society was organized in such a way that each person was his brother’s keeper. This was the situation until the advent of the British Colonial mongers. Since then, Nigeria has lost its innocence and the values of a just and egalitarian society. (p. 106).

The statement above portrayed a pointer to that which brought chaos and violence to the Nigeria shores. The British once they landed on the Nigerian shores wasted no time in usurping control of the affairs of the independent native kingdoms and empires of the local communities and shattered their sovereignty through fraudulent treaties of protection and politics of divide and rule. Religion was equally manipulated to foster political crises in the pre-colonial and colonial era in Nigeria.

Boer (1984) and Tasié (2003), respectively, are both of the view that the missionary enterprise of the Europeans to Nigeria during the pre-colonial era is characterized by falsehood

and is more of an irony. The motive behind the so called missionary outreach is nothing but to empower the economy of that nation while gaining dominance of Nigerian economy and her government. Little wonder some religious extremists and the militants sects like Boko-Haram detests, abhors, and loathes everything Western and European. M. Asan and Y. Usman (personal communication, December 15th, 2014), both well grounded Islamic adherents, concluded that the western missionaries simply came to intimidate African states with their culture and this was the bedrock of disintegrations and hatred that is being bred amongst African states and within local tribes as visualized in Nigeria.

The missionaries came with bible on the right hand and weapons to plunder on the other hand and foolishly, Nigerian local chiefs embraced their extension of so called love and favour through which they permeated and destroyed the local system of government in existence and indirect rule policy set in. Madubuko (2008), recorded that during the reign of slave trading, Britain took the lead in the trade thoroughly depleting and exploiting the human resources of Africans including Nigeria. But when the industrial revolution started in Britain as a result of discoveries of new uses of the steam engine, the services of slaves were no longer needed in Europe; there arose the need at that time to find alternative trade against slavery. This on the other hand led to a more compelling need for Britain to gain access to the interior of Nigeria for raw materials needed to feed the British industrial machines for the mass production of goods. It was not surprising therefore that Britain which championed the cause of slave trade over three decades became repentant over night and with the same old tool of “the missionaries”, fought for the stopping of slave trade. The truth was that slave trade was no longer serving the interest of Britain, hence the need for its abolition.

Throughout the period the slave trade favoured and promoted the British interest, it was legitimate: the discovery of the steam engines and the attendant industrial revolution opened a new course in labour in Britain and the legitimate slave trade overnight became illegitimate. Sequel to this, the British government moved in their Christian missionaries who prepared the ground for the final colonization of Nigeria. These missionaries in any event of trouble calls for the assistance of the home government who always rose to the occasion. In this way, the British government rounded up Nigeria communities, Dukedoms, pocket empires and kingdoms: Balkanizing them through divide and rule politics.

The divide and rule politics entails the breaking up of Nigeria into different segments comprising of people with different cultural and religious backgrounds. Finally, through divide and rule politics, the last straw that broke the camels back in the journey into the endemic culture of chaos, and violence which has metamorphosed into terrorism in the recent times in Nigeria was set in: Nigeria was forged into one entity; the different nationalities that never wished to be one, and imposed a colonial constitution and rule on them. Thus the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern parts of Nigeria was realized in 1st January, 1914.

An eye opener to the reality of the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern parts of Nigeria in relation to terrorism in Nigeria today is the statement that Lord Lugard made in the face of the 1914 amalgamation; Afigbo (cited by Okoye, 2007), posited it thus:

It is only the accident of British sovereignty which has made Nigeria one country. Socially and politically there are deep differences between the major tribal groups. They do not speak the same language and they have highly divergent customs and ways of life and they represent different stages of culture. (p. 143).

Why then did the British amalgamate these divergent entities? This fragile foundation laid for the country by the colonial government engendered unhealthy rivalry amongst Nigerians till date. The British only considered the economic prospects; they never took time to sensitize the citizens involved on the need to do so, neither did they consider the unity and welfare of the citizens involved. There was no proper information or means of communicating tolerance, love, peace and understanding into the fabrics of the beings of the citizens therein, as M. Oddih, I. Ezeobi and U. Umeh (personal communication, August 25th, 2014), all emphasized in the same mode.

3.2 Indices of Terrorism in Nigeria

It is relevant to streamline once again what makes a violent act an act of terrorism. Again, this will equally help one not to confuse mere violent acts and conflicts with terrorism since all are not the same. It will equally aid in understanding the indices of terrorism in the Nigerian state. In order to achieve this, it is first necessary to make a distinction between those one would regard as “circumstantial terrorists and mainstream terrorists” (p. 21), as Imobighe (1989), pointed out. Circumstantial terrorists represent those who are forced into violence because normal channels of negotiations to redress perceived grievances are not open to them. Because they resort to violence out of necessity, they cannot be regarded as belonging to the class of mainstream terrorists. This group includes liberation movements, people resisting foreign occupation or local oppression, and those struggling for self-determination. A good example of this existed during the nationalist struggle in Asia in the 1951 and Africa in the

1960s and 1970s; during which the people had to resort to armed struggle as a result of refusal by the colonialists to accept a peaceful transfer of power.

The mainstream terrorists according to Imobighe (1989), belong to those who are not prepared to use available channels of negotiations to redress perceived grievance but prefer to coerce opponents into submission through the indiscriminate use of doses of violence. One could say that Osama Bin Laden transited into this group. He was clearly in the first camp during the time of soviet occupation of Afghanistan when he organized Taliban Fighters to resist that occupation. But his later apparent total reliance on violence to remedy perceived grievances puts him in the category of mainstream terrorists. This group also includes organizations, public functionaries or state authorities that deny others opportunities for peaceful negotiations under all forms of pretext and who rely solely on their ability to coerce their opponents to submission. In line with this distinction, Imobighe (2006), stated:

We can modify our definition of terrorism and use the concept to refer to the indiscriminate and sporadic use of various forms of violence in place of peaceful negotiations to redress perceived grievances, in which the target is not limited to the combatants, but includes all those who are directly or remotely connected with them (p. 54).

This definition clearly posits that any individual or state denying other individuals or groups (whether minority or majority) their basic rights, needs and benefits by force, coercion, intimidation and violence are equally terrorists, more especially when their adamant refusal to give in to peaceful negotiations lures the minority or majority groups or individuals to resort to terrorism to actualize their targets.

Having made the above distinctions, it is equally pertinent to reflect the actions that a few other terrorist analysts refer to as terrorism. For instance Badey (2005), averred that what makes something an act of terrorism and what makes someone a terrorist has absolutely nothing to do with the cause or concern to which they have dedicated themselves, but rather the method they use to further their objectives. According to him, terrorism refers to tactics and strategies. Even the most honourable and worthwhile causes have, on occasion, been championed by individuals who resort to employing dishonourable and immoral means of attaining their goals.

Fox and Levin (2005), maintained that no matter their motivation, terrorist attacks are typically random and symbolic. They are designed to spread shock waves of fear and anxiety, to send a message to government officials, military leaders, or some segment of the public. Moreover, because it is widely regarded by the society as deviant act, terrorism causes a general sense of outrage among the population. Unlike Conflict which the most extreme form can result in wars owing to struggle for a scarce resource and so on; deaths on the battlefield are usually thought of differently: citizens are saddened by the loss of life, but they can typically accept battle casualties as an inevitable, but legitimate, outcome of warfare. By contrast, the average citizen regard citizen terrorist tactics as illegitimate, even immoral or evil. Terrorists who target innocent victims or well-liked government officials are regarded as nothing less than monsters who exist outside the rules of a civilized society.

As this work takes focus on terrorism externalized in the socio-political terrain of Nigeria; it could then be traced backward to 1980 during the regime of the civilian government headed by Alhaji Shehu Shagari which occurred in Kano State as Adeyanju, Olasehinde and Emua (2014), observed. The military regime of general Ibrahim Babangida featured several

assassinations and terrors including the assassination of a renowned journalist Dele Giwa via a letter bomb; Major Gen. Mamman Vasta and nine other military officers over an alleged attempted coup that was never carried out. This struck fear in the hearts of the average Nigerian citizen. During the military regime of Late Sani Abacha, Nigeria equally witnessed another level of terrorism as killings of innocent people were rampant including the assassinations of Alhaja Kudirat Abiola, Moshood Abiola, Alfred Rewane, Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, Ken Saro Wiwa and eight of his Ogoni compatriots.

It is vivid then that in the twilight of military rule in Nigeria, state conducted murder had become the order of the day, thus making it difficult to pin the crime on any one. Assassination became rife, and the victims were mainly those who were perceived by the establishment and the powers that be as obstacles to further exploitation of Nigerians or some other self serving targets. Madubuko (2008), noted again that during the Obasanjo's regime (1999 – 2007), more than 50 eminent Nigerians, including a sitting minister of justice and Attorney General of the Federation, Chief Bola Ige, and two South-South vice chairmen of the all Nigeria peoples party (ANPP), and Peoples democratic Party (PDP), Dr. Marshal Harry and Chief Aminosoari Dikibo, respectively, have died in suspected political assassinations.

Odey (1999), on his part pointed out that the worst vicious mans inhumanity to man in respect of heads of state perpetrated terrorism was experienced in Nigeria during the Gen Sani Abacha's military regime between 1993 and 1998. Odey pointed out that at a point people around Sani Abacha claimed that to oppose him was like opposing God Almighty. Abacha's regime was the regime that posited the worst state terrorism ever experienced in Nigeria. Those were the most awful years of Nigeria's political topsy-tovydom and military buccaneering. In his morbid ambition to rule an unwilling people forever, Abacha killed many

of the best and the brightest elite sons and daughters of Nigeria and virtually turned Nigeria into a large prison yard as his minions hounded every man and woman who dared to show some discomfort over the crimes he committed against humanity. Those that fell victim to this include: Gani Fawehinmi, President Olusegun Obasanjo, Dr. Beko Ransome-Kuti, George Mbah, Nosa Igiebor, Chief Anthony Enahoro, Kunle Ajibade, Frank Ovie Kokori, Chris Anyanwu, Ben Charles Obi and other innumerable political prisoners under his mad reigme. Odey finally described Gen. Sani Abacha's general relationship with the average Nigerian citizen thus:

The people were afraid of Abacha and Abacha was afraid of the people. The people were afraid because he had no moral scruples. He was afraid of the people because of the backlog of his crimes. He was afraid of a backlash. The bitterness which he created in the hearts of Nigerians will last as long as his detestable memory linges. (p.11).

Thus Abacha's regime can be described as the reign of terror in Nigeria. However, this work submits that his sudden and mysterious death equally made it possible for most of his terroristic acts to come to the fore because it struck momentary fear in the hearts of his puppets, evil perpetrators and the average Nigerian citizen. The other heads of state like Major Gen. Ibrahim Babangida might have covered some of their crimes as they had a live and swift hand over that was not tainted by sudden death nor military *coup de tat*.

The Niger-Delta crisis is another act of terrorism expressed in Nigeria between the year 2006 and 2009 which rocked South-South and South-East of Nigeria, putting fear in the heart of Nigerians. The act of terrorism that spread from Olusegun Obasanjo's regime to that of Late Alhaji Umaru Musa Yaradua really truncated the economy of Nigeria by affecting the quantity

of crude oil produced from over 2 million barrels per day to 1.6 million barrels per day. I. Aduba, R., Wrigglinton and R. Ibiemeh (personal communication, February 1st, 2015), all deduced that the Niger delta crisis which resulted in formation of some terrorist cells groups was purely socio-politically propelled owing to the feeling of deprivation that the locals felt as oil in their land is being mined while they wallow in abject poverty for their land, water and air are polluted and they rarely get employment in the oil companies in question.

The general elections of Nigeria especially that of April 2007 and April 2011, respectively registered 200-400 deaths pertinent to terrorism according to the 2006-2014 fourth report on the terrorism in Nigeria by the Nigerian watch. This team maintained that access to reliable crime statistics in Nigeria are still a problem. For instance, between 1990 and 2003, the police failed to produce any annual reports. Even today, they do not keep adequate records and sometimes manipulates data to produce artificially low numbers. Ad hoc press conferences on crime provide no information on national trends. They seldom give relevant figures and reveal many discrepancies. Successive Inspectors-General of Police, for instance, have made contradictory statements on the number of alleged armed robbers killed by their men: inflating them to boast on their “success” when speaking to the local press, or deflating them when reporting to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions. The resultant effects, as the Nigerian watch on terrorism 2006-2014 version reported, is their continuous reliance on several open sources, including official data whenever available; the figures are then crosschecked irrespective of the facts that they are more often than not, not exhaustive. Yet they constitute reliable samples as their constant reliance on the margin of error from year to year and from one region to another to pose only slight differences given the rate of technological and scientific development in Nigeria.

A new wave or version of terrorism erupted again at the beginning of Goodluck Jonathan's regime in 2010. This has to do with kidnapping; and was rife in the South Eastern part of Nigeria. Some persons believed that the unemployment, general hardship and corruption in the country accounted to that. The kidnappings became so common in Aba that at a point, school children will be kidnapped and ransom money as low as N10,000 and N5,000 will be demanded as against the initial millions of naira that the kidnappers used to demand. People became so scared of walking in the streets at nights or when it is lonely. Olusina and Okolie (2013), pointed out that at a point, armed robbers and other criminals started abandoning their trades for the more lucrative business of kidnapping. The Regional vice President, Africa, American society for industrial security, Mr. Dennis Amachiree (cited by Olusina and Okolie), disclosed that of the top 10 countries with high kidnapping records in 2007, Nigeria occupied the 6th position; but had moved up to the 3rd position in a short period of time behind Mexico and Columbia.

Kidnapping in the South-Eastern part of Nigeria between 2010 and 2015 created untold fear in the lives of the populace especially the wealthy class. People became afraid of travelling except with security men; the Christmas period that features mass returns and travels to peoples home towns and villages became a nightmare as all were afraid of kidnappers. Kidnapping on the other hand posed great challenges to the police, the more they fight and arrest kidnappers, the more they emerge from the oblivion. Instances follows: Ujumadu (2012), reported that on August 8th, 2012, Anambra police command recorded one of its greatest harvests of suspected kidnappers and armed robbers in recent times, following the arrest of 13 persons in one day; Jaan (2013), recorded of the kidnapping of the wife of Senator George Sekibo of Rivers State alongside two others on March 24, 2012; which later led to the

arrest of 14 suspects in a two week succession. Obe (2013), as well recorded of the kidnapping of the People's Democratic Party chairman in Anambra State, Mr. Ken Emeakayi: whereas, the Anambra State Commissioner of police, Mr. Usman Gwary confirmed the arrest of 20 suspected kidnapers on Tuesday, April 1st, 2014. Kidnapping in Anambra State became so rife that the then Governor of Anambra State, Mr. Peter Obi endorsed that the punishment for kidnapers and kidnapping in the state will then onwards be death penalty after proper investigation and trial.

As it stood then, while most of the kidnap victims regained their freedom after the payment of ransom, some others were murdered, even after ransom was paid. One of such persons as reported by Igbokwe (2012), was the managing Director of "God is good Motors", Mr. Edwin Ajarere, who was reportedly abducted and murdered after his abductors collected N60 million ransom from the family. Barely two weeks after that, another Benin-based millionaire and owner of Alpha Furniture Company, located at the Ikpoba Slope, Benin City, Mr. Osazee Ebhounwan, was kidnapped and killed according to Igbokwe's report. A Benin-based musician, bayo Ade, was also kidnapped in Benin City, just as Action congress of Nigeria (CAN) Chieftain, Chief Thomas Ahanor, was kidnapped in oza village and was also killed after ransom was collected. The same fate equally met the former Deputy Governor of Anambra State, Dr. Chudi Nwike who was kidnapped on March 19, 2013; he was later killed by his kidnapers who demanded a N30 million ransom and actually collected a negotiated amount. The shameful part of this story was that the kidnapers were never apprehended nor was there any trace of their dealings ever heard again. Anambra State just lost a whole former Deputy Governor as if it were a trifle event.

One of the most bizarre cases of kidnap terrorism occurred on December 31, 2011, according to Igbokwe (2012), when a 27-year-old man who simply called himself Emma, buried his kidnapped victim alive. Emma, a native of Owahawa, in Ughelli South Local Government Area was so haunted by his crime that he confessed to the police eight months after. Making a statement in lieu of kidnapping, a traditional ruler, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, (cited by Igbokwe), said that;

It is a point and pick situation in Anambra State. If you refused to abide by forces that determine what your case should be, the next news would be that the very person was kidnapped. It's not about the money but to blackmail their victim or to induce fear in the lives of others in the society as an example. (p. 4).

Thus, this clearly portrays terrorism in Nigeria as all these indicates that people clearly take to acts of terrorizing the populace or people in authority once they feel in lack, opposition to their whims and caprices and when they want to blackmail. Thus in the case of kidnapping for instance, Igbokwe (2012), recorded that According to the campaign from democracy reports gathered, Anambra State has the highest incidence of kidnapping of 273 persons, Imo State recorded 265 cases, Abia State recorded 215 cases, Enugu state recorded 95 cases, Ebonyi recorded 90 cases; and in all, a total number of 938 prominent sons and daughters of the South-East were kidnapped between January 2008 and August 2012. The group as well noted that the total number of people kidnapped had paid ransoms valued at about N1.2 billion within the period under investigation. This so far, had been the only official document. Kidnapping was later put under check then with the eventual arrest and execution of a notorious kingpin, Obioma Nwankwo also known as *Osisikankwu*.

It is worthy of noting the terror unleashed in Imo State and environs within the first half of the year, 2015. Ndukwe (2015), recorded it that Henry Chibueze also known as vampire, had been giving the police and residents of Imo State and environs sleepless nights. Vampire as in his alias is a suspect behind many high profile kidnapping of wealthy peoples, top politicians and well placed personalities in Imo State, and in most cases the assassination of the victims, if they prove stubborn. The terror he created in and around Imo State led to the directive from the Governor of Imo State. Rochas Okorochoa, for all the security operatives to go on an all out war on him. He was later apprehended on the occasion of his laying ambush to kidnap some electoral Tribune judges who were lodged at the Disney Hotel located along Onitsha-Owerri Road. His alias name alone “Vampire”, is enough to send cold shivers down anyone’s spine. Kidnapping still occurs on random mode, whereas the nation Nigeria is still ravaged with various communal terrorisms.

3.3 Terrorist Groups in Nigeria

It is pertinent to look at the two major religions of the world and their susceptibility to terrorism in order to understand vividly the role of religious fundamentalism in perpetuating terrorism in Nigeria and how it equally aids in the formation of the major terrorist groups in Nigeria. It is clear that the terrorist groups in Nigeria have either religious fundamentalism or ethnicity as its brainchild. As already posited in the scope of this work, the two major religions being studied are Islam and Christianity. Hoffman (2005), contends that in contrast to secular terrorism, religious terrorism is inspired by theological demand and not by political concerns. Religious terrorists see violence as a sacramental act or divine duty. Whereas secular terrorists

have an external audience, including aggrieved populations on behalf of which they are fighting against colonial or oppressive regimes, religious terrorists are their own audience. They speak to no human constituency but to God. They need no approval from external constituencies since they are spiritually self-sufficient.

Religious terrorists can both perpetrate violence and justify it. And because they have no external audience, they are not restrained in the use of force. According to Hoffman (2005), this sense of alienation also enables the religious terrorists to contemplate far more destructive and deadly types of terrorists operations. Another characteristics of religious terrorists is their open-ended definition of the enemy; they would strike anyone who in their fancy is God's enemy. While this core characteristics are common to religious terrorists of all faiths, Hoffman argues that they are most closely associated with Islamic terrorist groups. He traces the roots of modern Islamic terrorism back to the 1979 Iranian revolution that overthrew the Shah and installed the Shia theocracy. Hunt (2006), on his part contended that the premier Islamic terrorist of recent years was Yasser Arafat. He perpetrated numerable terrorist acts through his terrorist group "Fatah", and later through the Palestine Liberation Organisation as he became their chairman in 1969 as already pointed out in this work.

According to Hunt (2006), there have been more revolutions, assassinations, and terrorist acts in Muslim countries, Muslim against Muslim, than in all rest of the world combined. In his record, from 1948 to 1973 there were eighty revolutions in the the Islamic world, thirty of them successful, including the murder of twenty-two heads of state. King Abdullah Ibn Hussein bin Talal was assassinated in Jerusalem in 1951 by a Palestinian. His grandson, King Hussein 1, who succeeded him, escaped a number of assassination attempts. Saudi Arabia's King Faisal was shot to death by his nephew. Muslims attempted to kill Egypt's

Nasser, and the Muslim brother-hood succeeded in assassinating his successor, Anwar Sadat – a deed that received Arafat’s public applause. In his turn, Sadat’s successor, Hosni Mubarak (Commander of the Egyptian Air Force during the 1973 Yom Kippur War), narrowly escaped a number of attempted assassinations. These are all Muslims terroristic activities they inflicted amongst themselves.

Gold (2003), pointed out that Western intelligence has verified that the Saudi government has funded terrorist organizations such as Osama Bin Laden’s Al Qaeda, the PLO, Hamas, Hizballah, and others. Palestinian terrorism alone according to his report, was supported with more than \$4 billion between 1998 and 2003. Thomas (cited by Hunt, 2006), noted that Sheik Saad Al-Buraik, prominent Saudi government cleric, hosted a two-day telethon that raised \$109 million from Saudi viewers for the families of Palestinian “martyrs”. In a Riyadh government mosque in April 2002, al-Buraik (cited by Hunt) declared:

I am against America until this life ends.... She is the root of all evils and wickedness on earth Muslim brothers in Palestine, do not have any mercy, neither compassion on the Jews.... Their women are yours to take.... Allah made them yours.... Wage jihad ... pillage them (p. 155).

Hunt, thus maintained that after a yearlong study of more than two hundred original documents published in Saudi Arabia and distributed through mosques in the United States, the human rights group, Freedom house, in an eighty-nine-page report declared that Saudi Arabia is spreading “hate propaganda”. The literature incites ordinary Muslims attending mosques to hate Christians and Jews and to kill any Muslim who converts to another religion; to equally behave in the United States as if one is on a mission behind enemy lines.

Islamic terrorism as it stands out as the terrorist acts committed by Muslim groups or individuals who profess Islamic or Islamists motivations or goals. By and large they rely on particular interpretations of the tenets of the Quran and the hadith, citing these scriptures to justify violent tactics including mass murder, genocide, and slavery. In recent times, incidents of Islamic terrorism have occurred on a global scale, occurring not only in Muslim-majority states in Africa and Asia, but also in Europe, Russia, and the United States, and such attacks equally target non-Muslims. The United States Department of Counterterrorism according to Sisto (2015) recorded that there are up to 27 major Islamic terrorist groups all over the world.

This work has shown clearly that religious fundamentalism and fanaticism can lead to violence and the offshoot is more often than not terrorism. Generally, it is viewed as if there are no Christian terrorist groups, and that Christianity has no tendency towards violence or terrorism in any way. The reverse however is the case as some Christians and Christian groups or denominations tend to be fanatical and terroristic.

Aho (1995), pointed out that Christian terrorism comprises terrorist acts by groups or individuals who cite motivations or goals that they interpret to be Christian, or within a more basic context of sectarian violence and prejudices such as religious intolerance. As with other forms of religious terrorism, they cite interpretations of some biblical passages and tenets of their faith to justify the terrorism. The two often quoted biblical passages used by Christian terrorist groups are Mt. 5:38 which states "You have heard that it had been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth": And as well Luke 22:36; "... he that had a purse, let him take it, and likewise his script: and he that had no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one". More often than not these two passages and other biblical passages from the Old Testament portion

of the bible especially from the book of Exodus are often misinterpreted out of context to foster violence and terrorism.

Major Christian terrorist groups includes the Army of God, Society for Jesus, Ku Klux Klan, Phinehas Priesthood, the Sword, the Covenant and many others. Cooperman (2003), who listed some of these Christian terrorist groups noted that there are up to 15 Christian terrorist groups around the globe. Worthy of noting is the terrorist activities of the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda; It is a cult and guerilla army that was engaged in armed rebellion against the Ugandan government in 2005. It has been accused of using child soldiers and of committing numerous crimes against humanity; including massacres, abductions, mutilations, torture, rape, and using forced child laborers as soldiers, porters, and sex slaves. Rice (2007), noted that they are a quasi-religious movement that mixes some aspects of Christian beliefs with its own brand of spiritualism. It is led by Joseph Kony, who proclaims himself the spokesperson of God and a spirit medium, primarily of the "Holy Spirit" which the Acholi believe can represent itself in many manifestations. The Lord's Resistance Army fighters according to Rice wear rosary beads and recite passages from the Bible before battle.

The terror unleashed by Christians unto fellows Christians and non-Christians alike can be traced again down to the Middle Ages especially during the inquisitions wherein those that attempt to criticize the Papal bulls and powers were tagged heretics. The methods used in intimidating the heretics were barbaric and basically inhuman in all ramifications. Smith (1953), recorded that men pondered long in those days on how they could devise methods that would produce the most torture and pain. One of the most popular methods was the use of the rack, a long table on which the accused was tied by the hands and feet, back down, and stretched by rope and wind lass. This process dislocates joints and cause great pains that leads

to death. Foxe (2001), on the other hand recorded of heavy pinchers that were used to tear out finger nails or were applied red-hot to sensitive parts of the body. Rollers with sharp knife blades and spikes used, over which the heretics were rolled back and forth; and the thumb screw, an instrument made for disarticulating fingers and Spanish boots which were used to crush the legs and feet.

Smith (1953), specifically recorded of the “Iron Virgin”, a hollow instrument the size and figure of a woman. The knives therein were arranged in such a way and under such pressure that the accused were lacerated in its deadly embrace. This torture device was sprayed with “holy water” and inscribed with the Latin words meaning ‘Glory be only to God” (p. 286). On account of these terrorist acts, Pope John Paul II made a sweeping apology on 12th March, 2000 for the 2,000 years of violence, persecution and blunders committed by the Roman Catholic Church. He plainly asked forgiveness as recorded by Carroll (2000), for the use of violence that some have committed in the service of truth, and for attitudes of mistrust and hostility assumed towards followers of other religions.

The activities of the three specific terrorist groups in Nigeria that wrecked more havoc will be highlighted as most of them owes their formation either to religious fundamentalism or ethnicism. However there abounds other terrorist groups that are operating in camera and new groups that are emerging as Alechenu, Soriwei and Baiyewu (2015), reported; Thus in their record for instance, they noted that as Nigeria grapples with the terroristic activities of the fundamentalist Boko Haram sect, other terror groups like the movement for oneness and Jihad in West Africa, and the MOJAO, a splinter group of the International terror group, al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb; has emerged.

The Nigeria Delta people's volunteer force is amongst the militants, groups marked as terrorist groups in Nigeria by the Federal Government of the country. They carry out acts of terror which includes bombing of refinery equipment and kidnapping of oil merchants in Nigeria on various times. They upheld that their aim in doing such is that they seek redress for the way the oil in Ijaw land is being utilized by the Federal Government of Nigeria without compensating the real land owners. The leader of this group as had already been dealt with in the empirical studies of this work is Mujahid Dokuba – Asari. The group was formed in 2004. They also engage in “Oil bunkering”, a process in which a petroleum pipeline is tapped and the petroleum extracted onto a barge. Bunkering is illegal in the eyes of both the Nigerian state and the petroleum corporations.

Another notorious terrorist group from the Niger Delta of which their leaders are obscure as they do not actually project them are the “Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta” (MEND). It had been active since 2004 and came up to the fore when Asari Dokubo, the leader of the Niger Delta people's volunteer force was incarcerated in 2015. According to Hanson (2007), the group portrays itself as a political organization that wants a greater share of Nigeria's oil revenues to go to the impoverished region that sits atop the oil. It is more of an umbrella organization for several armed groups, which it sometimes pays in cash or guns to launch attacks. MEND has equally been linked to attacks on petroleum operations in Nigeria as part of the conflict in the Niger Delta, engaging in actions including sabotage, theft, property destruction, guerilla warfare and kidnapping.

The instances of the timeline nefarious activities of the MEND as Izundu (2014), sampled includes; killing of 9 officials for the Italian petrol company in 2006 at Port Harcourt, killing of Baker Hughes, an executive with the United States – based oil company on May 10,

2006; kidnapping of 16 crew members of a Norwegian rig offshore; bombing a hotel in Warri in January 12, 2012; incessant kidnappings and release with huge ransom amounts; hijacking a Filipino operated oil vessel near Bony Island in February 4, 2013; and other numerous terrorist activities.

As experienced in the terrorist activities and groups in Nigeria, the Boko Haram episode stands in a unique way as the most single case of violence and terrorism which demystified the government of Nigeria, weakened her and held her and her citizens captive. The name Boko Haram means “Western education is forbidden”. A group that started since 2002, in the closet, their activities later led to a violent uprising in July 2009 in which its former leader and founder Mohammed Yusuf was executed. They resurged unexpectedly again in 2010 following a mass prison break at Bauchi in 2010. According to the report portrayed by Kessler (2014), Boko Haram had killed over 12,000 civilians and security forces members in Nigeria since 2009, had rendered over 1.5 million persons homeless in the North-east, North-central and Central Nigeria, and had abducted over 1 million women and children since 2009.

Presently, the Boko Haram’s leader is Abubakar Shekau. It is important to note the assistance of the Russia’s arm and amenities supplies that have helped in combating their insurgent attacks recently and the incumbent Federal Governments effort in seeking foreign aid to battle their terroristic activities. The fight continues, irrespective of all odds as Boko Haram’s members believe that they are fighting a just course in order to overthrow government of Nigeria and establish an Islamic state.

3.4 Ethnic Terrorism in Nigeria

Here, this work will first portray the relationships between culture, religion and terrorism respectively as this will assist in understanding the wiles of terrorism and ways to counter it; this will bring to the fore the root causes of ethnic terrorism in Nigeria and how they are being fanned by the embers of religion and cultural elements.

At a glance, one can jump into the conclusion that there is no relationship between culture and terrorism, but then the reverse is the case. Terrorism is actually a psychological problem which can easily erupt owing to extreme cases of any form of deprivation or frustration. Smelser (2007), pointed out that culture disruptions can lead to or breed terrorism. For instance, the negative consequences of cultural domination, a regular feature of colonialism can never be overemphasized; as it perpetrates terrorism.

It always took the form of different efforts to civilize the dominated people, whether as a matter of direct colonial policies (as in the case of French Cultural Colonialism) or more indirectly, through the efforts of the missionaries. Such efforts were self consciously directed toward acculturation. Their typical effects were to create conditions of cultural confusion and a double ambivalence in the dominated population: Simultaneous attraction and repulsion to the cultural values of their oppressors and similar attraction and repulsion to their traditional way of life. For instance, the current Xenophobia wave that the South African indigenes meted on foreigners in their country is actually a case of feeling cheated and inferiority complex over the progress of immigrants in their country. Thus, they wrongly assumed that these immigrants are progressing and dominating them in all aspects of human endeavours in their father land. Speaking on this, Maromo (2015), reported that the south African president, Jacob Zuma

maintained that the Pretoria-South Africans are psychologically “sick” as a result of the violence inflicted upon the majority of the country’s people during the apartheid era. This was actually a statement he made during the 2015 national freedoms day celebrations at the Union Buildings in Pretoria. In other words, the long period of apartheid oppression meted on South Africans by the Europeans had instilled into them the tendency to resort to violence; which had gradually evolved over time to becoming a culture; and not just a culture but has metamorphosed to a culture of terrorism. Xenophobia as it is, is a dangerous form of terrorism that can cripple a nation’s economy and make them isolated from other nations of the world.

Furthermore, threading still on the vein of colonialism; it is important to note that even though the world might have outgrown the era of classical colonialism; the process of the international diffusion of competing cultural world-views, values and expectations has not. One of the principal forms of cultural diffusion which is secularization has engineered terrorist mindset in the fabrics of some cultures. Example, in more recent times, the religious impact of Western penetration into African hinterland had included continuous missionary efforts (mainly by mainstream churches and Pentecostal churches), but these efforts have been over whelmed by the forces of secularization that have eclipsed traditional religions in some of these parts of Africa. Williams (2002), pointed out that this influence has been of greatest consequence in the Muslim world, where fundamentalists and others decry threats to Islam and regarded secularized leaders of their countries with almost as much venom as they do the foreign unbelievers who have brought secularism to their lands. In Nigeria for instance, the Boko Haram terrorist group held tenaciously to hatred against everything Western as their stand for perpetrating terrorism in the country, as they believed that the westerners stifled the Nigerian locals and introduced strange and muffled, bedeviled cultural traits into them. They even view

the Western missionary enterprise vividly as being purely for all round domination of Nigeria and all that she stands for.

Thus with this in view, terrorism can then be created and propagated by the structural characteristics inherent in culture. In the case of secularization, especially as naïve cultural adherents are coerced to embrace cultures entirely strange and foreign to them, a culture of violence which can only be expressed through terrorist acts as have been pointed out can be propagated and prolonged by the continuity provided by historical and cultural memory as Franks (2006) indicated. In all then, no human culture has terrorism as an element of its traits rather it is formed over time via suppression in, oppression and foreign dominant cultural maneuvers.

Terrorism and the horrors that antecedes and as well equally precedes it is indescribable. More often than not, terrorism is equated to be propelled by religion especially as Stern (1999), and Benjamin and Simons (2002), averred. They all restricted terrorism to be fostered majorely by the “Sacred” and relegated it to purely an offshoot of religious fundamentalism. However, in as much as the worst form of terrorism more often than not accrues from that which is motivated by religion, religion is not only the propeller of terrorism because there are different forms of terrorism. More so, it is equally clear that religion and terrorism has no fundamental relationship; only that religious fundamentalism breeds terrorism as Gofwen (2004) maintained.

Ezenweke and Ajakor (2009), projected that the religious values of the religious groups in Nigeria can be used in promoting, upholding and in sustaining the democracy principles in Nigeria. This as they maintained stems from the fact that the major religions in the world and in

Nigeria hinge and teach on inculcating good virtues like love, peace, unity and so on. Likewise, this work maintains that there is no relationship between religion and terrorism; the only problem is that some religious leaders instead of making their preaching engagements to be persuasive, they rather make it inciting and insulting. They rarely weigh seriously and critically their utterances and actions. This more often than not incites and manipulates ignorant religious adherents into violence that often ends up in terrorism. That is what religious fundamentalism is equally all about; which is equally the only mode through which religion leads to terrorism.

In the traditional African world, according to Unimna (cited by Ugwueye, 2009), there is no distinction between culture and religion. Whatever someone does or groups actions are exhibited within the context of peculiar religious experiences. Religion pervades and permeates every aspect of the traditional African culture. Religion is a cultural system while the traditional African culture is religious. Culture shapes and determines the way some aspects of religion are practiced while religion gives meaning to cultural behaviours. In the same vein, Enwerem (cited by Nmah, 2009), maintained that “Religion dominates the roots of the culture area of Nigeria” (p. 27). Little or no distinction existed between the profane and the sacred dimensions of life. Thus, all activities, and instruments of governance and survival are clothed in religious ritual, language, and symbolism.

Society and culture are bound together by codes of behaviour, and by tacit agreements to live together in harmony. Pertinent to Nigeria as the case study in this work, all the ethnic groups in Nigeria identifies themselves by their religion. In other words, religion is always the center which holds their culture together. Home, farming, relationships marriage, birth and death, these are all common events in cultures; often, these events have a religious significance in the native African settings including Nigeria. Ugwueye (2009), gave this a vivid explanation

as he maintained that the gods that the traditional African religious man worships, the foods the gods eat, the languages used in praying to the gods, and even the dressing codes of the priests of the gods are all influenced by culture. Thus, religion and culture are basically interwoven.

Another point worthy of mentioning in respect of the relationship between culture and religion as it affects the traditional African setting is in values and norms. Okafor (cited by Ugwueye, 2009), pointed out that every culture has a set of values and norms that govern the behaviour of its peoples. Cultural norms stem from cultural values. They are more specific than cultural values. Cultural norms are normally grounded in rules, blue prints, procedures, prescriptions and standards which directs conducts on specific situations. Okafor (cited by Ugwueye), pinpointed it viz: “Every of these cultural norms has a religious and moral import. Because of their moral and religious import, the traditional African cultural laws bind the individuals in conscience in *foro interno*” (p. 185). thus, religion is cultural through and through, just as culture is religious through and through.

The crux of the matter here then is that the relationship between culture and religion is two ways. Culture affects religion because people must worship God via the known to the unknown; that is to say through what they know and understand around them (which is culture), to that which is beyond them (as in religious experiences). In the same way, the god’s (in the case of Polytheistic religion) or God (as in monotheistic religion), reaches mankind via the things that he can understand so that man can flow in their worship to the gods or God.

One then notices that, whenever members of one religion converts members of the foreign culture, often the resulting religion in that area is affected by the host culture. As already been seen in this work, when the Westerners brought Christianity to the Nigerian

Shores (the western culture already is serving as a bag with which Christianity is being conveyed; for no religion operates in a vacuum), Christianity being conveyed via the western culture influenced the Nigerian locals cultures in the sense that more often than not for one to be graded as an ardent Christian, one has to renounce most fundamental aspects of ones cultures. This is cultural domination and the resultant effects is mainly agitations, violence and finally terrorism ensues.

The Europeans with their Christianity in the Nigerian shores ended up condemning basic tenets of their culture. This attitude then evoked nationalism, (spirit of brotherhood) among the Nigerian populace. And wherein there is no room given for tolerance, terrorism prevails. This was what Chinua Achebe captured vividly in his fiction “Things Fall Apart”. Thus the relationship between Culture, Religion and Terrorism is a three-way pointer. Culture affects religion just as religion affects culture. In the case of cultural diffusions, secularisation and the current trends in globalisation (which are majorly offshoots of religious missionary enterprises) if there is no room for cultural tolerance, the end point is phobia for the dominating cultural norms and values. This is the case in Nigeria, it makes it impossible for the ethnic groups to tolerate each other and even the irrationality of this segregation equally breeds inter-ethnic terrorism in Nigeria as well.

According to Boluwatife (2015), it is no longer foreign to Nigeria that almost all the ethnic groups in the country has one militant group or the other that agitates for the political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic and economic interests of their people. Examples includes the O’Odua Peoples’ Congress (OPC) of the Yoruba, the Arewa Youth Consultative Forum (AYCF)of the Hausa, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign States of Biafra (MASSOB) of the Igbo, and Ogoni Youth and Ijaw Youth springing from the Niger Delta

regions respectively. Thus in lieu with the historical background that gave rise to terrorism in Nigeria, Boluwatife affirmed that every terrorist group that have had brutal impacts in Nigeria has been established based on tribe, Boluwatife (2015), cited the movement for the Actualisation of Sovereign States of Biafra as having staged series of attacks to facilitate the secession of the South-East towards achieving a sovereign Biafran State. Likewise, the Movement for the emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) was cited by him as one of the group that formented troubles aimed at securing recognition for the South-South from the Federal Government; in like manner, he saw the Islamic Boko Haram sect in the North-West as a clog in the wheel of the Nigeria nation's progress ever since their establishment in 2002. Thus pertinent to the division Nigeria suffers; it led to the civil war that lasted thirty months from 6th July 1967-15th January, 1970, claiming lives and properties. Memories of this war and the loses still linger in the minds of those who experienced it and has been passed on to the younger generation causing continued strife among the tribes involved which is still largely responsible for some unrests the country currently witnesses.

Again, since the beginning of the fourth democratic dispensation, Federal power has caused a major tussle among the various ethnic groups including minority groups. It has become the trend for at least one ethnic group per time to stage resistant actions against the government in Nigeria. During President Olusegun Obasanjo's leadership between 1999 and 2008, the South-South came up with several bodies of militants carrying out all sorts of crimes. This continued during Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's tenure. When President Goodluck Jonathan took over after the demise of President Yar'Adua in February 2010, the Boko Haram took the stage and unleashed a new lease of terror in the North. All though the Islamic insurgents have based their attacks in a couple of extremist demands such as asking for absolute abolishing of

every form of Western civilization as their name stands; Boko Haram in the words of Boluwatife (2015), “deceives people and their attacks are more politically motivated” (p. 4).

The intra-tribal and inter-tribal wars in diverse localities in Nigeria over land disputes portray terrorism endemic in the country. For instance, between 2002 and 2003 respectively, there were series of kidnappings as the Ogbunka and Owerre-Ezzukala communities in Orumba South Local Government area of Anambra State struggle over land dispute. They attacked each other by Nights and unawares, resulting in people sleeping outside their homes at Nights as a result of fear of night marauders attack. The same was witnessed between Aguleri and Umuleri communities in the 1990’s of which they had not yet recovered from the aftermath. It is equally important to note that many of these terrorist attacks and tactics were used as the Ikulu and Bajju communities in Kaduna State battled over the same land disputes in April, 2001, as Mamman and Tanko (2008), posited. The crisis in Warri metropolis in March 1997 equally resulted in the use of the same terrorist acts. Basey (2008), who carried out the case studies of Urhobo, Ijaw and Itsekiri communities disputes described it as the height of terrorism and bloody exchanges amongst local communities in Nigeria.

The recently concluded 2015 democratic elections in Nigeria equally featured traces of inter-ethnic terrorism. Nwabughioqu (2015), reported on Asari Dokubo’s statement on hearing how on Tuesday, January 20th, 2015, how some irate youth in Katsina attacked the convoy of the Former President Goodluck Jonathan during a campaign rally in that state. His statements were so violent as he maintained that not only the Northerners know how to terrorise. He declared that nobody has the monopoly of violence. Since the northerners can cause havoc that he too can. Asari Dokubo as well as the Former President Goodluck Jonathan is from Niger Delta. Asari’s statements were all geared towards the entire Northerner’s as he accused them of

being behind the Boko Harams sect that has been unleashing all sorts of terror in Nigeria. The state set then was tribalism in the wake of the Nigeria's 2015 democratic elections. Irrespective of the fact that the irate northerners youth actions were bad, that does not justify the terrorising statements of Asari Dokubo.

In lieu with the ethnic crisis in Nigeria, Imbobighe (cited by Achimugu, Atta-Agboni and Abdulahi, 2013), affirmed that Nigeria's fourth republic again stands out as a uniquely terroristic era. They maintained that the beginning of the new democratic dispensation which was enthroned on May 29, 1999 led to more escalated terrorisms in Nigeria both religious and ethnic wise. To capture this more graphically, Ugoh (cited by Achimugu, Atta-Agboni and Abdulahi), noted that within the first three years of Nigeria's return to democratic rule, it has witnessed more than forty violent communal and ethnic terrorisms. Alubo (cited by Achimugu, Atta-Agboni and Abdulahi), added that over 80 major eruptions have been recorded in the various sections of the country in the 55 months of civilian rule by September 2001, witnessing more 6,000 persons being killed in violent clashes. He further calculated that because of the persistence of the terrorisms, a figure of over 30,000 deaths would not be over estimate (from 1999-2011), which has never happened in any period of Nigeria's history (excluding the civil war), whereas the Nigeria watch, fourth report on terrorism 2006-2014 version recorded that between 1st June 2006 and 31st May, 2014; 14,006 lethal and terroristic acts were noted, resulting in 60,858 deaths. This so far is the officially recorded estimate on ethnic clashes and terrorism in Nigeria.

3.5 Terrorism in the 2015 Democratic Elections in Nigeria

The 2015 Presidential and Gubernatorial elections in Nigeria had been described by the International community and the European Union as free and fair. Nwanunobi (2015) pointed

out that the former Prime minister of the United Kingdom Mr. Tony Blair, in a statement by Rianne Buter his senior media manager congratulated Muhammadu Buhari on his victory and also hailed the then president, Goodluck Jonathan for conceding defeat. However, some Nigerian journalists and political veterans are of the view that the 2015 general elections are far from being free and fair. Edotimi (2015), described the 2015 presidential elections as being turned to a suicide pact for Nigerians young democracy. According to him, he insisted that the March 28, 2015 Presidential Elections were historically rigged and manipulated; thus, require thorough investigation and at least due process, rule of law according to the nations Electoral Laws and constitution. He pointed out that there are no qualitative differences between a president that in unseemly haste concedes defeat to be on the side of public opinion, out of fear of violence and political muteness, despite; abundantly clear irrevocable evidence of fraud, irregularities, massive underage voting in strongholds of the fraudulently then president-elect. He confidently affirmed that the former President Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's concession to defeat was for his safety, politics, for popularity, and unconscionably not in the interest of the growth of democracy in Nigeria: He affirmed that it miserably and morally failed to ensure the integrity of Nigerians voting process.

Edotimi (2015), described the then president-elects willingly acceptance of victory as fraudulent, self-perpetuating right to rule by all means necessary; in an election that saw a section, group and people of the Southeast, minorities and Christians of the middle-Belt, North and South-South of Nigeria massively humiliated and disenfranchised up to almost 8 million voters without any immediate investigation in contrast to Rivers State. He pointed out that the card Readers are manipulative as it was able to accredit, accept underage voters in no time but reject genuine voters even the then President's permanent voters card, and programmed to

function discriminatingly. Other criticisms to the 2015 just concluded democratic elections abound: Nkwopara, Umoru, Oke, Nnochiri, Ayansina and Mkom (2015), reported on how the struggle to win more governorship seats between the political parties on April 11th, 2015, shifted to the media with the two major political parties accusing each other of conspiring with the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), and security agencies to rig the governorship elections against them where they lost. According to their reports, the national publicity secretary of the All Progressive Congress (APC), Alhaji Lai Mohammed, painted a picture of how the elections in Rivers and Akwa Ibom were manipulated by the former President and the People's Democratic Party (PDP). On the other hand, the same report revealed how the PDP accused the All Progressive Congress (APC) of collaborating with INEC and security agencies to rig the elections across the country. According to the report, there are proofs of electoral manipulations ranging from under-aged voting, ballot stuffing and intimidation of PDP supporters to alteration of some aspects of the process, including figures in favour of the APC.

On the case of the acts of terrorism in the 2015 general elections in Nigeria, both the May 28th and April 11th Presidential and State executives elections respectively, featured untold terroristic acts. The case of the election riggings, as some had been aforementioned, facilitated most of the terroristic Acts. Nkwopara, Umoru, Oke, Nnochiri, Anyashina and Mkpom (2015), for instance, maintained that several members of the APC, who were being in the way of the PDP thugs from snatching ballot boxes on several cases in Akwa-Ibom were killed brutally. Other cases as reported by several journalists in the country thrives: Nnadi and Obi (2015), reported that a car was driven by an unidentified person and allegedly filled with some suspected "improvised Explosive Device" (IED), which exploded, shattering the said

vehicle on the road behind the WTC polling station in Ogui in Enugu State. According to their report, the Enugu State Commissioner of Police, Dan Bature, confirmed the explosion and equally intimated them that the bomb squad of the Enugu State Command later intervened and defused the remaining bombs and made the entire location safe: No casualties was recorded. Orude (2015), reported that a member of the Gombe State House of Assembly, Alhaji Umar Aminu, a policeman and seven other persons were killed by armed thugs on 28th March, 2015 in Nafada around Dukku and Nafawa Local Government Area of Gombe while they were being accredited. The report intimated that the armed thugs opened fire sporadically at the said polling station and killed the persons in question; the same thugs according to the same report burnt a bank and a police station in another attack in Dukku, forcing residents to scamper for safety: All geared towards disrupting the ongoing elections in those areas.

Alli and Ikuomola (2015), reported that on the 29th of March 2015, unidentified hoodlums believed to be supporters of one of the candidates in the presidential elections set the office of the INEC in Ugba town, Logo local Government Area of Benue State on fire. Fadare and Adeniyi (2015), on their part reported that twelve people were arrested in Osun State following the killings of two victims identified to be amongst those terrorizing electorates at Ikirin, the headquarters of Ifelodun Local Government Area and Ifetedo, in Ile Ife South Local Government Area, all in Osun State respectively. Thus this entails clash between two diverse terrorist groups. In Cross River, according to Orude (2015), four electoral officers were abducted at Yakurr Council in Ugep during the collation of results by unknown terrorists at gun points. In all then, Tsa (2015), and Nnochiri (2015), both quoted the Nigerian National Human Rights Commission Chairman, Professor Chidi Odinkalu as pointing out in a written statement that over 50 persons were killed in diverse terrorist attacks at almost all the states in the country

during the Saturday, 29th March 2015, Presidential elections in Nigeria. He maintained that citizens of Nigerias however should be commended as they managed to troop out to vote irrespective of the intimidations and terror posed by various political thugs at various polling stations in the country.

Furthermore, the April 11th Gubernatorial and State executives elections in Nigeria has been described by Tsenzughul (2015), as featuring widespread violence, death and manipulation of the electoral process by vested interests. This of course scarred the election all over the country. According to Tsenzughul, over twenty five persons were killed at specific areas in the country; pin pointing six deaths in Rivers, five each in Akwa Ibom and Kebbi, three in Imo, two in Cross River, and one each in Plateau and Bauchi States. Scores of other people were either wounded in attacks by thugs, or intimidated by them. The residence of the Rivers State Commissioner for women Affairs, Mrs. Joeba West, in Buguma, Asari Toru Local Government Area was torched by hoodlums: A reporter in one of the local tablaids, Rader Newspaper, Mr. Aniedi was abducted. The terrorisms witnessed previously on the 29th of march's Presidential elections induced fear in the lives of the citizens in the country thus effecting low turnout of voters generally all over the country. All these acts of terrorism perpetrated in the 2015 General elections were only for some individuals to see to it that their candidates assumes to power by all costs even if it means wasting innocent lives: This is share employing and imbibing terrorism to realize set goals whether just or unjust by means of intimidation, inducing fear and causing general panic.

3.6 Reasons for the Prevalence of Terrorism in Nigeria

Examining the persistence of terrorism from a global point of view, it is clear that terrorism can be curbed irrespective of all odds. Counter-terrorists and government authorities only needs to be patient in their approach because the fight against terrorism in any given state is always a long term affair and never the alternative. However, terrorism appears to prevail irrespective of the efforts to subdue it. The reason for this is not far fetched as have been gathered from the research of this work so far.

The Queer Ladder Theory exposes that terrorist cells are not difficult to groom nor finance. One single individual can start on ones own to create terror without any persons support. Thus no huge capital is needed at the base level to raise terrorist cells. Moreover, terrorists often in alchemic ways attract sympathizers that ends up financing them in large scales. Again, in a country like Nigeria wherein one will sincerely submit that good governance is rarely practiced gives more room to breed terrorism as there will continue to exist grievances of being marginalized, unemployed, looting of national treasury, corruption, injustices and lack of basic social amenities provided for the average citizens nor within their reach. All these facilitates the persistence of terrorism.

Furthermore, a look at the Rational Action theory brings to knowledge that terrorists are duty bound by their belief system to stay connected to the course of the one at the helm of affairs. They rarely derail nor loose focus. They always stay and maintain the course of their actions and goals till the end. Terrorists are rational thinkers and they plan their actions systematically, tactically, scientifically; and as well cleverly and cunningly, hence it is always difficult to predict their next line of actions.

Finally, terrorism persists because the state in fighting terrorism through raising of counter-terrorist makes the mistake, and of course grievous mistakes of ending up becoming the demons that they strive to expel; that is to say that they end up becoming terrorists themselves. Terrorism as well triumphs more in a situation wherein it is being matched with force.

In lieu with all that has been encountered in the course of writing this research work, and from responses gathered from various interviewees, it is obvious that there are three major reasons for the prevalence of terrorism in Nigeria; Ethnicity, Bad Governance and Insincerity. The 1914 amalgamation of the Southern and Northern pectorates of Nigeria was obviously done for economic reasons and to effect easy governance of Nigeria to favour the British colonialists. They never actually considered the fact that Nigeria is a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious country. Ethnicity in Nigeria gave room to the corollary tribalism, nepotism, internal and external struggle for power, marginalization in all ramifications, and superiority and inferiority complexes exhibited by some tribes in Nigeria hence some see themselves as the majority 'figure heads' while some place themselves as the minorities. F. Adesanya and O. Adi (personal communication, April 20th, 2014), both were of the view that the Nigerian citizens were not properly enlightened on the alchemies of amalgamation, and besides the "so called", right action was taken via the wrong mode.

In the wake of the Gubernatorial and state/local government executives elections of 11th April 2015, for instance, the Oba of Lagos Rilwan Akiolu, in an unconcealed threat, stated that if the Igbo do not vote his candidate for the Governorship election in Lagos, Mr. Akinwumi Ambode, they will face the consequence of perishing in the Lagos lagoon. This threat as reported by Akinsanmi (2015), spread throughout the country like wild fire because it

is nothing short of tribalism, segregation and unleash of terror on the parts of the Igbo in Lagos State.

The Oba of Lagos made this statement to terrorize the Igbo in Lagos as he was apprehending their unanimous decision to vote the People's Democratic Party's candidate Mr. Jimi Agbaje, just like they voted the then incumbent president, Goodluck Jonathan. Adichie (2015) and Peter Obi (cited by Obi, 2015), both referred to the threat as worrisome, inflammatory and capable of truncating the unity of the country if he actually made it. Similar unguarded statements had abinitio made the Igbo to leave the North in droves: Such a statement coming from a respected Icon of a leader like the Oba of Lagos will cause disaster. Such statements as this springs from the evil seed of tribalism because Lagos is primarily located in Yoruba land. O. Okpala (personal communication, September 17th, 2015), maintained that if such threats were to be posed to the Hausa people in the Eastern part of Nigeria, they will begin to kill the Igbo in the North in droves.

The truth still remains that each tribe in Nigeria embraces one peculiar religion that weaves in *pari-pasu* with their culture; Igbo are predominantly Christians, Hausa, Fulani and Tivs are predominantly Muslims, while the Yoruba are both Christians and Muslims. This actually makes one to be misled at times into viewing the crisis, violence, and terrorisms in Nigeria as basically religions but the reverse is the case; they are more often than not politically master minded, as C. Tasié, O. Okoye and S. Onuegbu (personal communication, September 26th, 2015), highlighted. With the tool of the Marxian theory of incessant class struggle in the society to obliterate oppression, the reasons for tribalistic perpetrated terrorism in Nigeria becomes ever obvious.

Bad Governance, which is the second major reason for the prevalence of terrorism had equally been agreed on by scholars like Nass (2012), Nnoli (2008) and (2011), respectively, as one of the major causes of terrorism in various African states. The negative effects of Bad Governance in a country like Nigeria can never be overemphasized. Unemployment, poverty, lack of basic social amenities, corruption, inflation and deflation and other related bad conditions in the society that breeds all forms of social vices are courtesy of Bad Governance. The Queer ladder theory as already posited in this work makes it clear that terrorism abounds in countries where the Government is bad which often produces general discomfort and hardship in the country. S. Adio, S.U. Horsfall, D. Okeke and O. Anex (personal communication, August 17th, 2015), all reechoed that Bad governance makes the Nigerian leaders to take decision without proper assessment, a view at posterity and proper review of circumstances at a given epoch; whether it will favour such policies or not.

Finally, the last reason for the prevalence of terrorism in Nigeria which is insincerity is rife in Nigeria. Most citizens of Nigeria are basically insincere with themselves, their consciences and with the fact that they ought to be patriotic to their father land. Just like Nass (2012) who maintained in his words thus;

Africans may not be justified in laying all their problems at the door step of the West's involvement in slave trade and colonialism. If the Europeans were guilty of slave trade, the African ancestors were more morally and ethically guilty of same for willingly catching and selling out their young men and women into slavery in exchange for cheap mundane goods. In which case, Africans should accept their own share of the blame for their present predicament and stop heaping all the blame at the doorstep of Europe and America. Colonialism was after all not all evil. It had its own good side. (p. 115).

In like manner, Nigerians should not keep holding unto the 1914 amalgamation as a pointer to the innumerable bickerings, crisis, terrorisms and continuous state of anarchy amongst citizens and tribes in Nigeria. Insincerity on the part of the citizens of the country makes them not to be able to tolerate one another and respect as well as accept the fact that they are all one in Nigeria irrespective of tribe or ethnic groups. Nass exposed that Africans in contemporary times are exploiting themselves, effort then should be directed at ending the new forms of internally – directed injustices, rather than turning a blind eye to on-going forms of class slavery and exploitation and diverting attention to exploitations of centuries past. In the same vein, Nigerians should learn to be sincere with themselves because that will obliterate fraud, injustice, bad Governance, corruption, unemployment, poverty and all the vices that perpetrate terrorism, and pursue all that makes for peace as one Nation under God. M. Abu and K. Dieli (personal communication, February 8th, 2015), posited that the Nigerian average citizen has no regard for integrity and good reputation. What reigns in the heart of the average civil servant or political leaders in Nigeria is making fast money and storing wealth for ones generation *ad infinitum*. These are nothing but marks of insincerity and greed. This then is a “cause” and has nothing to do with Nigeria being “cursed”. It simply can induce terrorism especially on the part of those that are not opportuned to be in good positions.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACTS OF TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

4.1 The negative impacts of terrorism in Nigeria

In order to capture clearly the impacts of terrorism in Nigeria whether positive or negative, the general causes and types of terrorism will be first streamlined.

The reasons for people's indulgence in terrorism are complex and numerous. Some of the factors that motivate people to form, join and remain in terrorist groups follows thus:

Personal Motivation: Vetter and Perlstein (1991), pointed out that in the United States for instance most of the terrorist activities are personal in nature; arising not from political objectives but from personal goals such as seeking revenge, gaining attention, or making money. According to them, even some assassinations carried out in the United States are sometimes the result of psychopathology rather than politics. That is, they are driven by the delusional personal beliefs of the assassin, rather than by any opposition to the leadership or belief of the victim.

Ideology: In this works theoretical framework, all the theories posited, especially the theories of utilitarianism, Nihilism, Anarchism, Absolutism, prisoner Radicalization, Marxism and religious Fundamentalism breed and foster terrorism and terrorist cell groups. For instance, Levin (2006), indicated that the most influential ideology for terrorism is Marxism, this relates to employing violence and economic oppression. The manifesto of the communist party as Marx and Engels (cited by Levin), states that "Their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions.... The proletariat have nothing to loose but their chains. They have the world to win" (p. 33). Marxism is a common feature in the ideology of

many terrorist groups as it justifies the use of violence to achieve political goals. Peoples ideology are influenced by circumstances surrounding them, world views, stance in the society and their temperaments: All these can influence peoples propensities to terrorism.

Culture: Bowyer (1998), maintained that terrorism can be created and propagated by the structural characteristics inherent in culture. Hence he defined culture as “structural influence on the actions of society developed through history, behavioural habits and institutions... it is an area or ecosystem in which the armed struggle is generated and comprises of a combination of history, culture, vulnerability and possibility” (p. 28). Violence according to Carlos the Jackal (cited by Bowyer) is the only language the Western democracies can understand. Violence can be enshrined in the history and culture of society and is apparent from the level of occurrence or propensity for violence in a society, community or region in both historical and contemporary events.

Historical Grievances: Terrorists target governments and groups they view as responsible for historical injustices. The Chechen terrorists as Tishkov (2004), averred, had defended their terrorist attacks by alluding to Russia’s long-lasting rejection of Chechen desires for independence, and the old and cruel history of Russian invasion of Chechnya dating back to the 17th century. Again, reports on Palestinian suicide bombers systematically refer to historical grievances, such as resentment, humiliation, sorrow, and the aspiration for vengeance and retaliation.

Socialisation: Socialisation is an attempt to investigate the structural causes of terrorism from a social-economic perspective. Rubenstein (1987), pin pointed that the reoccurring socialization themes in the causes of terrorism are poverty, low standards of living and limited socio-

economic opportunity. Terrorism is often seen as a product of social dislocation and a symptom of political instability, class struggle and economic disparity. However, it is important to point out that the socio-economic structure is not always seen as a cause of terrorism.

Religious Bigotry or Fundamentalism: Extreme religious teachings that leaves no room for tolerance can breed and nurture terrorism. This is even witnessed in the localities amongst members of the same religious groups how much more of different religious faith.

Psychological Stance: Sprinzak (2003), who launched into this study accounted that various mental illnesses can induce or lead to acts of terrorism. Suell Wold (cited by Sprinzak), in his study accounted that some terrorists are narcissistic in nature. He observed that complete separation of a group or a person from reality which stems from constant feeling of being marginalized, cheated and even superiority or inferiority complexes can lead to acts of terrorism.

Dispossession: Franks (2006), explained that this refers to perceptions on the part of a group that it is systematically excluded, discriminated against, or disadvantaged with respect to some meaningful aspect of social, economic, and political life to which it feels entitled. This phenomenon of dispossession serves as a condition for dissatisfaction and collective mobilization that can lead to acts of terrorism.

Hatred Toward The Global Economic Hegemony: Countries that express hatred toward the global economic hegemony will produce more terrorist groups. The background that gave birth to Al Qaeda, namely Afghanistan and Pakistan, symbolizes this notion. According to Louw (2003), many terrorists abhor the World Trade Organisation (WTO). According to the Bureau

of Economic Analysis, the September 11, 2001 attacks shattered \$16 billion worth of private and government property; including structures, computer equipments, and softwares.

Failure of Conventional Channels of Expression can make people deploy more lethal action. Terrorism can then become a by-product of violations of diplomacy and other forms of political expression.

Communication and Publicity: By killing adversaries, innocent civilians and perpetrating terrorist acts, terrorists seeks to publicise their cause, communicate demand and air grievances to bulldoze authorities, sway the public agenda or gain concessions. If publicity is constrained or unsatisfactory to the group's tactical goals, the group's terrorist violence will probably escalate.

Racism, Apartheid, Xenophobia: All forms of segregation can lead to terrorism. When people feel threatened by marginalization, domination and suppression, they often resort to terrorism to break free. The current xenophobic attacks in south Africa has already been noted as a case study in this work. The then apartheid syndrome meted on the South-African citizens by the European colonisers is another working example.

Financial Gain: Terrorism can be used for sheer financial gain. More often than not corporate hostage taking, kidnappings; car, train and plane hijackings happens more out of desires to earn a ransom than achieving political goals.

There are various types of terrorism as one wishes to range them. They are viz:

Revolutionary Terrorism: Azar (2005), described this kind of terrorism as the one conducted by a sub-state group in order to overthrow the state, completely destroy the existing political system and replace it with a new political framework.

Reactionary Terrorism: Kegley (2000), pointed out that this kind of terrorism is employed by non-state groups attempting to reform the political system within the existing state structure. The objective of their violence is not to overthrow the state, but to reform it in order to redress for example, perceived political grievances or socio-economic inequality.

State Terrorism: This is the systematic use of terror by a government in order to control its population. Abel (1995), cited the 1793 French revolution and the thousands of executions that resulted as the first instance of state terrorism. Rulers had plausibly been using it for centuries to control their subjects especially dictators.

Religious Terrorism: This is terrorism by religious ideologies 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. Hoffman (2005), maintained that this is triggered by religious teachings used to justify and even encourage terrorism.

Pathological Terrorism: This describes the use of terrorism by individuals who utilise such strategies for the sheer joy of terrorising others. Pathological terrorists often operate alone rather than in groups as seen in school shootings and serial killing scenarios. Bergen (2001), intimated that this kind of terrorists carry it out for their own pleasure.

Issue Oriented Terrorism: Darshowitz (2004), explained that this type of terrorism is carried out for the purpose of advancing a specific issue. Commonly these issues are social in nature or deal with the environment. This definition is used to include environmental terrorism.

Separatist Terrorism: Separatists seek to cause fragmentations within a country and establishment of a new state. This type of terrorism is typical of minorities within a nation-state that desire their own, commonly due to discrimination from the majority group.

Narco-Terrorism: This term originally refers to organizations that gain funds through the sale of drugs – It can also deal with the use of violence by those groups or gangs designed to make the sale of their drugs easier. Pierre (1991), cited beheadings, mass burials, and other severe acts of violence carried out by the cartels in Mexico as an example.

Bioterrorism: This is the intentional release of toxic biological agents to harm and terrorise civilians, in the name of a political or other cause.

Cyberterrorism: This deals with terrorism through information technology. It entails hacking into state security soft wares and massive release of highly classified information's into the air which causes great security risk. It involves the exposition of information of matters of national security to the knowledge of a lay man or civilian.

Nuclear Terrorism: This is the use of weapons of mass destruction to cause terror. Examples are the use of Nuclear Weapons, atomic bombs and as well locally made bombs that can kill in large numbers.

The knowledge from the reasons for people's indulgence in terrorism and the various types of terrorism will enable one to have a gleg cognition of the impacts of terrorism in Nigeria. Terrorism in Nigeria has lots of impacts in the country. The impacts tilts mainly to the negative side. For instance, S. Olusegun (personal communication, September 25th, 2015) and D. Bature (personal communication, September 26th, 2015), both respectively pointed out that if there is any good thing that will ever come out of terrorism paramount in Nigeria in the contemporary epoch, it will definitely end up in breeding evil tendencies to easily resort to terrorism at any slightest provocation on the parts of the citizens. Terrorism unleashes all

round set backs on any state wherein it is being externalised. Some of the negative impacts of terrorism in Nigeria includes:

It brings about the restrictions on the influx of foreigners to Nigeria especially as regards investing in the country. The United States for instance issued travel warnings in the year 2010 to their citizens about the dangers involved in travelling and doing business in some parts of Nigeria. According to Carson (2012), this warning was issued with particular emphasis to Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Delta, Rivers, Abia, Edo, Imo, Jos, Anambra, Bauchi, Gombe, Yobe and Borno states; and the Gulf of Guinea. This as it is, has grave consequences for the development of Nigeria. C. Nkemelu and U. Chidek (personal communication, August 18th, 2015), both being business tycoons, pointed out that this equally leads to frustration on international business dealers, hence they more often than not resort to dealing on illegal business and taking unhealthy and unnecessary risks to survive and maintain their standard of living in the society in order not to be relegated to the background.

It makes the Government in power appear weak and incapable of ensuring the security of the country. This was the case during the wake of Boko Haram's terrorism in Nigeria under the President Goodluck Jonathan's regime. The truth still remains that terrorism and insecurity especially internal insecurity is not a problem that is unique to Nigeria. Adejumo (2012), noted that, the United States, the United Kingdom and many other countries, face the challenges of insecurity within their borders on daily basis. The difference between theirs and Nigeria is how they manage the threats; how knowledgeable and prepared they are; how they deploy resources against the threats; how effective they are; how patriotic and united these people are against threats of insecurity. J. Eziaghighala (personal communication, August 18th, 2015), commenting on this affirmed that Nigerian government and her citizens needs good

enlightenment on the virtues of patience, oneness of purpose, wisdom, and selflessness in order to learn to tackle the challenges that terrorism poses to Nigerians: Not heaping blames on any person but seeing it as a collective responsibility; for if the person at the helm of affairs stand is weakened via terrorism, the nation will suffer weakness in all her infrastructural development and productivities.

Terrorism places huge financial implications and burden to Nigeria. For instance, in 2012, N921.91 billion was earmarked to combat terrorism in Nigeria, over N950 billion was marked out for the same in 2013; in 2014, the allocation for security purposes took 20percent of the total budget for the year which is N968.127 billion, whereas in 2015 over N63billion was set apart for the presidential amnesty programme, while over N69.4billion was marked for security according to Gbemre's (2015), report. The worst part is that more often than not these funds are domiciled and never put to appropriate use as seen in the allegation the former National Security Adviser in Nigeria, Col. Sambo Dasuki is facing recently over the multi-billion dollar funds domiciled in his office as the National Security Adviser, as reported by Alade (2015). This huge sum of money could have been deployed to development programmes that the nation desperately needs. A. Enente (personal communication, February 13th, 2015), responding on this added that counter terrorism measures that emphasis on boosting of the nations security with sophisticated military artilleries will always end up as realized in this work in making the disciplinarian worst than the one being disciplined. This will now add to more waste and lavishing of the nations capital on empty projects.

Terrorism in Nigeria erodes inter-communal trust and destroys the reservoir of social capital that is so vital to building harmonious sectional development. Adebayo (2014), pointed out as an instance that Kaduna that used to be one of the most prosperous cities in Nigeria, is a

tragically divided city in the recent times of which Muslims live predominantly in the North and Christians predominantly in the south. All the textiles companies have shut down and most investors have packed up their businesses. B.A. Hassan, S. Abdullahi and M. Usaihid (personal communication, November 15th, 2014), intimated that in Borno state also, the meagre business dealings that links them to other major Eastern states in Nigeria has collapsed. Inter-relationship between other tribes which serve as a mode of learning each others cultural values and can serve as a medium for breeding good and stable unity of one Nigeria is no longer being maintained as the bridge of business dealing had collapsed.

Terrorism in Nigeria has led to loss of innocent lives. Many children have died, and many have become orphans due to the terrorism onslaughts that killed their parents and guardians, while such children continue to suffer deprivation. Many families have been scattered, and their ambitions cut short.

It has equally led to the destruction of properties and valuables that cannot be quantified. This brings about poverty on some individual persons. Cases were bomb blasts destroy a person goods and major sources of income, such a person will not have anything to live for or hope on, for the time being. M. Zuokumor (personal communication, November 12th, 2014), declared that this is paramount in Borno sates were many homes had been totally destroyed and lives wasted. I. Egbuonu (personal communication, November 27th, 2015), equally added that even buildings that ought to be put to good and better use as private homes or business premises were at a point in Onitsha environs used as kidnappers hideouts and were they imprison victims. Most of these buildings are often demolished when discovered by the government, (as can be seen in figure 1.2 following).

Terrorism in Nigeria affects manufacturers adversely as transportation of goods from one geo-political zone to another is becoming difficult owing to terrorists raids. It is equally having a corollary effect on the cost of goods in the market. The prices of commodities are getting astronomically high and out of proportion.

Terrorism in Nigeria creates a perpetual feeling of being unsafe, insecure and tension amongst the citizens of the country. Today, even those that are not political appointees now move around with security details for fear of being kidnapped.

Although terrorism is done with the objective of causing serious physical violence, the repercussions and effects left on mental health is immeasurable. Knowing that someone one knew might have been involved in a terrorist attack and counted as a casualty can leave one upset for years to come. It can take away a persons peace of mind and plant a perpetual grotesque picture in a persons mind.

Acts of terrorism creates a trickle down effect; from causing an emotional upheaval to destruction of properties and lives to an individual's beliefs and acceptance in the normal society. It can affect how an individual should function and what values one should impart to ones younger generation. This could intimately result in weakening the foundations of a society and their potential for growth.

4.2 The Positive Impacts of Terrorism in Nigeria

Terrorism in the light of this work has no clear cut positive effects. However, this sub-heading suffices in order to give credence to the scholastic demands that this work requires. In Nigeria as a nation, the impacts of terrorism as already been reviewed from this work tilts mainly to the negative side. The positive impacts of terrorism in Nigeria is purely subjective to an individual or groups observation.

Cases abounds wherein the government of Nigeria is coerced through terroristic means to give in to the demands of terrorists (for instance, the release of Asari Dokubo from prison). This happens only when such demands are for the greater good. However, it is pertinent to reiterate that the giving in to the demands of terrorists by the government or individual persons being pressurized by terrorists does not assures the good morality or will of terrorism.

One important fact that follows terroristic incursions is that lessons are learnt both on the part of the terrorists involved and on the part of those terrorised (be it individual persons, the public or the government). Nigerian citizens learn from the endemic terrorism in the country in recent times, the act of being just in serving the public. It is glaring now that denial of people's right and injustice can trigger acts of terrorism; citizens of Nigeria more often than not these days eschew from acts of injustice. The lessons for the government to learn is in like manner, the point then is putting it to work. Extreme caution ought to be always applied by the government of Nigeria in handling state affairs as a result of the terrorism rampant in Nigeria today; the Nation is counting on that.

Terrorism can lead to dialogue and changes in government. More often than not human beings generally come together to agree on a basic issue after strife; same is applicable in terrorism. Terrorism can serve as a means through which an insurgent group in a peculiar state and the government can come to a form of understanding and agreement. An oppressive government can be forced to step down or overthrown through the persistence of terrorism and a period of peace will reign. Dictatorial government that unleashes all forms of suppressive measures on the citizens can be forced to step down via terrorism. The problem in Nigeria is that the government always pay deaf ears to the pains and burdens of the citizens. Thus, when an insurgent group emerges, the tendency on the part of the government is always to stand their ground due to their inability to feel the pains of the masses and the fear of their government being toppled. The government can go to any length in fighting the terrorists with military force without considering any other means of achieving the sanity required.

It has been rightly observed that terrorism helps citizens of any given country to learn how to deal with situations especially post-traumatic stress and shock that follows terroristic

ravages. The citizens of Nigeria residing in Borno state and other states that records the highest rate of terrorism in Nigeria had as a result of incessant death records, constant molestations and destruction of goods and properties, developed phlegmatic ability to stand any challenge in life. The gumption and fortitude to face any charging scenes of life had been made available to them by the wide spread terroristic attacks around their milieu. For such people who always live in constant expectation of sudden attacks, the current economic recession that Nigeria is facing will not affect them adversely because they started facing theirs long ago. They had learned to survive and move on irrespective of all odds life has posed to them.

One way or the other, the current terroristic tendencies rife in Nigerian in the recent time had made the Nigerian government to improve the securing facilities, operatives and services of the country. Focus is now on keeping in constant check the national security measures. Every citizens of Nigeria had seen National security as a collective responsibility. People now check into hotels, guest houses and motels with identity cards. Most hospitals now requests for police clearance in order to attend to patients with wound as common as deep knife or bottle cuts because of the current security stance in the country. Abinitio, such security measures were not in place and where it is in place, was more often than not hardly strictly adhered to.

The current terroristic mode in Nigeria had made policy makers understand how to best deal with terrorism and to put in place preventive measures so that individual persons or groups are not motivated to make themselves heard through various acts of terrorism. The state of affairs now is that every citizen in Nigeria today is on the lookout for a terrorist or terrorist groups and to do all that it takes to squash them diplomatically or otherwise.

Terrorism can portray clearly the contrast of evil cruelty to loving compassion. Terrorists kidnap children, rape the girls, give the boys guns and show them how to hate and kill like the Boko Haram terrorists do in Nigeria: Good people on the other hand show tangible positive love; they teach children how to be useful, responsible, how to gain self respect and respect their elders; they teach the young men and women how to become doctors, nurses, painters of beauty to bring light to the world. For instance, when the government will be maintaining on peace talks, granting amnesty to terrorists and offering free education to her citizens, it will win the hearts of the masses and they will see for themselves which is better, terrorism or non-violent approach. This provides clarity of choice for the people. Terrorism through its inhuman brutality exposes itself for what it truly is, which is pure evil and wickedness on the part of the perpetrators.

Finally, this work submits that these afore-mentioned positive impacts of terrorism in Nigeria relay the message in its line of thoughts that terrorism is an evil act that should not be embarked upon. All the points outlined in the positive impacts have the alchemic mode of exposing terrorism as pure evil; this is the very good part of this work. It should then be born in mind that, that which makes Nigeria not to appear to function as one Nation under God with special reference to ethnicism should actually be the major source of her strength. Ethnicism should provoke challenges for healthy competition amongst the ethnic groups and not segregation and hatred.

4.3 Previous Solutions to Terrorism in Nigeria

The challenges posed to Nigeria by terrorism endemic in the country had caused various personalities and Authors to pick up their pen and paper as well as through oral interviews and

expressions in raising various solutions to combating it. Some of the previous solutions raised by these personalities and authors in lieu of combating terrorism in Nigeria are posited here with their weaknesses addressed where discovered and deemed necessary.

Amnesty programme, military force and an economic approach

Governor Kashim Shettima of Borno state (cited by Omipidan, 2015), had always advocated a combination of three approaches to the solution of terrorism in Nigeria with special regards to the Boko Haram saga. These approaches are; military which is what the nation have in force, an economic approach to provide jobs for people and discourage citizens that Boko Haram terrorists are recruiting by paying them as little as N5,000 to set schools ablaze or spy on soldiers as well as paying women to smuggle arms from one point to the other and an Amnesty programme targeted at creating exit window for forcefully conscripted members of the Boko Haram group.

While these approaches are quite laudable, it is pertinent to note that increased military force on the Boko Haram terrorists had not made any head way as using force alone on terrorists had been discovered in this research work to make martyrs of terrorists and equally has an alchemic form of inducing terrorists: It equally makes the military involved in such counter-terrorism measures to end up becoming terrorists themselves; for in view of their fighting terrorists, terroristic means are employed, whereas at times it leads to killing of innocent lives and captives held by those terrorists. Again, Amnesty programme can be acceptable to an extent as it can disintegrate Boko Haram members and bring confusion in their cells; however, a situation where terrorists are offered amnesty and put on bumper payroll will

not only undermine state security, but also will encourage more people to forge into terrorism with the expectation of amnesty and consequent monthly salary from the government, just for being repentant criminals. If Amnesty is granted, those that responded to it should be encouraged to be resourceful and not just paying them for free. Nigeria is an African nation and has its peculiar world view; paying terrorists that are not being resourceful will tantamount to rewarding laziness and calling it welfare, charity and good will. This work suggests getting them involved in social and welfare services before any payment ensues. It will all form part of the integral plan for capacity building, youth empowerment programmes and poverty alleviation schemes.

Reformation of the *Almajiri* System in the Northern Nigeria

Adebayo (2014), suggested that the *Almajiri* system in the Northern part of Nigeria should be reformed in order to make the children in the system useful to themselves and the society.

Almajiri's are found mostly in the Northern parts of Nigeria. They are usually between the ages of seven to fifteen. Originally, according to Ifijeh and Iwu (2014), the idea was for these children to be sent out from their homes to learn Quranic education in traditional way under the care of a "*Mallam*" (Islamic teacher). However, this system changed and the children are now left to wade about the streets, and beg for alms in order to sustain themselves and their *Mallams*. They neither receive the Islamic education nor the Western education. These children turns out to serve as a menace to the Nigerian society and equally poses great security risks in the country.

According to the statistics released by the Ministry of Education in 2009 (cited by Ifijeh and Iwu, 2014), Kano state alone harbours 1.6 million *Almajiris* in some 26,000 madrassas. Sokoto, Kaduna, Niger and Borno states are home to approximately 1.1million, 824,200, 580,000 and 389,000 *Almajiri* pupils respectively. The Ministry of Education (cited by Ifijeh and Iwu), estimated that there were 9.5 million *Almajiri* children in the northern part of the country in 2010. One can now see how terrorist groups in Nigeria recruits huge numbers of people and from where they spring from. It is then obvious that the future of an *Almajiri* is bleak and the option more often than not left to them is to join terrorist groups.

Adebayo's (2014), suggestion is candid only that the strategy had been employed by the federal government during the President Goodluck Jonathan's regime but yet, terrorism is still on the increase. According to Elechi and Yekorogha (2013), in early April 2012, the then President of Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan, inaugurated a repackaged and rebranded *Almajiri* school in the Gagi area of Sokoto. The school was built with funds (N240million) drawn from the defunct Education Trust Fund (now the Tertiary Education Trust Fund). The President then, stated that:

Our administration believes that the time has come for the nation to build on the moral foundation of the traditional system by providing the *Almajiri* with conventional knowledge and skills that will enable them to fully realize their creative and productive potentials. (p. 73).

The President, has, in the above statement recognised the need for the reform of the more than century old system so that it can enable the moral training and modern skills acquisition of the *Almajiri* and that they in turn can contribute meaningfully in the society.

The point then is that *Almajiri's* are not only in Sokoto, there are many others in other Northern states that demands attention. Again, irrespective of the fact that the President Goodluck Jonathan's effort was highly commendable (as he equally promised to commence the building of 400 other schools for the *Almajiri's*), this work is under apprehension that it will not be maintained and sustained by subsequent regimes. It is widely seen as mere political regimen and rhetorics to be abandoned later. Besides, it is obvious that the decay in universities in Nigeria warranted many to clamour for a state of emergency to be declared in the country's education sector. The federal college is equally under considerable stress and is open to all sorts of abuses in terms of mismanagement, over centralization, under supervision and under funding as Elechi and Yekorogha (2013), maintained. In this context then, it is hard to imagine the *Almajiri* project sustained and unfolding as intended.

Tackling of corruption and weak institutions

The United States Vice President, Joe Biden (cited by Obinna, 2015), while assuring the Nigerian President Gen. Muhammadu Buhari of the United States support in fighting terrorism in Nigeria, stated that the United States will assist in rebuilding the Nigerian economy: However, he observed that corruption and weak institutions must be tackled, if Nigeria was to benefit from such reforms.

Irrespective of the fact that the issue of corruption in Nigeria is a well-known stigma in the Nigerian civil service and basic institutions; fighting it is a different thing altogether. The war against corruption must start from the Nigerian leadership down to the last citizen. Witch hunting the immediate past administration in the "probe" guise, military atavistic and

demofarscistic cum sole administrative form of administration and appointing of the Nations Cabinet members from only the Northern parts of the country will not lend credible hand in fighting corruption and the endemic terrorism in Nigeria, rather it will heighten it. Besides, with the current stride of the federal government towards the so called “change” agenda; it will only weaken the institutions that were being suggested by the United States Vice President to be strengthened. The weak institutions in Nigeria should equally be outlined and clear cut faults or weakness therein pin pointed. Terrorism infesting Nigeria currently leaves no room for ambiguous suggestions and superfluous statements.

Foreign and External Aids

The incumbent Nigerian President, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari’s manifesto includes seeking foreign assistance in fighting terrorism in Nigeria. The social cum political problems that brought about terrorism in Nigeria and its corollary negative impacts is all too domestic to require foreign assistance.

Obalonye (2015), reported that the United States President, Barack Obama (on the later recent four day visit to the United States), commended Nigerian’s for the free and fair outcome of the 2015 just concluded elections that effected the emergence of the incumbent President; this equally averted the apprehended shedding of innocent blood that would have ensued if Buhari had lost the election. One now wonders how sincere his statements are. Why would blood flow; was he part of the arrangement; when did democratic election in states become “a do or die affair”? If the United States of America could commend and rate an all too obviously rigged election in Nigeria as free and fair, how can they be sincere in lending helping hand to Nigeria?

Nigeria has all it takes to tackle terrorism destabilizing her state. All that is needed is sincerity on the parts of her citizens and those at the helm of affairs. The problems in Nigeria is man made and never a curse nor that beyond human resolve.

Non-violent resistance to state perpetrated terrorism

Odey (1999), recommended non-violent resistance to state perpetrated terrorism like that witnessed during the regime of Gen. Sani Abacha in Nigeria. He maintained that this form of resistance includes the press fearlessly opening up to the evils in a peculiar governments administration; the pastors, priests and various religious leaders preaching fearlessly and gravely against irregularities and terrors unleashed by any government in power; and opinion leaders, important personnel and anyone that is opportuned both in written and oral reports or expressions condemning the social problems that results in terrorism evidenced as fostered by any incumbent regime. All this according to Odey, will tackle vehemently terrorism in Nigeria.

Odey (1999), however, pointed out that nonviolent resistance may not entirely be free from precipitating violence. This only leads one to another truth that the world were one lives has no constant perfect and water-tight solutions to problems. One is always confronted with imperfect alternatives from which it is always morally adviceable to choose that which presents one with lesser evil. Refusal to fight against evil, according to Odey, by non-violent means because such may precipitate the violent repression of the guilty, but the powerful, who want to maintain an immoral status quo will amount to a tacit approval of the evil.

Pertinent to this, this research strongly suggests that non-violent resistance should be involved in fighting terrorism in Nigeria especially when perpetrated by the government in

power: However, the non-violent resistance approaches must be carried out in all diplomacy, diligence and in love; not to be posited in share disrespect of the authorities that be nor in disobedience of the rules and regulations of the country and again, not in gross abuse of the opportunities afforded by the mass media.

Regional system of government with regional constitution

Udebunu (2010), on his part suggested that where all endeavours towards eradicating terrorism in Nigeria fails, it might not be a foolish idea to return to the 1960s regional system of government with regional constitution: In other words, as he noted, making the regions stronger which helps to avoid loopholes and feelings of injustice, and then the federal government weaker and unattractive, but resolving amicably the derivation formula of contributing to the central government.

Nigeria has actually come of age and the world is getting more civilized and enlightened; besides, people are now making post modernistic projections. The regional system of government with regional constitution cannot solve the problem of terrorism in the 21st century Nigeria, rather it will even breed the sheer sentiments and unrealistic ideals of secession. Unless, one suggests secession proper, regional system of government will make the President weak, flaccid and incapacitated, thus the center can never hold and things will continue to flounder.

Except that Nigerians through an objective National conference deliberations with ample representatives from all the geopolitical zones in Nigeria agrees unanimously, and equally decides to take steps towards secession; then and only then will the first effort towards secession require regional system of government to aid each geo-political region mann their

sources of income as to be able to cope and sustain themselves economically and otherwise in the event of the actual secession proper. Regional system of government with regional constitution can never be effective in the face of the contemporary stance of Nigeria as a Nation. It even kicks against the basic principles of Nationhood.

Dialogics

Iloanya and Nwangbo-Ben (2010), pointed out that dialogics can be a medium through which terrorism in Nigeria will be tackled. They pointed out that dialogics is a philosophical method which sees dialogues as one of the best ways of settling any problematic or topical issues like terrorism. It is a method of conversation between two or more people. It is also the process through which matters are settled in a round table instead of through the barrel of the gun.

According to Iloanya and Nwangbo-Ben (2010), dialogics is not the same as dialectics. The difference is that in dialectics there are three steps namely: thesis, antithesis and synthesis, while in dialogics there are four steps which are: thesis, prothesis, entesis and synthesis. Dialogics is equally not the same as discussion in the sense that in discussion people come to interact without making up their mind to go home with the real fact at the end of the day; rather, they come with debate tactics to convince others, when their own opinion is not what is held at the end of interaction they tend to cause confusion and disharmony. While in dialogics the reverse is the case. According to Iloanya and Nwanagbo-Ben, when people come for interaction in dialogics, though they will come with their various ideas but there will be nothing like debate tactics as in the case of discussion, rather they are ready to hold on to what is

improvised on the ground which will favour all the parties involved whether their opinion is held at the end of the day or not.

This solution to terrorism in Nigeria is very good as it is void of sentiments and selfish interests. However, the challenge still points to the fact that the terrorist groups and terrorist perpetrators may not be ready to harken to the voice of reason and condescend to the principles involved in dialogics. Thus the solutions to terrorism in Nigeria ought to be multi-faceted and not just a one way affair. All suggested solutions to terrorism in Nigeria must be surrounding around nation building, capacity building, good-governance and youth empowerment. Actions must be backed with theories on the part of the government in order to create a perfect peaceful atmosphere in Nigeria. Hence Nkrumah's (1970), maxim is ever a challenge to the Nigerian government as he stated "Practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty: Think like men of action and act like men of thoughts" (p. 78).

Relocation of the military base

The incumbent president of Nigeria Gen. Muhammadu Buhari, came up with this idea at the very first few days of his inception into the office of the presidency in Nigeria. It entails moving the command and control of the Nigerian military to Borno state, the area of Boko Harams terrorists activities high concentration.

The president had equally acted on this just recently. As it is, in this age of internet, fibreoptics and broadband, advanced, telecommunications, satellites and drones highly improved; the military command does not have to be moved to an area of operation. After all, an aircraft carrier or sub-marine (as formidable as an entire army battalion), can anchor in the

Atlantic Ocean and lay siege to a country. The United States did not move its Pentagon command and control to Iraq or Afghanistan in order to counter the Al-Qaeda terrorism. The move is totally unnecessary and will expose weakness on the part of the government and the Nation's military stance.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS TO TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

There reigns this ancient mythology in Yoruba, one of the major tribes in Nigeria: A dragon fly dancing on the surface of a stream was believed to symbolize a puzzling omen. Convinced that killing the fly would not remove the omen, the elders consulted an oracle which disclosed that the dancing dragon fly had its drummer beneath the water. Unless that drummer is identified and stopped from drumming, the dragon fly might continue to frighten the stream water drawers with its puzzling dance.

The similitude of terrorism anywhere in the world is like that of a suffocating smoke oozing out of the chimney of a kitchen and dangerously polluting the environment for everybody. To stop the ensuing pollution and save people from its suffocating effect, dispelling the smoke can never be a solution. For as long as the fire keeps burning inside the kitchen and gives vent to the oozing smoke, the environment will continue to be polluted unabatedly. In that situation, it will be wiser to quench the fire than to chase the smoke around. Dispelling the smoke can never have any effect on the burning fire. On the other hand, quenching the fire will automatically stop the polluting smoke.

The following suggestions to terrorism in Nigeria are hereby submitted by this work; improved, practical and objective.

5.1 Security measures as collective responsibility

The critical issue of guaranteeing security of the citizenry, should be seen as the collective responsibility of all. Although section 14 subsection 2(b) of the 2011 constitution of

Nigeria (as amended) places that sacred mandate, squarely at the doorsteps of the political leadership of the country; however the citizens of Nigeria should see themselves as part and parcel of the democratically elected government. The erroneous concept of viewing the people in government as “they” and the led majority as “we” should be flushed from the minds of the average Nigerian, as F. Adesanya and R. Akinsanya (personal communication, November 16th, 2014), exposed.

Every citizen of Nigeria should find peculiar means of enforcing concretised security measures in their various domains – local vigilante security services should be promoted by state and local government executives. Nigerians should be basically patriotic in this sphere, ensuring that each and every one sees oneself as the master and lord in ones vicinity vis a vis maintaining proper security measures against terrorists. All efforts geared towards maintaining peace, unity and progress in Nigeria should be facilitated by every individual in the country.

5.2 Security Consciousness

The average citizen of Nigeria ought to be purely security conscious as Nnoli (2006), insisted. This should be achieved through sustained awareness creation, in combination with credible information gathering mechanism by the security forces. The numbers to call in emergency situations should be made known to all; and operatives ever ready to respond to such and any desperate calls for security assistance. There should be frequent dissemination of relevant information even in the local languages via the mass media down to the grassroots as to the responsibilities of the citizens themselves in forestalling crimes. People should be vigilant about the goings on in their surroundings, ever ready to inform the police of the

presence of strange characters and possibly objects in their environment; when and how to avoid crowded places and the hideout of suspected criminals in their midst. For instance, it would have paid the parents of the then abducted Chybok school girls that earlier combed the forests of Borno if they had informed the police about such places long before then.

Irrespective of the fact that this research underscores here that some of the suggestions in lieu with basic security consciousness of the average Nigerian citizens are being propagated by the government administrations; more effort is needed in that respect pertinent to responding to desperate calls from citizens regarding suspected security breaches, criminal and terrorist activities ongoing at the moment or in view in their basic localities. Parents at homes should be wary of the company that their children keep. They should equally control the kind of home movies that their children view at homes, especially movies that portray extreme violent scenes as these propel violent tendencies in children that often lead to acts of terrorism at the long run.

5.3 Employing Neo-Welfarism Ideology

Madubuko (2008), recorded that Neo-Welfarism as a political theory was propounded by the foremost African nationalist Late Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. Azikiwe (cited by Madubuko), defined Neo-Welfarism as:

An economic system which blends the essentials elements of capitalism, socialism and welfarism in a socio-economic matrix, influenced by Indigenous Nigerian mores, to enable the state and the private sector to own and control the means of production, distribution and exchange, whilst simultaneously enabling the state to assume responsibility for the social services, in order to benefit the citizens according to their

needs and officially-specified minimum standards, without prejudice to manipulation in any aspect of the social services by voluntary agencies. (pp. 591-592).

With this practice in the Nigerian political sphere, it will ensure the employment of basic democratic principles in the Nigerian politics and fizzle out god fatherism, political party domination and all forms of election riggings. This will blend well with the Nigerian African cultural heritage and understanding, and as well keep the average Nigerian irrespective of the tribe happy while giving all the sense of belonging. The government and the citizens in the country will be working hand in glove and not leasing every aspect of the economic activities entirely on the hands of the government or the public nor the private sectors: This will definitely leave no room for tribalistic agitations in Nigeria and individualistic bikerings that leads to violent agitations and terrorism.

According to Azikiwe (cited by Madubuko, 2008), Neo-Welfarism as a suitable political system for Nigeria should be based on two schools of thought: eclecticism and pragmatism which themselves are rooted on rationalism and empiricism. Its eclectic foundation is in the fact that it incorporates in its system the most utilitarian and practicable elements in capitalism, socialism and welfarism that can be adapted to the Nigerian situation and experience. Neo-Welfarism founded on eclecticism and pragmatism therefore sifts and synchronizes into a social matrix the best elements from capitalism, socialism and welfarism. It permits private enterprises, but invites the state to participate and collaborate in their management, control and sponsorship in order to achieve the best welfare for the people. It will produce a planned, mixed and indigenously nationalized economy.

In concrete terms, according to Madubuko (2008), the main objective of Neo-Welfarism is to restore democracy in Nigeria with political freedom, economic security and social equality. Stated clearly, it follows:

- The reform and renewal of instruments of power according to Nigerian political experiences.
- The insistence on the Rule of Law.
- The total restoration and reinforcement of the fundamental Rights of all citizens according to the constitution.
- The dedication of the universally accepted principles of the separation of powers between the Executive, Legislative, and the Judiciary.
- The renewal of confidence in the integrity of government.
- The good organization and administration of public utilities, welfare services, education, agriculture, recreational facilities and entertainment.
- The open door policy in importation and exportation of products.
- The taxation policy according to reasonable scale.

5.4 Sovereign National Conferences

Basic human rationality demands that at a point in the national life one should pause and ponder on the state of the nation. Sovereign national conferences held at various intervals in Nigeria would afford a unique opportunity for the leaders of the various ethnic and linguistic nationalities that make up Nigeria and or their representatives to come together to dialogue, discuss and critically re-examine the foundations and articles of association as a nation. Apart from the 2014 national conference permitted to be held by the then President Goodluck

Jonathan in Nigeria, which was chaired by Justice Idris Kutigi (rd); what have been experienced in the Nigerian situation were conferences in which the president appointed his loyalists to represent the various peoples of Nigeria in matters affecting them.

Just like the Berlin West African conference in which the European leaders shared African continent among themselves without African representatives, the leaders of Nigeria convened the so-called National conference or the Political Reform Conference in 2005 under General Olusengun Obasanjo (rtd) without the people being represented by their own choices. People who were allowed to attend were loyalists and stooges of the ruling class. For instance, the Igbo nominated Dim Emeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu to be among their representatives in the conference. But Obasanjo and his cohorts deleted his name. The people have an inalienable right to define the type of government under which they shall live. Such a conference will indeed produce a New Nigeria founded on truth, sincerity, true brother-hood and the fear of God.

Notwithstanding, the 2014 National conference should be applauded because the then President Goodluck Jonathan approved it and set the pace for their recommendations to be enacted into law and working documents by the National Assembly. The secretary to the Government of the federation, Pius Anyim, equally pointed out that while the process leading to the implementation of the reports might not end during the life time of the then administration, a bold step forward had been taken with the approval. If National conferences as that are held at various intervals in Nigeria and their recommendations effected, Nigeria will always experience a continuous state of tranquility devoid of incessant terroristic upheavals. All hands are still praying for the 2014 National conference resolutions to be implemented at

the long run: Whereas, this work suggests that these National conferences should be held at four years intervals to rhyme with each regimes tenure in office that lasts four years each.

5.5 Rebranding Nigeria Campaign

Nwadiakor (2014), affirmed that Nationalism is not merely the sum of accumulated grievances but rather includes an awareness of greater possibilities and opportunities: In like manner, the incessant clamour for secession from certain various ethnic groups in Nigeria should be discouraged and erased with thoughts of how the ethnic groups in Nigeria can complement each other in joint nation building with each others natural endowments. Secessions may not be the best option for Nigeria except at the point of *cul de sac* wherein there is no other available option. Scarborough (2008), maintained that irrespective of the fact that the United States of America is a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic Nation, yet what keeps binding them together even in the face of the dwindling liberalism and secularism that is invading her shores today is the spirit behind her first amendment and her constitution which was the foundation for that nation adopted at Philadelphia by fifty-six men; its clear desire expressed thus, “that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” (p. xi). Nigeria needs to follow suit, the declaration of independence and the letter of the amalgamation needs to be revisited; certain policies changed and effected, not just in theory but in practice to maintain and sustain the unity of Nigeria.

Thoughts of secession at the base of the minds of the citizens of Nigeria will continue to promote terrorism. It will make the culprits that perpetrate terrorism in Nigeria to be more inspired as they believe that they do not actually belong. The basic tendency in man to seek to

destroy that which does not belong to him is ever paramount and can never be overemphasized. Citizens of Nigeria should do away with the base sentiments of ethnic, religious and political differences. Citizens of Nigeria should rather be patriotic and always work together to promote the good name of Nigeria while debunking the base thoughts of Nigeria as irreparable corrupt nation.

5.6 Compulsory Study of History

History inculcates values, national pride and patriotism. It tells members of a society who they are and where they seem to be going. A society without the knowledge of its history is cut adrift. Such society is like a ship without a compass and a captain, for its members would grope blindly into a doomed future. According to Rodney (1986), in the scientific approach of the method of historical materialism, “To know the present we must look into the past and to know the future we must look into the past and the present” (p. 312).

To avoid such misfortune, history as a subject should be made compulsory in primary and secondary schools in Nigeria. The objective is to inculcate into the Nigerian youngsters of the wiles and ills of aggressions as have affected Nigeria in the past which resulted in the Nigerian Civil War that was basically unproductive, unfruitful, meaningless, baseless and let the Igbo in Nigeria ever marginalised. Thus the Nigerian youngsters will grow into more mature beings that will not be jumping into conclusions of easily resorting to violence and terrorism; as well, to produce individuals as future leaders of Nigeria with the knowledge of the Nigerian history, norms and values. Typical in this sphere are the Americans; Maduko (2008), pointed out that they attained great height in socio-economic and political power because the American history was made compulsory from the kindergarten to post-primary level. Each

American child is therefore proud to belong to a society described as the United States and is ready to lay down his or her life for the national cause.

5.7 Nationalization of Production in Nigeria

Nationalizing all the dominant means of production, distribution and exchange including the foreign multinational companies operating in Nigeria will afford the country the best opportunity of moving forward. The federal government will place confidence in the young Nigerian scholars to take the lead in issues in Nigeria bearing on their areas of specialisations. If other countries are doing it Nigerians equally can.

This should be done as a matter of urgency to ensure that the Nigerian economy is under the control of Nigerians without undue foreign interference. It will equally create employment opportunities for the uncountable numbers of Nigerian citizens that are basically unemployed. It will equally reduce wasting of talents wherein an engineer works in a bank as a cashier and a professional Lawyer is a driver of commuter bus, keke napepe or riding okada.

According to Chima (2014), the result of the special security poll conducted in 2014 exposed that 21 percent of the respondents believed that unemployment in Nigeria is the cause of the activities of the Boko Haram's sect and general terrorism in the country. Irrespective of the fact that this may not be entirely true, yet unemployment is a pointer cause a mind that is unoccupied with responsibilities of a working place and special duties to carry out on daily basis will be filled with aggressive thoughts; such a one can easily resort to violence and terrorism: With the nationalization of all the dominant means of production in Nigeria, more employment opportunities will be created.

5.8 Checkmate of Privatization Policies

Unjust privatization policies of the federal government of Nigeria should be abolished. Random privatization policies may leave the basic parastatals of the economy of Nigeria in the hands of a rich few that may even accrue from a peculiar ethnic group. Privatization entails the selling whole or part of the public owned property under the government to a private individual or group of individuals. Privatization policy can lead to terrorism because of the following reasons:

- Those at the helm of affairs sack and recruit workers at will since they see themselves as God amongst men. Instance is the base recent massive expulsion and employment of workers under the then National Electrical Power Authority (NEPA), changed Power Holdings Company of Nigeria Plc (PHCN), and now Enugu Electricity Distribution Company (EEDC). This can lead to revolt and acts of terrorism as most of the workers were sacked without any prior notice.
- Those who buy up the public property are the rich and influential. Thus, privatization makes the rich, richer and the poor, poorer. This is one of the cardinal issues that caused both the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917. The rich otherwise called the bourgeoisie (the owners of means of production), became the wealthy class while the poor otherwise called the proletariat (providers of labour) became the labourers and serfs to the wealthy class. This kind of struggle and revolution was exposed in the Marxian theory as already portrayed in this work.
- Privatization makes essential commodities unaffordable to the poor masses because businesses in private hands concern themselves only with profit and has no consideration for social welfare.

5.9 Effective Check on Subversion

Nigerians should strive towards projecting leaders that must be resolutely equal to the task, and capable of withstanding the exigencies of the predatory terrain of international politics and domination both from fellow African Nations and the Western Nations. Eze (2002) pointed out that direct and indirect subversion against a new Nigerian order must be expected and effectively checked in all its ramifications through strict intelligence network and quick action against the reactionary elements. It is obvious that the imperialistic, neo-colonialists (Britain, United States of America, France) and so on, will continue to support neo-colonial leaders in Nigeria while ensuring that nationalistic leaders are accused and overthrown.

A vivid vision at the just concluded 2015 general democratic elections in Nigeria exposes the selfishness and whimsical cum capricious tendencies of some foreign nations vis a vis the government of Nigerias leadership. A situation where foreign electoral observers will be applauding an obviously manipulated and widely rigged elections of the country is an eye opener.

On the other hand, as the United Nations has recently confirmed that many of those killing innocent Nigerians are blood-thirsty foreigners from the neighbouring Niger Republic, Chad and Cameroon with internal collaborators. Nigerian borders must be effectively policed. After 100 years of amalgamation, Nigerians should not allow strangers to undermine the much cherished unity, which has become her strength.

5.10 Effective Anti-Corrupt Campaign

The president of Nigeria as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces must muster the political will to identify the masterminds of terrorism in Nigeria and put them forward for prosecution no matter how powerful they think they are or might be. He must be ready to step on the mightiest of toes and crush them because the buck stops at his table.

Apprehended terrorists should be tried at courts immediately and prosecuted. They should not be placed on awaiting trials, nor flooding them to various Nigerian prisons all over the states as is being done recently.

Corruption at all levels is a major problem in Nigeria. The chief product of corruption are greed, aggrandizement, mismanagement and embezzlement of public funds. At present, the federal government seems to be fighting corruption but it lacks sincerity and fairness as it is waged in a selective and vindictive fashion. It is more of a means of fighting perceived enemies and opposition to government.

A true anti-corruption campaign will not recognize sacred cows but would treat all equally. This will introduce discipline and decency in the Nigerian environment. Corruption leads to terrorism as already seen in the Queen Ladder Theory. The case of those who do not value other people's lives should not be taken for granted nor with sentiments and levity.

5.11 Gainful Employment

The Federal Government of Nigeria needs to put efforts in place towards rapid agricultural, industrial and technological development in order to enhance a self-reliant

economy. Long before the discovering of oil in 1957 in Nigeria, agriculture are the main stay of Nigeria's economy. Nigerians should therefore re-embark on massive, mechanized agricultural production. The federal and state governments of Nigeria should as a matter of urgency lunch into mechanized farming instead of the fraudulent electronic voting systems, the already bridged permanent voting cards and also the likes of electronic pay as you use card for electric power systems. This would ensure adequate food production for Nigerians and for exports.

This endeavour will settle the problem of unemployment and hunger which are one of the reasons for terrorism in Nigeria. Again, it will reduce the tensions in the Niger Delta regions over their feeling of being used, marginalised and not benefitting from the oil being mined from their lands.

5.12 Respect for the Sanctity of Life

According to Iwe (1986), the most fundamental of all human rights is the right to life. It is a right which springs directly and immediately from the very nature of man. It is a right which a man or human being enjoys in virtue of the fact that he is a human person. It is the first of the fundamental rights of man deriving strictly from and based immediately on the dispositions of the natural law. M. Rasaki and M. Illiya (personal communication, November 19th, 2014), suggested that this should be taught more amongst Islamic fanatics that kills for pleasure as they are being misguided.

In lieu with the afore-stated fact, terrorists in Nigeria should understand that they are human beings and not just human doings or animals in respect of shedding human blood at will. They should value the lives of others as much as they value their own. If they can flee for

the sake of their dear lives from the sambisa forest as they are being chased with aircraft fighters; they should reason that so do innocent souls they murder value theirs. Good enough, all popular religions admonish one not to kill fellow human beings because life is precious, priceless and irreplaceable. After killing ones so called enemy, what next? The culprit may have a feeling of temporary triumph before a foreboding sense of regret, or in a worst case scenario live the miserable life of a haunted man.

5.13 Basic Moral Teachings in Schools and Amongst Religious Groups

As some of the terrorist groups are incited by religious teachings, Gofwen (2004), suggested that religious leaders must make sure that their preaching engagements are persuasive and not inciting or insulting. They should as a matter of necessity, weigh seriously and critically their utterances and actions. They should promote basic moral teachings on good virtues always. Individual adherents of each religious group must equally understand the basic tenets of their religion, and know when they are being incited and used in order not to be ever manipulated by their religious leaders. They should learn to stand their ground and seek for peace and unity of the nation Nigeria whenever at the verge of being deceived to resort to violence.

Moral instructions in schools must always feature teachings on those virtues that will prepare pupils and students respectively to embrace Nigeria as their Nation without developing phobia for any religious group, ethnic group nor the government at large. Tolerance for one another in Nigeria should equally be inculcated within these moral instruction sessions in schools.

The government authorities of Nigeria should form peculiar surveillance groups that checkmate inciting and insulting religious teachings. This will help to control excesses and religious fundamentalism cum fanaticisms in Nigeria. Religious groups that are discovered to be disseminating violence in any mode should be out rightly disciplined by the government authorities of Nigeria. The understanding that there is freedom of worship and religion in Nigeria should be promoted always.

5.14 Adequate Budget for the National Security Operatives

The federal government of Nigeria should ensure that is adequate funding, more manpower recruitment and capacity building of all the security operatives. As Adibe (1995), maintained, the Nigerian military and security services should be equipped with the most sophisticated arms and ammunitions so that they would not feel incapacitated when they have to confront the insurgents. Given the delicate nature of their jobs of battling sundry crimes, they should be well remunerated, live and work within the ambience of comfortable infrastructure and enjoy the best of insurance packages.

5.15 Imbibing the Culture of Peace

Peace in reality exists on its own and is actually independent of war, violence or terrorism. Hence the great artisans of peace of modern times like Pope St: John Paul II, maintained that one can gain lasting peace when one receives peace in one's mind and spirit. Anyanwu (2011), added that this can take time as peace is built progressively and perseveringly.

Ibeanu (2006), in his peace process theory maintained that peace is a process and not just a condition. This follows then that peace is a process that involves activities that are directly or indirectly linked to increasing development and reducing conflict, both within specific societies like Nigeria and in the wider international community. With this in mind, peace then is a process which relates to existing social conditions, it is not a finished condition, but always a “work in progress”; and is never finished because human societies continue to aspire to higher levels of development and less conflict. Peace then should always be on the increase and thus, teachings and thoughts on peace should always be born at the heart of every average Nigerian.

Peace studies should be woven into the fabrics of the Nigerian education curriculum from primary to higher education level. Teachers and lecturers should teach on peaceful co-existence to pupils and students in order to learn tolerance and embrace the multi-ethnicity nature of Nigeria. Parents at homes should inculcate peaceful approaches to issues on their children at homes. The use of abusive words on each other should be greatly frowned at. Children at homes should be taught to report cases of misdeeds to them to their parents to resolve and not take laws into their hands by fighting back or resorting to any acts of violence.

Evil acts emanates from a broken families where the parents are not there as caring mothers or protective fathers. Government must therefore, involve the traditional rulers and opinion leaders from the places of frequent insurgency, in robust and far-reaching dialogue to get to the root causes of crime and inculcate peace lectures. Parents should stop ‘breeding’ more children than they could adequately cater for and nurture in the life of peaceful ordering of affairs.

Every citizen of Nigeria should be encouraged through the mass media, enlightenment campaigns, churches and so on to learn to make the proposals of *pacem in terris* on the four pillars of peace-namely, truth, justice, love, and freedom – the cornerstone of their relationships both public or private as Emelu (2014), enjoined. This will aid in re-engineering the concept of the rich African culture that makes one as one's brother's keeper. S.I. Masad (personal communication, November 15th, 2014), added that this will bridge the gap of religiosity, tribalism and thoughts of secessions amongst Nigerian ethnic groups.

Moreso, through imbibing the culture of peace, the new radical perspective will be employed by the military as Nnoli (2006), proposed in the rethinking of the militarial stance and tactics. In other words, in the performance of the second task (conflict mediation), the military then should be emphasising on peace keeping functions. This according to Nnoli simply means building its skills, capacities, structures and doctrines around peace keeping. The objective is to be able to keep apart the people engaged in conflict until the causes of conflict are democratically resolved. This must mean that only in the very extreme cases would the military shoot at terrorists in Nigeria. The only exception would be when the dismemberment of the country is clearly threatened and such threats should be beyond questions.

Imbibing the culture of peace will discipline the Nigerian security operatives which includes the secret security officers, the police, the military and so on; on employing principles that de-emphasise on the use of lethal force. Such is a necessary stance for a prompt and durable peace building. Security achieved by the use of force or the readiness to use force against others more often than not generates unintended negative consequences. Dissuasion may turn into provocation, the defense of basic human rights into partiality and self-defense into brutality. All these may engender more terrorism. The American experience in Iraq is a

typical example. Besides, imbibing peace via this means will equally discipline the Nigerian security operatives the more as this will reduce their criminal mode of shooting at civilians on several occasions under the guise of accidental discharges whereas these are mostly prompted by their indiscipline and inability to be on their guard and pull themselves together. Thus through this mode, the terrorism they perpetrate amongst the civilian populace especially at check points (which thankfully had been minimized as most unnecessary police check points had been removed in Nigeria), will be tackled permanently.

Once the citizens of Nigeria employs this, peace will flourish in place of terrorism and from the perspective of the communal bond of one nation, all should metaphorically view terrorism as an evil stranger within. It must therefore, be expelled like the bedeviling spirit from a tormented, possessed child. One thing is paramount, even though terrorist cell groups are now being formed, bred and groomed within Nigerian shores; and spersed average citizen of the country express terroristic tendencies as E. Ohonda, R. Ente and M. Kunu (personal communication, February 3rd, 2015) declared; terrorism is all too foreign to Africa and the Nigerian state in particular. It is a learned act that can yet still ever be unlearned and obliterated from the fabrics of the country's normal lifestyle.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

In the light of the findings of this work, it is obvious that terrorism is an act that has more devastating effects than any other form of violence. Thus, whatever violates another in the sense of infringing upon, or disregarding, or abusing, or denying that other, depersonalising, whether physical harm is involved or not, in order to create fear or tension perpetually; in lieu of achieving one's set goals whether justified or not is nothing other than terrorism.

Terrorist attacks whether at local or international level accrues immediate human, economic, and psychological consequences of various intensities. The most striking consequences of terrorism however, is human loss. That is to say that terrorism usually causes heavy civilian mortalities. According to Adeyanju, Olasehinde and Emua (2014), during the past 35 years the world has witnessed nearly 20,000 terrorists incidents which resulted in more than 90,000 casualties worldwide. Between 2011 till date, the casualties recorded in Nigeria through Boko Haram attacks and other socio-political terrorist attack in Nigeria is not less than 17,000 souls.

In Nigeria today, the issue of terrorism has been prevalent. The social deteriorations being caused by terrorism includes loss of lives and properties, loss of relatives (wives, husbands, children and so on), loss of friends and colleagues, deformation of body, lives and others, depopulation, deformation of tourism and recreation centers, and desinstability of social phrase of life generally. Health wise, people are affected because if life is not lost, it may constitute all manners of sickness like hypertension, high blood pressure, heart problem, fear

and others. All these, the moment they penetrate into our life, the next phase is death if such a person cannot manage it medically or war against such in prayer.

Moreso, terrorism equally has lots of primary economic effects in Nigeria which mainly arises from the immediate aftershocks of a terrorist event, it includes: physical destruction of urban objects, and individual capital projects like shopping malls and the likes. The secondary economic impacts of terrorist attacks on the other hand may cause the disruption of economic entities which have not been the direct target of the attacks like tourism centers, direct investments, saving and consumption, stock markets, foreign trade and national income and growth.

On the microeconomic level, terrorist attacks in Nigeria influences loss of job, destabilization of business, trade, loss of income; cost of living and standard of living are being affected adversely, loss of revenue on the part of the government, fear of investment, over budgeting by the government to calm and control the challenges and stoppage of foreign investors.

In all, terrorism creates room for corruption, insincerity, avarice, greed, hatred and bitterness to be on the increase amongst the various tribes in Nigeria. It affects the politics of the nation and makes the government to appear as if it is weak owing to all forms of attack on the government projects, plans and set policies. The citizens at times are afraid to express their views and lip service, eye service, backbiting, character assassination, conspiracy, deceit, compromise and sycophancy becomes the stock in trade. The need to employ the solutions posited in this work abounds in its highest exigency as they are lasting and equally objective, pragmatic, realistic and down to earth.

6.2 Conclusion

The number of terrorist acts and terrorist organisations is growing. In the global community, this growth poses a critical challenge to everyone's security and safety. While the reflexive response to the increased tide of terrorism may be increased military actions, it is obvious that the root causes are not being addressed. The result is that the history of terrorism is being written each day in headlines and television images. The struggle for recognition and for retribution will continue through bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, cyber wars, and agroterrorism.

The low intensity wars and conflicts now considered to be in excess will continue as groups turn to terrorism as a way of achieving their political and social goals. World leaders have shown little imagination, vision, or creativity in addressing terrorism beyond increased military responses. The result will be continuous global unrest and insecurity. Terrorism, an ancient tactic and strategy rooted in hate, anger and revenge, viable because of its low risk and cost as posited in the Queer Ladder theory; increasingly deadly because of the terrorists cell groups rationality and gleg stance in gaining access to weapons of mass destruction and otherwise as stated in the Rational Action Theory, will continue until it is re-construed by nations, governments, and people everywhere as a response that is part of the closely-woven tapestry of other challenges in the present world.

Isolating terrorism from the problems of poverty, injustice, indignity, prejudice, hate, fundamentalism, oppression, helplessness, and hopelessness that is spurred on by political, economic, and religious abuse assures its continuation and empowerment. Until such a time as this spectrum is also addressed, terrorism will remain a daily threat across the globe.

In Nigeria as the case study, same fate applies in lieu of terrorism. The scourge of it has become more virulent in recent years in the nation and has produced brutal massacres which have in turn put even great obstacles in the way of dialogue and negotiation, increasing tensions and aggravating problems. Nigeria, according to the global terrorism index report 2014, ranked 4th with score points of 8.58; making Nigeria the fourth most affected country by terrorism on earth out of the 50 high ranked countries ravaged by terrorism. The solutions posited in this work will go a long way in reducing terrorism to a high degree in Nigeria if strictly adhered to.

Negotiations and peace talk can only be engaged in between the government and terrorist cells in Nigeria if only at the point of those terrorists giving up their acts of terrorism and submitting to the sovereignty of the federal government of Nigeria because no government in this age enters into peace talks with terrorists when they do not harken to the voice of reason within the period of amnesty granted them; doing that will simply mean exposing such a government's weakness and as well mean compromise.

In the case of beefing up security in the country with more sophisticated security gadgets and artilleries; that should be for emergencies; it should not be employed as an end in itself. Thus this work still reaches out to terrorists to understand that authorities should not be undermined through violent means and acts of terrorism irrespective of all odds. They should employ a non-violent approach. Non-violent approach does not imply cowardice but rather most inner strength. The approach of non-violence should be slow and steady, unflinching and ever hopeful. Consistency and persistency as such always carry the day and the demands of such groups will still be achieved one day without destruction of lives and valuables. Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. who are preachers of non-violent attitude achieved their

aims irrespective of the traumatic challenges they faced; yet they were brave and grave in all ramifications.

6.3 Recommendations

The major causes of terrorism had been underscored from the findings in this research work as ethnicism, bad governance and insincerity. The following recommendations are thereby proffered by this work which will be relevant in creating a peaceful Nigeria void of acts of aggressions that lead to terrorism.

Every government authority and regimes should exhibit the basic principles of good governance which according to Srivastava (2009), includes: participation of individuals in decision making either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests; rule of law-legal frameworks to be fair and enforced impartiality, particularly the laws on human rights; transparency built on the free flow of informations amongst the citizens of the country, thus having access to enough informations on the details of the nations affairs; responsiveness in institutions and processes strive to serve all stakeholders; consensus orientation: Equity, as in all men and women having equal opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being; effectiveness and efficiency; accountability and strategic vision, as in having a broad and long term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development. Srivastava's characteristics of good governance is comprehensive and is highly recommended for Nigeria by this work.

Citizens of Nigeria should learn to be sincere in their place of primary responsibilities. They should carry out their basic civic responsibilities in all faithfulness and as patriotic citizens with passion for their father land.

Citizens of Nigeria should learn to put in their best wherever they find themselves in Nigeria. They should learn from the biblical standpoint that declared in Jeremiah 29:7, “Also, seek the peace and prosperity of the city to which I have carried you into exile. Pray to the Lord for it, because if it prospers, you too will prosper”; as well as Psalm 122:6, “Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: May those who love you be secure”. Citizens of Nigeria should do away with the base sentiments of ethnics, religious and political differences. It is most unfortunate that some unpatriotic Nigerians take obscene interest in vilifying those in power all because they do not share the same places of origin. The sensitive issue of insecurity must never be trivialized on the altar of ethnicity or be policised to score cheap popularity. Unguarded, uncouth and potentially volatile vituperations should have no place in the 21st century Nigeria. M. Abu (personal communication, February 8th, 2015), on this insists on strict discipline in respect of ones utterances in order not to hurt other tribes beliefs, observances and persons in power; this promotes tolerance.

The government of Nigeria should try to make education free at least from nursery to secondary school level. This will proffer the average Nigerian the opportunity of having basic education without much qualms, thereby reducing the illiteracy levels as no one will blame not getting educated at the basic level on lack of financial sponsorship. The truth still remains that a learned man cannot just be easily deceived by religion or any other means to resort quickly to acts of terrorism.

Communities that are involved in tribal and inter-tribal conflicts and crises should learn to embrace dialogue as the first and as well, the last resort.

The state and government should completely withdraw from active involvement in religious matters. On no account should any state in Nigeria be declared a particular religious state as one often hears of “sharia laws” for a particular state or an “Islamic state” and so on. Each religion should impose their laws within their various peculiar enclaves and not to make it a state affair using adherent of the peculiar religion on the gubernatorial seat to perpetrate such dastardly oriented policy.

All the religious groups in Nigeria should always promote their religious value since all hinges on love, peace, unity, and so on as the major tool to uphold and sustain democratic principles in Nigeria as Ezenweke and Ajakor (2009), pointed out.

Terrorists with high profile records of killing, destruction of goods and carrying out acts of massive destruction should be sentenced to death once found guilty after trials. They should not just be sent to prison in order to avoid flooding the Nigerian Prisons with terrorists. A.I. Mahud (personal communication, November 20th, 2014) declared that terrorists can go to any extent to cause havoc as they are widely desperate. They should never on no account be confined in a less secured prison. Prisoner Radicalization theory exposed that the worst terrorists are recruited in prisons. The government of Nigeria should equally improve on the prisons security facilities to meet up with the challenges of terrorism in the contemporary epoch. This work strictly condemns the federal governments moving of high profile terrorists to Ekwuluobia Prison in Anambra state recently. High profile terrorists should not be moved at random and for a long distance at that. It creates room for suspicion. Besides the prisoners in

question are still awaiting trials. Why should they not be tried at once without dilly-dallying over such criminal cases which are equally treasonable felony. Transferring them to Ekwulobia prison poses high security risk. The federal government should never embark on such plans in future. Applause should be rendered to the incumbent Anambra state government as they strived to see to their relocation. Uzor and Ekpe (2015), recorded that Governor Willie Obiano later confirmed the relocation of the 47 Boko Haram suspects detained in the Ekwulobia prison out of the South-East.

Finally, all religious leaders in Nigeria should always engage their members in fervent prayers for Nigeria, her leaders, citizens and the current trend of terrorism in the country. What good policies, engaging of well scientific, technological and all round advanced technocrats, and military action cannot do, prayers can do better. There is still God who holds the hearts of kings and men in his hands; He as well can change the situation of things in Nigeria as the citizens call on him in all sincerity. He can equally effect change in the hearts of terrorists and those that perpetrate it in Nigeria.

6.4 Contribution to Knowledge

Common knowledge concerning terrorists is that they work in cells and as an organized crime. However, this work has clearly exposed that individuals without belonging to any terrorist cell groups can unleash unimagineable terrorism on a state or group of people. In the sense then, that anybody can become a terrorist depending on the ability to withstand the pressure bearing on such a person and the temperamental stance. Pertinent to that is the gleg exposition that not all acts of violence is terrorism.

The Rational Action theory has equally portrayed to the fur that terrorists express from the mode of their actions that they are actively rational beings and not only monsters as people generally view them, hence they can be brought to the standpoint of harkening to the voice of reason through dialogue. Besides, their versed knowledge of perfect organization of their cells and timeline of activities of random spheres could be put to better use by the government and the state in the military or security service.

Furthermore, terrorism is not just an ordinary criminal activity that can be marched simply with force at the basic level; it ever requires tracing deep down into the remote causes and nipping it at the bud. One thing is sure, when government and the state launch out on a head on attack on terrorism, they end up becoming the very demons that they are striving to exorce or even worse.

Even though that it is clear that there is no reason for one to indulge in terrorism. Thus, people should never consider terrorism as an option. It should then be noted that human beings has elastic limits to which they can bear pains, once the elasticity is overstretched, it will become flaccid and incapacitated, and next thing that comes to mind is an easy and desperate way out: Terrorism easily calls to mind. At the same time According to Hepworth (2013), he stated:

When terrorists' goals are nothing short of global dominance, no amount of negotiation will appease them. Instead, coalition forces must continue to operate as they have with a combined effort to both destroy and contain the terrorists militarily and to remove, as much as possible, their support within local populations. (p. 10).

With these stated facts in mind; pertinent to tackling terrorism, this four ways principles posited by this work must be born in mind: No one should ever take to terrorism as the first nor last resort, it should not be considered at all by any human person. On no condition should any human person oppress his fellow nor depress him unto self-denial out of proportion, in order for one not to take to terrorism. Terrorists must first be approached through dialogues, and amnesty ever granted them. Finally, on the case of terrorists with the view of territorial domination, they should be matched with force and dialogue on the same vein because when not matched with force, they will cause unimaginable disaster that can never be quelled.

Finally, this work has brought to the lime light that the various ethnic groups that make up the Nation Nigeria, irrespective of their divergent cultures and religious foundations and world view can forge ahead as one Nation in love under God. That is to stress that the multi-cultural, ethnicity and religious nature of Nigeria can be her strength instead of her weakness. Thus if citizens of Nigeria can imbibe on peace as posited in this work via the Peace Process Theory, Nigeria will be a world power to be reckoned with in this contemporary dispensation.

6.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

Venturing into this study has led the researcher to come across various issues that simply stood as stones left unturned as they are not clearly the major task at hand for this work. Here, they are portrayed as issues that demands further research to help to contribute to the scholasticity of the basic issue under discourse.

Further research should be carried out on the insincerity of the Western Missionary expertise to Nigeria which laid the foundation to colonialism and the hatred of the Muslims in

Nigeria over everything western and European. Again, research should be carried out properly on the psychology of the terrorists in Nigeria, in order to trace if there are reigning psychological imbalances that people in the West Africa and Nigeria in particular are susceptible to that induces the acts of terrorism.

The place of religious tolerance in realizing global peace and unity should be studied as well. Again, patience as a tool in achieving group or personal goals through non-violent means should be under studied as well; this will unravel the need to be patient in pursuing the desires of groups or individuals in the face of injustice or any form of deprivation through non-violent means, bearing in mind that the target may take time to be granted – the underlying factor is that it will surely be realized.

Another area worthy of studying is Terrorism as a factor for hindrances in national development and growth in Nigeria: And Islamic terrorism; World Dominance: The Effective Counter-terrorism measure.

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APPENDIX I

APPENDIX II

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by terrorism?
2. Is terrorism restricted only to the western world and the Arab Nations?
3. Do you think that there are terrorist cell groups in Africa?
4. Can an evil act to a long extent metamorphose to a culture?
5. What can you say if one asserts that terrorism is a culture?
6. Are there terrorist cell groups in Nigeria?
7. Do you think that terrorism is becoming a culture in Nigeria?
8. Is terrorism restricted to any ethnic group or tribe in Nigeria?
9. What do you think are the major causes of terrorism in Nigeria?
10. Do you think that the terrorist cell groups in Nigeria are strictly religiously motivated?
11. To what extent does socio-political issues foster terrorism in Nigeria?
12. Does terrorism in Nigeria has any positive impacts?
13. What are some of the negative impacts of terrorism in Nigeria?
14. How can terrorism in Nigeria be curbed?
15. How can peace lectures be inculcated easily into the fabrics of the average Nigerian conception and lifestyle?

APPENDIX III
LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

S/NO	NAME	DATE	LOCATION	AGE
1.	C.P Isaac C. Eke	2nd September, 2014	Abuja/Zone 7	45years
2.	Mr Tochukwu Nwafor	15th January, 2014	Abuja/Kubwa	55years
3.	Mrs Ronke Ade	15th January, 2014	Abuja/Maitama	59years
4.	Mrs Bella Adu	15th January, 2014	Abuja/Wuse	35years
5.	Mr Tony Muojama	16th January, 2014	Abuja/Wuse	39years
6.	Mr Kingsley Akpadi	16th January, 2014	Abuja/Garki	63years
7.	Chief Chika Mbeledogu	16th January, 2014	Abuja/Nyanya	71years
8.	Madam Fumi Adesanya	20th April, 2014	Abuja/Nyanya	29years
9.	Mr Okechukwu Adi	20th April, 2014	Anambra/Awka	29years
10.	CP. Ballah .M. Nasarawa	20th August, 2014	Anambra/Awka	50years
11.	Bar Uju Umeh	25th August, 2014	Anambra/Awka	41years
12.	Prof. Mike Oddih	25th August, 2014	Anambra/Awka	55years
13.	Dr. Ifeanyi Ezeobi	25th August, 2014	Anambra/Onitsha	52years
14.	Revd. Canon. Ikechukwu Egbuonu	27th November 2015	Anambra/Forensic	47years
15.	Insp. Remy Ukeaku	2nd August, 2013	Dept. SCID Awka	49years
16.	Alhaji Mamman Asan	December 15th, 2014	Zamfara/Gusau	55years
17.	Alhaji Yusuf Usman	December 15, 2014	Zamfara/Kauran Namoda	58years
18.	Ven. Prof. Onyinye Okpala	17th September, 2015	Enugu/Independence Layout	53years
19.	AIG Solomon Olusegun	25th September, 2014	Umuahia/Zone 9	52years
20.	CP Dan Bature	26th September, 2015	Enugu/Independence Layout	57years
21.	Mr Charles Tasia	26th September, 2015	Enugu/Trans Ekulu	48years
22.	Revd Canon Obi Okoye	26th September, 2015	Enugu/Independence layout	58years
23.	Mr. Sam Onuegbu	26th September, 2015	Enugu/Independence layout	59years
24.	Engr. Sunday Adio	17th August, 2015	Lagos/Ajao Estate	68years
25.	ACP. S.U. Horsfall	17th August, 2015	Lagos/Kam Salem	52years
26.	Mr Dan Okeke	17th August, 2015	House Lomoney Street	48years
27.	Mrs Ogochukwu Anex	17th August, 2015	Lagos/Lagos Island	35years

28.	Ven. Joseph Eziaghighala	18th August, 2015	Lagos/Aguda	55years
29.	Mr. Chukwunonso Nkemelu	18th August, 2015	Lagos/Yaba	47years
30.	Dr. Ugochukwu Chidek	18th August, 2015	Lagos/Yaba	54years
31.	AIG Michael Zuokumor	12th November, 2014	Makurdi/Zone 4	50years
32.	CP Bala .A. Hassan	15th November, 2014	Borno/Abadam	51years
33.	Alhaji Sanni Abdullahi	15th November, 2014	Borno/Baga	46years
34.	Alhaji Musa Usaihid	15th November, 2014	Borno/Gwoza	65years
35.	Said Ibn Masad	15th November, 2014	Borno/Gwoza	70years
36.	Femi Adesanya	16th November, 2014	Borno/Bayo	38years
37.	Barr. Rukpe Akinsanya	16th November, 2014	Borno/Bayo	47years
38.	Alhaji Mamman Rasaki	19th November, 2014	Borno/Biu	56years
39.	Mikailu Illiya	20th November, 2014	Borno/Biu	29years
40.	Ahmed Ibn Mahud	1st February, 2015	Borno/Biu	27years
41.	CP Ikechukwu Aduba	1st February, 2015	Delta/Aniocha	52years
42.	Mr Rich Wringglington	1st February, 2015	Delta/Aniocha	34years
43.	Mr Richard Ibiemeh	1st February, 2015	Delta/Aniocha	29years
44.	Dr. Edmund Ohonda	3rd February, 2015	Delta/Ughelli	68years
45.	Barr. Rufus Ente	3rd February, 2015	Delta/Ughelli	38years
46.	Mr. Meidonye Kunu	3rd February, 2015	Delta/Ughelli	26years
47.	Revd Mission Abu	8th February, 2015	Delta/Warri North	43years
48.	Revd Canon Kingsley Dieli	8th February, 2015	Delta/Warri South	47years
49.	Revd Canon Leku Ndatalo	14th February, 2015	Delta/Warri Central	48years
50.	Prof. Andy Enente	14th February, 2015	Delta/Sapele	59years