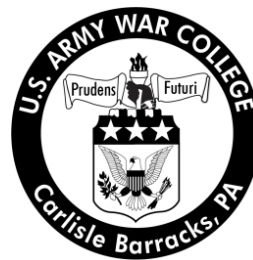


# Strategy Research Project International Fellow

## Boko Haram: Developing New Strategies to Combat Terrorism in Nigeria

by

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United States Army War College  
Class of 2013

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USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

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## **Abstract**

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Nigeria is currently faced with internal security challenges posed by the group “Jama’atul Alhul Sunnah Lidda’wati Wal Jihad,” also known as Boko Haram. Boko Haram’s objective is to establish Islamic rule in Nigeria through imposition of Sharia law throughout the country. Boko Haram’s insurgency is fueled by Nigeria’s history, geopolitical structure, ethno-religious composition and socio-economic disparities. The Nigerian government strategy in the past three years has focused on employment of kinetic solutions to end the insurgency with some successes. To overcome its present security challenges, the Nigerian government would need to refocus its efforts on a people-centric, community-based, intelligence-driven, whole-of-government approach to better police its borders, enhance interagency cooperation, improve the capacity of the security forces, and reform the criminal justice system. The government’s efforts should also aim to advance socio-economic development and leverage international assistance to end the insurgency.

## **Boko Haram: Developing New Strategies to Combat Terrorism in Nigeria**

Every nation that seeks peace faces a common enemy today in global terror. The recent attacks in Mombasa remind us that Africa is on the front lines of the war against terror. All our citizens know the awful price of terror, and we will not rest until we have defeated terrorism in all its forms.

–President George W. Bush<sup>1</sup>

Former United States (U.S.) President George W. Bush noted a decade ago that Africa was on the front lines of the war against terror. Nigeria is one of ten African countries affected by the spread of violent Islamic extremism in the last decade. The present violence in most parts of Northern Nigeria began in the mid-1990s when a group “Jama’atul Ahul Sunnah Lidda’wati Wal Jihad,” which translates to “people committed to the propagation of the Prophet’s teaching and Jihad,” began as a religious study group but later transformed into an insurgent group in 2002. The group which then called itself the “Nigerian Taliban,” engaged in low-level conflict with local police forces and established a camp tagged “Afghanistan” in remote areas of Borno State, in northeast Nigeria.<sup>2</sup> The group popularly known as “Boko Haram”, a Hausa phrase for “Western education is forbidden,” became more violent after its leader was killed by security forces in 2009.

About 3,000 people have been killed by Boko Haram in Nigeria since 2009, with nearly half the number killed in 2012 alone.<sup>3</sup> Boko Haram was responsible for 136 out of 978 terrorist attacks in the whole of Africa in 2011.<sup>4</sup> This represented more than a 300 percent increase from the 31 attacks Boko Haram carried out in 2010. There were over 200 attacks in 2012 including 151 bombings.<sup>5</sup> The group has also become more vicious and daring in methods, scale of attacks, geographical reach and selection of targets. Government offices, places of worship, media establishments, security forces buildings, private companies, and



national and international institutions have been targeted by the group, including the devastating August 2011 attack on the United Nations Headquarters building in Abuja. Boko Haram as an ideological movement appeals to the impoverished masses exploiting social and religious fault lines in Nigeria. The group receives some training and financial support from external extremist groups to propagate its “focoist” strategy of utilizing urban terrorism to promote its aims and objectives.<sup>6</sup> Boko Haram has become not only a threat to Nigeria, but also to Western interests and the international community as a whole.

The Nigerian government’s response to the Boko Haram threat has been mainly through the use of military force to fight the insurgency in Northern Nigeria. Nigeria’s security forces have achieved some successes in degrading the potency of Boko Haram in the last three years through the killing of some of the sect’s key leaders and the destruction of key operational cells. The inability of Boko Haram to extend its terrorist activities beyond the northern region is also a measure of the security forces’ success in curtailing the group’s activities. Other initiatives such as the Nigerian government’s attempt to dialogue with the group have not seen much progress. There also appears to be little international involvement in the fight against the group despite the threat to international interests posed by Boko Haram. Current U.S. President Barack Obama emphasized the importance of international cooperation in the fight against global terrorism when he noted that, “in an interconnected world, the defeat of international terrorism will require the cooperation of many nations.”<sup>7</sup>

Boko Haram is becoming stronger and the number, potency, and geographical reach of its attacks are increasing. This raises important questions as to whether the Nigerian government’s present strategy is adequate to address the problem and what

new strategies could be adopted to defeat the insurgency and restore peace to the affected areas. This paper will attempt to address these questions and offer broad policy options that could be applied at local, national, and international levels to confront Boko Haram's terrorist activities in Nigeria. This paper will also explore possible measures the Nigerian government could take to better police its borders, involve local communities in the fight against the group, enlist international support and assistance, and develop a better framework for interagency cooperation and coordination. New strategies to defeat Boko Haram must also enhance the capacity of security forces, reform the criminal justice system, and advance the socio-economic development of the country.

### Defining the Threat

Nigeria's internal security challenges have roots in its history, geopolitical structure, ethno-religious composition, and slow socio-economic development. American Military University scholar Lawrence Cline identified British colonial rule and its forced merger of disparate ethnic groups to create Nigeria as a foundational cause for insecurity in Nigeria.<sup>8</sup> The Nigerian Defence Academy Professor Etham Mijah observed that the structural imbalance in the ethnic, religious, regional, and political composition of Nigeria and the manipulation of such identities for political power is another reason for violence in the country.<sup>9</sup> Northeastern University scholar William Miles asserted that politicians often create ethnic and religious identities to achieve political advantage.<sup>10</sup> Other observers have attributed recurring violence in the country to economic inequality.<sup>11</sup> A poll conducted in 2001 showed religion (25 percent), socio-economic issues (22 percent) and ethnicity (18 percent) as the major causes of violence and insecurity in Nigeria.<sup>12</sup> Boko Haram appears to be fueled by all three factors while

political patronage, support, and funding by senior government officials who exploited it for electoral purposes contributed to Boko Haram's rapid growth and relevance.<sup>13</sup>

Obafemi Awolowo University Professor Abimbola Adesoji also argued that the introduction of Sharia law in some Northern states in 1999 conferred some form of legitimacy on the group.<sup>14</sup>

Nigeria has not experienced internal security challenges of the current magnitude since the end of its 30-month civil war in 1970.<sup>15</sup> The success of the Iranian revolution in 1979 inspired an early threat to Nigeria's religious secularism by various groups, notably the Maitatsine sect which called for the imposition of Sharia Law in the country.<sup>16</sup> The Maitatsine threat was repressed by the military government in May 1980 but re-emerged in the mid-2000s and still exists today in most northern states of Nigeria.<sup>17</sup> Boko Haram appears to be a more violent mutation of these earlier groups. Boko Haram's ideological narrative describes a Nigerian version of the global jihadist agenda with deeper roots in Afghanistan and Pakistan.<sup>18</sup>

There are diverse opinions on the character, causes, and motivating factors for the Boko Haram insurgency. University of Kwazulu-Natal professors Hakeem Onapajo and Ufo Okeke Uzodike examined the phenomenon of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria at the individual, the state, and the international levels.<sup>19</sup> The two scholars did not explore the role of the community as the identity base for Boko Haram to thrive. University of Massachusetts Professor James Forest also identified three layers of analysis but focused on motivating factors for members and sympathizers of Boko Haram, socio-political conditions that sustain the ideological spread and operational capabilities of the group, and the Nigerian government's counter-terrorism strategies in

recent years.<sup>20</sup> Forest acknowledged that communities and religious entities have considerable influence among potential recruits and supporters of the group.<sup>21</sup>

New York State University Professor Jean Herskovits casts doubt on the potency of the Boko Haram sect and characterized the group as “elusive and ill-defined threat” with no organization or ideological coherence.<sup>22</sup> Herskovits attributed attacks to criminal gangs that have adopted the name to further their aims. George Mason University Professor John Paden views Boko Haram as a protest movement similar to the ones in Tunisia and Egypt that led to the Arab Spring.<sup>23</sup> Both scholars see Boko Haram as an outward expression of the “deep frustration and lack of hope among Muslim youth in northern Nigeria against a backdrop of widespread corruption.”<sup>24</sup> U.S. Department of State Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Ambassador Johnnie Carson observed that Boko Haram is not a homogenous organization with international reach but a domestic jihadist group out to discredit, disgrace and embarrass the Nigerian government, security organizations, and civil institutions.<sup>25</sup>

Many other analysts disagree with the views of Herskovits, Paden, and Carson. Adesoji points to the spread and swiftness of Boko Haram’s operations, increasing membership, and successful challenge of the Nigerian State in the past decade as a measure of the group’s organization, commitment to its cause, and resilience.<sup>26</sup> The U.S. Intelligence Community has expressed concern over the sect’s intent and capability to strike Western targets in Nigeria, throughout Africa, and the U.S. Homeland.<sup>27</sup> U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) Commander General Carter F. Ham noted Boko Haram’s “expanding ambitions” and clear intent to coordinate and synchronize its efforts with other violent extremist groups.<sup>28</sup> The Foreign Minister of

Niger confirmed Boko Haram's link with AQIM at a regional security summit in Mauritania in January 2012.<sup>29</sup> The U.S. Department of State issued several public warnings to U.S. citizens through its diplomatic mission to Nigeria indicating the extent of the perceived threat posed by Boko Haram.<sup>30</sup> The U.S. government's designation of Boko Haram's key leaders as terrorists is consistent with the threat posed by the group. Many fear that the Boko Haram insurgency could lead to Nigeria's disintegration.<sup>31</sup> The U.S government could take a further step to declare Boko Haram as a foreign terrorist organization (FTO) and deepen collaboration with the Nigerian government to end the insurgency.

### Boko Haram's Strategy

Boko Haram's strategy is hinged on its external ideological alliances and its exploitation of fault lines in Nigeria's diverse population. The group has been linked with Al Qaeda and its affiliates such as Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the Somali militant group Al-Shabaab, and Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJIWA) for training and financial support.<sup>32</sup> Kings College London Professor Kenneth Payne observed that Al Qaeda and its affiliated global Islamists had developed a focoist (violence and space) strategy similar to that advocated by Ernesto "Che" Guevara in the 1960.<sup>33</sup> This is true for Boko Haram which uses individuals, small groups, and autonomous cells to engage in urban terrorism to promote their ideology and win public sympathies through the utility of violence; a key focoist idea. The group employs various methods such as assassination of key individuals, bank robberies, attacks on military convoys, roadside bombings, and use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs). The group also uses suicide bombers to carry out attacks.<sup>34</sup> Boko Haram selects its targets in urban areas but depends on local support and collaboration to carry out attacks.<sup>35</sup>

Boko Haram's sustained attacks on wide-ranging targets have had enormous impact on Nigeria's economic and social life, especially in northern Nigeria.<sup>36</sup> The group has been unable to carry out attacks in southern Nigeria. Boko Haram's attempt to ignite inter-religious sectarian violence through what Forest describes as "a strategy of provocation"<sup>37</sup> has so far failed.

### The Nigerian Government's Strategy

The Nigerian government underestimated the threat posed by Boko Haram when the group began to be violent in 2002.<sup>38</sup> University of Ibadan Professor Nathaniel Danjibo observed that Nigerian Department of State Security reports in 2004 predicting on imminent Boko Haram attacks were treated with levity by some government officials.<sup>39</sup> The Nigerian government began to develop a coherent strategy to deal with Boko Haram's insurgency after widespread violence broke out in Borno, Yobe and Bauchi States in July 2009. This strategy focused on the employment of hard (military) power through kinetic operations against the radical extremist group. A joint military task force codenamed Operation Restore Order I and III was established in 2009 to conduct large-scale military operations in Borno and Yobe states where Boko Haram had strong bases.<sup>40</sup> The government also established new permanent military units in the two states.<sup>41</sup> Another aspect of the current strategy adopted by the Nigerian government was the formation of the National Focal Point on Terrorism (NFPT) in 2007 but which became active in 2012.<sup>42</sup> The focal point consisted of over a dozen security agencies and government departments responsible for the implementation of Nigeria's national security agenda.<sup>43</sup> The NFPT's activities were coordinated by the Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA), while the National Security Council, headed by the President, periodically met to review national security issues. The Nigerian government also

established a committee on security in North Eastern Nigeria. Government strategy also identified Nigeria's porous borders as transit routes for the movement of arms and insurgents and the Nigerian government temporarily closed the country's northern borders in early 2012.<sup>44</sup> The Nigerian national security strategy focuses on "public safety and national stability" and relies heavily on the use of modern technology for intelligence, surveillance, detection and informatics as the basis for its new counter-terrorism strategy and critical infrastructure protection.<sup>45</sup> According to ONSA, the Government strategy's objective is "to exploit advancement in technology to combat terrorism and heinous crimes."<sup>46</sup> The Government strategy also explored legal means to defeat the Boko Haram threat and terrorism in the country as a whole through the passage of the Terrorism Preventive Act (TPA) in June 2011.

Nigerian former National Security Adviser General Owoye Azazi stated in 2011 that Nigeria's security infrastructure was inadequate to deal with the Boko Haram threat.<sup>47</sup> The national security strategy therefore identified capacity building for security agencies as a key initiative for defeating Boko Haram and preserving national security.<sup>48</sup> Police and military spending increased to one-fifth of total government overlays in 2012.<sup>49</sup> This represents the largest amount Nigeria has ever spent on security. The Nigerian government also replaced senior leaders in the security services including the Minister of Defense, National Security Adviser, service chiefs, and Inspector General of Police in an attempt to reinvigorate the fight against the insurgents. The Presidency also created the position of national counter-terrorism coordinator in 2011.<sup>50</sup>

Former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo attempted to mediate between the Nigerian government and the group in September 2011. This which was followed by

the Nigerian government's offer of amnesty in October 2011 and a proposal for dialogue with the insurgents in January 2012. These initiatives have achieved little.<sup>51</sup> Lack of progress in dialogue has been attributed by some scholars to Boko Haram's distrust for the Nigerian government and its insincerity in keeping promises and agreements.<sup>52</sup> The leakage of details of the initial talks to the local media was another factor for breaking off contact, according to local media reports. The Nigerian government also established the Presidential Committee on Security Challenges in the North-East Zone (PCSCNEZ) under the chairmanship of Ambassador Usman Goji Galtimari. PCSCNEZ was tasked to investigate the remote and immediate causes of the Boko Haram insurgency and make recommendations to the government.<sup>53</sup>

#### Assessment of the Nigerian Government's Strategy

This paper assesses the effectiveness of the Nigerian government's strategy based on trends in Boko Haram attacks from 2009-2012. This assessment took into account casualty figures, geographical reach, frequency and scale of attacks, and the successful prosecution of arrested Boko Haram suspects. The assessment concluded that security forces might have foiled numerous attacks before they were executed by Boko Haram but that the actual number of attacks was on the increase. The combined statistics for both foiled and actual attacks would confirm increased spread and capability of Boko Haram attacks. Table 1 illustrates that the Boko Haram insurgency is gaining rather than diminishing in strength.



Table 1: Statistics on Boko Haram Attacks from 2009 – 2012

Parameter	Year			
	2009	2010	2011	2012
Highest number of casualties in a single day	53 <sup>54</sup>	80 <sup>55</sup>	100 <sup>56</sup>	186 <sup>57</sup>
Total casualties attributed to Boko Haram attacks	226 <sup>58</sup>	234 <sup>59</sup>	590 <sup>60</sup>	Over 1000 <sup>61</sup>
Total number of incidents	23 <sup>62</sup>	31 <sup>63</sup>	136 <sup>64</sup>	151 <sup>65</sup>
Number of states where Boko Haram has staged attacks	4 <sup>66</sup>	7 <sup>67</sup>	11 <sup>68</sup>	14 <sup>69</sup>
Farthest distance from Borno and Yobe States	Bauchi	Abuja	Abuja	Kogi/Sokoto
Number of individuals successfully prosecuted and convicted	NA	NA	1 <sup>70</sup>	NA

Sources: Forest, 2012; U.S. Department of State Country Report on Terrorism 2011; Institute for the Study of Violent Groups, 2011; and author's compilation from daily news sources.

The Nigerian's government's strategy has achieved some successes. Government forces have destroyed many of the sect's bases and IED-making facilities, especially in 2012. Nigerian security forces have also killed many Boko Haram members including some of its senior leaders. Nevertheless, Boko Haram is still potent, recruiting new converts and carrying out terrorist in 2013.<sup>71</sup>

## The Need for New Strategies

A study conducted in 2012 by University of Benin Professor Iro Aghedo and Ambrose Alli University Professor Oarhe Osumah indicates that Boko Haram is a corollary of economic inequality, poverty, and radical ideology.<sup>72</sup> The study also observed that Boko Haram's successful operations have been influenced by the influx of arms and illegal aliens through the country's porous borders, the low capacity of Nigeria's security forces, and the heavy-handed approach of some security forces. There is also evidence to suggest that socio-economic disparities and ineffective prosecution of Boko Haram suspects have complicated the government's efforts.

### Integration of Military Power with Soft Power

Some analysts have faulted government's over-reliance on hard power and the security forces alleged heavy-handedness which in their view tends to alienate the public from the fight against Boko Haram.<sup>73</sup> The Nigerian government's declaration of a state of emergency in areas highly affected by the sect's activities gave the police and security forces enormous powers to search without warrants, arrest, detain, and impose restrictions on movements through the enforcement of curfews. These measures were reported by some observers to have contributed to human rights abuses.<sup>74</sup> The security forces' alleged strong arm tactics may be the result of a force in transition from many years of military rule. The security forces' use of excessive force may harm its reputation as one of the true national institutions, especially if such abuses are perceived to be directed at a particular ethnic/religious group in the country. Employment of heavy-handed tactics could erode public confidence and sympathy for security forces and deny government forces much-needed support to defeat the group. Use of the military for internal security duties also erodes the effectiveness of the

Nigerian Police Force (NPF) as well as exposes the military to the ethno-religious dynamics of these conflicts. The Nigerian government and security agencies should therefore adopt a people-centric, community-based approach to defeat Boko Haram by intensifying efforts to win the hearts and minds of those communities that harbor the extremists and are sympathetic to their cause. It is only by doing this effectively and over time that the Nigerian government can obtain the necessary access to information and intelligence on the sect and its activities.

### Interagency Cooperation

Interagency rivalry and lack of coordination is a common feature of the Nigerian security architecture. Interagency rivalry is often caused by competition for resources, need for visibility, and quest for a favorable public rating of the agency's effectiveness. The unwieldy number of agencies that make up the NFPT made coordination of its activities difficult despite the centralization of oversight functions on the NSA. This multiplicity of organizations explains why the focal point did not operate more than four years after its establishment in 2007.<sup>75</sup> In a system with deep inter-service rivalry, it is not difficult to understand why some of the agencies worked to undermine and out-do each other. The parading of two different sets of suspects for the same crime by two different security agencies in mid-2012 is illustrative of this general rivalry and lack of cooperation.<sup>76</sup> Government ministries, departments and agencies vested with specific roles must develop a common framework within which they can identify their roles and develop the capabilities needed to perform those roles. Such a framework must address areas of interface such as policy coordination, intelligence sharing, integration of resources, and joint planning and conduct of operations. This common framework

should also designate an appropriate hierarchical structure that would foster decisive actions at critical times.

### Border Control and Policing

The role of small arms, light weapons, and ammunition in fuelling conflicts and terrorism in Africa has attracted international concern since the mid-1990s in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide.<sup>77</sup> The Nigerian government's strategy against Boko Haram identified the country's porous borders and their use as conduit for the influx of illegal arms.<sup>78</sup> The late Boko Haram leader Mohammed Yusuf admitted the flow of weapons from Niger, Cameroon, and Chad to the group.<sup>79</sup> Recent conflicts spurred by the "Arab Spring" and the spread of violent extremism in the Sahel region have increased the problem of availability of illegal weapons in the hands of terrorists. Conventional small arms control programs such as embargoes, targeted sanctions, export and import regulations, and disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) have not yielded positive results.<sup>80</sup> The success of such programs is imperiled in Nigeria where about seven million illegal weapons are in the hands of non-state actors and criminal groups<sup>81</sup> due to weak institutions, local arms manufacturing capacity, corruption, and extensive land and maritime borders that are porous and undermanned.<sup>82</sup>

Nigeria's 1,500-kilometer northern border with Niger is of particular concern due to prevalence of cross-border armed banditry and the influx of illegal aliens driven by protracted conflicts in neighboring countries such as Chad, Niger, Sudan, and Libya.<sup>83</sup> Boko Haram is known to have staging areas and temporary bases in the Zinder region of Niger along the border and daily utilizes several crossing points to transit towards Mali and Mauritania to link up with AQIM and other violent extremist groups for training,

finances, and weapons.<sup>84</sup> The plan by both countries to jointly patrol the border, which was first discussed in 2008, is yet to materialize. Such bilateral joint border patrol arrangements also exist with the Republic of Benin along Nigeria's western border.<sup>85</sup> The Nigerian government could employ reconnaissance drones to help monitor the borders at a lower human and material cost.

The issue of porous borders is not restricted to Nigeria's land borders. Activities of criminal groups engaged in the lucrative illegal oil bunkering and kidnapping businesses in the Niger Delta area have made the southern parts of the country an attractive destination for illegal arms traffickers.<sup>86</sup> Some of these weapons may have found their way to the northern parts of the country where Boko Haram is prevalent. There is also a need for the Nigerian government to be able to track, monitor and secure weapons recovered by security forces during kinetic operations Boko Haram.<sup>87</sup> Effective border policing would help prevent Boko Haram from gaining access to weapons and other forms of support from violent extremist groups in the West African sub-region.

### International Support

The defeat of violent extremists groups is a global endeavor. Violent ideology is fast-spreading in Africa, stretching from the Horn of Africa to the Sahel and posing threats of transnational terrorism to Western countries. The failed attempt by Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab to bomb Northwest Airlines Flight 253 over Detroit on December 25, 2009, further illustrates the spread of violent extremism and the interconnectedness of today's world. Abdulmutallab is the son of a wealthy Nigerian businessman, and was educated in Togo and England and radicalized by Al Qaeda in Arabic Peninsula (AQAP) in Yemen. Boko Haram has also demonstrated the capability to attack international

targets and its cross-border reach. The August 2011 attack on the UN building in Abuja by Boko Haram in which 23 persons were killed is the most visible example of Boko Haram's capability and intent to strike international targets. Other countries' interests within Nigeria are at peril if Boko Haram and other violent extremist ideologues are not curtailed. The February 2012 kidnapping of seven employees of a construction company in Bauchi State by the group Jama'atu Ansarul Muslimina fi Biladis Sudan, also known as Ansaru, illustrates this point.<sup>88</sup>

Nigeria had enlisted international support during its previous periods of serious internal security challenges, such as during the Biafran Civil War in the late 1960s.<sup>89</sup> International support continues to be critical to the success of the Nigerian government's strategy to defeat Boko Haram. The Nigerian government has sought assistance from the US and other countries with technology, experience, infrastructure, and human capacity to deal with issues of insurgency and terrorism. The international community must act on this request and support the Nigerian government's current fight against Boko Haram. The U.S. is a key economic and security ally and partner with Nigeria and it must play a lead role in mobilizing international support for Nigeria in this area. Possible areas of assistance include training, equipment, and support in developing intelligence gathering and sharing capabilities, such as the creation of a fusion centre for intelligence sharing among Nigeria's law enforcement and security agencies.

#### Capacity Building of Security Forces

The Nigerian armed forces have taken great strides in terms of capacity building in the last three years. This is particularly true for the Nigerian Army. The army has trained thousands of military and police personnel in counter-terrorism and counter-

insurgency, established a canine-handling section to boost its forensic capabilities, and reorganized units and formations on the frontlines of the fight against Boko Haram in line with the Chief of Army Staff's vision of "transforming the army into a force better able to deal with contemporary challenges."<sup>90</sup> The same cannot be said of many of the other services, particularly the NPF, which suffers from poor training, low morale, obsolete equipment, and inadequate welfare and motivation.<sup>91</sup> The police also lack surveillance and intelligence gathering capabilities.<sup>92</sup> Most of the capacity building initiatives in the armed forces and security agencies have targeted only lower ranking personnel with little attention paid to senior leadership development. Over 5,000 lower-ranking security personnel were trained in counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency between 2010 and 2012.<sup>93</sup> Another 167 junior officers up to the equivalent rank of major were trained in 2012.<sup>94</sup> There is no evidence of coordinated counter terrorism training for officers of higher ranks. The fight against Boko Haram is therefore denied the necessary strategic input that could hasten the defeat of the sect. Training of military officers, especially in the senior service colleges of developed countries, such as the United States Army War College (USAWC), could expose senior leaders in the armed forces to global counter-terrorism and national security management best practices for the long-term success of the war on violent extremism. This aligns with the US Department of Defense's new focus on building partner capacity for a more secure world in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.<sup>95</sup> The Nigerian military should explore additional vacancies (at least two at the USAWC) in senior service colleges that currently accept Nigerian military officers. The U.S. Department of State's Anti-terrorism Assistance program to

bolster the capacity of Nigeria's law enforcement agencies also should be expanded and sustained.<sup>96</sup>

### Criminal Justice System Reforms

Fair and quick dispensation of justice is essential not only in the fight against the Boko Haram insurgency but also to promote individual justice, national cohesion, and socio-economic development. Nigeria's Attorney General and Minister of Justice Mohammed Bello Adoke decried lack of access to justice, delays in criminal justice, and long pre-trial detention of suspects at a national forum in November 2012.<sup>97</sup> Many members, sponsors, and sympathizers of Boko Haram including serving members of parliament have been arrested during counter-terrorism operations against the sect in the past three years but few have been successfully prosecuted and convicted.<sup>98</sup> The late Boko Haram leader Mohammed Yusuf was arrested in 2006 and 2008 on allegations of incitement to violence and support for terrorism but was released without charges on both occasions.<sup>99</sup> Over 80 Boko Haram suspects are under pre-trial detention in Abuja alone.<sup>100</sup> More than 100 are awaiting trial in Kano.<sup>101</sup> Hundreds of suspected Boko Haram members have been released from prison by well-orchestrated Boko Haram attacks on prisons while these suspects awaited trial.<sup>102</sup> The speedy completion of trials would allow the prison authorities to move the convicted prisoners to more secure facilities.

Nigeria's Inspector General of Police Muhammad Abubakar attributed the delay in prosecution of suspects to the lack of enabling laws.<sup>103</sup> The Nigerian Senate disagreed and pointed to the Terrorism Prevention Act, which was enacted in 2011, as a recent example of such legislation.<sup>104</sup> Some analysts agree on the existence of appropriate legislation but blame lack of a designated lead agency in the Act for



investigation of suspected terrorist crimes.<sup>105</sup> There is also issue of corruption in the judiciary.<sup>106</sup> Criminal justice reforms should focus on eliminating long periods of pre-trial detention, lengthy trials, duplication of prosecutorial functions, and corruption in the judiciary.

### Socio-economic Development

Nigeria is sub-Saharan Africa's second largest economy behind South Africa.<sup>107</sup> The Economist magazine projects that Nigeria's economy will be sub-Saharan Africa's largest economy in 2015.<sup>108</sup> The International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates Nigeria's economic growth in 2012 at 6.6 percent.<sup>109</sup> Nigeria is endowed with enormous human and natural resources but more than 60 percent of the population lives below the poverty line of \$1 dollar per day; an estimated 80 percent live on less than \$2 per day.<sup>110</sup> Official government figures estimates that about 20 million Nigerian youths are unemployed.<sup>111</sup>

Nigeria is a diverse country with nearly 400 ethnic groups.<sup>112</sup> This social diversity has presented management problems for the Nigeria's political class since independence.<sup>113</sup> Inequitable distribution of power and resources among different regional, ethnic and religious groups has been a source of insecurity in Nigeria.<sup>114</sup> Poverty is more endemic in the northern part of the country where geography and Islamic practices such as resistance to Western education, family planning, and medical vaccinations, and traditional lifestyles such as nomadic cattle grazing have exacerbated the effects of corruption, illiteracy, disease, and malnutrition resulting in poor living conditions and low life-expectancy.<sup>115</sup> The report of the Presidential Committee on Security Challenges in the North-East Zone identified weak governance and poor service delivery despite huge revenue accruing to government as one of the major

causes of the Boko Haram insurgency.<sup>116</sup> This coincides with reports of various studies which attribute human insecurity in Nigeria to corrupt, wasteful, and insensitive leadership.<sup>117</sup> Former Borno Governor Ali Modu Sheriff and former Gombe Governor Danjuma Goje felt the need to apologize to Boko Haram for their actions against the sect while in office. This illustrates the role of leadership failures and poor governance in fuelling the insurgency.<sup>118</sup> The Nigerian government's strategy against Boko Haram should address the socio-economic and governance issues that impoverish the population and provide a vast recruitment pool of unemployed youths for Boko Haram.

### Conclusion

Boko Haram remains a potent threat to Nigeria's national security and the international community as a whole despite the Nigerian government's growing efforts to defeat the insurgency in the last three years. The number, sophistication, geographical range, and array of targets that have been successfully attacked by Boko Haram have increased since 2009. Boko Haram has also expanded its base beyond Nigeria's borders and established links with other violent extremist groups within the region and other parts of the continent. There are reports that Boko Haram received training from Al-Shabaab, AQIM, and MOJIWA and that there were Boko Haram members receiving training with Ansar Dine in a Timbuktu training camp in Mali.<sup>119</sup> The intransigence of the group has been a result of the group's increased operational capacity and the gaps in the current Nigerian government's strategy to bring the insurgency to an end. This paper has identified these gaps and offered suggestions to help confront the crisis.

The Nigerian government's reliance on hard power to fight Boko Haram has not optimized all elements of national power to bring peace and security to the affected

areas in the country. The government's strategy should aim at courting communities where the sect is known to have operational bases in order to deny them sanctuaries and gain useful intelligence that will enhance the security forces' ability to pre-empt the sect's plans. More effective border policing in the northern region would sever the links between Boko Haram and terrorist groups in the Sahel region such as AQIM and MOJIWA thus disrupting influx of arms, training, and financial support to the group. It will also ensure that Boko Haram fighters trained in foreign bases do not gain access into the country to rejoin the insurgency.

The fight against international terrorism demands multi-level cooperation between nations with vast experience in counter-terrorism. Nigerian government's strategy should seek assistance from developed countries to employ appropriate capabilities in areas of capacity building, intelligence gathering and sharing, and senior leadership development to strengthen current efforts to end the insurgency. The government should also strengthen the criminal justice system to ensure speedy trial of persons engaged in terrorist acts in the country. The cyclic loop of recruitment of members to perpetuate the insurgency will not end unless government and private organizations rise to the challenge of reducing poverty, creating employment, developing infrastructure, and increasing literacy in the country, especially in the north where Boko Haram recruiters have access to the mass of jobless youth. There are no simple solutions to Boko Haram terrorist activities but a conscious attempt to meld hard power military operations with soft power within the elements of national power would speed the defeat of Boko Haram and return Nigeria to the path of peace and development.

## Recommendations

The Nigerian government should:

1. Activate joint border patrols with neighboring countries particularly along the 1500-kilometer border with the Republic of Niger to control influx of arms and prevent Boko Haram and other groups from linking up with violent extremist groups in the Sahel region such as AQIM.
2. Purchase reconnaissance drones from foreign supplier countries to help monitor the border at lower cost.
3. Adopt a community-centric strategy aimed at denying Boko Haram members safe bases to plan and stage attacks.
4. Facilitate closer cooperation between domestic security agencies and other stakeholders to enhance intelligence sharing, integration, joint conduct of operations and policy coordination.
5. Modify the mode of operations of the domestic security forces to be more people-friendly so as to win the confidence of the people and enlist citizen support against Boko Haram and other groups.
6. Solicit help from countries with experience in counter-terrorism, such as the United States, for training and assistance with intelligence-gathering capabilities and equipment.
7. Request additional training vacancies in U.S. senior service colleges, especially the USAWC, to provide a global threat perspective to Nigerian officers dealing with counterterrorism issues.
8. Develop infrastructure and create employment to reduce poverty, increase literacy, and re-engineer socio-economic change.

9. Encourage foreign investment in labor-intensive industries such as manufacturing and agro-industry to create additional employment opportunities in vulnerable urban and rural areas.
10. Reform the criminal justice system to speedily prosecute arrested members of the Boko Haram sect and other groups and dispense justice in a timely and fair manner.
11. Enhance prison security to prevent the escape of suspected and convicted Boko Haram members and other criminals.

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> President Addresses Africa Growth and Opportunity Act Forum, January 15, 2003, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030115.html> (accessed October 17, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Boko Haram began its violence on 24 December 2003 when it launched attacks on police stations and public buildings in Geidam and Kanamma in Yobe State. See Iro Aghedo and Oarhe Osumah, The Boko Haram Uprising: How Should Nigeria Respond?, *Third World Quarterly*, 2012, 33:5, 859.

<sup>3</sup> Muhammad Bello, Senator Iroegbu, Adebisi Adedapo and Hamed Shittu, "Boko Haram has Killed 3,000 People, Says Army Chief," *Nigerian Thisday*, November 6, 2012. <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/boko-haram-has-killed-3-000-people-says-army-chief/129809/> (accessed January 11, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> Olukorede Yishau, "Boko Haram Killed 590 in 2011, Says U.S.," *The Nation*, August 1, 2012. <http://www.thenationonline.net/2011/index.php/news-update/55917-boko-haram-killed-590-in-2011-says-u-s.html> (accessed September 12, 2012).

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn Usman, "2012 in Restrospect; Any Respite for Bombings in 2013?" *Nigerian Vanguard*, January 1, 2013. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/01/2012-in-retrospect-any-respite-from-bombings-in-2013/> (accessed January 6, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> Kenneth Payne, "Building the Base: Al Qaeda's Focoist Strategy," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, (2011, Vol 34, No.2,) 124. The central principle of the focoist strategy is the use of small, fast-moving groups of insurgents to lead an insurrection and provide focus for popular discontent against a sitting government.

<sup>7</sup> President Barack Obama, "Way Forward in Iraq Remarks", available at <http://obamaspeeches.com/094-A-Way-Forward-in-Iraq-Obama-Speech.htm>, (accessed November 9, 2012).

<sup>8</sup> Lawrence E. Cline, "Today We Shall Drink Blood: Internal Unrest in Nigeria," *Small wars & Insurgencies*, (2011; Vol 22:02), p 274.

<sup>9</sup> Etham B. Mijah, "Democracy, Internal Security and the Challenges of Policing in Nigeria." Paper presented at the International Conference Evangelische Akademie Loccum, Germany, 15-17 June 2007.

<sup>10</sup> William F.S. Miles, "Sharia as De-Africanization: Evidence from Hausaland," *Africa Today*, 51-75.

<sup>11</sup> Alexander Nicoll (ed), "Boko Haram: Nigeria's Growing New Headache," *Strategic Comments*, 17:9, (2011), 2.

<sup>12</sup> Cline, "Today We Shall Drink Blood," 275.

<sup>13</sup> One of Boko Haram's major sponsors and financiers was Alhaji Buji Foyi, a serving Commissioner for Religious Affairs in Borno State, who was allegedly extrajudicially murdered by the Police during the 2009 clash between security forces and the sect. See Lise Waldek and Shankara Jayasekara, "Boko Haram: The Evolution of Islamist Extremism in Nigeria," *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, (2011, 6:2), 168-178. Also Jean Herskovits at Note 22. Former Governor Ali Modu Sheriff of Borno State revealed that he was approached by one of his former commissioners, who had resigned to join Boko Haram, to also resign as governor and join the sect (Nathaniel Danjibo, "Islamic Fundamentalism and Sectarian Violence: The "Maitatsine" and "Boko Haram" Crises in Northern Nigeria," Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 7).

<sup>14</sup> Adesoji, Abimbola, "The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria," *Africa Spectrum* (2010), 45:2, 101.

<sup>15</sup> Iro Aghedo and Oarhe Osumah, "The Boko Haram Uprising: How Should Nigeria Respond?" *Third World Quarterly*, 2012, 33:5, 858.

<sup>16</sup> Abimbola Adesoji, "The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria," 98.

<sup>17</sup> Nicoll, "Boko Haram: Nigeria's Growing New Headache," 2.

<sup>18</sup> Lise Waldek and Shankara Jayasekara, "Boko Haram: The Evolution of Islamist Extremism in Nigeria," *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, (2011, 6:2), 170.

<sup>19</sup> Romi Sigsworth, "Editorial Note," *Africa Security Review*, 2012, Volume 21, No.3, 2.

<sup>20</sup> James J.F. Forest, "Confronting the Terrorism of Boko Haram in Nigeria," (MacDill Air Force Base, Florida: The JSOU Press), 2012, xiii.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Jean Herskovits, "In Nigeria, Boko Haram is not the Problem," *New York Times*, January 2, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/02/opinion/in-nigeria-boko-haram-is-not-the-problem.html?pagewanted=all> (accessed September 4, 2012).

<sup>23</sup> Africa: U.S. National Security Implications of Increasing Violence Inspired by Islamic Ideology, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Journal of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, April 2012, Volume 34, No.2, 107.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights Hearing. (2012) Lanham, United States, Lanham: Federal Information and News Dispatch, Inc. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1024413803?accountid=4444> (accessed November 12, 2012).

<sup>26</sup> Adesoji, Abimbola, *The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria*, 96.

<sup>27</sup> Boko Haram: Emerging Threat to the U.S. Homeland, Report of the U.S House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, Sub-Committee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, November 30, 2011, available at [http://www.scribd.com/doc/74286783/Homeland-Security-Committee-Report-Boko-Haram-Emerging-Threat-to-the-U-S-Homeland?secret\\_password=1sq5dweo8qt9mkb9t5fj](http://www.scribd.com/doc/74286783/Homeland-Security-Committee-Report-Boko-Haram-Emerging-Threat-to-the-U-S-Homeland?secret_password=1sq5dweo8qt9mkb9t5fj) (accessed December 12, 2012)

<sup>28</sup> Karen Leigh, "Nigeria's Boko Haram: Al-Qaeda's New Friend in Africa?" *Time Magazine*, August 17, 2011. <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2091137,00.html> (accessed October 19, 2012).

<sup>29</sup> Agency Reports, "Boko Haram Got Weapons, Training from al-Qaeda-Niger," *The Punch*, January 26, 2012, 12. <http://www.punchng.com/news/boko-haram-got-weapons-training-from-al-qaeda-niger/> (accessed February 6, 2013).

<sup>30</sup> United States Diplomatic Mission to Nigeria, "Emergency Message for American Citizens," November 5, 2011. [http://nigeria.usembassy.gov/emac\\_11052011.html](http://nigeria.usembassy.gov/emac_11052011.html) (accessed November 18, 2012).

<sup>31</sup> Aghedo and Osumah, "The Boko Haram Uprising," 854.

<sup>32</sup> Hussein Solomon, "Counter-Terrorism in Nigeria," *The RUSI Journal*, (August/September 2012, Vol. 157, No.4), 8.

<sup>33</sup> Payne, "Building the Base," 124.

<sup>34</sup> Boko Haram is the first terrorist group to use suicide bombing in Nigeria. See Iro Aghedo and Oarhe Osumah, "The Boko Haram Uprising," 859.

<sup>35</sup> Jacob Zenn, "The Strategic Limitations of Boko Haram in Southern Nigeria," *CTC Sentinel*, August 2012, Vol 5. Issue 8,12.

<sup>36</sup> Madu Onuorah, Odita Sunday, and Ann Godwin, "Government Lists Boko Haram's Harm to Economy, Defense Chiefs Meet," *Guardian*, February 9, 2012, [http://www.nguardiannews.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=76513:govt-lists-boko-haram-s-harm-to-economy-defence-chiefs-meet&catid=1:national&Itemid=559](http://www.nguardiannews.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=76513:govt-lists-boko-haram-s-harm-to-economy-defence-chiefs-meet&catid=1:national&Itemid=559) (accessed December 8, 2012).

<sup>37</sup> Forest, "Confronting the Terrorism of Boko Haram," xiii.

<sup>38</sup> The government was slow to act against Boko Haram for several reasons. First, government was eager to show commitment to and respect for human rights, freedom of association, and other democratic norms following the country's return to democratic governance after nearly two decades of military rule. Second, the Nigerian government was averse to another bout of negative publicity after the international outrage that followed the military invasion and destruction of the Odi and Zaki Biam communities a few months earlier. Third, Nigeria's sharp religious fault line is a key factor that shapes Nigeria's political culture. It is often viewed by many analysts as politically inexpedient for the government in power to show any religious inclination towards a particular side. Nigeria's President at the time, Olusegun Obasanjo, being a Christian, must have been influenced by such considerations in view of the approaching 2003 general elections in which he was seeking re-election. President Obasanjo and the ruling party probably courted Muslim votes, especially as the Muslim north was still seething from conceding power after many decades of political dominance. Fourth, government could not legally deploy troops for internal security duties within a state without a written request from the relevant State Governor, who is also the State's Chief Security Officer, clearly stating the inability of the police to cope with the security situation in the state. This was not the case in Borno and Bauchi States which were the two states most affected by the crisis. It is unlikely that the Borno State government in particular would have initiated such a request in 2002 considering the fact that Boko Haram had strong support and even funding from senior government officials in that state.

<sup>39</sup> Nathaniel Danjibo, "Islamic Fundamentalism and Sectarian Violence: The "Maitatsine" and "Boko Haram" Crises in Northern Nigeria," Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 7.

<sup>40</sup> Onyeabo A. Ihejirika, LTG (NA), "Roles, Challenges, and Future Perspectives of the Nigerian Army," Lecture delivered by the Chief of Army Staff, Nigerian Army, LTG OA Ihejirika to Participants of the National Defense College Course 20, Abuja, Nigeria, January 12, 2012, 16.

<sup>41</sup> Bayo Oladeji, Kola Niyi-Eke, and Uche F. Uche, "Insecurity: 2 Battalions Moved to Damaturu and Potiskum," *Leadership*, September 23, 2012, [http://www.leadership.ng/nga/articles/35464/2012/09/23/insecurity\\_2\\_battalions\\_moved\\_damaturu\\_potiskum.html](http://www.leadership.ng/nga/articles/35464/2012/09/23/insecurity_2_battalions_moved_damaturu_potiskum.html) (accessed September 24, 2012).

<sup>42</sup> United States Department of State, "Country Reports on Terrorism, 2011," Chapter 5, Africa Overview, (Washington, D.C., US Department of State, 2012), <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2011/195541.htm> (accessed October 5, 2012).

<sup>43</sup> Andrew O. Azazi, Gen (rtd), "National Security Strategy: Issues and Challenges," Lecture delivered to participants of National Defence College Course 20, Nigeria on 3 January 2012, 5.

<sup>44</sup> Forest, "Confronting the Terrorism of Boko Haram," 3.

<sup>45</sup> Azazi, "National Security Strategy," 19.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.



<sup>47</sup> Osasu Obayiuwana, "Nigeria: Yet another Season of Travails," *New African*, December 2011, 79.

<sup>48</sup> Azazi, "National Security Strategy," 19.

<sup>49</sup> Drew Hinshaw, "New Attacks Threaten Nigeria's Future," *Wall Street Journal*, February 17, 2012, A.1 <http://search.proquest.com/docview/921723225?accountid=4444> (accessed November 15, 2012).

<sup>50</sup> United States Department of State, "Country Reports on Terrorism, 2011."

<sup>51</sup> Editors, "Nigeria: Security Situation Deteriorates as Government Lacks a Clear Response." <http://allafrica.com/stories/201111100285.html> (accessed on November 23, 2012).

<sup>52</sup> Aghedo and Osumah, "The Boko Haram Uprising," 862.

<sup>53</sup> Alex Thurston, "Nigeria Launches Fact Finding Mission to Develop Boko Haram Strategy," <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/Africa-Monitor/2011/0819/Nigeria-launches-fact-finding-mission-to-develop-Boko-Haram-strategy> (accessed on November 14, 2012).

<sup>54</sup> Forest, "Confronting the Terrorism of Boko Haram," 64. Over 800 people died in the violence between Boko Haram and security forces from 26-29 July 2009 but most of the casualties were Boko Haram members.

<sup>55</sup> December 24, 2010 triple bomb blasts in Jos, Plateau State. The figure does not include the over 100 people reportedly killed in reprisal attacks after the blasts.

<sup>56</sup> November 4, 2011 coordinated attacks in Damaturu, Potiskum, and Maiduguri. See Timeline on Boko Haram Attacks. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201201201540.html?viewall=1> (accessed on November 25, 2012).

<sup>57</sup> Forest, "Confronting the Terrorism of Boko Haram," 141. January 20, 2012 attack in Kano.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 66.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Yishau, "Boko Haram Killed 590 in 2011."

<sup>61</sup> "Federal Polytechnic Students Killed in Nigeria", *BBC News Africa*, October 2, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19801814> (accessed December 12, 2012). The final figures for total casualties attributed to Boko Haram attacks in 2012 are yet to be officially released.

<sup>62</sup> Forest, "Confronting the Terrorism of Boko Haram," 66.

<sup>63</sup> Yishau, "Boko Haram Killed 590 in 2011."

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> This figure is only for explosions by Boko Haram between March and December 2012. According to the Nigeria Police Force, there were 535 bomb threats by Boko Haram, 384 of which were defused by Police anti-bomb units (Usman, “2012 in Restrospect”). The final figures for all incidents attributed to Boko Haram in 2012 are yet to be officially published by appropriate government sources.

<sup>66</sup> The states are Bauch, Borno, Gombe, and Yobe.

<sup>67</sup> The states are Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Niger, Plateau, Yobe, and the FCT.

<sup>68</sup> The states are Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Niger, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Plateau, Yobe, and the FCT.

<sup>69</sup> The states are Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Niger, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kogi, Plateau, Sokoto, Taraba, Yobe, and the FCT.

<sup>70</sup> United States Department of State, “Country Reports on Terrorism, 2011.” Boko Haram ex-spokesperson Ali Sanso Konduga was sentenced to three years in prison in 2011.

<sup>71</sup> The Associated Press, “Five Killed in Separate Attacks in Northern Nigeria,” <http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/killed-separate-attacks-north-nigeria-18365561> . (accessed February 6, 2013).

<sup>72</sup> Aghedo and Osumah, “The Boko Haram Uprising,” 862.

<sup>73</sup> Solomon, “Counter-Terrorism in Nigeria,” 9.

<sup>74</sup> Hinshaw, “New Attacks Threaten Nigeria’s Future,” A.1.

<sup>75</sup> United States Department of State, “Country Reports on Terrorism, 2011.”

<sup>76</sup> “Edo Governor, Oshiomhole Seek Dismissal of Police DIG over Aide, Oyerinde’s Murder,” *Nigerian Premium Times*, January 10, 2013, <http://premiumtimesng.com/news/national/114645-edo-governor-oshiomhole-seeks-dismissal-of-police-dig-over-aide-oyerindes-murder.html> (accessed January 10, 2013).

<sup>77</sup> Robert Muggah, “Rethinking Small Arms Control in Africa: It is Time to Set an Armed Violence Reduction Agenda,” *Conflict, Security & Development*, 2010, 10:2, 219.

<sup>78</sup> Azazi, “National Security Strategy,” 14.

<sup>79</sup> Waldek and Jayasekara, “Boko Haram: The Evolution,” 174.

<sup>80</sup> Muggah, “Rethinking Small Arms,” 219.

<sup>81</sup> Shehu Abdulkadir, Major General, “The Challenges of Internal Security and Implications for National Development”, lecture delivered at the 7<sup>th</sup> Annual Ramadan Lecture of Muslim Media Practitioners of Nigeria, Abuja, Nigeria, in Michael Olugbode, Shuaibu Ibrahim and John Shiklam, “Boko Haram: How Recovered Arms Are Left in Armouries,” *ThisDay*, September 9,

2012. <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/boko-haram-how-recovered-arms-are-left-in-armouries/124482/> (accessed September 10, 2012).

<sup>82</sup> Nigeria has a total land border of over 4,000 kilometers and a coastline of nearly 900 kilometers. Also see Ihejirika, "Roles, Challenges, and Future Perspectives," 11.

<sup>83</sup> Oarhe Osumah and Iro Aghedo, "The Open Sore of a Nation: Corruption Complex and Internal Security in Nigeria," *African Security*, 3(3), 2010, 139.

<sup>84</sup> Abdoulaye Massalatchi, "Niger Seeks Joint Southern Border Patrols to Bar Boko Haram," <http://ca.reuters.com/article/topNews/idCABRE8960A720121007?pageNumber=1&virtualBrandChannel=0> (accessed October 7, 2012).

<sup>85</sup> The Nigeria-Benin Joint Border Patrol was re-launched in April 2010 to allow equal access to both sides of the border by the two countries. See, Nigeria: FG, Benin to Overhaul Border Patrol. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201004260941.html> (accessed on January 11, 2013).

<sup>86</sup> Several ships have been arrested in Nigerian waters with illegal weapons. The latest was the Russian-manned ship Myre Seadiver Aviatu, marked E5U2529, with Dutch flag arrested on October 24, 2012 with 14 AK-47 rifles, 20 Benelli MRI rifles and 8,598 rounds of ammunition, <http://maritime-connector.com/news/security-and-piracy/nigerian-navy-arrests-ship-carrying-weapons/> (accessed October 30, 2012).

<sup>87</sup> Michael Olugbode, Shuaibu Ibrahim and John Shiklam, "Boko Haram: How Recovered Arms Are Left in Armouries," *ThisDay*, September 9, 2012 <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/boko-haram-how-recovered-arms-are-left-in-armouries/124482/> (accessed September 12, 2012).

<sup>88</sup> The kidnapped workers were One British citizen, an Italian, a Greek, a Filipino, and Three Lebanese nationals. Ansaru had in December 2012 also abducted a French national in Nigeria. Aljazeera Online. "Ansaru Fighters Claim Nigeria Abductions," <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/02/2013218182933117509.html> (accessed March 4, 2013).

<sup>89</sup> Nigeria received support from many countries including United Kingdom, China, Russia (then Soviet Union), Syria, Sudan, and Algeria.

<sup>90</sup> Ihejirika, "Roles, Challenges, and Future Perspectives," 26.

<sup>91</sup> Ebegulem Simon, "Boko Haram: We Are Training Policemen on Counter-Terrorism-Osayande," *Vanguard*, September 1, 2012 <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/09/boko-haram-we-are-training-policemen-on-counter-terrorism-osayande/> (accessed September 2, 2012).

<sup>92</sup> Aghedo and Osumah, "The Boko Haram Uprising," 863.

<sup>93</sup> David Attah, "Army Graduates 439 Counter Terrorism Soldiers," *The Punch*, August 8, 2012, <http://www.punchng.com/news/army-graduates-439-counter-terrorism-soldiers/> (accessed November 14, 2012). About 3,000 were trained at the Nigerian Army Counter Terrorism and Counter Insurgency Training Center, Jaji, Kaduna while about 2,000 were trained at the Nigerian Army Training Centre, Kontagora and other training facilities.

<sup>94</sup> Army Graduates Officers in Counter Terrorism Training, *Sardauna Magazine*, December 24, 2012, <http://www.sardaunamagazine.com/index.php/component/k2/item/1333-army-graduates-officers-in-counter-terrorism-training#> (accessed February 1, 2013).

<sup>95</sup> Leon E. Panetta, "Building Partnership in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," lecture, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington D.C., June 28, 2012, <http://www.defense.gov/Speeches/Speech.aspx?SpeechID=1691> (accessed December 12, 2012).

<sup>96</sup> United States Department of State, "Country Reports on Terrorism, 2011."

<sup>97</sup> Ikechukwu Nnochiri, "Adoke Calls for Urgent Reforms of Nigeria's Criminal Justice Sector", *Nigeria Tribune*, November 10, 2012. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/11/adoke-calls-for-urgent-reform-of-nigerias-criminal-justice-sector/> (accessed November 10, 2012).

<sup>98</sup> Borno State Senator Ali Mohammed Ndume is standing trial on four counts for collaborating with Boko Haram kingpin Ali Sanso Konduga. Another Borno State Senator, Ahmad Zannah, is being investigated on similar charges.

<sup>99</sup> "Northern Nigeria: Background to Conflict," Report of the International Crisis Group, No. 168, (December 20, 2010), 19, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/west-africa/nigeria/168-northern-nigeria-background-to-conflict.aspx> (accessed November 24, 2012).

<sup>100</sup> "Boko Haram: 89 High-Profile Suspects Detained in Abuja," *Nigerian Tribune*, (November 10, 2012), <http://www.tribune.com.ng/sat/index.php/front-page-articles/9105-boko-haram-89-high-profile-suspects-detained-in-abuja-confusion-over-alleged-escape-of-kingpin-on-sallah-day-ig-probes-news-of-escape.html> (accessed November 10, 2012).

<sup>101</sup> Desmond Mgbob, "Boko Haram Attacks: 963 Bombs Discovered and Defused in Kano since January 20," <http://sunnewsonline.com/new/national/boko-haram-attacks-963-bombs-discovered-defused-in-kano-since-january-20-cp/> (accessed August 15, 2012).

<sup>102</sup> Boko Haram has successfully staged jail breaks on numerous locations where their members are detained. Jail breaks took place in the Bauchi, Maiduguri, Yola, and Koton Karfe Prisons.

<sup>103</sup> Kingsley Omonobi, "Can't Arraign Boko Haram Suspects Until...IG," *Nigerian Vanguard*, November 19, 2012, <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/11/cant-arraign-boko-haram-suspects-until-ig/> (accessed November 20, 2012).

<sup>104</sup> John Alechenu, "Senate Faults IG on Laws to Tackle Terrorism," *The Punch*, November 22, 2012. Available at <http://www.punchng.com/news/senate-faults-ig-on-laws-to-tackle-terrorism/> (accessed on 22 November 2012).

<sup>105</sup> United States Department of State, "Country Reports on Terrorism, 2011."

<sup>106</sup> Chinedu V. Akuta, "Nigeria Judiciary as a Big Joke," *The Punch*, February 2, 2013, <http://www.punchng.com/opinion/letters/nigerian-judiciary-as-a-big-joke/> (accessed February 3, 2012).

<sup>107</sup> Drew Hinshaw, Solomon Moore, and Patrick McGroarty, "World News: Rising Nigeria Violence Imperils Stability --- Muslim Militants Claim Responsibility in Killing of 150, Fueling Religious Tensions and Threatening Economic Overhaul," *Wall Street Journal*, January 23, 2012 pp. A.10. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/917144164?accountid=4444> (accessed October 7, 2012).

<sup>108</sup> "Nigeria's New Government-Groping Forward," *The Economist*, November 12, 2011, <http://www.economist.com/world/middle-east-africa>, (accessed October 21, 2012).

<sup>109</sup> Hinshaw, Moore, and McGroarty, "World News: Rising Nigeria," A.10.

<sup>110</sup> Embassy of United States in Nigeria, "Nigeria Economic Fact Sheet," prepared by the Economic Section, April 2012. <http://nigeria.usembassy.gov/nigeriafactsheet.html> (accessed December 12, 2012).

<sup>111</sup> Henry Umoru, "Twenty million Nigerian Youths Unemployed-FG," *Nigerian Vanguard*, December 9, 2011. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2011/12/20m-nigerian-youths-unemployed-fg/> accessed December 12, 2012).

<sup>112</sup> Nigeria's Federal Ministry of Information, "Nigeria Handbook: All you Need to Know about Nigeria," Abuja, Nigeria, 28.

<sup>113</sup> Charles Ofoche, *Socio-economic Problems in Nigeria: Causes and Remedy*, Strategic Research Project (Carlisle Barracks, PA; U.S. Army War College, March 23, 2012), 11.

<sup>114</sup> Aghedo and Osumah, "The Boko Haram Uprising," 857.

<sup>115</sup> Seventy-two percent of the population in the North lives in poverty compared to 23 percent in the South. See Council on Foreign Relations, "Backgrounder: Boko Haram." <http://www.cfr.org/africa/boko-haram/p25739> (accessed November 23, 2012).

<sup>116</sup> Institute for Security Studies, "Nigeria: Security Situation Deteriorates as Government Lacks a Clear Response," *All Africa*, November 10, 2011. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201111100285.html?page=2> (accessed November 23, 2012).

<sup>117</sup> Oarhe Osumah and Iro Agedo, "Benchmarks and Deficits: the Leadership Question in Nigeria," *Benin Journal of Social Sciences*, 19 (1-2), 2011, 104-115.

<sup>118</sup> Adebisi Kayode Isaac, "Nigeria: Boko Haram Apology-Comic Relief or Collapse of State?" *Leadership Newspaper*, July 14, 2011, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201107140601.html> (accessed February 1, 2013).

<sup>119</sup> Drew Hinshaw, "Timbuktu Training Site Shows Terrorists' Reach," *Wall Street Journal*, February 1, 2013, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424127887323926104578278030474477210.html> (accessed February 1, 2013).

