

PHILOSOPHY AND TERRORISM: IN THE LIGHT OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA.

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ABSTRACT: *The terrorist group- Boko Haram is absolutely out to destroy the present structure of the Nigerian State. The sole intention of the group is to fanatically islamize the entire country and rule it with sharia law. Their ambition is closely tied to that of the ISIS in Syria and Iraq. All the factors that trigger off terrorists acts elsewhere in the world were not the case in Nigeria. Islamization of a radical nature is their sole aim. Fundamentally, Nigeria is a secular State without any official State religion. So the Nigerian government is fighting this group to save her corporate existence and maintain her secular nature. Ethically speaking, which is the angle of this paper to Boko Haram issue, the Boko Haram sect is ethically blameworthy for declaring war against the Nigerian State as it has no right whatsoever to do so. Also in prosecuting the war, the sect has violated all the universally laid down regulations for a just war and those of the Human Rights. This paper encourages the Nigerian government to employ all the accepted tactics to militarily crush this dangerous sect to submission and quickly address all the contentious issues that facilitate agitations from different sections of the country such as illiteracy, unemployment, environmental pollution and general poverty.*

KEY WORDS. Terrorism, Boko Haram, Nigeria, Ethics.

INTRODUCTION

Since the emergence of the Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigerian many concerned people have reacted to it in so many different ways. Many scholarly articles have been written by way of addressing this phenomenon. This paper is a further contribution to addressing this issue but from an ethical stand point. Nigeria as a country has been seen by many as providing the fertile ground for emergence of both terrorist and militant groups due to her failure to live up to expectations as a responsible and credible nation. The high level of youth unemployment, illiteracy, environmental degradation and neglect, seeming marginalization, general poverty and elite corruption make her prone to one form of agitation or the other. The Boko Haram came on board not to agitate any of the named factors above but changing the nature and structure of the Nigerian state by way of total islamization of the country where sharia law will reign supreme. This group is radically different from other militant groups before it such as the Odua People's Congress (OPC), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), and therefore, must be treated differently. What the sect is doing tantamount to treason and must be seen and tackled as such. No matter how irresponsible a government may be nobody or group is ethically permitted to carry arms and declare war against such government. In a case of irresponsible government the much an individual or group can do is to engage in civil disobedience. By declaring war against the Nigerian State, the Boko Haram terrorist organization had gone contrary to the ethical regulations of a just war 'ab initio'. Conditions

for a just war among others include: legitimate authority, last resort, just cause and civilian casualties. Boko Haram group violated all these conditions.

Apart from violating the 'jus ad bellum' right to go to war and 'jus in bello' moral conduct in war, the sect engages in utter violations of human rights as contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, since December 10, 1948. The Declaration inter alia, guarantees to all persons the right to life, liberty, security and free from torture and inhumane or degrading treatment amongst others. Based on all these violations on the part of the Boko Haram sect, the Nigerian government is ethically empowered to militarily crush this terror group that threatens her corporate existence and at the same time address as a matter of urgency all the known factors that triggered all forms of agitation.

Articulating Terrorism

Terrorism is one of the words in scholarly arena that has many definitions as there are many people of different ideological thoughts trying to define it. For some it is terrorism and still for others it is freedom fighting thereby gaining both support and condemnation (Roberts: 2008). A visit to the website 'terrorismfiles.org' shows terrorism as "the systematic use of terror especially as a means of coercion." Its second definition is more elaborate—"the systematic use of terror or unpredictable violence against governments, publics, or individuals to attain a political objective. Terrorism has been used by political organizations with both rightist and leftist objectives, by nationalistic and ethnic groups, by revolutionaries, and by the armies and secret police of governments themselves." It further noted the definition of the United States Code of Federal Regulations as: "The unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (28 C.F.R. section 0.85).

Frey and Morris (1991) viewed terrorism as a arbitrary use of violence to cause both fear and intimidation on the innocent populace to achieve social and political goals. Primoratz (2002) articulated terrorism as intimidating a group of people with force to get them do something they would in normal circumstance wouldn't have done, a kind of forceful allegiance. James M. Lutz and Brenda J. Lutz (2004) have a condemning notion of terrorism as evil, randomly violent and ferocious. The United Nations in its Security Council Resolution 1566 of 8 October 2004, gave an inclusive definition of terrorism as: Criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or international organization to do or abstain from doing any act, which constitutes offences within the scope of and as defined in the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism. This UN definition has in it both the characteristics, targets, intentions, results and originators of terrorist activities. Having seen all these definitions of terrorism, one idea that runs across all of them is the use of force or violence to intimidate and cause fear and anxiety among innocent people to achieve a parochial objective.

Brief History of Terrorism

Terrorism in a way is as old as mankind if we consider the notion of 'state of nature' in the Hobbesian account of the origin of society, where 'man was wolf to man'. Many of the wars fought in the ancient period could pass as terrorist acts as there were no regulations then regarding wars. The first recorded act of terrorism was in the Middle East, in the first century

Palestine by the Zealot sect. History has it that during that time, the Jews revolted against the census carried out throughout the empire by the Roman authorities. The Romans clamped down on them into submission. This led the Zealots to launch an organized resistance against the foreign authorities through violent means, (Chalianda & Blin:2007).

Some scholars like Hegel saw the Enlightenment that followed the French Revolution of 1789 as the spring board of terrorism (Hegel, trans, 1967). The French leader then, Maximilien Robespierre saw terror as a virtue that must be pursued with vigor. For him, it is nothing but justice that emanates from virtue which is a general principle of democracy that must be applied because of the urgent need of France (A Brief History of Terrorism: 2003). (Kamal: 2008), traced the origin of terrorism to the concept of 'recognition' in Hegel's 'Phenomenology of the Spirit'. The seeming war between the self and the other is not really war unto destruction of the other but that of subjugation. The subjugation of the other is what makes the self to be well established as a being with right. So in this direction, the self may be called a terrorist to a lesser degree considering the features of terrorism as a concept. A terrorist at all, because the recognized self has intimidated the recognizing self into submission against its will. But is this enough to brand it a terrorist? The problem I have with this approach of tagging the recognized self as a terrorist is that it never aims at the essence of terrorism which is annihilation. True to Hegel's dialectic process, that war of subjects unfolded into the objective realm which is the society. Terrorism in the society did not logically follow the triadic movement of Hegel's system where the result of the conflict will be a higher and better society that came about as synthesis of the initial conflicting duo. Where annihilation is aimed at, synthesis is not realizable.

In the contemporary time, acts that can be termed terrorist are seen in different parts of the world, some very prominent and some not. These acts are exemplified in the conflicts among individuals and groups attempting to destabilize or overthrow existing political institutions for a parochial objectives such as, Ireland V. United Kingdom, Algeria V. France, Palestinians V. Israelis, Catholics V. Protestants in Northern Ireland (Yount:2002). What we have seen so far may be termed political terrorism.

Interestingly, in Nigeria, there has never been any recorded acts of this kind of terrorism, instead, what has been there is Religious terrorism which was noticed before independence (Ikime: 1985). This actually went back to previous years of religious feelings going on in the North to guard and protect the Muslim North from Western influence. Those feelings created a tensed atmosphere not only in the North but some parts of the country and this led to the setting up of Sir Henry Willink Commission in September 1957 to allay the fears of minority groups, both ethnic and religious, in the then three regions before independence. In the North, there was already a problem among Moslems.

We cannot accurately talk about religious terrorism in Nigeria without having a recourse to Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzakky who was a leader of the a Shiite Islamic sect in the 1970s. The Shiite sect all over the Islamic world are known for one ideology – establishment of an Islamic states that would be guided by the precepts of Sharia law. Zakzakky and his numerous followers as opposed to other sects that were in place during that period saw themselves as the true and real moslems who were faithful to the teachings of the Quran and prophet Mohammed, the last of the prophets. Zakzakky and his admirers went all out to recruit members who would be faithful to the Shiite philosophy and they made much gains in this regard.

These members after indoctrination and radicalization were ready to carry arms against any perceived enemy of their cause with the full assurance and belief that if they die in the process they would go straight to heaven. The Maitatsine religious crisis in the 1980s in Kano masterminded by one Muhammed Marwa was a manifestation of this Shiite project. For Marwa, Islam had been corrupted by modernization or westernization and the formation of modern states which is contrary to the belief of the Shiites (Adegbulu:2013). In view of this the members of sect saw themselves as the agents of purification and restoration of Islam and this must be done with every available means including use of violence. It is this sect that came up again since 2002 with the same agenda of islamizing Nigeria. In this project, the enemies interestingly are not only non moslems but even moslems of moderate stance.

Emergence of Boko Haram Sect

Boko Haram is among the most vicious terrorists groups operating in the sub-sahara Africa, home to some of the worst Islamist extremists in the world such as the Al-Shabaab in Somalia and that region. Boko Haram emerged in Northeastern part of Nigeria as a reaction of the militant interpretation of Islam against the moderate one. Femi Owolade (2014), referenced Umar Mamodu prominently, in laying bare the origin of Boko Haram militant group in Nigeria. According to Mamodu, Boko Haram's inception in 2002 resulted from a clash between the moderate Islamic teachings of the prominent Sheikh Jafaar Adam at the Mahammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri, Bornu State in the Northeastern part of Nigeria, and the more militant interpretation of the Qu'ran by his disciple Mohammed Yusuf. Mamodu went on to state that Yusuf believed in the creation of a new order in which the wretched should inherit the earth, and for his extreme views, was expelled in 2002 from Ndimi Mosque Committee.

By this expulsion from the mosque, Yusuf built a mosque there in the northeast and started recruiting young boys of both primary and secondary school age to form the bedrock of his militant vision of Islam. These new recruits were taught to discard their earlier notion of western education because it is a sin and thus came about the name 'Boko Haram'. This may be the immediate cause for the emergence of this group but remotely it went back to the new structuring of the society in that region where the rich are living in affluence and the poor in misery. The likes of Yusuf attributed this kind of dichotomy of life to influence from western education and culture. Therefore, poverty on the part of the majority of the populace and corruption among the few privileged rich also were at the root of the emergence of this terror group. One may argue that poverty and corruption were also there in other parts of the country, but this point cannot be ruled out totally.

Boko Haram launched military operation against the Nigerian government in 2009 and its leader Yusuf whose aim was an Islamic state of Nigeria was killed that year. The leadership of the group is now in the hands of Abubakar Shekau, who surfaces intermittently in videotapes messages. In a video released in 2012 after an attack in Kano that killed 200 people, Shekau said, 'I enjoy killing anyone that Allah commands me to kill, the way I enjoy killing chickens and rams'.

According to Qaqar (2012), Boko Haram's objective is total islamization of Nigeria and the application of sharia law throughout the country, and this has to be achieved through clandestine activities like kidnappings, bombings and suicide attacks at both government and religious institutions that parade a huge number of people at a time. Since its military operation in 2009, about 17,000 people have been killed especially in the north-eastern Nigeria. And once, seized a large area in the northeast where it declared a caliphate.

Apart from the above reason for emergence of this terror group, two schools of thought that adduced other factors that breed violence in the society have been referenced, namely, 'frustration- aggression and relative deprivation school led by psychologist Dollard and his group (1939), and 'state - failure' school championed by Rotberg (2003). The 'frustration-aggression' and relative deprivation theory believes that frustration both at the individual and group levels naturally transforms into aggression against the perceived source of the frustration which was facilitated by deprivation. (Akanni:2014) in analyzing this theory said that social movements are in place when frustration leads to group aggressive behavior directed at the source of the frustration both directly and indirectly. The immediate cause of such aggression rooted in frustration is when people do not have enough to live on and yet see and live with some that have more than enough. Frustration as a result of factors like poverty, unemployment, insecurity, elite corruption naturally turns the masses against the source of their frustration (Adibe:2012). The anti-clericalism that occurred in France during the revolution was a case in hand, where the masses turned against the rich that impoverished them and also the members of the clergy that associated with the rich. One who is really frustrated and is aggressive can go to any length in venting out his anger.

The second school is that of the 'failed state' approach. Fundamentally, the essence of the state is for the welfare of the citizens which include the provision of security, education, healthcare, basic infrastructures, employment opportunities and a legal framework for law and order (Rotberg:2002). The state as the custodian of the citizens' 'General Will' sees to it that the goods of the state are fairly distributed. These could include opportunities, infrastructures and appointments. No section of the state may see itself as being marginalized whatsoever. When a given state is unable to fulfill this statutory responsibilities to a marginal level, it loses legitimacy to be seen as a state with the expected patriotism. The loss of legitimacy by state provides the citizens the leverage to antagonize it and makes them vulnerable to any ideology that seems to proffer solution to their problems. One basic feature of a failed state is non availability of central government where every group is a government of its own. A typical failed state in Africa today is Somalia.

Boko Haram as a Terrorist Group

Having seen the emergency and objective of this sect called Boko Haram, there is no gaining saying whether it is a terrorist organization or not. Really it is. In its foundation and operations it has adopted all the characteristics and distinguishing features of terrorist organizations. Boko Haram as a terrorist group has, according to Fiala (2002), used terror as an instrument in the pursuit of their desired objective. The use of terror as a weapon of war does not only cause pains but culminates in disorganizing and destroying both political and social structures.

Boko Haram like any other terrorist group involves in guerilla war tactics against their known targets and unsuspecting ones. Their members that unleash these attacks were uneducated and illiterate youths (almajiris) recruited from the streets and trained for these deadly attacks. In the view of Soyinka (2012), their training in the Islamic schools and radicalization makes them to be obedient only to one line of command and they have graduated from using knives and machetes, bows and poisoned arrows to Ak-47s, homemade bombs, and explosive-packed vehicles. Their frequent use of suicide bombings and Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) against innocent citizens further attests to their being a terror group. Again they have openly declared support and links with known terrorist organizations in the world such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS, and called themselves ISIS, West African province. In view of this, the fight against

this terror group should go beyond Nigeria and her immediate neighbors, it should be a global affair as Al-Qaeda and ISIS.

Nigeria's Response to the Boko Haram

The Nigerian government treatment of this terror group at inception was complacent. The government never thought the group a threat to her corporate existence as a nation and therefore did not take them seriously. Secondly, since the group was operating in the northeast alone it was taken as minor religious disturbance that the moslem north is known for. Between 2002 and 2009, the sect engaged the Nigerian police force and the villagers in the northeast especially Bornu and Yobe states in a low profile attacks.

The Nigerian government only came out boldly to recognize the seriousness of this sect's activities after the violent attacks on the innocent citizens in 2009. The government response was setting up of a judicial enquiry to look into the crisis and advise the government. As with so many similar judicial enquiries in the past, the reports never came to limelight and not to talk of implementing them. This non serious and committed response from the Nigerian government became a booster for the sect to intensify their atrocities against the citizens especially those in the northeast of the country.

It was stated that so many security reports about the sect were submitted to the appropriate authorities and nothing was done in terms of truly eradicating the sect. Even the Bornu state command of the Nigeria Immigration Service, after the death of Mohammed Yusuf in 2009, identified, arrested and deported the leader and co-coordinator of the group Bukar Shekau to his country Niger Republic but through one of the porous borders of the country came back to Nigeria and continued his terrorist activities (Tell: August, 10,2009). Again, report had it that government was complacent for the reason that some of the sponsors of this terror group were highly connected in the government. These financial sponsors that were involved for their selfish motives included known northern religious leaders and politicians (Sani:2011). It was even speculated that the killing of Yusuf was to prevent him from naming his sponsors who may be top government officials.

The Nigerian government only confronted this sect with military might after the group's abduction of the Chibok girls that attracted international outbursts. Between 2009 that the terror group officially launched its first violent attack and in 2014 that the government responded militarily, the sect had gained so much ground in terms of seized territories, highly sophisticated weapons far superior to those of the Nigerian military, more funding from some selfish and ambitious northern politicians and groups in Saudi Arabia and United Kingdom, tactical assistance from other terror groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS.

During the dying days of the presidency of Goodluck Jonathan, the Nigerian government in coalition with the governments of Chad, Niger and Cameroun made tremendous progress in defeating the insurgents by regaining lost territories, releasing so many captured women and girls by the sect, killing so many of them and many surrendering to the coalition force. To effect total crushing of the insurgency, President Muhammadu Buhari, on assumption of office, reorganized the military hierarchy with the mandate to defeat the terrorists in three months period (September to November 2015).

Boko Haram and Ethics

It is a legitimate right of any individual or group to express without hindrance one's or group's grievances and disapprovals in a lawful way. Lawful protests are very legitimate but what is not lawful is violent expression of grievances. Before the emergence of Boko Haram in 2002, there have been in existence some organized groups protesting one thing or the other against the Nigerian government. These included the Odua People's Congress (OPC) in the South West, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) in the South South and the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB). The Odua People's Congress was agitating for a greater control of the economy of the Yoruba land; the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, for the environmental degradation of their ecosystem as a result of oil exploration and neglect of their region by the Federal government in terms of infrastructural development; and the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra, for self determination as a result of utter marginalization by the successive governments in Nigeria from 1967 till date.

Inasmuch as these militant groups were carrying out their agitations in a way the government felt was unlawful none of them went as far as carrying arms against the Nigerian state by destroying government institutions and killing innocent citizens as the members of the Boko Haram sect are doing. What the other groups were doing mostly, especially MEND, was kidnappings, hostage taking for ransom, pipeline vandalization, oil-theft, arson and ambush to send signals to the government about their feelings (Akanni:2014). However, kidnapping has taken another dimension in subsequent years that is at variance with its original intention. This time around the targets of kidnapping have widened considerably and emphasis now is paying of ransom. Nobody is now safe of being kidnapped; politicians, university lecturers, kings, musicians, movie industry workers and members of the clergy (Ebun-Amun, 2010). Kidnapping and hostage taking both formerly and now were never intended for killing of the victims despite few recorded cases of death.

The Boko Haram sect never adopted the style of other militant groups in the country but from the onset intended war on anybody or institution that will obstruct their agenda whether moslem or not. The Nigerian state actually because of elite corruption and insensitivity to the plight of the poverty-stricken masses provided fertile ground for the emergence of these hostilities against her. According to Taylor (2014), while economic, social and political disparity and inequalities were legitimate concerns underlying the emergence of Boko Haram, the organization evolved into an extremist group committed to a path of destruction. However, inspite of these legitimate concerns, nobody or group is ethically justified to take up arms against the government.

Looking at the Boko Haram insurgency with the lens of the age long conditions for the just war, the sect is ethically wrong. Right from the time of St. Augustine, for war to be just, these conditions must be there: declared by a legitimately constituted authority, as a Last resort, have Probability of success, Right intention, Proportionality and noncombatants must not be killed or injured (Augustine: 1967). Subsequent scholars that discussed this topic did not deviate from this stand of Augustine. When these conditions are put on ground, Boko Haram sect failed in all of them and therefore their activities are unjust and unethical.

Some of the reasons offered for their emergence and operation such as the 'frustration-aggression' motif; 'failed state' theory; elite corruption and insensitivity to the plight of the masses approach, are all correct but these are not found only in the northeast of Nigeria. In terms of infrastructural development, the most underdeveloped section of the country is South South and not the North East- the birth place and major area of operation of Boko Haram. This

shows that it is not only the indices of 'frustration-aggression and failed state' that resulted in this taking of arms against the Nigerian government. The main reason is religious fundamentalism and fanaticisms supported by Nigerian government ineptitude. Other militant groups in other zones of the country are not engaging in acts of terrorism because of non-religious fundamentalism.

Apart from verdict of the just war calculus, the Boko Haram sect also involved in Human Rights violation. Among the most significant rights violated by the sect are the following: the right to life, liberty, and security of person; the right to be free from slavery and servitude; the right to be free from torture, cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment, (UDHR, Dec. 10, 1948, arts. 3-5). All these are primary rights that are non-negotiable as far as respecting them is concerned. Secondary rights such as political, social and religious are dependent on them. The Boko Haram sect turned this order upside down by making secondary rights absolute and this ethically is unacceptable.

Micewski (2006), supports this stance by maintaining that politically offensive use of force to achieve national interests, revolutionary fanaticism, or attempt to rectify war as a legitimate means to disseminate religious or political ideologies in the sense of a holy war can from a higher normative position of moral philosophy, never be justified. Also from the religious point of view, Boko Haram is condemned as no religion approves or encourages killing of human beings, more so, innocent ones. Their religion Islam is a peaceful religion that abhors violence and equally teaches harmonious relationship with members of other faiths. Therefore, they cannot be fighting for the sake of Islam as a religion.

Tackling Boko Haram and Militancy in Nigeria

Boko Haram is a serious threat to Nigeria's corporate existence and must be seen as such, hence, it should be fought with every available means. Re-organizing the military hierarchy is not enough, the strategy has to be reviewed. Their source of funding and marginal support should be investigated and blocked. Government should also carry out internal assessment of herself to fish out those who are in government that are sympathetic to the group. Former President Goodluck Jonathan once openly said that Boko Haram had penetrated the government and this included the military, police, other law enforcement agencies, the executive, legislative and judicial arms of the government. So there must be a total clean up in these areas if Boko Haram is to be defeated. The hiccup in acquiring modern and sophisticated weapons and equipments must be cleared to enable the military to prosecute the war effectively.

Some people are still calling on the Nigerian government to enter into negotiation with Boko Haram despite insincerity on their part at the first attempt. Such people are citing similar negotiation with and granting of amnesty to the restive youths of the Niger Delta as a case of the victory of negotiation. However, such advocates failed to see that the two situations are not the same; one was motivated by religious fanaticism and the other by environmental degradation as a result of neglect; one taking arms against the government, threatening her corporate existence and the other obstructing oil production to attract government attention; one willing to negotiate sincerely and the other bent on defeating the government and change her secular nature. Therefore, the Nigerian government should have a rethink about yielding to negotiate with Boko Haram because of their gullibility. So the government should aim at total military crushing of the sect to put an end to it permanently.

Inasmuch as the government is currently fighting the sect in the northeast, she should as a matter of urgency put in place everywhere in the country indices of development, eradication of illiteracy, youth unemployment and poverty generally, as a way of showing her concern for the welfare of the populace of the country. Insecurity of lives and property is on the increase presently in the country and this must be addressed because there seem to be a general belief that ridding society of poverty rids it of crime, (Clark:1970). Fighting corruption and punishing those convicted of it in all sectors of the society should be utmost priority of the government. Psychologically, people are not only evaluated from internal makeup but also from the influence of the significant other, (Fleming:1961, Bandura:1973). When the youths observe that looters of public funds are celebrated rather than punished and that only the rich obtain justice, they will try to imitate them. The Nigerian prisons should not only be for the poor and the 'unconnected' people with highly placed Nigerians but for every offender. The Nigerian government must sanitize herself especially in her law enforcement agencies to win the confidence of the masses of this country.

Equally important here is a critical look at the makeup of Nigeria as a nation since 1914 by Lord Lugard. In constituting the National Conference in 2014, then President Jonathan told the participants among other things that the corporate existence of Nigeria as a nation is not negotiable and a 'no go' area. But should that really be the case? The entity called Nigeria came into existence without the input of the people to whose 'benefit' the amalgamation was made. The decision was unilaterally made in London by 'His Majesty' as reported by Lord Frederick Lugard in his 'amalgamation speech' on 1st of January 1914. An excerpt of the speech reads thus:

'You are all aware that His Majesty's Government, after long and mature consideration, arrived sometime ago at the conclusion that it would be to the great advantage of the countries known as Southern and Northern Nigeria that they should be amalgamated into the one Government, conforming to one policy and mutually co-operating for the moral and material advancement of Nigeria as a whole. This policy had been strongly advocated by Sir William Macgregor as Governor of Lagos, by Sir Ralph Moor as High Commissioner of Southern Nigeria, and by myself as High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria about ten years ago.'

Prior to this amalgamation there existed two totally different countries with their unique and distinguishing characteristics and features, and His Majesty never considered that as very important. So in the process of eradicating youth restiveness and militancy of any sort Nigerians must sit down in a very peaceful and harmonious atmosphere and talk about this coming together of formerly two countries and freely decide how to be or not to be. By sitting down to talk the fears of the militant youths of the South East (MASSOB) that are crying of marginalization and are struggling for self determination; the belief of the Shiite sect of the moslem North that Islam has been corrupted by associating with the Southern people as a result of their Western form of life enshrined in their education and life style; and the agitation of the youths of the Niger Delta (MEND) for greater control of their natural resources will be properly addressed and managed.

CONCLUSION

That Boko Haram is threatening the corporate existence of Nigeria is a facticity that cannot be glossed over that way. In view of this existential threat everything that Nigeria and international

communities can do to save Nigeria from this existential embarrassment should be done and very quickly too. Boko Haram is not only a Nigerian issue but due to its international connection and support it now becomes a global issue that has to be tackled globally. Boko Haram is an immediate threat to Nigeria no doubt, however, other known and perhaps unknown militant groups should not be allowed to graduate into terror groups by Nigerian government doing the needful to win the respect and confidence of all the citizens of this country.

President Muhammadu Buhari's intent to negotiate with the terrorists if they show signs of seriousness should be handled with utmost care, because, the objective of the terror group which is total islamization of Nigeria with sharia law in operation is absolutely not possible. The sect from its nature can never shift any ground and they had made it very clear already. In one of the video tapes released by the group in 2013, the Sahara Reporters noted their leader Abubakar Shekau, thus: "we will not enter into any agreement with non-believers or the Nigerian government... The Quran teaches us that we must shun democracy, we must shun the constitution and we must shun western education". Therefore, negotiation is out of the way, and secondly, the practice of granting amnesty with payment of huge sum of money to any agitated group sets a bad standard. Since the 'carrot' approach did not work, the alternative 'stick' approach should be employed fully. This extreme severe measure should not only be applied to the sect but all the collaborators both in government and elsewhere to serve as a deterrent to future trouble makers. Hence, total military crushing of the sect will lay it to rest permanently.

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