BOKO HARAM CATASTROPHIC TERRORISM -AN ALBATROSS TO NATIONAL PEACE, SECURITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

The catastrophic terrorism unleashed by the Islamic sect popularly known as "Boko Haram," has become a nation-wide concern in Nigeria in recent years. Almost everyday television broadcast, shows, newspapers, magazines and internet websites run and re-run pictures of dramatic acts of violence carried out by this ferocious sect. It is often hard not to be scared when we see gruesome pictures of people killed or maimed by Boko Haram in office buildings, public buses or trains, and on the streets. The federal government seems weak in maintaining law and order in Nigeria and lacks a viable strategy to contain the Islamic sect from carrying out its atrocities. Nigeria seems to meet the criterion of a "failed states" such as Somalia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan and Yemen, where terrorist groups are often able to operate freely, plan sophisticated attacks and stockpile weapons—not because the government officials sponsor them but simply because they lack the political will to bring them to book.

The federal government, with the support of the international community, has launched many initiatives to combat the threat posed by Boko Haram. Indeed, considerable amount of money and political capital have been invested in new and continuing programmes to enhance security and contain the threat of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Although, these and other efforts are worthy of support, it is not obvious that they reflect any clear ordering of priorities, or that they are being implemented with a sense of urgency. In order to correct this situation, this paper explores the issue of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism in Nigeria, taking an in depth look at the historical legacy, institutions, conditions and contexts as well as the challenges posed by this trend against sustainable development. This discourse sums up the recommendations motivated by national synergy to effectively address the monstrous threat posed by Boko Haram to national peace, security and sustainable development in the country.

Keywords: Boko Haram, Catastrophic Terrorism, Nigeria, Sect, Sustainable Development

INTRODUCTION

The year 2011 shows that Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism has continued to pose a clear threat to the Nigerian economic, social and political sectors. The Nigerian economies are critically dependent on foreign investment and natural resources. Renewable natural resources exploration in agriculture and foreign investment sectors contributes more to the Gross Domestic Product of many Northern states' economies than manufacturing. Foreign investment is the fastest growing sector in many of these states and this is based on the encouragement given to it. In addition to the significant contributions to national economies, foreign investments sustain rural livelihoods through the provisions of a wide range of products and services.

At the same time as foreign investments assume greater significance in the human and economic development process, humanity has been depleting the life systems on which the wellbeing of the people depends. This depletion has accelerated in the last few years, largely as a result of accelerated industrial growth, prompting a search for models of growth and development that would still ensure that the fundamental life systems remain intact while supporting fundamental human and other needs. Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism and associated challenges have given rise to concerns over sustainable development propelled by foreign investment.

Sustainable development is used to refer to a pattern of resource use that aims to meet human needs while preserving the environment so that these needs can be met not only in the present but also for generations to come. According to UNESCO (in Umoh, 2005) generally defines sustainable development as:

the will to follow a rational approach to economic administration and the creation of economic policies, to manage public matters efficiently and predictably, to show respect for future generations by integrating a concern for environmental protection in decision making and progressively evolving towards democracy- the full participation of all concerned actors, while taking into account specific local circumstances

Accordingly, sustainable development stands on three pillars-social development, economic development and environmental protection, (Kufoniyi and Akinyede, 2004). Foreign investments in the Northern states are approaches toward ensuring this development in Nigeria. To facilitate sustainable development in Nigeria, one cannot afford to align with the present situation of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism activities to this unit of foreign industrial development.

The foreign industrial sectors of the Northern states is increasingly recognized as a value whose preservation and protection are critical preconditions for the survival of humanity. There have been phenomenal developments in national and security law over the past few years in response to the challenges of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism in the region. Security law draws from and is influenced by principles of terrorism act, including responsibility and sustainability. While security regulation continues to evolve in the 21st century as evidenced by the phenomenal developments in law, the federal government plans have been slow and fragmented in their engagement with the challenges of reconciling foreign investment protection with the needs of human and sustainable development.

The quest for solutions that provides a sustainable future becomes more urgent as ever increasing evidence of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism activities continue to be discovered. Concern for foreign investment protection is usually voiced by interest groups such as foreign investors, domestic investors, consumers, or community based organizations. Such groups will typically advocate for appropriate state responses to the experienced or imminent Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism challenges. Federal and state governments have responded with policies and programmes with limited security engagement and support.

Concerns with Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism and related challenges have led to the proliferation of security management policies, laws and programmes. Security management in turn has become an arena of cooperation and conflict, and hence an arena for social and political-economic interaction. As such, it is an arena of justice and injustice that cannot be separated from the larger context of government and governance. Contemporary debates on developmental politics focus on a wide range of issues such as the relationship between global political forces and environmental security; investment security and so on. Nigerian societies are increasingly confronted with inter-related developmental challenges arising from climate change, biodiversity loss, conservation, land-use conflict; Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism and so on.

Based on this, this paper proposes to focus scholarly attention on security engagement with developmental and security issues in the context of sustainable development and identify key issues for security and federal government researchers to take up longitudinal engagement with developmental issues in the region in order to encourage foreign investors.

HISTORICAL LEGACY

Four decades after independence, Nigeria has not been able to create societies that ensure human dignity and respect for all. Since gaining independence in 1960, military coups, ethnic and religious tensions have characterized post-independence Nigeria. The end of the civil war (1967-1970) was believed to be an opportunity to unite Nigerians. Yet, in the post-civil war era, Nigeria has been confronted with daunting security challenges including militancy, insurgencies and recurrent communal violence that have pitted various communities against one another in the country. After many years of military rule, the reintroduction of civilian rule in 1999 has coincided or seems to have spurred the intensification of ethnic and religious militancy, characterized by acts of catastrophic terrorism, civil strife and mass protests. Indeed, since 1999, with the opening of the democratic space, various militia groups clinging to religion, ethnicity or other special interests have sprung up in Nigeria and the horror that they have unleashed on the people can only be comparable to the civil war years. In addition to their terrible humanitarian toll, the activities of these groups and their conflict-prone relationship with security officials have been a constant menace to peace, security, stability and the territorial integrity of Nigeria.

Undoutedly, the danger that these groups and their associated ethnic and religious conflicts posed to Nigeria was well captured by Robert Kaplan, who in his widely cited 1994 article, "The Coming Anarchy," warned against the deepening balkanization of Nigeria. As (Kaplan, 1994) put it then,

[T]he country is becoming increasingly ungovernable. ... Ethnic and regional splits are deepening, a situation made worse by an increase in the number of states from 19 to 30 and a doubling in the number of local governing authorities. Religious cleavages are more serious; Muslim fundamentalism and evangelical Christian militancy are on the rise; and northern Muslim anxiety over southern [Christian] control of the economy is intense . . . the will to keep Nigeria together is now very weak.

These same conditions that Kaplan described in February 1994 seem to be prevalent as Boko Haram is bent on reducing Nigeria to rubbles if sharia and their version of Islam are not widely applied across the country. In addition, recurrent religious violence as well as catastrophic terrorism and rebellion in the Niger Delta region have further rendered Kaplan's doom's prophecy more telling. Indeed, the threat of disintegration looms higher nowadays in Nigeria than during the pre--civil war years. According to many people, including Professor Wole Soyinka, "Nigeria is already disintegrating".

Dealing with these catastrophic terrorist or militia groups has over the years become one of the most pressing security challenges to the regimes of presidents Olusegun Obasanjo, Yar Adua, and Goodluck Jonathan, who have ruled Nigeria since the democratic awakening of 1999. The widely held view by experts is that the politicization of religion and ethnicity in Nigeria has been responsible for the formation of groups such as the Oduduwa Peoples' Congress (OPC), Egbesu, the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Arewa Peoples' Congress (APC), the Bakassi Boys, Igbo Youth Congress (IYC), Igbo Peoples' Congress (IPC), Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF), Niger Delta Resistant Movement (NDRM), Movement for the Survival of the Izon Nationality of the Niger Delta (MOSIEND), the Nigerian or Yobe Taliban, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Jama'at Ahlus al-Sunnah Liddawati Wal-Jihad or better known as Boko Haram, and a host of many other violence wielding

groups. Indeed, the political theorem has been the most consistent if not coherent explanation of the rise and fall of militias and catastrophic terrorist groups in Nigeria.

Literatures on Boko Haram remain inconclusive about the group's *raison d'être* or the real purpose for its creation and existence, not the least the rationality of its activities. Various literatures have proffered divergent views, emphasizing different causal factors such as crisis over citizenship and inter-ethnic rivalries, lacunae in the 1999 constitution, institutional weaknesses and failures of the government (the notion of failing or a failed state), poverty and inequalities among the predominant ethnic and religious groups, colonial legacy and the relics of the British Monarchy in Nigeria (or historical legacies), as well as global political forces and the global jihad movement or the ideological legacy of Osama Bin Laden. (Isa, 2010), for example, sees the source of the problem in the posturing of the Nigerian government. As he puts it, "The Nigerian state has, over time, been characterized by unmitigated despotism, capricious government policies, fiscal crises, debt-ridden economy, inequalities and injustices, bad governance, large-scale corruption, fractionalization of the ruling class, weak political and economic institutions, and a near absence of security of lives and property….The seemingly complacent way the state manages the emerging issue of militant Islamic groups points to one fact—the inability of the ruling class to properly manage the state affairs."

Equally, (Ibaba, 2008) blames the state or politicians for the insurgency in the Niger Delta. In the same vein (Ikelegbe, 2005) notes that, "the political problems that motivate the militias, as well as the unemployment and poverty that create the pool of militants, have remained unresolved." Some scholars such as (Adibe, 2012) trace the problem to the failed construct of nation-building in Nigeria. At the same, other scholars have explained the rise of Boko Haram from its religious dimension, stressing religious extremism or fundamentalism as the key motivating factor. Here, Islam and the historical interplay of politics and religion in Nigeria have come under intense scrutiny. In this context, the age-old Christian-Muslim conflict in Nigeria has been identified as the main driver of Boko Haram. Proponents of the religious theorem have emphasized poverty, social inequalities and high level of illiteracy as factors animating and fuelling religious-based violence. In explaining the causes of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria, (Salawu, 2010) points out issues of domination, exploitation, victimization, marginalization, nepotism, as well as failure of Nigerian leaders to establish good governance, breakdown of vehicles of social control common to traditional African societies, and the long military intervention in politics.

According to (Danjibo, 2010), Boko Haram is the product of the "Maitatsine" doctrine or a brand of Islamic zealots and fundamentalists introduced to northern Nigeria in 1945, and he argues that the Maitatsine or Boko Haram riots of 1980 and 2009 were linked to the failure of governance in Nigeria. Others such as (Ousman, 2004) would explain Boko Haram as part of the resurgence of Islamic movements and militancy worldwide. In an article, "The Potential of Islamist Terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa," Ousman traces the problem of modern Islamic movements in Nigeria to the opening of democratic pluralism in 1999, which shifted the balance of power from Muslim military rulers of the north to Christian civilian rule in the south.

Boko Haram, which was largely unknown when it emerged in 2002 in Maiduguri, a remote city in north eastern Nigeria, bordering Cameroon, surged to pre-eminence in 2009 through some remarkable but deadly chain of events that occurred in Maiduguri. It all began on 25 July, 2009 with an all-night attack on Dutsen-Tanshi police in Bauchi State. The attack attracted one of the heaviest and ruthless security crackdowns in Nigerian history. The five-day standoff between Boko Haram and security forces resulted in about 800 people killed and several hundreds more injured, as well as the capture

and killing of several Boko Haram militants including their founding leader, Mohammed Yusuf. The killing of Yusuf and attempts by security forces to obliterate Boko Haram marked a turning point in the Islamic sect history and transformed the group into one of Africa's most ferocious and deadliest catastrophic terrorist groups.

The group emerged from the July's ordeal even stronger, bolder and more daring in its attacks. It has since then pursued a campaign of terror, responsible for deadly and devastating catastrophic terrorist acts in northern and the central belt of Nigeria, with 2011 regarded as the deadliest year of Boko Haram's activities since 2009. A quantitative assessment of the impact of Boko Haram atrocities in Nigeria between 2009 and February, 2012 often does not reflect the true humanitarian, socio-economic and environmental cost to communities. The lack of an empirical study and a central database has resulted in various estimates and projections. Modest estimates by (Human Rights Watch, 2012), for example, put the total deaths at 935 in some 164 attacks. The report also estimates that 550 people were killed in 115 Boko Haram attacks in 2011 alone, while (Amnesty International, 2012) estimates that, "in 2011, at least 500 people were killed in attacks by Boko Haram, often targetting police officers and government officials." Such quantitative assessment reflects the plight of the thousands of people that have been displaced, forced orphaned and widowed caused by the deadly attacks. It also reflects the negative impacts the threat that Boko Haram activities pose to the economy, unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria, Africa and the world at large.

While the focus of this paper is on Boko Haram as a catastrophic terrorist group, one of the fundamental questions to address, particularly for the long-term resolution of the threat of Boko Haram, relates to whether militia and catastrophic terrorist groups fill a vacuum in Nigeria. In other words, are there political, economic and security spaces for these groups? Or what are the drivers of militias and catastrophic terrorist groups in Nigeria? Catastrophic terrorism is seen as a recent development in Nigeria, while militancy has a much longer history. The paper will explore this in order to understand the unique phenomenon of Boko Haram whether as a catastrophic terrorist or a militant group.

INSTITUTIONAL NETWORKS

The preferred institutional form for catastrophic terrorism is networks or, perhaps better, networks of network-based institutions (Arquilla and Ronfeldt, 2001). As such they are like other aspects of catastrophic terrorism relatively unfamiliar to those who study institutions, who have focused more on formal institutions, such as corporations, hospitals, universities, civil service bureaucracies, voluntary institutions, and institutions developed to direct the activities of social movements. As a result, there are only some, mainly indirect insights about Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist institutions from the literature on formal institutions. The characteristics of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism institutions can be understood by tracing the implications of the fact that Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism must be simultaneously invisible and at the same time coordinated for preparing and executing catastrophic terrorist activities. Consistent with these purposes, Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist institutions must maintain extreme secrecy, avoid record keeping, and minimize any paper trails that could reveal their internal movements, plans, and intentions. The last is extremely difficult because of the necessity to rely on computer and telephone in addition to handwritten and face-to-face communication as part of institutional coordination, and the necessity sometimes to rely on financial transaction institutions to shift resources from place to place and on Automated Teller Machine cards to facilitate movements of their personnel by cars, buses, trains, and airplanes.

The internal political exigencies of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist institutions are limited and concern mainly their relations with the host states in which they are located. If they are unknown to those states rarely, if ever the case, then

questions of local relations with them are moot, because Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist institutions avoid routine interactions with governing regimes. However, host states usually know about, tolerate, protect, or promote Boko Haram for their own political purposes. This knowledge means establishing relations with Boko Haram, taking an interest in and perhaps influencing their activities, thus forcing the sect to observe and perhaps play along with various state-related realities. Because much of the glue of contemporary Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist institutions is commitment to an extreme ideology, there is a special range of issues of maintaining internal control. They must recruit those whom they regard as ideologically committed and ideologically correct. They must dedicate some of their institutional activities to maintaining that loyalty and commitment and prevent backsliding among members who are frequently living in societies with values, ways of life, and institutions that are different from their own and may be found seductive.

The need to maintain various kinds of discipline through intense personal ties, hierarchical control, and surveillance is very strong. Institutions have to ensure that information flows but also that information is kept secret. They may have to coordinate extremely complex activities of destruction. And they must attend to the steadiness of ideological commitment. There are several associated points of vulnerability of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist institutions, many of which involve failures of information flow, security of information and coordination of activities. Institutions may also be subject to internal rivalries among leaders, especially if they are only partially integrated as networks of institutions. One additional vulnerability characteristic of all ideologically extreme institutions is the constant danger of schismatic ideological tendencies from within. Demanding extreme conformity, such institutions constantly face problems of internal deviation, mutual accusations among both leaders and followers that they are less than true Islamic believers, the splitting off of factions based on ideological differences and the political intrigues that are involved in preventing such splits and dealing with them once they occur. Direct knowledge about these institutional dynamics is very limited, mainly because it is so difficult to study institutions that are bent on secret operations and concealment of information. Such knowledge must usually come from electronic surveillance, defectors, detainees who cooperate and agents who have been able to infiltrate.

However, Nigeria has experienced many other kinds of secret, network-based institutions, and a knowledge base about them and their operations has accumulated. Among these institutions are spy networks, gang rings such as Oduduwa Peoples' Congress (OPC), Egbesu, the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Arewa Peoples' Congress (APC), the Bakassi Boys, Igbo Youth Congress (IYC), Igbo Peoples' Congress (IPC), Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF), Niger Delta Resistant Movement (NDRM), Movement for the Survival of the Izon Nationality of the Niger Delta (MOSIEND), the Nigerian or Yobe Taliban, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and extremist social and religious movement institutions.

In addition, network analysis as a field of study in sociology, social psychology, and elsewhere has yielded a great deal of theoretical and empirical knowledge during recent years, and some aspects of this general knowledge might also be brought to bear. This paper conclude this section on motives, values, and institution of Boko haram catastrophic terrorist institutions by noting a number of potential limitations on and vulnerability of Boko haram catastrophic terrorism: (a) their partial dependence on "domestic" friendly audiences, whose support and applause can wane if the Boko haram catastrophic terrorists appear to be inept or gratuitously excessive in their activities (Gurr, 1998; Crenshaw, 1999; Wieviorka, 1993; Post, 2002); (b) their dependence on states within which they operate variable in terms of their precise relationship with those states which may constrain their activities in the light of their own "state" interests in the national arena; (c) extreme ideological and religious rigidity and backsliding, both of which have the potential to generate schisms

within the nuclear terrorist institutions; (d) motivational failings, reversals, and defections, always a possibility when so much psychic energy is invested in an extreme cause; and (e) institutional failures, especially flows of information in a dispersed, secretive network.

BOKO HARAM CATASTROPHIC TERRORISM: CONDITIONS AND CONTEXTS

This paper now moves to a more general level of analysis: to conditions fostering the rise of Boko haram catastrophic terrorism and the religious, political and economic contexts in which it develops. To consider this is to leave the realm of deterrence in the short run and to move to more indeterminate background conditions. This paper continues to focus on the problems of prevention, though in the longer run. Before moving to demographic, economic, and social conditions, it mentions three broad contextual features of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism. None of these features concerns policy areas that is, things one can or wants to do something about but they constitute the broadest possible contexts for understanding Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism as a historical phenomenon in Nigeria.

The first consideration concerns Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism as a form of guerilla warfare. Throughout most of our historical development in Nigeria, warfare has been a form of conflict undertaken by two or more parties (tribes, communities, religions), each of which operates under the belief not necessarily based on adequate information that it has a chance of vanquishing the other by available militia means. This might be called the assumption of imagined parity. That assumption is still roughly valid for many local armed conflicts throughout Nigeria, but the larger picture has changed radically with the advent of explosive weapons of destruction and a new asymmetry between the strong and weak communities in Nigeria. During the civil war, there were two regions with weaponry capable of destroying one another. The Northern region and the Eastern region engaged in a standoff of mutual deterrence during those four years and relied on other means diplomacy, propaganda, economic aid, clandestine international strategies of political disruption, and limited wars in other parts of Nigeria. With the end of the civil war in 1970 and its effective evaporation of regions, the Northern states considered both alone and with its fundamental Islamic militants emerged as the sole superpower from a political and religious point of view, with a quantum distance between it and the rest of the states. No region in Nigeria can conceive of having the slimmest hope of winning a militia or ethnic war against another. As a result, the options to wage conflict have narrowed.

 This situation has been fully in place for the past decade and continues; it may change if nuclear weapons and delivery technology proliferate sufficiently widely, but for the historical moment that is the dominant picture. This general national situation reveals in large part why Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism as a form of conflict has come into such prominence. It has emerged as a strategy of the enemies of civilization or modernization and the Western education in the context of their weakness, considered from a conventional civilization and modernization point of view. (Some beliefs, among them Muslim ones, hold that in the longer run God will prevail and victory will be achieved.) Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism as a system of harassing, disruptive, and destructive activities carried out by clandestine, mobile, and opportunistic networks of committed sects make sense in this context of civilization and modernization imbalance. Such forms of violence are among the few options available. Considerations such as these give credence to the assessment that Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism is a form of extortion from the strong by the weak. The reason why Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism is more than a nuisance is found in the second broad conditioning factor to be mentioned technology. This factor is significant in two ways.

First, the development of catastrophic capabilities gives an enemy who can deploy them to a great destructive power an edge over the opponent. The potential willingness of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist institutions is to use this technology wherever and whenever they can make terrorism a real and present danger. Second, in Nigeria societies, the deployment of technology in the interests of economic development and efficiency has created societies that are internally differentiated systems of interdependent parts. Crippling one sector for example, the electrical system, the transportation system, the information technology system quickly generalizes to other sectors, and as a result the entire system is vulnerable. The third broad conditioning factor has to do with the increasing internationalization and interdependence in the country. This is often referred to with varying degrees of precision as civilization and modernization. To some degree, the idea of civilization and modernization has become an ingredient of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist and other ideologies, and it is represented as an extension of Western capitalism that disadvantages poorer countries. In another context, civilization and modernization have occasioned an extraordinary growth in the national movement of commodities, information, ideas, money, and people and as a result, have necessarily increased the permeability of boundaries of society.

This permeability makes Nigerian societies vulnerable to undetected penetration from outside, and Boko Haram catastrophic terrorists can capitalize on this vulnerability. Regarded in this way, civilization or modernization constitutes an advantageous set of conditions for Boko Haram catastrophic terrorists, both in terms of their capacity to locate in Northern states and in their capacity to gain access to the societies of adversaries. The reason these three conditions constitute the broad Nigerian historical context in which any efforts to prevent, contain, or disable Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism must be developed.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

The political settings of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist activities during the past two years have been dispersed and complex, and for that reason they defy simple generalizations. The areas of operation of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorists during this period include few northern states e.g. Adamawa, Kano, Yobe, Jigawa, Borno, Taraba, Plateau etc. Their political/ideological motivations include nationalism, separatism, and both right and left-wing radical, revolutionary and Islamist beliefs. Many Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist sects have only local horizons, many others have international missions, and still others have a mix of both. No single political formula applies to this scene of great diversity though anti-education, anti-civilization, and anti-modernity themes are frequent and correspondingly, no simple political formula for dealing with them emerges. In fact, a recent exhaustive survey of counter-terrorist activities undertaken by the federal government includes "negotiation of national agreements, Joint Task Force military strikes against members of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism, and the creation of decontamination teams, changes in immigration procedures, advances in surveillance, and an increase in the severity of penalties associated with Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist attack" (Donahue, 2001).

In light of this great historical diversity, however measured, the first lesson to be learned about political responses to Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism is that a certain ad hoc and flexible approach is necessary and desirable. Some words can be said on the politics of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist activities that command the most immediate attention of those associated with radical Islamic fundamentalism though these are only a part of the whole catastrophic terrorist picture. It is well known that these sects target unbelief as their main enemy, and this includes both Eastern and Western states and local, secularizing political regimes with an interest in modernizing their states. This regime was often opposed

sometimes quietly, sometimes noisily by the traditional religious hierarchies. The most active opposition took the form of demanding an Islam based state (the Muslim Brotherhood in Northern region). State policies toward these religious movements varied between toleration and brutal repression (especially of the more radical movements).

Correspondingly, some of the movements worked themselves into the polity as lobbies or opposition parties, and some of them were driven underground and became even more radicalized in their religious and political outlook, developing a more systematic view of what an Islamic state or the Islamic community should be and more intolerant of anything that deviated from that. Included in the ideology of these sects is a thorough going hatred of the present government from the South-South. It comes as no surprise that radical Islam is one of the feeder sources to Northern region catastrophic terrorism.

The policy of state repression has been as often counterproductive as it has been effective. As indicated, repression drives movements underground and tends to radicalize them. It may also drive movements out of the country to more hospitable environments. In addition, imprisonment of leaders and others often leads to the use of the prisons themselves as bases to breed radical ideas "the best school for crime is a prison". Repression also often radicalizes the repressive government, which generalizes its fear of opposition to include more moderate forms, thus compromising the polity in an antidemocratic direction.

The lesson that emerges from this historical sketch is that the Nigerian federal government, in dealing with governments in states where Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism has developed, ought to work as closely as it can with those governments, but it should resist the temptation strong as it is, because of the catastrophic terrorist threat simply to repress radical Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist sects, because of the likely counter productivity of simple and brutal repression (Crenshaw, 1999; Post et al., 2002).

The history of extremist sects in general indicates that a combined policy is preferable repressing illegal and violent activities while simultaneously fashioning some kind of place in the political spectrum and the political process for both disaffected and moderate sects (Boulby, 1999; Wiktorowicz, 2001; Wickham, 1996). Neither radical political sets nor extremist religious institution are forever frozen in time as dangerous, destructive forces. To repress them as such rather than recognizing that they have their own careers and are responsive to their political environments does not remove them from the scene and may contribute to the very conditions in which they thrive (Shah Kazemi, 1995; International Crisis Group, 2002; Chung, 2002; McDaniel, 1988; Auda, 1994).

DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

Because of the range and diversity of locations in which Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism as an activity has developed, generalizations about demographic and economic origins are as difficult to come by as political generalizations, as are definitive long-term policies designed to deal with them. Nevertheless, a few general observations can be made. Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism is a strategy of the weak against the strong, and the broad array of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist activities in the past two years lend credence to that view.

The historical origins of the weakness of the weak are to be found in the centuries-long processes of differential economic development and disadvantage, civilization, the effects of civil war and educational domination as the effects of these have accumulated. Contemporary aspects of the weakness of states inside the country include their demographic and economic disadvantages. Regarding Muslim states as a special case once again, we note that these states are among

those with the highest fertility rates in the country (though dropping in some places). This makes for not only rapid growth of their populations (a growth that itself places economic demands on those states), but also a particular age distribution of the population (many young, few old). The resulting youth dependency ratio puts great pressure on the education systems of these societies and also results in high proportions of young people in the economy who cannot find their way into paying and productive economic roles, and whose economic futures are dim (Kepel, 2002; United Nations Development Programme, 2002). The typical consequences of this situation are to generate great competitive pressures for marginal jobs domestically, pressures to emigrate, high unemployment among the young, and frequently large scale social marginalization.

Finally, a high growth ratio produces large numbers of children in families, and this may spread thin the family's financial and emotional resources. Researchers (Sulloway, 1996; Skinner, 1992) suggest that later-born children in families are more rebellious. These researches suggest the possibility that in a population in which many families have many children, the level of rebelliousness in the society may be higher than elsewhere. The demographic sources of disadvantage combine with the economic realities that many of the Muslim states are among the poor states in the country, and that the distribution of wealth in them is among the most regressive (United Nations Development Programme, 2002).

The origins of economic inequality lie both in the hierarchical traditions of these states and in the fact that the fruits of mainly Eastern and Western induced economic development in them have not been distributed equitably. Both the demographic and the economic realities feed into high levels of social and political dissatisfaction in these states, and when this dissatisfaction is given meaning in the context of anti-modernization, civilization and radical Muslim ideologies, a fertile breeding ground for catastrophic terrorist recruits is at hand (Guenena, 1986; Ibrahim, 1980, 2002; Dekmejian, 1995).

The demographic and economic disadvantages of these regions do not lend themselves to short-term cures, much less arenas for short-term deterrence of radical sentiments and nuclear terrorist activities. They are among the longer-term conditions. The longer-term picture is, however, that if these disadvantages persist in the political and religious contexts of this region, there is reason to believe that the social malaise, alienation, and disaffection of significant parts of the populations will also persist. Appreciating these realities does not provide neat formulas for what the long-term economic, political, and foreign policies of the Nigeria and the Africa should be. They surely dictate, however, that those realities have to be taken into account if policies are to be enlightened.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Developmental problem is not different from other socio-economic or socio-political problem be-deviling the northern states. However, Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism problem that needs quick response, due to its significant effects on the health and welfare of the people. In promoting foreign investment and sustainable development in the region, federal and state governments should show more concern and interest in using their skilful and professional competence to bring about security and safety of the environment for the Nigerian and foreign investors.

From the above, it is imperative to pursue a multi-track approach that addresses the different but related risks posed by fundamentalist Boko Haram catastrophic militant sect as nuclear suppliers, middlemen and end-users. The core elements of such an approach should be to enhance the security of nuclear weapons and fissile material nationally, consolidate nuclear weapons and fissile material stockpiled, reduce their size and move towards their elimination. The one sure

conclusion emerging from this paper about strategies for countering Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism is that there are no silver bullets or quick fixes available. It is possible to specify more effective and less effective deterrent and preventive policies at various levels and under different conditions. However, the general policy approach has to be adaptive, opportunistic, and multisided. The conventional problem-solving logic so attractive in Nigerian culture is find a problem and then fix which has limited utility. But on a longer term, more contextualized approach is necessary. Despite this important caution, the study ventures the following specific recommendations about deterrence and prevention that follow from the analysis:

- Deterrence, understood conventionally the direct use of threats, punishments, and inducements to prevent enemy action as a viable tool in dealing with Boko Haram catastrophic terrorists.

- Many of the assumptions of conventional deterrence, however the availability of channels of communication or credibility among communicating parties, know that adversaries value are not likely to be present in contemporary catastrophic terrorist situations. As a result, reliance on direct deterrence can be only somewhat effective.

- Direct efforts to deter should therefore be accompanied by working through all available third party societies hosting Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist organizations, countries trusted by host societies, or the Nigeria' own allies who may have more credibility with and influence on Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist organizations as an enemy does.

- Whenever possible, federal government policies should be directed toward distancing and alienating relevant audiences from Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist organizations and activities. The incorporation of potentially extremist religious and political sects into the civil society of actual and potential host societies is especially important.

- Intelligence, infiltration, and related activities should be directed at points of vulnerability of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorist organizations their reliance on audience, their ideological inflexibility, their problems of maintaining commitments, and their potential for organizational failure.

- The social conditions fostering the rise of Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism are complex and include demographic, economic, political, and educational factors. In the long run, preventive strategies should include improving these conditions in our country to make it vulnerable to terrorist organizations and activities, as a means of diminishing the probabilities of their emergence and crystallization.

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