Fighting Terrorists With Bare Hands: Arms Fraud And Terrorism In Nigeria

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Abstract: This paper examines the activities of the insurgents group in Nigeria; the Boko Haram and the contributory role of arms fraud in the failed attempt by the Nigerian government to counter the insurgents. The Paper argued that the Boko Haram insurgency has continued to remain a problem for the nation but one of the main reasons why the Nigerian army have been unable to defeat the insurgents is largely because those given monies for arms simply looted the funds expecting the soldiers to fight the insurgent group, timeline of the attacks by the group till early 2015 and the security budgets and international donations meant for fight against the insurgents. The study therefore recommends that those involved should be tried very fast by the state, recover the monies and direct them to arms purchase while ensuring the social inequalities are reduced and jobs provided as means of ensuring a total defeat of insurgency in Nigeria.

Keywords: Terrorism, Boko Haram, Arms Fraud, Insurgency, Corruption

I. INTRODUCTION

The Nigerian nation in close to a decade has been locked down in the stygian of terrorist activities which has acted as a clog to the developmental wheels of the nation, leading to an increase in poverty and undermining good governance. The current President of Nigeria, Mr MuhammaduBuhari blamed thieving politicians for undermining the fight against the insurgents in Nigeria as a number of prominent Nigerians who were connected to the administration of former president Goodluck Jonathan were said to have diverted the monies meant for arms for the military to fight against the insurgents (VOA, 2016)According to Mr Buhari, the National Security Adviser to the former President, Rtd. Col SamboDasukihas the highest profile case as he is said to have diverted over \$2 billion in fictitious arms contracts, a charge he denied (VOA, 2016). The activities of the Boko Haram insurgents group has caused Nigeria to lose her citizens, a number pegged at about

20,000 people and it has also forced more than two million Nigerians to flee their homes (VOA, 2016). It is therefore the focus of this work to look at the contributory roles of corruption in the past government, particularly, arms fraud in the failure of the of the Nigerian military to successfully defeat the Boko haram insurgents.

II. TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

Just like many other countries, terrorism is a global problem confronting the international community Nigeria inclusive. Its activities have increased tremendously and its impact is felt in different parts of the world. Terrorism however is not a new concept in international relations. It dates back to several years of man's existence on earth. The usage of the term in the present era is traced to a violent group called the 'Zealots' who pushed for Jewish independence from Rome. In 66 A.D. they seized the fortress of Masada near the Dead Sea, butchered the Roman garrison and made the mountain top their base of operations. The zealots were finally crushed when their mountain stronghold of Masada was surrounded and many of them committed mass suicide (Abakanasa, 2007). The zealots were branded "terrorists" because they resisted the Roman Empire's rule of what is today Israel through a determined campaign primarily involving assassination.

Nigeria is not free from terrorism as we can see that in Nigeria today, the popular image of terrorism is being promoted by Boko Haram. Boko Haram is a militant Islamic group based in the north eastern part of Nigeria. The group's real name is Jama'atuAhlisSunnahLidda'awatiWal-Jihad meaning "People Committed to the propagation of the prophet's Teachings and Jihad" (Cothia, 2012). Boko Haram according to Ajileve (2014) terrorizes Nigeria through car bombs, suicide bombs, indiscriminate bombing of selected targets, kidnapping, abduction of persons and assassinations, among other heinous and violent crimes, which have now become regular features. The direct consequence of these according to him is that no one feels safe anywhere be it at home, at work, at the airport, at a bus stop, while walking on the street or inside a mall. The sacred and hallowed sanctuaries of worship are not free from terrorist attacks, assaults and bombardments. A climate of fear and insecurity now pervades the land.

Boko Haram started preaching peacefully during the first few years of its existence. The situation changed in 2009 when the Nigerian government launched an investigation into the group's activities following reports that its members were arming themselves. Prior to that, the government reportedly ignored repeated warnings about the increasing militant character of the organization, including that of a military officer (Adebayo, 2014). When the government sprang into action, several members of the group were arrested in Bauchi, sparking deadly clashes with Nigerian security forces by the group across states like Bauchi, Borno, Kano, Katsina and Yobe. The action which started on July 26, ended on July 30, 2009 when Mohammed Yusuf leader of Boko Haram, was captured at his residence in Maiduguri. After a few hours in police custody, the police killed Yusuf extra - judicially, claiming that he tried to escape (Onuoha, 2014).

Since 2009, the terrorist activities of the Boko Haram sect have escalated to alarming proportions leading to suicide bombing on police headquarters and United Nations' Office in Abuja. On 14th April, 2014 the group kidnapped over 250 female students from Government Girls Secondary School Chibok in Borno State after setting the school ablaze. This action drew the rage of the international community against the group (Blanchard, 2014, Campbell, 2014). Boko Haram and Ansaru were also designated as Foreign Terrorist Organization by the United States Security Department in November 2013. Ansaru was the Boko Haram faction that earlier in 2013 kidnapped and executed seven foreigners who were working with international construction companies (Shuaibu, Salleh and Shehu, 2015). As a result of Boko Haram's activities, the United Nations Committee on Al-Qaeda sanction blacklisted the group on 22nd May, 2014 as one of the world's terrorist organizations. The United Nations

listing entry describes Boko Haram as an affiliate of Al-Qaeda and also one of the organizations of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) (Shuaibu, Salleh and Shehu, 2015).

Boko Haram is therefore not just a local Nigerian Islamic terror group but an international terrorist organization which has links with other terrorist groups in the world and whose activities have caused thousands of deaths, created untold hardships and nightmares and caused fear and panic among the population not just in Nigeria but also in the neighbouring countries.

III. BOKO HARAN LEADERSHIP

Leadership of Boko Haram is generally traced to the date when the sect was founded. Most local and foreign media trace its origin to 2002, when Muhammed Yusuf emerged as the leader of the sect. However, Nigerian security forces date the origin of the sect to 1995, when AbubakarLawan established the AhlulSunnahWal'Jama'ahhijira (Muslim Youth Organization) sect at the university of Maiduguri, Borno State. The group flourished as a non-violent movement until Muhammed Yusuf assumed leadership of the sect in 2002, shortly after AbubakarLawan left to pursue further studies at the University of Medina in Saudi Arabia (Onuoha, 2013, Egwemi, 2013).

When Muhammed Yusuf took over the leadership of the sect after the departure of AbubakarLawan, he immediately embarked on an intensive and hugely successful membership recruitment such that he had over 500,000 members before his demise (Adibe, 2013). Before his death Muhammed Yusuf was the commander-in-Chief (Amir ul-Aam) or leader of the sect, and had two deputies known as (Na'ib Amir ul-Aam I and II). Each state where the group existed had its own Amir (commander/leader), and each local government area where they operated also had an Amir. They also organized themselves according to various roles, such as soldiers and police, among others (Onuoha, 2013).

After the death of Muhammed Yusuf, one of his deputies, AbubakarShekau, became the new political and spiritual leader (Amir) of Boko Haram. Under Shekau's leadership, the sect maintains a loose command and control structure in which members operate in cells with relative autonomy and control. However, they generally take directives from one commander. AbubakarShekau heads the council of elders called Shura (council) with seven members. Each Shura member heads a ministry (Lajina). The commanders are called qaid and have executive powers. The sub-commanders (Munzirs) lead the operations of the foot soldiers called Maaskars (Amnesty International, 2015). It is the Shura Council under the leadership of AbubakarShekau that has authorized the increasingly sophisticated attacks by various cells of the sect since July 2009 revolt.

In towns captured by Boko Haram, they install an Amir who commands the Boko Haram troops and administers the town and surrounding villages. The degree of governance attempted by Boko Haram appears to vary by location, according to the leadership of the Amir. In some towns, they appear to look after their fighters without much thought for civilians, while in others Amirs settle disputes, enforce rules and allocate supplies among civilians (AI, 2015). Amnesty International reported further that residents of the towns captured by Boko Haram told them that the Amirs of such towns were appointed from the towns or the local area. They lived in seized large houses belonging to civil or traditional leaders or businessmen, and lived well from the stolen goods of the town. While the generators of the Amir's house would run constantly, residents had no access to fuel.

IV. ATTACKS BY THE BOKO HARAM TERRORISTS ORGANISATION

The attacks by the Boko Haram insurgent group started basically in 2009 more precisely on July 26–29 when the Nigerian soldiers clashed with the militant group throughout the northern part of the country, an attack which left nearly 1000 people killed. (The Guardian, 2009). The terrorist group also killed 5 people and freed 721 in the Bauchi Prison break on September 7, 2010 (BBC, 2010) and another four civilians were killed outside a barrack on December 31, 2010 in Abuja (Sunday Times, 2010)

On May 29 2011, the group also claimed responsibility for the northern Nigeria bombings which claimed 15 lives in Abuja and Bauchi after a bomb explosion, this occurred while the new president was being sworn into office(Daily Independent, 2011). Another bombing occurred on June 16, 2011 at the Abuja police headquarters which claimed two lives - that of a police man and the perpetrator and this was recorded as Nigeria's first suicide bombing (The Nation, 2011). An event which brought the insurgent group into the limelight of the international community occurred on August 26, 2011 when the building of the United Nations was bombed, an event which left 21 people killed (Nossiter, 2011). At this point, the government could no longer trivialise the Boko Haram insurgents and another attack was carried out by the group on November 4, 2011 in Damaturu which left between 100 and 150 people dead in northern Nigeria (Al Jazeera English, 2011). In December that year, there were two different attacks. The first occurred on December 22-23 leaving about 50 militant, 7 soldiers and 11 civilians dead (Reuters, 2011) while the second occurred on Christmas day in churches and 41 people were reported dead(Associated Press, 2011)

In 2012, about 792 people were reportedly killed by the insurgents in Nigeria. In January there were two attacks, the first was on January 5-6 in which Christians were the target and 37 Christians were reportedly killed (Mshelizza, 2012)) while the second was on January 20 which left 183 people dead in Kano State (Sky News 2012). On April 8, 2012, there was another bombing in Kaduna which left 38 people dead (BBC, 2012)) also on June 17, 2012, there were attacks against three Churches in Kaduna which left 19 people dead (Reuters-UK, 2012). On August 7, 2012, the Boko Haram insurgents group attacked Deeper Life Church in Kogi State of Nigeria in an attack that left 19 people dead (Al Jazeera, 2012)) and on the day that followed, a civilian and two Nigerian soldiers were killed in a mosque (Al Jazeera, 2012).On December 25 2012, there was a shooting in Potiskum, Maiduguri which claimed the lives of 27 Christians

(ref) and three days later, 15 Christians were killed the village of Musari (Al Jazeera, 2012).

In 2013, there were several attacks that claimed over a thousand lives (Campbell, 2014) on January 1, there was an attack on the group by the Nigerian Army and 13 of the militants were killed by the Army (Brumfield, 2013) and on January 4, 2013, there was the Ogun Prison break in which 15 inmates were freed by the group (The Street Journal, 2014) while on February 8, there was an attack on polio vaccinators in which 9 women were killed (BBC, 2014). On March 18 2013, there was bombing in a bus in Kano which left between 22 and 65 people killed (Nossiter, 2013) also on April 16, 2013, there was the Baga massacre in which 187 lives were lost in Baga, Borno State (BBC, 2013). After this incident, the group on June 9, 2013 killed 13 students and children teachers in Damaturu, Maiduguri while on June 30 the group carried out the Ondo Prison break where 2 people were killed and 121 inmates escaped. On the 6th of July, 2013 the group also claimed responsibility for the Yobe State school shooting which left 42 people dead and on August 12 killed 56 people in a mosque in another location in Maiduguri (Reuters, 203).

On September 12, 2013, the group ambushed men of the Nigerian Army in an attack that left 40 soldiers dead (France 24, 2013) and in response to this, the Nigerian army also carried out an offensive attack that which left 150 Islamists and 16 soldiers dead (Reuters, 2013) and 7 days later, on September 19, the group attacked Benisheikin an attack that left 161 people dead (BBC, 2013) while on September 20, 2013, the group was involved in a shootout in Abuja which left 7(Reuters (2013)-9(BBC, 2013) dead.On September 29, 2013, the group killed more than 50 students inGujbacollegein Yobe State (BBC, 2013) and on October 10, 2013 the group attacked Damboain an attack that left 20 people dead (DNA India, 2013). The forces of the Nigerian government also raided rebel camp in October 2013 in an attack that left 101 fighters dead (ref) and on the 29th of the same month at least 128 people were killed (Aljazeera, 2013).

On January 14, 2014, 30 people were killed in a bombing by Boko Haram militants in Maiduguri, Borno State (allafrica.com, 2014) and on the 26th January 2014, the group conducted attacks in northern Nigeria which killed 138 people (DailyPost, 2014) while it also killed 11 Christians on the 31st of January, 2014 (Ameh, 2014). On February 14, 2014, there was also the Borno Massacre in Konduga, Borno States which left 121 Christian villagers dead (United States Diplomatic Mission to Nigeria, 2014) and on February 15, the insurgents conducted the Izghe attack which left 106 dead in the village of Izghe, Borno State (EU Delegation to the UN, 2014). On February 15, the group's activity left 90 Christians and 9 Nigerian soldiers dead in Gwosa (The Guardian, 2014) while on February 24, they also killed Dozens in another raid inIzghe (BBC, 2014) on February 25, the group also attacked the Federal Government College and killed 59 students in Yobe State.On March 14, 2014, the group attacked an heavily fortified Giwamilitary barracks in Maiduguri and freed their comrades from a detention facility. Perhaps to avoid such escape, the Nigerian military executed about 600 unarmed recaptured detainees, according to Amnesty International (Dorell, 2014).

On April 14, 2014 the group bombed Abuja in an attack that left over 88 people dead (Karikari-apau, and Duthiers, 2014).) and onApril 15, 2014, the group kidnapped 276 female students in Chibok secondary school in Borno state (Fox News, 2014)) and what led to a very serious international campaign to free the girls the girls have since then remained with their kidnappers and they were shown recently in video by the Boko Haram (BBC, 2016). On May 1, 2014, the group again bombed cars in the capital city, Abuja killing 19 people (BBC, 2014) and on May 5, the group attacked GamboruNgalakilling 300 people (The HuffingtonPost, 2014) on 20th May the group bombed Jos killing 118 villagers (BBC, 2014) and on the second day, 27 villagers were killed by the Boko Haram gunmen in northeastern part of the country (BBC, 2014)again on May 27, 49 security personnel and 9 civilians were killed in BuniYadi in a military base (Nigerian Monitor, 2014)On May 30, 2014, the Emir of Gwoza, IdrissaTimta was assassinated during a Boko Haram ambush (Olanrewaju, 2014).

On June 1, 2014, the group attacked Mubi in Adamawa state and killed 40 people (Times of India, 2014) and on the second day, another 200 people were killed Gwoza villages (NBC, 2014) on the 20th of June, the group attacked Borno State again and killed 70 people and also kidnapped 91 women and children (McElroy, 2014) three days later, the group again attacked the central part of the country and killed around 171 people (York, 2014).

On the 26th of June, 2014 the Nigerian military carried out an attack which left over 100 militantsdead (Bala-Gbogbo, 2014).) and on the 28th of the same month, 11 people were killed by bomb attacks in Bauchi (Daily Times, 2014). On July 18, the group killed 18 people in Damboa and left the town almost destroyed the town (BBC, 2014) and on the 22nd of the same month the group killed 51 people in Chibok (Aljazeera, 2014). On September 19, 2014, the group again attacked a busy market in Mainok, Borno State and killed around 30 people (BBC, 2014) and between November 3-10 the group conducted a double suicide bombing in Yobe State killing 15 Shiites and 46 students (BBC, 2014). On November 25 2014, two suicide bombers killed 45 people in Maiduguri (Reuters, 2014) and on November 27, 2014, around 50 people were killed in Damasak(Hindustani Times, 2014) and on November 28, 2014, 120 Muslims followers of the Emir of Kano, Muhammad Sanusi II (BBC, 2014)

On December 1, 2014, 5 people were killed by two female suicide bombers who detonated explosions at a crowded market place in Maiduguri, BornoState(Muscat Daily News, 2014) and six days later, on December 6, 2014 they broke the Minna prison freeing 270 prisoners (NewsWireNGR, 2014) and on December 10, at least 4 people were killed and 7 were injured by female suicide bombers near Kano (BBC, 2014). On December 11, 2014, 30 people were killed and houses were also destroyed by Boko Haram militants in a city of Gajiganna, Borno State (Dailypost, 2014). On December 13, 2014 between 32 and 35 people were killed and between 172 and 185 people were kidnapped by the group in Borno State (Abubakrand Brumfield, 2014)

On December 22, few days to Christmas, there was a Gombe bus station bombing which left about 27 people dead (Reuter, 2014) and on December 28–29, there was the killing

of 85 civilians, 94 militants, and 2 Cameroonian soldiers following a failed Boko Haram offensive (Reuters, 2014). There were also series of attacks in 2014. The first was on January 2 when Boko Haram militants attacked a bus in Waza, Cameroon, killing eleven people and injuring six (ref) and on the second day, between January 3–7, the group attacked Baga and razed the entire town killing as many as 2,000 were killed and this made the group to control 70% of Borno State (Business Insider, 2015)

On January 9, refugees fled Borno State following the massacre by the Boko Haram about 7,300 fled to neighbouring Chad while over 1,000 were trapped on the island of Kangala in Lake Chad (Helene and Dobbs, 2015) and on the second day, January 10, a female suicide bomber, believed to be around 10 years old, killed herself and 19 others in Maiduguri (BBC, 2015). On January 11, 2015 two female suicide bombers killed themselves and three others at a market in Potiskum (News24, 2015) and a day after, the group raided Kolofatain Cameroon while the insurgents lost between 143-300 rebels, these killings and bombings have continued till 2016 but the frequency has drastically reduced.

V. SECURITY BUDGETS, INTERNATIONAL DONATIONS AND ARMS FRAUD

The Nigerian successive government have been notorious for mismanagement of its national budgets. Nigerian security agencies have always claimed that they are underfunded but according to Premium Times (2015) a total of about N4.62trillion has been allocated to the federal security sector in the past five years for the procurement of arms and for fighting the Boko Haram insurgents but how the money was spent remains unclear and there has been no reliable performance report from the security agencies. It was gathered that in 2015, the nation spent N934billion on the security sector which has remained the highest for the five year period. In the years 2011 and 2012, the country spent N920billion and N924billion respectively while N923billion (Five Billion Dollars) each was thrown at the sector in 2013 and 2014 (Premium Times, 2015) despite these huge sums being spent on the security sector, Nigeria has continued to face attacks from the extremist Boko Haram group, whose activities have claimed over 11,000 lives in the last five years (Premuim Times, 2015).

There have also been serious challenges in the security sector in the country as crude oil theft in the Niger Delta has escalated amidst kidnappings, armed robbery and other sundry crimes in the country with the day-to-day worsening of the threats from the new militant groups, the Niger Delta avengers. Under former President Jonathan, the heads of the security have blamed the inefficiency of the military on allocation which they said was insufficient to equip the armed forces and ensure that they are operationally efficient to deliver optimally. However, the national security adviser's office got a total capital allocation pegged at N240billion while the ministry of Defence got N206billion which implies that the capital allocations to the Office of the National Security Adviser was higher than that allocated to the entire Defence Ministry, which includes the Army, Navy and Airforce but at a point, Air Vice Marshall Badeh who was the former Chief of Defence Staff said loudly that and confessed that he sent soldiers to battle literally bare-handed, (Vanguard, 5 August 2015).

Many nations have been concerned about the security situation in Nigeria and some of them made donations to the country to help combat the Boko Haram terrorism. For instance, the United States donated 24 mine-resistant and armour-protected vehicles which was valued at \$11m to counter Boko Haram's senseless acts of terror and promote regional security (Vanguard, 2016) also, according to the BBC Africa's richest man and business mogul, (2016).AlikoDangote donated \$10m in aid to ease the boko haram attack while The European Union promised a donation of \$50million (Premium Times, 2016) depite all these donations, the fight against the Boko Haram terrorist group is yet to be won as there are series of attacks still going on in the country. The seeming inefficiency of the Nigerian military can be traceable to the unthinkabke corruption in the security sector as Mr Dasukiwho was then the National Security adviser to the former President Goodluck Jonathan was later charged with a former director of finance at the office of the NSA, ShuaibuSalisu, as well as an aide to former President Goodluck Jonathan, WaripamoweiDudafa also, the management of Reliance Referral Hospital Abuja and Acacia Holdings Limited were also charged. Mr Dasuki, Dudafa and Salisu were accused of having withdrawn N10 billion in foreign currency equivalent from the account of the National Security Adviser with the CBN which Dasuki claimed he distributed to the delegates of the Peoples' Democratic Party (the political party of the former president) which is a clear act of economic and financial crime which the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission said according to its act is punishable under section 315 of the penal code Act, Cap 532, Vol. 4 laws of the federation 2004 (Tukur, 2015).

It was also stated that Dasuki and Salisu withdrew N2.120 billion from the account of the NSA with the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), and paid same to the account of a company owned by Mr Raymond Dokpesi, Daar Investment and Holding Company Limited, for the funding of the media activities for the 2015 presidential election campaign of the PDP (Tukur, 2015) Mr Salisu and Dasuki were also accused of criminal breach of trust by withdrawing N90 Million from the account of the national security adviser which is with Diamond Bank Plc while the same amount was use for the purchase of 7-bedroom duplex house in Abuja, the capital city in the name of Mr Dasuki's son, AbubakarAtikuDasuki. The said Mr Dasuki and Salisu also withdrew N170 million from the account of the National Security Adviser with Skye Bank for the purchase of a four-bedroom duplex at Platinum Villa, Abuja in the name of Air Vice Marshall M. N. Umaru while they also transferred N1.5 billion held at Zenith Bank to Acacia Holdings limited for organising prayers. Also, on April 17, 2015, they transferred another N750 Million from the account of the National Security adviser with Zenith Bank Plc Reliance Reference Hospital also controlled by to Mr.Babakusa for organizing prayers. Acacia Holdings was also said to have received another amount valued at N1.45 billion from the NSA for another set of prayers while another N380 million naira was paid to Belsha Nigeria Limited for "consultancy services" (Tukur, 2015) The NSA account was also used in the payment N670 Million to the account of General hydrocarbons Limited with Guarantee Trust Bank, GTB, controlled by NdukaObaigbena as payment for energy consultations while N260 million from the same National Security Adviser account was transferred to the account of the former chairman of the Board of Trustee of the PDP, Tony Anenih, with First Bank of Nigeria Plc (Tukur, 2015).

VI. CONCLUSION

Apart from the Nigerian civil war, it can be established that one of the most traumatic problems the Nigerian nation has had to battle with is the Boko Haram insurgency. While the government and the military were making efforts to counter the insurgents, some government officials were busy spending the monies meant for arms for the purchase of houses abroad, celebrating birthdays on the sea, saving in friends coffers and impoverishing the state while the blood of the citizens flowed like water. Consequently, lives and property are lost, business ventures and shops have remained closed especially in the north. Most regrettably, the Igbos who are known for economic activities in the north are relocating in large numbers to their states of origin to avoid losing their lives to the terrorists. It is quite regrettable that the corrupt activities of these government officials has sent many of Nigeria's greatest fighters to their early graves while their own children fly first class flight from London to New York and Dubai and in some cases becoming confused is to land in Paris or Kuala Lumpur where they spend the nation's commonwealth and expecting the military to fight the terrorist with bare hands. President MuhammaduBuhari's administration claims to have largely defeated the Boko Haram group and that the group can no longer claim territories (Vanguard, 2016) but Nigerians are still waiting to see if truly the group has been defeated or not.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on this research however, we recommend as follows:

- ✓ That the government of Mr Buhari ensure that there is a speedy trial of those involved in the arms fraud to deter such act in the future and to ensure all monies meant for arms are recovered and directed to arms purchase for enhanced national security.
- ✓ That since poverty and unemployment is part of the reasons for the Boko Haram insurgency, therefore the government must put up sincere measures to address the high rate of poverty and unemployment in Nigeria
- ✓ That the review of the Federal Government approach to handling political corruption which is one of the main obstacle to the fight against insurgency in Nigeria is long overdue.
- ✓ That the Nigerian government should undertake farreaching socio-political and economic reforms to achieve equitable power and resource sharing to avoid the rise of another group more especially the avengers and other Niger Delta militants.

✓ The federal government should embark on Reorientation Campaign to change the attitude of northerners to western/formal education. Most parents in the north send their children to Arabic schools even when they have the option of sending their children to formal schools.

The Nigerian government should engage in effective network for intelligence gathering and analysis against the Boko Haram insurgents.

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