

Globalization and Terrorism in Nigeria: A Retrospective Reflection

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ABSTRACT

Nigerian sovereignty for more than a decade was challenged by the onslaught of Sunni Jihadism in the North-East. The Jihadist insurgency took a more frightening dimension with the emergence of Islamic State of West Africa Province, ISWAP in alliance with Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda Awati Wal-Jihad, otherwise known as Boko Haram in bid to Islamize a secular nation-state. This paper in retrospective sense examined the frightening reality and, argued that this absurdity is facilitated by global spread of Islamic extremism and terrorism. The discourse adopted qualitative research design to explore the relevance of secondary and non-participant observational sources of data collection and content-analyzed issues and unfolding events. The discourse revealed that well-coordinated suicide bombings of Louis Edet House, Nigeria Police Headquarters on June 16, 2011 and United Nations building on August 26, 2011 at Abuja, the Federal Capital, were visible manifestations of global terrorist links of Boko Haram with Al-Qaeda. And, subsequent pledge of allegiance to ISIL in March 2015 watershed the varicosity of global terrorism in Africa most populous country. In credence to these findings, the discourse suggested holistic review of national security strategy and operational

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response, strengthen collaboration with the West on modern technology of combat, synergized responsibility among the layers of the military and intelligence agencies, reposition Multinational Joint Task Force in the Lake Chad Basin, which are among the fundamentals to stem the tide of terrorism in Nigeria.

1. INTRODUCTION

Globalization is a phenomenon of change and effects. It permeates territories and societies entrenching new values in every facet of human life. To this extent, the nexus between globalization and insecurity may not be elusive but instructive to the challenges and expectations of a modern state. Thus, global reality is therefore a phenomenon of this century but its origin transcends centuries.

In illustrative sense, today, our planet has become a web of interdependence linked together in ways that our forbearers could not have imagined. Like individuals and families, peoples, nations, and states are all spinning this web while at same time they are suspended on it. No state can any longer sustain its standard of living if it chooses to isolate itself from the rest of the world. Actions of one state have ramification that goes beyond its borders. Nor can states today escape the impact of developments outside their borders. In other words, the world we inhabit has become seamless and indivisible despite the borders that divide its many states (Payne and Nassar, 2003).

Basically, the dimensionality of globalization reflects in global politics, global economy, global security, global terrorism etc. Accordingly, Iliria (2020) stressed that globalization during its expansion and development has brought with it many bad actors for countries and society in general, one of these actors is terrorism. Globalization has also raised terrorism and its threat globally. With the development of globalization, the challenges for the world have increased making it more difficult to face them. One of the great challenges that have evolved through globalization is the rise of terrorism. It can be said that the greater and more developed the effect of globalization, the more developed and higher is the level of terrorism. In this regard, international terrorism is a potential threat to global peace and stability. In the morning of September 11, 2001, two passenger planes plunged into the World Trade Center leading to its collapse and almost 3,000 deaths of innocent civilians. Another plane destroyed a section of the Pentagon and a fourth plane went down into a field in Pennsylvania. For days, the world seemed to stand still. The shock of the terror was too grave for most people to take. Terrorism from abroad had reached the shores of the United States in a deadly fashion (Payne and Nassar, 2003). This unprecedented event elicited global anxiety and outrage against terrorism but inextricably portends a potential threat to global security.

Acknowledging this reality, White *e tal* (2014) stressed that global insurgency and its attendant terrorist acts are not new phenomena. Over the past years, many developed and developing countries have experienced different insurgent acts culminating into terrorists' activities thereby making security situation precarious in many countries. Hence, Nigeria is a case of reference. For

more than six years, the North-East was turned into a theater of genocide, bloodshed and insecurity activities of a terrorist group known as Boko Haram. The insurgent tempo of this group has climaxed and became unstoppable leading to destruction of lives and property and causing incalculable damage to the psyche of Nigerians (Ayodeji, 2018:356).

Succinctly, Okoli and Ayokhai (2015) remarked that the national security ambience in Nigeria's fourth Republic is characteristically volatile. It is exposed to sundry political, ecological, territorial and socio-economic threats that have militated against the corporate and survival of the country. The volatility of national security in Nigeria is palpably demonstrated by the prevalence of various dimensions of insecurity in different parts of the country. The contours and trajectories of insecurity in Nigeria today points to a pattern of spatial distribution of conflicts and criminality across the different geo-political zones. The Boko Haram insurgency is having its toll on North East. There is a rising wave of ethno-communal violence in the North Central region as typified by Ombatse and the Jos crises. The South East is at the mercy of mercantile kidnapping while the South-South is grappling with the threat of cult violence and recalcitrant petro-militancy. The North-West is being threatened by the incidence of rural banditry as exemplified in the rising wave of cattle rustling as well as village and market raids. The South West is troubled by urban violence and criminality instantiated by incessant bank and high-way robbery (Okoli, 2014; Okoli and Okpaleke, 2014; Okolie and Agada, 2014; Ayokhai and Peter, 2016). Today, the situation has changed rapidly with new waves of insecurity spreading across the geo-political zones and eliciting serious concerns on the unity and survival of Nigeria nation-state.

Nigeria is currently besieged with myriad of security challenges threatening its existence and integration. As earlier indicated, there are several security crises stemming from militancy, cattle rustling, herds-farmers conflicts, banditry and Boko Haram insurgency. However, Boko Haram terrorism is most threatening as related to thousands of lives lost and casualties recorded occasioned with destruction of properties and proliferation of refugee camps. Accordingly, Itumo and Nwobashi (2015) stressed that the wanton destructions of lives and properties occasioned by the activities of the dreadful Boko Haram sect in North-Eastern Nigeria pose serious challenge that undermines and compromise national security. Both domestic and international media (print and electronics) are awash with news of the horror and havocs unleashed on innocent citizens and their properties by the ugly activities of this sect. Worse still, Boko Haram has extended its activities even to Abuja where it carried out several bombs, some of which were directly targeted at the Police Force and United Nations Headquarters. Some other attacks were carried out within its environs such as Nyanya and Suleja. The activities of this Sect came to its peak when in April 2014 it attacked the Government Secondary School, Chibok in Borno state and abducted over two hundred girls and sack communities (in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe) and hoisted their flags and declared them caliphate. In some cases, the military had recaptured some of these communities and towns; however the ease with which they quickly lose back the recaptured areas to insurgents is embarrassment to Nigerian state.

This unpleasant situation undoubtedly elicited serious concerns on the unabated terror attacks particularly in the North-East amid military responses from Nigeria state and coalition force (Multinational Joint Task Force). To establish the factors responsible for the persistence wind of insecurity particularly terrorism in Nigeria, some scholars and security practitioners have advanced several variables such as socio-economic, religious, failed governance, porous borders etc (Madubuegwu, *e tal*, 2021; Calier, 2015 and Eke and Ezirim, 2015). It was believed that Boko

Haram extremism was shaped by religious-political manipulation of Nigeria's poor governance and extreme poverty, especially in the north despite the country's rich oil wealth. Boko Haram ideology of salafist jihadism which promotes religious fundamentalism and the perception of martyrdom (Enders and Saldlers, 2003) cited in Eke and Ezirim (2015:152). Abubakar (2014) also argued that the insurgency in Nigeria has links with international terrorist organizations, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). In credence, Olowojolu and Modupe (2015) argued that Boko Haram has strong ties with other well established terrorist organizations such as al Shabaab and al Qaeda. It is also stressed that Boko Haram members have received and continue to receive training from al Qaeda in Afghanistan, Mauritania and Sudan, while its operations and activities are co-ordinate from Mali with funding from a number of sources, including a United Kingdom based Al-Muntada Trust Fund. Boko Haram's membership has spread to other West African countries such as Niger, Mauritania, northern Cameroon and Chad, which also provide sanctuary for the group members.

Indeed, these views though frightening undoubtedly raises concerns on the influence of external forces in the streams of insecurity challenges in African most populous country, Nigeria. To this end, the discourse is streamlined in four sections-this introduction, conceptual analysis, effects of globalization on terrorism in Nigeria, conclusion and recommendations.

2. CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

Globalization is the process of the integration of economic, political, social and cultural values across international boundaries (Onimisi, 2014). As a concept, it is replete with so many definitions and perspectives as seen in the assertions of scholars. To this extent, Intriligator (2003) posits that the term, globalization was coined in the 1980's, but the concept is an old one that has different interpretations to different people. These different interpretation have also partly resulted to different reactions to "globalization," with some policymakers, scholars, and the activists seeing it as a force for advancing the world economy while others see it as a serious danger to the world socio-political and economic system. In this vein, Lechner (2001) reviews various definitions of globalization as underlined:

- i. Globalization is seen as inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never witnessed before –in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before....(Friedman *e tal*, 1997).
- ii. Globalization is also seen as the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole....concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole in the twentieth century (Robertson, 1992).
- iii. A social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recedes and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding (Waters, 1995).
- iv. The historical transformation constituted by the sum of particular forms and instances making or being made global:
 - a. by the active dissemination of practices, values, technology and other human products throughout the globe.

- b. when global practices and so on exercise an increasing influence over people's lives.
- c. when the globe serve as a focus for, or a premise in shaping human activities (Albrows, 1996).
- d. Globalization is the integration on the basis of a project pursuing "market rule on global scale".

Accordingly, Ezegwu (2012), stressed that these definitions inter alia can be classified into political, economic and social definition of globalization. As Giddens (2010) notes that globalization is not primarily economic.

Interestingly, the conceptualization of globalization is also illuminated by Liberal and Marxist scholars. In reference to liberal perspective, Olisa (1999) cited in Onuoha (2008:85-86) conceived globalization as one on-going gigantic movement initiated and pushed forward by developed capitalist and industrial western nations while from the Marxist's view, Alubo (1999) observed that globalization is comprehensive process, which include production, consumption, and the organization of materials and non-material life according to ethos of capitalism, in a univocal world. In a broad view, Onuoha (2008) advanced two contending views (Liberal and Marxist scholars) on what globalization represents. First in the liberal perspective:

- i. Globalization is neutral and inevitable part of historic change.
- ii. Globalization is increase wealth and prosperity for all countries and people, including workers. The World Bank Report (1990), observed that increasing globalization helps to expand opportunities for nation and on average, helps workers in rich and poor countries alike.
- iii. Globalization represents the continuation of the growing openness and integration of economies that have brought the world a half century of unparalleled prosperity.

In the view of radical scholars, globalization is:

- i. increasing world poverty and lowering living standard of workers and woman.
- ii. increasing the gap between the rich and poor countries.

In a generic sense, UNDP (1997), concludes that globalization is the liberalization and intensification of linkages in trade, research, transportation, energy, medicine education, politics and culture, that is accelerated by discoveries in micro-electronics information processing, communications and bio-technology (these forms of linkages) have created mutual interdependency in global system. Hence, as earlier indicated, globalization is a phenomenon of change with profound influence in virtually every facet of national life.

The global linkages and interconnectedness also provide channels for extremism in countries grappling with system vulnerabilities and institutional deficiencies. It is therefore instructive to conceptualize the term, "terrorism". Terrorism is a polemical concept replete with myriad of perspectives from scholars, sovereign states, research institutes, regional associations and the United Nations. To underline the ambiguity of the term, terrorism, Ogbaji (2012) stressed that the first analytical fact facing commentators on terror is to define their subject matter. Because terrorism engenders such extreme emotions, partly as a reaction to the horrors associated with it and partly because of its ideological context, the search for a definition which is both precise enough to provide a meaningful analytical device yet general enough to obtain agreement from all

participant in the debt is fraught with difficulty. Many experts believe that there is no need laboring to define terrorism. This is because, ‘people understand that the planners of the political violence carried out by non-groups or by government agencies or their proxies claim their cause is ‘just’. Similarly, regimes that employ murder and sabotage never admit that what they are doing is terrorism. At various times in history and even today, most state government overtly or covertly support and even aid illegal use of force groups to achieve some objective in a manner that would otherwise regarded as terrorism by those opposed to it. It is on this account that a comprehensive definition of terrorism does not exist and cannot be found in the near future.

However, certain definitions are still relevant to provide insight on what terrorism represents. To begin, terrorism is commonly understood to refer to acts of violence that target civilians in pursuit of political or ideological aims. However, the international community is yet to adopt a comprehensive definition of terrorism. This is in cognizance of existing declarations, resolutions and universal treaties relating to specific aspects of it which outline varied facts and core elements (UN Report, 2018).

From a global perspective, the United Nations General Assembly in 1994 made a declaration on measures to eliminate international terrorism in its landmark resolution 49/60 which states that “terrorism includes criminal acts to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purpose and that such acts are in circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the consideration of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be to justify them”. In addition, the United Nations Security Council Resolution, 1566 in 2004 also defined terrorism as “criminal acts 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 group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or international organisation to do or to abstain from doing any act” (Report of United Nations High Commission on Human Right, Terrorism and Counter Terrorism, 2018:5) cited in Madubuegwu, *e tal* (2021).

At the level of Regional Platform, the European Union in Article 1 of the Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism (2002) conceptualized terrorism as certain criminal offences set out in a list comprised largely of serious offenses against persons and properties which given their nature may seriously damage a country or an international organisation committed with the aim of seriously intimidating a population or unduly compelling a Government or International organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic and social structures of Government or International organisation (Report of European Union on Terrorism, 2016). Furthermore, the 1999 Organisation of African Unity, OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating Terrorism, held in Algeria, defined terrorism as;

“any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a state party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to;

i. intimidate, put in fear, force or coerce or induce any government body or institution, the general body or institution, the general public or any segment therefore to do or abstain from doing any act or to adopt or abandon a particular standing point or act according to certain principles.

ii. disrupt any public services, the delivery of any essential service to the public or create a public emergency.

iii any promotion, sponsoring, contribution, attempts, threat, conspiracy, organizing or procurement of any person with the intent to commit any act referred to in paragraph (a),(i), (Report of Organisation of African Unity, 1999:207) cited in Madubuegwu, *e tal*, (2021).

A cursory review of the preceding interpretations of what constitute acts of terror showed that it is non-state actor violence against the constituted authority and citizens. To illuminate the gap in these attempts, Ogbaji (2012), provided the taxonomy of terrorism as embellished below:

i. State Terrorism or State-Sponsored Terrorism. It is defined as terrorism acts carried out by the government against their own citizens or government support of groups who carry out terrorism against other governments. Many definitions of terrorism restrict it to acts by non-state actors. But it can also be argued that states can, and have, been terrorists. States can use force or threat of force, without declaring war, to terrorize citizens and achieve a political goal.

ii. Cyber Terrorism. Cyber-Terrorism is concerned with the use of information technology, such as computer systems or telecommunication as a tool of attack. It is also referred to an attack on information technology itself in a way that would radically disrupt network services. For instance, cyber-terrorists could disable networked emergency systems or hack into network housing critical information.

iii. Bio-Terrorism. It refers to the intentional release of toxic biological agents to harm and terrorize civilians, in the name of a political or other cause.

iv. Nuclear Terrorism. It refers to a number of different ways nuclear materials might be exploited as a terrorist tactic. These include attacking nuclear facilities, purchasing nuclear weapons or building nuclear weapons or otherwise finding ways to disperse radioactive materials.

As earlier indicated, scholars have identified several triggers of terrorism which Adejoh and Shimawua (2017) summarized below:

i. Structural Causes (demographic imbalances, globalization, rapid modernization, transitional societies, increasing individualism with atomization, relative deprivation, class structure etc).

ii. Facilitator Causes (or accelerator) include modern new media, transportation, weapons, technology, weak state etc.

iii. Motivational Causes (ideologies) are the actual grievances that people experience as a personal level, motivating them to act. Motivational causes may also be seen as concert symptoms of more fundamental structural causes.

iv. Triggering Causes (momentous, provocative events) which include outrageous act committed by enemy or events calling for revenge or action.

In explicit sense, terrorism may be appropriately defined as acts or actions aimed to challenge the sovereignty of the state with the intent of compelling or ensuring a new order ; or to intimidate and suppress liberty driven process such as agitations or protest with the intent to create fear of terror among the population. Hence, terrorism is planned and carried out by none-state actors to challenge the government or by the state to coerce its citizens to allegiance (Madubuegwu, *e tal*, 2021:130). A peculiar violence that constituted a potential threat to national security.

As regards to the concept of national security, Nnoli (2003) remarked that it is a cherished value associated with the physical safety of individuals, groups or nation-state together with a similar safety of their most cherished value. It implies freedom from threats, anxiety or danger. In a subject sense, security denotes the absence of fear that threat and absence of anxiety or danger that will materialize. In other words, it is a value associated with confidence in physical safety and other most cherished values. In another perspective, national security is seen in terms of a nation's military capabilities or the struggle to overcome internal and external aggression. A nation is secured once it is free from military threats or political coercion (Aliyu, 2012). National security has traditionally been about the survival of the state against military threats posed by other states (Buzan, 2003). Security threat differs amongst nations. The major security threat to some powerful nations like the USA and its allies may be how to defeat international terrorists and to promote their economic interest and democratic values (Aliyu, 2012). However, nations like Nigeria have its own peculiar security threat determined by socio-economic and political circumstance. And, threat to Nigerian security caused by the activities of the Jama' at Ahlah sunnah lid-da'wa wal-jihad, popularly known as Boko Haram (Onimisi, 2014). In a conclusive sense, national security is beyond the safety of the nation-state, the protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity by military defense and capabilities to the perseveration of cherished values of the citizen concerned which means in addition to physical survival of the state and citizens, national security include broad entitlement such as access to basic needs and social services like food, education, health, shelter and employment whose absence are the basic cause of insecurity in Nigeria state.

2.1 The Effects of Globalization on Terrorism in Nigeria

When the Nigerian government and people were about heaving a sigh of relief from their experiences with the Niger Delta militants, many of whom had been persuaded to embrace the Amnesty programme of government and promised that the socio-economic pathologies that traumatized the region and necessitated the bloody confrontations with government would be addressed, Nigeria and Nigerians woke up to the onset of the vociferous calls from a supercilious army of terror extremists bent on pursuing their grievances with government in a new violent fashion. The Boko Haram sect had appeared as an innocent-looking and harmless band of Muslim devotees strutting around the northern region with their fiery messages that ordered a return to Islamic law and purity. However, in July 2009, the outbreak of the Boko Haram uprising in the country marked the distasteful beginning of a determined group of terror merchants who initiated a recurring pattern of violent and bloody riots, attacks and bombings. What started as an insurgency against the state and its institutions, gradually assumed political, religious and socio-economic permutations as not only police stations, army barracks, government establishments were targeted but also banks, businesses, churches, Christians, Christian leaders and later mosques and some Muslim clerics fell to the raging inferno of Boko Haram violence. The alarming dimensions of the Boko Haram's terror acts were particularly their forceful attempt to impose a religious ideology on a constitutionally recognized secular state and their introduction of suicide terrorism on Nigerian soil, a tradition alien to Nigeria and Nigerians (Imhonopi and Urim, 2016). In corroboration, Adeyemo (2014) writes that Boko Haram stated like the action of a pouting child, merely seeking attention. That perhaps explains why the authorities initially treated Boko Haram, the Islamist insurgent group wreaking havoc in Nigeria since 2009 with kid gloves. Not until members of the sect launched suicidal attacks on choice locations in Abuja, the administrative capital of Nigeria, Kano, Kaduna, Maiduguri and Damaturu, all in the Northern part of the country, leading to the rude fact that terror, a concept hitherto considered the exhaustive preserve of some

remote locations had berthed in the country. The attack on the United Nations building in Abuja, on 26th August, 2011 which claimed 23 lives, coming after the devastating attack on the Headquarter of the Nigeria Police, where eight people were killed, gave the group the international recognition it carved for just as it forced the federal government to own up to the fact that it is dealing with a Frankenstein monster. This also include deadly attack on St Theresa Catholic Church in Madalla that killed at least 35 on December 25th 2011 and coordinated bombings at Kano on 20th January, 2012 which claimed more 180 lives ostensibly alarmed Nigerians and international community.

In response, it was recalled that United States Department of States in June, 2012 categorized Abubakar Shekau whom they described as the most visible of Boko Haram leaders and two others-Abubakar Kamabar and Khalid al-Barnawi as global terrorists. The US statement read, “the Department of State designated Abubakar Shekau, Abukakar dam Kamar and Khalid al-Barnawi as specially designated Global Terrorist under section, 1 (b) of the Executive Order 13224. Shekau is the most visible leader of Nigeria militant group, “Jama-atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’ awati-Jihad, commonly referred to as Boko Haram. Khalid al-Barnawi and Abubakar Adam Kamar have ties to Boko Haram and have close links to al-qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb, a designated foreign terrorist organisation (Agbo, 2012:25). Subsequently, the Report of United Nations (2012) documents that Boko Haram had established links with the Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb and that some of its members from Nigeria and Chad had received training in Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb camps in Mali during the summer of 2011.

To further demonstrate their resilience in the campaign of terror, the Sunni Jihadist terrorist group in the early hours of April 14th abducted 276 secondary school girls at Chibok, Borno state which spark off global outrage amid intermittent offensives in the Lake Chad Region. This ugly development prompted the then President Francois Hollande of France in May, 2014 to summon head of states of countries in the Lake Chad Basin to Paris to discuss action-plan to confront the menace of Boko Haram terrorism. The meeting had the presence of Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of Nigeria, Paul Biya of Cameroon, Boni Yayi of Benin Republic, Deby Itno of Chad and Niger President including Herman Van Rompuy, a representative of European Council, Wendy Sherman, US Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs including representatives from United Kingdom, UK and the European Union, EU. The meeting took the following resolutions:

- i. Establishment of an intelligence pool and creating a dedicated team that would draw up a regional counter-terrorism strategy.
- ii. UK, US and EU are expected to support the regional plan of action with technical expertise.
- iii. Training programmes and support for border area management programmes.

The Hollande security meeting remarkably culminated to signing of a Treaty among the LCB countries, Republic of Nigeria, Cameroon, Republic of Benin, Chad Republic and Republic of Niger on joint offensive on Boko Haram. This development led to coalition counter terrorism mechanism, Multinational Joint Task Force, MJTF. However, the onslaught against Nigeria state continued unabatedly with dangerous tie with a dreaded Sunni global terrorist group ISIL whose offensives had claimed thousands of lives across Syria, Iraq, Maghreb and the West. Accordingly, Report of Global Terrorism Index (2020) documents that Boko Haram, led by Abubakar Shekau, pledged allegiance to ISIL in March 2015 and was formally integrated as the *Islamic State of West Africa Province* (ISWAP). However, in 2016, ISIL leadership nominated Abu Musab al-Barnawi

as the leader of ISWAP following internal dissatisfaction with Shekau's leadership. Shekau disputed this decision and rejected al-Barnawi as the new leader, resulting in the establishment of two factions. The Shekau faction reverted to using the group name *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad* while the Barnawi faction continued as ISWAP.

Amid air and ground offensives of Nigeria military and Lake Chad coalition force, Agbo (2020) remarked that between January and February, 2020 before the advent of COVID-19 pandemic, Boko Haram stepped up attacks on Maiduguri-Kano highway, killing, abducting travelers and burning vehicles. Five other intercity roads have long been abandoned to the insurgents. The Nigeria military despite increasing aerial presence still lack the capacity to protect travelers on the long expanse of roads out of Maiduguri. There appears to be deliberate strategy by the insurgents to cut off Maiduguri from the rest of the country. They have also concentrated attacks on power lines and destruction of bridges, suggesting a sinister plot to isolate the Ancient city.

More recently in May, 2021, the uncertainty in the leadership of Sunni jihadism in LCB led to a fierce battle of supremacy at Sunawa, a Town on the Nigeria-Niger border between Shekau faction known as *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad* (Boko Haram) and the Barnawi faction known as ISWAP. Abubakar Shekau was killed and, ISWAP leader, Al –Barnawi assumed the leadership of Sunni terrorism in Sahel and Lake Chad Basin which consequently led to mass surrender of hundreds of Boko Haram insurgents to Nigeria Army and Borno state government. In October, 2021, the former Chief of Defense Staff, Gen. Lucky Irabor confirmed that Abu Musab al-Barnawi as the leader of Islamic State of West Africa Province, ISWAP is dead. However, the circumstance of his alleged death is still sketchy.

Subsequently on regional spread of global terrorism in the activities of renowned international terrorist organization, Al Qaeda across the North to West Africa, Cilliers (2015) cited in (Madubuegwu, *e tal*, 2021), recalled that terrorism spread from Maghreb (North Africa) to Sub-Saharan West Africa as it was argued that domestic uprisings in Algeria led to the formation of radical Groupe Islamique Arme (Armed Islamic Group, GIA) against the Algerian government. In spite of democratic reforms and, presidential election in 1995 and parliamentary election in 1997, the armed Islamic Group, GIA continued its campaign of terror. The brutality of this terrorist group even against fellow Muslims in Algeria and high level of civilian casualties led to internal squabbles which consequently led to its split in 1998. And, the outcome of this development led to the emergence of Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat, GSPC, another terrorist organisation. As part of its strategy to expand regionally, the GSPC established a training base in 2004 at the Tibesi Mountains in Northern Chad for new members from Chad, Sudan, Libya, Mali, and Mauritania. Subsequently, there was intense engagement, interaction and coordination between the GSPC and Al Qaeda under the facilitation of Bin Laden. This development made Washington to raise a red alert that Al Qaeda was stretching its networks from Somalia to Mauritania through the Maghreb. However, the success of President Bourtesflika's 2005 Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation in Algeria forced the GSPC, terrorist group to adapt. On 23rd January, 2007, the GSPC announced that it had changed its name to Al –Qaeda in the Land of Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) reflecting its open support for Al –Qaeda. This development consequently led to series of change in AQIM offensive strategies. The terrorist group increased its suicide attacks which led to a large increase in casualties. The GSPC presently known as AQIM

had also expanded its operation to South of Mali. And ever since then, it has remained active in Libya, Tunisia, Niger and Mauritania.

The fury of global terrorism in Nigeria and Sahel region is exacerbated by multiplicity of channels of funding and logistic support from international renowned terrorist organizations in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon and Maghreb region. This is occasioned with proliferation of small arms and light weapons across porous borders in the LCB and Sahel region. In addition, Otinche (2018) revealed that the tide of terrorist activities in the world implicitly reinforced the Boko Haram uprising in Nigeria. The hegemony of imperialism, neo-colonialism, arms production and arms sale has implicit relationship with terrorism, militancy and insurgency given the dialectics of the world defence and deterrence system. Because nations are shy to engage each other in war, arms producing nations have surreptitiously taken war to other countries through the back door. The back door strategy has produced Al-shabaab in Somalia and Kenya, Boko Haram and other low prolife militant groups like the Cattle rustlers and the Niger Delta militant in Nigeria. The Cattle rustlers in north central (Middle Belt) Nigeria appear to be the auxiliary force (secondary force) to Boko Haram seemingly on a mission to continue with the insurgency operation at the decimation of the Boko Haram sect. Therefore, it is misleading for Nigerian government to see the cattle rustlers as mere Fulani herdsmen on a revenge mission. Actually, there is a cult of Fulani militia whose mission is to avenge any harm done to the Fulani ethnic group by non-Fulani community. The militia group is believed to have magical powers and is invincible in war. In the midst of this group is the ferocious group secondary faction of Boko Haram that haven't take advantage of the socio-cultural milieu and imbroglio between the Fulani herdsmen and their host communities as favorable platform to operate on the basis of false identity.

Beyond the onslaught of these formal terrorist groups, it was also reported that Fulani extremists were responsible for 26 percent of terror-related deaths in Nigeria at 325 fatalities. The Fulani do not constitute a single terrorist group. However, certain deaths within the ongoing conflict between the Pastoralists and the nomadic Fulani have been categorized as terrorism and attributed to extremist elements within the Fulani. This categorization is reflective of terrorism used as tactic within ongoing conflict. There are an estimated 14 million Fulani in Nigeria with substantial population also seen in Guinea, Senegal, Mali and Cameroon. The majority of terrorist activity related to Fulani extremist occurred in states of Kaduna, Plateau and Benue in Nigeria. Kaduna recorded a 77 percent increase in terrorist-related deaths of 111 attacks attributed to Fulani extremists (Report of Global Terrorist Index, 2020) cited in (Madubuegwu, *et al* 2021). Today, the civilian casualties in Northern Nigeria have increased rapidly with accelerated fatalities from Fulani Herdsmen.

Sadly, the offensive of these Jihadist groups in Northern Nigeria has over the years claimed thousands of lives and destruction of infrastructures worth over 5 billion dollars. Today, thousands have fled from their communities while millions have been displaced in the North East of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe occasioned with ceaseless abduction of female students to be later used as suicide bombers. The IDP camps proliferate across northern states with inadequate basic social and medical services where hundreds of children have died from chorea outbreak amid global humanitarian interventions from International Red Cross Society and United Nations Children Emergency Fund, UNICEF.

This unpleasant situation has adversely undermined Nigeria's prestige and image in the comity of nation-states within and beyond Africa continent. Though there has been sustained response

against terrorism over the years amid clumsy efforts. Boko Haram is yet to have air power against Nigeria military and coalition force, MJTF. In this vein, Agbo (2020), revealed that in 2020, Nigeria Air force acquired competence platforms which include 19 brand new platforms, 18 brand new platforms, 12 Tucano attack aircraft, 3 JF 17 Thunder Multi-Role Fighter aircraft, 2 Augusta 139 utility helicopter. In addition, 22 abandoned platforms were reactivated and re-commissioned into service (which added significant impetus to the fight against insurgency and other forms of criminality in the country). Also, unprecedented number of officers and airmen/airwomen have been trained in different categories of Air and Ground Operation both locally and abroad.

Currently, the onslaught of Boko Haram and Islamic State of West African Province against Nigeria state has declined in the recent months amid intermittent offensives in various communities in Borno and Yobe states. Perhaps, the decline may be attributed to the divisive tendencies in the leadership of Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda Awati Wal-Jihad and Islamic State of West Africa Province (ISIL Affiliate) and other sundry issues. However, the global links to the Jihadist offensives still remain instrumental to terrorism in Africa nay Nigeria.

Table 1: Jihadist Terrorist Groups in Africa with Global Links

S/N	Name of Terror Group	Country of operation
1	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)	Algeria, Mauritania and Cote D'Ivoire.
2	Al- Murabitum	Algeria.
3	Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa	Mali.
4	Ansar Al-Sharia	Libya, Tunisia.
5	Ansar Bayt Al-Madia (ABM) and Ajhad Misr	Egypt.
6	Ansaru	Nigeria, Chad and Niger.
7	Al-Shabbah	Somalia.
8	Boko Haram, Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda Awati Wal-Jihad.	Nigeria, Chad, Benin, Cameroon and Niger.
9	Islamic State of West Africa Province (ISIL Affiliate).	Nigeria, Chad, Benin, Cameroon and Niger.
10	Islamic State in the Greater Sahara	Burkina Faso and Mali
11	Jama'a Nusrat UL-Islam Wa al-Muslim (An Affiliate of Al-Qaida).	Sahel region

Source: Authors' compilation.

3. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This discourse lends credence to scholarly studies and empirical observations to argue that the intense onslaught of Boko Haram terrorism against Nigerian state is enormously facilitated with links of Al-Qaeda and ISIL. The discourse begins with analysis of pervasiveness and strands of

globalization which permeates territories and economies. These attributes of globalization have inextricably accelerated and widen the intensity and spread of global terrorism. It further conceptualized and dissects the terms and nexus of globalization, terrorism and national security in modern state such as Nigeria. The discourse further established the affinity between globalization and terrorism in Northern Nigeria with illustrative incidences which portends that Boko Haram allegiance to dreaded Al-Qaeda in Maghreb and ISIL in Syria. This discourse therefore concludes that Islamic extremism and terrorism is a global reality. And, African states and economies nay Nigeria are vulnerable to this phenomenon of change and effects which sadly undermines national security expectations.

In credence to the findings of this discourse, the following recommendations are made:

- i. The alliance between Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda Awati Wal-Jihad (Boko Haram) and Islamic State of West Africa Province (ISIL Affiliate) further demonstrate the fact that our national security is stridently threatened by fury of external forces bent on extermination of the country from the rest of the continent. This unfortunate development therefore requires enormous and plausible measures beyond politics to stem the rising tide of terrorism in the country.
- ii. The need to strengthen the operational capacity of the coalition force in the Lake Chad Region. The Multinational Joint Task Force should be repositioned in command, structure, operation and response against the new wave of terrorism and insurgency in the Lake Chad Basin.
- iii. The need to strengthen partnership with the West and explore further meaningful opportunities with foreign nation-states to redouble efforts and response against Sunni Jihadist terrorism in Nigeria. This has become imperative in view of the current adverse realities.
- iv. The need to review the operational command structure and modalities of response against Boko Haram insurgency. Hence, the need for holistic review of national security strategy and entrench effective synergy among the two key layers of Nigeria military (army and air force) in collaboration with Nigeria National Intelligence Agency in effective response to the current new dynamics of Boko Haram and ISWAP offensives.
- v. The need for transparency in the management of defence fund to strengthen operational response to Sunni jihadism in Nigeria. Hence, the National Assembly Committee on military, the Office of the National Security Adviser and the Ministry of Defence should synergize to ensure transparent and accountable management of billions of naria appropriated and released for training, allowances, weapon procurement and other logics against fraud.
- vi. The need for Nigerian government to curtail sponsorship of Sunni jihadist terrorism in the North. The Federal government of Nigeria should deploy its intelligence and partner with the West to arrest, extradite (where necessary) and prosecute individuals, foreign collaborators and firms sponsoring jihadist terrorism in the country.
- vii. The need to strengthen collaboration between Nigerian government, Borno state government and North East Development Commission in the rehabilitation of repentant Boko Haram insurgents. There is need for effective organizational structure, modalities and timeline to rehabilitate these surrendered terrorists before re-integration into the society.

viii. The need for modern technology of combating global terrorism. The Nigerian Intelligent Agencies should explore a meaningful partnership with governments of United States, France, Israel and Russia for exposure, training and procurement of modern technological devices of tracking and combating global campaign of terror.

Finally, the global humanitarian agencies should not relent in providing relief assistance in conflict-torn areas of the Northern part of Nigeria as appeal is also made for their safety by Nigeria security agencies. Nigerian government and military needs patriotic support and goodwill of Nigeria populace against terrorism of Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda Awati Wal-Jihad and Islamic State of West Africa Province.

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