

## A Prelude to the Boko Haram Insurgency: A Doctrinal Interrogation

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**Abstract:** *This study looked at Northern Nigeria prior to the origination of Boko Haram in the 21st Century. The research also traced the activities of Islamic sects from the 19th century and the factors that precluded the Boko Haram war. A retrospect and review of the facts was made, in order that scholars would have an insight on the doctrinal influences of sect activities on clandestine groups like Boko Haram. The research examined the perceptions, as well as doctrines, philosophy and influence. The study relied on documentary data. The documentary data were sourced from newspapers, journal papers, internet sources and correspondence. The documentary was subjected to internal and external criticism for authentication, and then to textual and contextual analyses. This crisis in Northern Nigeria correlates very much to the sectarian interpretations. The undefined Nigerian border with Cameroon, Chad, and Niger in the North allowed for interaction among the people of both nations. It is this lacuna that made Boko Haram evasive in strategic terms. It is also the core reason for insecurity and terrorism.*

**Keywords:** *terrorism; strategy; insecurity; border; boko-haram*

### I. Introduction

Boko means education, while Haram means prohibited or forbidden in Islam. Haram is doctrine; it is the bedrock behind the group's extremism. It represents Boko Haram philosophy, doctrine and world view. The genesis of extremism is generated in the sects doctrinal beliefs (Svechin, 1994). Doctrine may be defined by a general purpose dictionary as a set of belief held by a religious body, political movements or group of scientists (Shiyanbade, 2000). In other words, the term doctrine, in its ordinary usage, refers to a set of beliefs learned and held as unquestionably true by a group of people, be they members of a sect or citizens of a state. Doctrine, therefore, reflect the judgments of sects on these beliefs (Abubakar, 1997). The centrality of doctrine to any sects' ability to endeavor to fight is indeed core to aggression against National Security. The core belief of a sect is reiterated in its doctrine. It is these sects' central belief that may lead it to have an appetite to pursue or campaign violently; to some considered as Terrorism or Insurgency. The critical issues here are what means shall be employed by the sects to defend its core beliefs. All religious groups have core beliefs hence it may be considered as its doctrine. It is the question of what methods does it employ to defend these beliefs when it is challenged. In the annals of history, beliefs innate in doctrines had initiated challenge on constituted authorities; in the face of common threats arising from ethnic conflicts, widespread poverty, persisting clouds of external conspiracies and so on. Any sects with an appetite for violence are ready tools for insurgency or terrorism. The aim therefore of this paper is to prove the correlation between extremism and doctrine; and trace an evolution of the sects. The specific objectives, would obviously, draw a correlation between doctrinal views and extremism; with a background to evolutionary trends prior the Boko Haram Insurgency; the paper would also investigate the clashes in religious doctrines.

### Background to this Research

Boko Haram has a link with Al-Qaeda and the Taliban of Pakistan, who have been fingered as its major sponsors. Another conspiracy perception to the group also fingers France as an external supporter to the Terrorist group. Boko Haram has a lot of followers in Bornu, Yobe, Kano, Gombe, Adamawa, Taraba Bauchi and Plateau States (Duyile, Adu, Gabriel, & Buhari, 2020). The core objective of the Terrorist group is to Islamize the entire country or allowed to have an Islamic enclave to practice its sect doctrines. It also wants to create a sect war against Western education and probably make the country ungovernable if their aims are not achieved in the name of religion. The government, fears the doctrine of the sect, the state believe that the sect must not be allowed to preach publicly, because it would cause a religious crisis. The government considered that their teachings are completely contrary to those of other Islamic sects with regards to peaceful co-existence among faiths.

Some of the fundamental doctrine held by the group is that banking, taxation and jurisprudence in the country are completely infidel submitting to this void. They also argue that western education was un-Islamic as it embodies all that Islam projected, while it propagates the negative of what Allah and his prophets had ordained. The group also frowns at the mixing of boys and girls under the same house. The group propagates and discredits the Evolution Theory of science (Duyile, Adu, Gabriel, & Buhari, 2020). The group also abhors the sciences; it holds on to the belief that the Sun in the Sky is not static. The Sect forbids anything Western, yet its leader has an array of Western materials in his possession, including mobile phones and even utility vehicles otherwise called Jeep, thereby raising questions over their exact intent (Duyile, Adu, Gabriel, & Buhari, 2020).

It has been argued that excessiveness in religion is considered to be a great danger threatening both the nation and religion and leads to total destruction (Ojo and Osadola, 2017). Excessiveness only leads to extremism, where the nation shall pay the cost of such excessiveness in doctrine which will virtually destroy everything pertaining to that nation if matters are not rectified (Duyile, Adu, Gabriel, & Buhari, 2020). Sheikh Ahmad Mahmud Gumi, examining this topic, gave his taught on suicide bombings as being against Islamic teachings. His defense of the peaceful nature of Islam did not, however, fully treat the issue of the definitional crisis of the term 'Jihad' (Osadola and Emah, 2022). Nonetheless the cleric provided evidence that killing through suicide bombings was against the warning of the prophet. According to Shaffiyah scholars, jihad is fighting the infidels for the purpose of glorifying Islam (Hakim, 2016). Lexically, Jihad means delivering the right advice before tyrants. Yusuf Qardhawi divided jihad into three levels. First, jihad is against the visible enemies; second, jihad against Satan temptations; and third, jihad against worldly lust (Hakim, 2016). According to Islam, the concept of sect is quite different from the contemporary divergent perspectives held by some scholars and philosophers. Islam disassociates the practice of the religion from fanaticism, heresies, sacrilege, arson, retrogression and bastardization of ideal communality which characterize the contemporary sectarian insurgency in Nigeria (Toki, 2018).

It is against this backdrop that the deradicalisation strategies of extremism by the Qur'an are clearly stated on peaceful co-existence, universality of human brotherhood and sanctity of every human life. The following verses reflect the ethical teachings claimed by the Islamic orthodoxy against sectarian violence and inhumane treatments:

“Verily this community of yours is a single community, and I am your Lord; So worship Me” (Qur'an 21:92).

The Qur'an expounds further on the universality of human brotherhood:  
Oh mankind, We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other. Verily, the most honoured of you in the sight of God is he who is the most righteous of you (Qur'an, 49: 13).

The sanctity of human life is emphasized in the following verse of the Qur'an:  
Because of that, We decreed upon the children of Israel that whoever kills a soul unless for a soul or for corruption (done) in the land – it is as if he had slain mankind entirely - -(Qur'an, 5: 32).

However, this does not mean there were no disagreements among the Muslims on theological issues during the life of Prophet Muhammad (SAW). In fact, the inevitable existence of sects during the Islamic orthodoxy does not imply that different members of a particular group cannot pray behind an Imam of another sect. Some of the reasons responsible for disagreements are linked to the unique creation of man by Allah and His ability to bestow on them different qualities of intelligence and potentials. According to Oloruntele (2015), the factors responsible for the emergence of sects are:

- Tribal or racial superiority.
- Ambiguity in the understanding of the Qu'ran.
- Differences in the comprehension of Hadith.
- Some Ahadith were known by some companions while others might not come across it.
  - There were differences in the understanding and application of Qiyas (Analogical deductions).
  - Influence of the Greek philosophical works.
    - Political motives.

According to Gumi, in a lecture, he said, 'Paradise is easy to enter if one follows the directives of the Prophets.' Gumi said, entering Paradise is easy to enter, those who commit suicide for whatever reason have guaranteed for themselves the Hellfire' (The Guardian , 2013). He believes Paradise is only gotten when killed by enemy action. It should be remembered that some of today's Islamic scholars completely misunderstood jihad and misrepresent it in deeds. This is the genesis in propagation of blood spattered doctrines responsible for wars and terrorisms.

In 2014, the number of lives lost to terrorism around the world increased by 80 percent, the highest level ever (The Guardian, 2013). The majority of such terrorist activities occurred in the largest refugee – producing nations, a Global Terrorism Index (GTI) showed: The 2015 GTI, released on November 17, 2014 recorded a rise in terrorism, with a nine-fold increase in terrorism, related deaths. In Nigeria alone, deaths by terrorism increased over 300 percent approximately 7,512, the largest increase ever recorded by any country, in 2020, this records have also increased making Nigeria a haven for the terrorist. In the year, 2022, Boko Haram was fingered as involved in the killing of 3,478 people in Nigeria (The Guardian , 2019). These have allowed Boko Haram to surpass Al Qaeda, Al Shabab, or even the Taliban to become the deadliest terrorist group in the world. The index also highlighted the link between countries with terrorist activity and levels of internally Displaced People and Refugees.

This research would not however discuss extensively on the activity of Boko Haram but examine how this group was nurtured within the Nigerian context until 2009 when they became established.

## II. Review of Literature

### Preexisting conditions that Nurtured a Group like Boko Haram

Radical Islam has deep historical roots in Northern Nigeria, and violence has been all too long a part and parcel of religious violence. Islam has always played a role in Northern Nigeria, especially in the North West and the North East. Prior to the amalgamation of 1914, the people in what is now known as Northern Nigeria consisted of different "empires", some of

them extending into parts that are not part of current-day Nigeria, some live in parts of present day Niger, Chad, and Cameroon (Duyile, 2014). In the 18th century, to be precise, at the end of the century, Islamic teachers or scholars had called for some revival and purification. Then, in spite of the spread of Islam in the land space in the North that later became Northern Nigeria, there were still whole areas such as the Mossi country, Borgu, Adamawa and some areas in Hausa land and Kanuri land that Islam had yet not touched. In large parts of these places, farmers and herdsmen were resistant to conversion, and it was to these people that the Jihadists particularly seek their consent to become Muslims. Furthermore, though most of the ruling dynasties especially the Hausa states of the Western Sudan were Muslims, Islam sat very lightly on them, and all sorts of unorthodox practices such as illegal taxation, enslavement of Muslims and unlawful seizure of property were practiced by them. Among the Hausa, goddesses such as Uwandowa, and Uworgona were still being worshipped, while belief in black magic was widespread (Ogundele & Soetan, 2017).

Islam, in the 18th century Northern Nigeria was in a state in which Islamic and indigenous African religions customs and practices were existing side by side or in a mixed form. This situation would probably have remained unchanged but for two factors, namely, the revival of the Qadiriyya in the Western Sudan during the end of the 18th century. The Qadiriyya had been introduced to the area in 15th century by Kunti. At the start of the 18th century, however, it was in decline until under the leadership of Sidi al Mukhtar al Kunti (1729-1811), it underwent a revival (Adu, Ade-Ajayi, & Tidy, 1986). Al Kunti first established a Zawiya in Azawad where he taught the Islamic sciences with an emphasis on mysticism. He believed that he was the reformer called upon by Allah to review and spread Islam not only in West Africa but throughout the Muslim world (Boahen, 1966). Among his many treatises on mysticism was a book in which he outlined his own form of the Qadiriyya doctrines or principles: and this book is still used as a major reference in Northern Nigeria (Abiola, 1986). He established the Tawiyas in which he trained his followers and sent them out to spread and strengthen Islam because of the activities of his pupils and disciples, the influence of Sidi al-Mukhtar spread throughout the now known as Northern Nigeria (Adu, Ade-Ajayi, & Tidy, 1986). The idea's and books of the Qadiriyya leader greatly influenced the Jihadists of the 19th century (Abiola, 1986). Furthermore, his active teaching, writing and preaching gave a great stimulus to Islam, renewed interest in mystical studies and generated intellectual and ideological excitement. His revival of the Qadiriyya also strengthened the belief in the coming of a Mahdi and aroused great expectation in places which later became Northern Nigeria (Adu, Ade-Ajayi, & Tidy, 1986).

The other factor which contributed to the outbreak of the jihads in the 19th century was the introduction of the Tijaniyya which was founded in Fez in North Africa in the late 18th century by Sidi Ahmed Al Tijani (1737 – 1815), was even more militant and insisted on an even stricter observance of the details of Islamic principles than did the Qadiriyya (Adu, Ade-Ajayi, & Tidy, 1986). A move was also made in the whole of the Muslim world to destroy the heresies and accretions that had been mixed with the religion of Islam. Examples of such movements were those of the Wahhabiya in Saudi Arabia, the Sanusiyya in Cyrenaica, Hajj Umar-al- Tall's movement in Western Sudan, the Mahdiyya in the Eastern Sudan, and the Uthman Dan Fodio Jihad in the Hausa lands (Abiola, 1986).

The two groups inspired the Fulani people that belonged to one single clan, namely, the Torodbe or Toronkawa clan (Abiola, 1986). These groups used Islam to shape the geography of West Africa, more so Northern Nigeria. Why the Fulani in general and the Torodbe in particular should play such a decisive role should not surprise us. The Fulani originated in the area of the Senegambia and began to spread slowly eastwards. They entered Hausa land in two groups, the cattle Fulani (Fulani Bororo) and the town Fulani (Fulani gida) (Ogundele & Soetan, 2017). It is the activities of the Fulanis that shaped the North in Nigeria. The Fulani

Jihad was inspired by the doctrine of the Quadiriyya and Tajaniyya which continued through the 19th century, 20th century, and 21st century. A doctrinal inspiration was brought out to the fore.

The Torodbe or Toronkawa clan was made up of those who had become specialist in Islamic learning and religion, education, law and administration. Most of them did not live in the town or enjoy the patronage of the kings, but had founded their own settlements or religious centers in the rural areas where they earned their living as writers and teachers (Abiola, 1986). By the beginning of the 19th century, the Torodbe clan had become the moral compass of the Northern Nigeria.

Uthman Dan Fodio for instance, studied under various scholars including Alfa Nuhu who initiated him into the Qadiriyya order and Jibril b Umari of Agadez who belonged to the Wahhabiyya order. Dan Fodio mastered thoroughly Islamic Sciences of Grammar, Law, Exegesis, Theology, Rhetoric and Prosody (Adu, Ade-Ajayi, & Tidy, 1986). Like many of the Fulani intelligentsia, he was indoctrinated as a Quadiriyya (Adu, Ade-Ajayi, & Tidy, 1986).

Dan Fodio initial purpose was to defend the liberty of the new movement and also to establish a purer form of Islam in what he considered a predominantly corrupt and decadent society (Boahen, 1966). This argument is made stronger when it is realized that Uthman Dan Fodio himself was a great Islamic scholar with inspiring teachings and writings on Theology, Law, traditional Islamic sciences of Grammar and Exegesis (Boahen, 1966). The political undertone of this quadiriyya inspired jihad was seen in his attack of Kanem Bornu. El Kanemi, the Shehu of Bornu, a co-reformist, found it interesting. It is interesting to note that the Fulani failed to conquer Bornu where they encountered a leader in the person of El Kanemi, who was able to provide the same sort of inspiration and leadership. This was a doctrinal challenge but did not affect the state.

Uthman Dan Fodio jihad and subsequent victories majorly in places now under Northern Nigeria reshaped the doctrine, morals and even geography of the Northern land space before the conquer of the British. The effect of this Jihad, moreso the Quariddiyya sect has remained permanent in Northern Nigeria. Politically, it led to the establishment of a single Fulani empire, hereby a single economic system. It was Quadiriyya inspired which in turn meant a stimulus to education learning and Quadiriyya order in Hausaland (Adu, Ade-Ajayi, & Tidy, 1986). Area's like Bauchi and Adamawa became converted for the first time. Their literary activities touched off a veritable renaissance in Northern Nigeria. The doctrine of the Quadiriyya, and Tijaniyya inspired the reshaping, and the resetting of the land space called Northern Nigeria. Around this period, the first Quranic School was established in Osogbo in the 1850s by Shayk Ibrahim Uthman.

However, colonialism only maintained and even increased the followers of Islam. The indirect rule practiced by the colonial masters gave power and control to the Muslim leadership (Nwachukwu and Osadola, 2019). The areas that were never conquered were included, a bonus to the Muslims. The Anglo-German agreement of 1900-1901, which included, the adoption of boundary treaties in 19th March, 1906 established the merger of many communities in the North (Duyile, 2014). These mergers established the objective of Sokoto to control some unconquered territories. In the South, the Ansar- Ud- Deen Society of Nigeria, one of the oldest societies of Islam in Nigeria came into existence on the 23rd December, 1923 in Lagos. It was at this time called the Young Ansar-Ud- Deen Society.

Zumratul Islamiyyah was established in 1926. Nawarud- Deen Society in 1934.

Accordingly, the colonial governments sought to sustain their individual but common economic desires by forging areas of cooperation between the Islamic Jihad leaders and themselves. Colonial patrol teams were put in place to monitor the control of Northern Nigeria. Military posts were also established in some towns in the North (Boahen, 1966). The colonial authorities had in mind the securing of these towns. After the Second World War,

deliberate efforts were made to enhance the flow of information at governmental levels. In addition, encouragement was further given to the District Officers to undertake discussions at their level in order to resolve common problems between the Caliphate and their subjects.

The result is a distinct section for Northern Nigeria, thus:

- i) Nigeria- Cameroon – Chad Tri-point in Lake Chad to Hosere Gesume based on the Anglo- French Declaration of January 9, 1931.
- ii) Hosere Gesume and Gamena river based on the British Order in Council of 16th January, 1923 and proclamation of the Governor of Nigeria, 1954.
- iii) Gomena River to the Gulf of Guinea based on Anglo-German Agreement of 11 March, 1913 (Duyile W. A., Nigerian- Cameroon Bakassi Peninsula Crisis: A Retrospect of Nigerian Technocrats Views Prior To The Court Case At The Hague, 2014)

From the evaluation of places like Adamawa, Taraba, Yobe and Bornu States respectively, the only applicable legal instrument which is recognized and respected by the people who live in these states in the North is the Anglo French Declaration of 1931. It is this declaration that adds these states to the colonial entity called Nigeria. Since the Anglo-French Declaration of 1931, several new villages have sprung up along the Nigerian North while some other villages mentioned in the Treaty still exist and Quadiriyya doctrine dominance had begun among Northern Muslims (Duyile W. , 2014).

In 1960, Nigeria got its independence. The growth of Islam has accelerated since independence. The British handed over power to the North, the Quadiriyya inspired doctrines became the dominant sect. By 1970 probably half of Nigerian populations are Muslims. To help spread Islam and to strengthen converts national organization were set up, such as the Jama'atu Nasril Islam in 1961 and the Islamic council of Nigeria in 1973. Muslim missionaries, teachers and doctors from Pakistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Libya have come into Nigeria in large numbers (Boahen, Tidy, & Ajayi, Topics in West African History, 1986). Graduates from Cairo's Al-Azhar University came to Nigeria to teach in Nigerian universities. Increasing numbers of Muslims are obtaining University degrees and moving up the ranks in the Armed Forces. Nigeria's figure of 106,000 pilgrims to Mecca in 1977 was second only to that of Indonesia chartered planes from Kano fly thousands on the hajj to Saudi Arabia (Boahen, Tidy, & Ajayi, Topics in West African History, 1986).

The rapid flow of religious ideas from other parts of the Islamic world with the return home of pilgrims, students and traders has led to a proliferation of sects and brotherhoods in Nigeria. The traditional conservative Qadiriyya, Tijaniyya have had vast followings throughout Muslim West Africa since pre-colonial times. In the 1970s and 1980s their domination of Muslim life in Nigeria has come under sharp challenge. The modernizing Ahmadiyya brotherhood, originating in Pakistan, emphasizes adaptation to a technological age, sponsors secondary education and flourishes among Yoruba- speakers. The Ahmadiyya was branded as heretical in 1974 and condemned by the Sultan of Sokoto, spiritual heir to the caliphate (Boahen, Tidy, & Ajayi, Topics in West African History, 1986). This is a clash in doctrine that was peaceful. However, the Ahmadiyya is a positive and constructive movement compared with some of the millenarian sects that have arisen recently among the rural and urban of some Northern Nigerian states.

The conglomeration of these sects established a complexity in doctrinal belief. Some of these millenarian sects had doctrines synonymous to the politics and viewpoints of nations like Pakistan, Afghanistan, Indonesia... etc. For instance, sects that have originated from Pakistan or Afghanistan have infused in their doctrines political Islam. Political Islam is considered by Western Nations as a major source of Islamic extremism. The nature of political Islam and the doctrines which it nurtured contexts the sect views about the home countries they came from. Different interpretations of the Holy Koran, weakened the control of the Sultan, a Quadiriyya overlord, thereby allowing sect clashes with the authorities or even other Muslims.

Islam claims to be one brotherhood but the interpretations and perceptions of the holy Koran and Hadith differs as the sects are many. Myriads of sects means many interpretation of concepts such as Jihad, the use of hijab, Western Education, the relations with other religion, modernity, leadership, science ...etc. The influx of sects with political undertone and in some cases extremist views became a threat to the Nigerian State. The genesis of religious cum political objectives amidst violence had begun to rare its head.

In Nigeria, rivalry between these sects of Muslim brotherhoods, the Quadiriyya, Tijaniyya, Muridiyya, Ahmadiyya, Shiites, and many others had taken a violent dimension. For instance, the Tijaniyya stress their doctrinal purity and commitment to devotional rigor (Abiola, 1986).

The Tijaniyya in this devotion recognize no overall leadership, these definitely threatens leadership control in the circular or the religious (Boahen, Tidy, & Ajayi, Topics in West Afrcan History, 1986). The Shiite had a cult following for their leaders and had support from Iran, same as the Muridiyya that have some recognizable leaders. The conservative Quadiriyya is a brotherhood with a recognized leader. Perceptions on concepts, philosophy and doctrines may however create antagonism, and clashes that may overlap into extremist violence.

Sometimes the overlap may have political and extremist undertone. These extremist undertones led to an uprising in December 1980, when followers of the Cameroonians sect led by a self-proclaimed Prophet, Mohammed Umarua Maitatsine, in Kano old city led to a massacre in which several thousand people were killed (The Guardian , 2013). This is the first organized religious cum political pursuit for dominance in Nigeria.

In December, 1980, Maitatsine's armed group the Yan Yatsine undertook a mass slaughter in the streets of Kano, against which the military promptly launched counter attacks. An author,

Elizabeth Isichei, writing on the incident says "the city of Kano was convulsed by what was virtually civil war, and 4,127 people died, among them Maitatsine himself (Vanguard, 1990). In

October 1982 also, almost two years after the death of the Maitatasine group leader, another crisis broke out in Bulumkutu, 15 kilometres from Maiduguri, Bornu State between the Maitasine attackers and military (Duyile W. A., A Prelude to the Boko Haram Crisis, 2023).

About 3,350 persons were killed in the battle. In early 1984, more violent uprisings occurred in parts of Northern Nigeria. In this round of rioting, Musa Makaniki, a close disciple of Maitatsine, emerged as a leader and in Marwa, the original Maitatsine successor, allowed over 1000 people to die in Yola, the capital of Adamawa State. The crisis in March 1984 created homelessness for 60,000 people living in Yola. Makaniki fled to his hometown in Gombe, where more Yan Tatsine riots occurred in April 1985. After the deaths of several hundred people, Makaniki fled to Cameroon (Duyile W. A., A Prelude to the Boko Haram Crisis, 2023). Around this time too, serious crisis broke out in Rigasa where so many people died. These crises by the Maitatsine followers in Maiduguri and Kaduna in 1982 and Yola in 1984 led to several hundred deaths, including those of hundred policemen (Sunday Mirror, 2013).

The killings were said to have been ignited by Al-Masafu sect led by Alhaji Umarua Maitatsine, population estimated between 3000 to 5000 members, who denounced ostentatious display of wealth, such as owning of properties like houses (Boahen, Tidy, & Ajayi, Topics in West Afrcan History, 1986).

Misinterpretation or fundamentalist and extremist interpretations established a basis for these wars. The war was justified in the misinterpretation, understanding of the Holy Koran and Hadith by the myriad of sects who have peculiar views on the concept of Jihad. The scholars' views matters and the followers or sects' interpretations on concepts earlier mentioned determines what could be a threat to security or not. Terrorism or insurgency had never been new to Nigeria. However, this crisis took a terrorism version. The table 1 below proves this viewpoint:

**Table 1.**

S/N	Year	Acts of Terror
1	1964-66	Reigns of political thuggery- Killings, arson
2	1965-1966	Operation “ Wet e” during Western Region election crisis and massacre of Nigerians in the North
3	1982	Maitatsine Religious uprisings in Kano, Kaduna, Jimeta
4	1986 (Oct)	Bombing of Dele Giwa, Editor of News Watch
5	1993 October	Hijacking of Nigerian Airways Airbus A310 to Niger by the Movement For Advancement of Democracy
6	1994 June 19	Assassination of Retired Vice Admiral B Elegbede in Lagos
7	1994 August 29	Explosion of a bomb on the 15 <sup>th</sup> floor of C & C Towers in Lagos
8	1994 September 2	Explosion at Block A Flat 14 Legislators Quarters, Apo Abuja, occupied by Mr Oladimeji member of Constitutional Conference from Osogbo
9	1994 September 29	Explosion at NTA and FRCN building, Kaduna
10	1994 September 30	Explosion at Kaduna Refinery
11	1994 November 17	Explosion at the arrival wing of Murtala Mohammed International Airport, Lagos
12	1994 November 22	Bomb Scare at Radio House, Abuja
13	1996 April 13	Bomb blast at Ikeja Military Cantonment killing and wounding several people
14	1996 June	Assassination of Kudirat Abiola in Lagos, Chief Ajagunna; Mr Balogun
15	1997	Bomb blast at a Mosque at Onitsha market and another blast at a Church in Imo State
16	A decade to 2009	Many bombs by the Militia Groups in the Niger Delta

Source: Shiyanbade, 2000

### III. Results and Discussion

The Birth of the Boko Haram Sect

Boko Haram started has Sahaba group in 1995 (The Guardian, 2009). The main leader of the group then was Abubakar Lawan who later left the Sahaba group for studies in the University of Medina (The Guardian, 2009). His departure from the group created a vacuum in leadership. The elders’ clerics, handed over the leadership of the group to a young man called Mohammed Yusuf. Mohammed Yusuf place of birth was in Girgir village of Yobe State. When he was made the leader of the Sahaba group, he was considered then as young and versatile (The Guardian, 2011). The Yusuf reign established a departure from the Abubakar Lawan years, in doctrine and philosophy of the sect, Yusuf changed and he abandoned the elder clerics and came up with concepts inimical to their earlier believes (The Guardian, 2009). At the initial stage of their growth, the sect was entrenched in many Northern states. He was considered by a Scholar, Sheik Jafar Mohammed, as a brilliant young man. The group has come to be popularly known as Boko Haram, it is not clear whether the group actually called itself by this name. Some called them Yusufyya Sect but some called them Jamaatul Takfur Wal Hyra Ahlus Sunna; some still called them Kaawaarji and some called them Jamaatu Alhlissunah Lidda Awatiwal Jihad which they approved off. Although Mohammed Yusuf claimed he was not a member of the Nigerian Taliban, some link the Boko Haram activities to this group. The ‘Nigerian Taliban’ initial place of abode in Yobe was Burkarti, in Bursari Council of Yobe State. It was in 2005 that Mohammed Yusuf claimed he was no longer a member of the Nigerian Taliban (The Guardian, 2009).



Mohammed Yusuf in 2005 disengaged his services with the Yobe State government. After he was convinced by a scholar named Mohammed Alli to boycott Western oriented activities such as democracy, and the civil service (The Guardian, 2011). In 2006, he made press release signed by the Sect Shura Council, they stated that Islam permit them to subsist under a modern government in so far as their system structures and institutions contains elements contradictory to Islamic principles and beliefs (The Guardian, 2009). His sects' doctrine antagonizes respect for authority, and modernity. Mohammed Yusuf was prevented from preaching in several mosques and was denied TV/Radio appearances in the state but he set up a preaching outlet in the front of his house at the Railway Quarters and at Angaiwar, Doki, Millionaires quarters among others. The demand for tapes increased by the day all over the North and the proceeds there from increased tremendously (Adu and Osadola, 2018). The highly influential Sheik Jafar Mohammed fell out with Mohammed Yusuf and at least in seven occasions both men tried to resolve their mis-understanding but was never resolved until the death of Jafar, who was shot dead in Kano by gunmen while leading the prayers in his Mosque on the eve of the 2007 general elections in Nigeria. The election was marred with violence and brought in President Umaru Yaradua.

The election in Yobe State in 2007 did not assume the dimension their political host thought it would take, the group was abandoned and ordered to vacate Yobe State. The Mohammed Yusuf group resettled in Maiduguri, the land which they gathered belongs to Yusuf's father in law, Alhaji Baba Fugu, the same man in whose house Yusuf hid when he had set Maiduguri ablaze (Duyile, Adu, Jegede, & Buhari, 2020). According to the documents from the Ministry of Lands and Survey, the land was acquired in 1973. From available records, Fugu applied for the grant of a right of occupancy on January 20, 1973 an application which was granted by the Bornu State Commissioner for Works and Housing on January 23, 1978. The instrument was registered as No 218 at page 218 in volume 6 of the lands. Registry in the office at Maiduguri and the land in question is 1,173 hectares. The Certificate of Occupancy No is NE/1472 (Duyile, Adu, Jegede, & Buhari, 2020). In fact Fugu personally signed to say that he received the original title deed on January 31, 1978. This land is considered later has the headquarters of Boko Haram.

Bornu, later became the spiritual home of Boko Haram. Bornu has a land area of about 72,600 square kms, second to Niger State which has about 76,363 square km the largest state in terms of landmass in Nigeria. The Northern and Central Bornu which have about 17 Local Government more than half of the landmass are mostly desert area and in some places, muddy in the rainy season, making military operations in such areas very difficult. Yet Bornu is the only Nigerian state in the country that shares border with three African countries; Chad, Niger and Cameroon (Duyile, 2014). The crisis in any of these countries will trigger unrest in Bornu. The crisis also in Bornu has the potential to be internationalized. Thereby supporting the Maxim, that when Bornu coughs, neighboring states shall catch cold (Duyile, 2014).

Maiduguri, a once thriving town became a birth place for Boko Haram, has become a necropolis. The group as at 2009 started small, carried out shoot out with the police before growing into a group with a large appetite for blood.

#### IV. Conclusion

This paper proves National Security is only safeguarded if Doctrines are monitored and kept in check by a viable National Doctrine. Democratic governments can counter terrorist (National and International) in the following ways:

- The rule of law must be enthroned in Society, and no individual or group of individuals must be allowed to be above the laws of the land;

- Legal sanctions must be in force, and whoever violates the laws of the land should pay the price;
  - The Judiciary must with the support of the people, preserve fundamental rights and freedoms and protect society against arbitrary rule, police brutality and martial terror;
- Terrorists must not in any way be allowed to wage battle against democratic governments, nor must insurgency or terrorists be allowed to wage war against society in pursuit of their interest or doctrine;
- Good intelligence network is crucial to nip terrorism in the bud. Spiritual understanding of the holy books is also important to counter wrong doctrines held by sects;
  - The police and Military need to establish specialist anti-terrorist squads; and
- Intensive propaganda, public enlightenment and education are useful instruments to win the heart and soul of citizens (Shiyanbade A. A., 2000)

Finally, wrongly interpreted doctrine unchallenged by positive theory is the root of terrorism. Wrong doctrines lead to war. National Doctrine is a way to resolve threat to National Security. The Boko Haram crisis emanated because the nation before 2009 did not postulate or provide structures that could nip in the bud terrorist tendencies. As provided above, Nigerian citizens were never new to terrorism from the 1960s. Religious terrorism however emerged from 1982 when Mohammed Umarua Maitatsine became inspired by a doctrine that needed a response from the state. Although the state responded then, counter terrorism measures were not brought to the fore, innate, as National Doctrine to challenge wrongly inspired doctrines that may challenge National Security. Boko Haram became what it is today because Nigeria lacked a National Doctrine (Adeleye and Osadola, 2022). Nigeria must have a doctrine that could challenge doctrines that are not compatible with the laws of the Nation

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