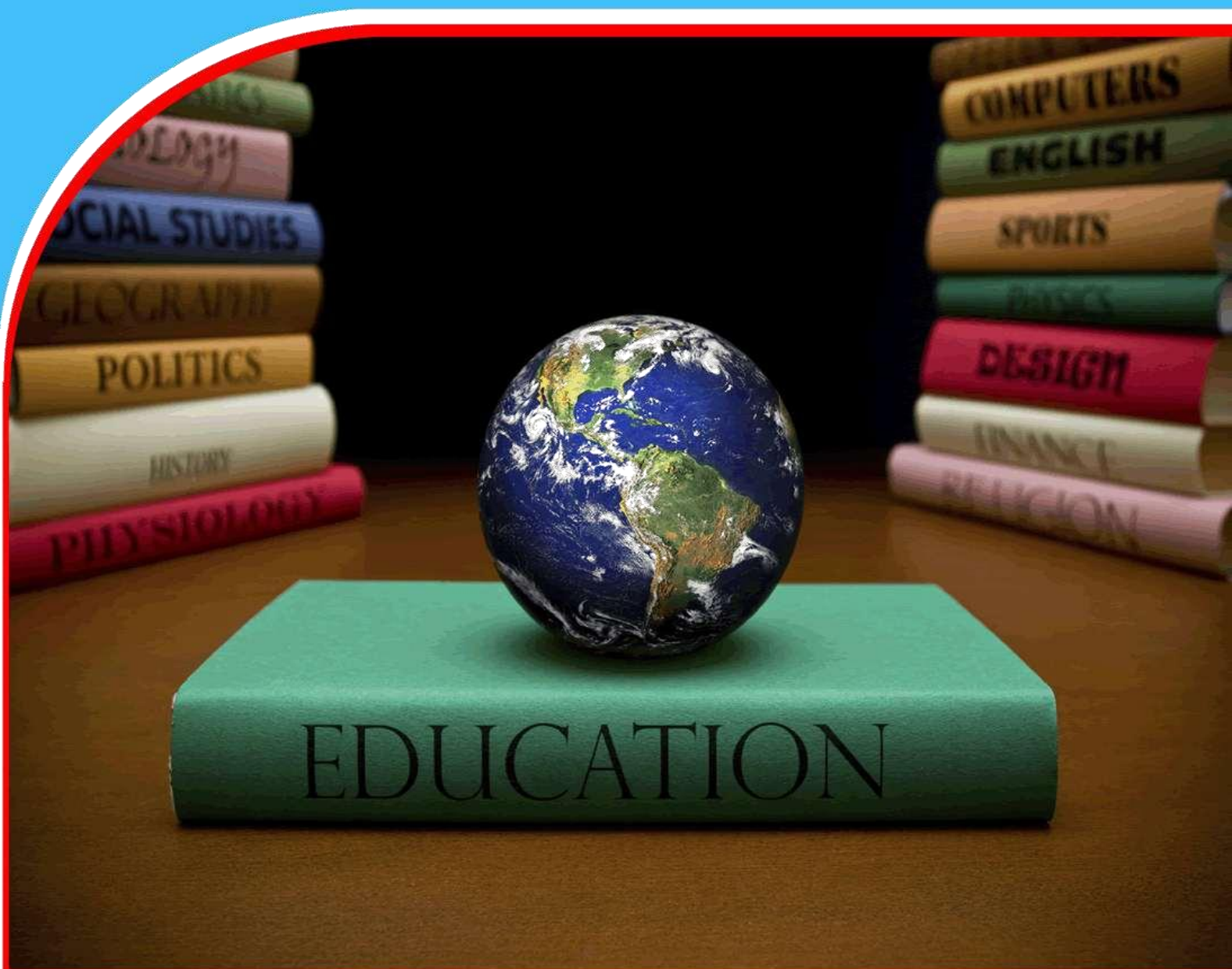


European Journal of Historical Research (EJHR)



Boko Haram Terror: A Historicism on Fighting for “god” for
Spiritual Landing in Nigeria Under a Welcoming Government.
(June, 2019 - April, 2020)

Cyril Anaele



Boko Haram Terror: A Historicism on Fighting for “god” for Spiritual Landing in Nigeria Under a Welcoming Government. (June, 2019 – April, 2020)

Cyril Anaele

Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Salem University, Lokoja, Nigeria.
ORCID (0000 – 0001 – 6435 – 2804)

Abstract

Following Buhari re-election in 2019, many wings of Boko Haram Islamist gangs emerged in the Nigeria’s terrorist’s scene. Whereas Boko Haram confined its killings in the N.E of Nigeria, these new brands of Boko Haram have national spread. The new killing columns of Boko Haram descendants are (i) the Islamic State of West African Province ISWAP, (ii) the Jama’atu Ansril Muslimina Naijeriya (aka Ansaru) (iii) the Fulani Herdsmen Jihadists and (iv) the High – ways “Bandits.” Each gang has its mapped out target geo-political zone. Their shared mandate is Islamisation, and eradication of Christianity. But told, the earlier victims of Boko Haram were Christians and Muslims, but the specific target of the current upsurging and sweeping terror, generally, if not all, are Christians. Instead of addressing the killings, Buhari administration favours creating soft landing and welcoming “repentant” terrorists, through his Operation Safe Corridor and empowerment action policies for the Fulani herdsmen jihadists. The paper adopts Huntington’s theory of clash of civilization and Healy’s multi – casual theory. In methodology, it relied on qualitative technique, using secondary data. In presentation, it used historical method of unit data analysis. The major finding is that Nigeria is sitting on gun-power, anxiously waiting to spark off religious war, if the present administration continues to give Christian killer terrorists a friendly hand – shake. The paper recommends maximum punishment for terrorists and genuine commitment of Buhari to the preservation of Nigeria’s secularity, if the pending religious war and/or retaliatory genocide against the Fulani killers of Nigerians is to be prevented from implosion.

Keywords: *Boko Haram, Jihadist Advance Columns, Islamisation, Ruga, and Open Safe Corridor.*

1. Introduction

This study will examine first the history of Islam in Northern Nigeria, and the subsequent conquest of Hausa Kingdoms by the Fulani foreign invaders, under the disguise of Islamic revivalism, accomplished through the Fulani jihad in 1804, resulting to the dismantling of the Hausa Kingdoms/States and supplanting same with the Sokoto Caliphate, administered under Islamic Law (Ajayi and Espie 1965) (Ikechukwu, P. 1990) (Paden, J.N 1986) and (Pongri, J. 1990). Thus, the understanding of Sokoto Jihad and the ascendancy of Fulani hegemon on the autochthonous Hausa people (Ole 2018), (Njoku 2016), Anaele (2020) is central to the character and trend of Nigeria's politics of Fulani domination and the current wave of Islamic extremism, Anaele (2019) Njoku (2016).

After taking a look at the brief history of Islam and the 1804 Sokoto Jihad in Hausaland, the paper examines through historical perspectives the actions and policies of the federal government that suggests Islamisation of Nigeria, Yinka (2019), Obasanjo (2019) and contradictory to constitutionalism Falana (2019) and Nigeria's secularism, (Kayode (2019).

Thereafter, the paper attempts a critique on Boko Haram terror, and the rise of its other four new deadly killer columns of organized terror. All the four are supportive columns of Boko Haram (Kefas 2020) to facilitate the Jihad for Islamisation of Nigeria under a willing and welcoming government, Okowa (2020), Don Eze (2020), Southern and Middle Belt Leaders (2020), Oyedepo (2020), Obasanjo (2020), Int'l society for Civil Liberties and Rule of Law, (2020), A.I. (2019), CAN (2020), Musa – Dikwa (2020).

The study assesses government's efforts in its fight against these current five but related terror wings of Boko Haram to establish if Buhari administration is friendly to Islamist extremists and/or otherwise. Finally, it will look at the implications of these incessant killings of Christians by Fulani Jihadists, in the face of government's seemingly apparent inaction and make recommendations.

Keywords

Boko Haram: It is a jihadist terrorist trans-national organization founded and based in N.E. Nigeria, but has now expanded to northern Cameroon, Chad and Niger.

Jihadist Advance Column: Here, it is used as a single name for the four terrorist gangs, namely; the Fulani herdsmen jihadists, the Fulani high – way bandits, the Ansaru jihadists and the Islamic State of West African Province, ISWAP. All the four are conceived in this work as arteries of Boko Haram.

Islamisation: It is used in this study to mean turning Nigeria from a secular to Islamic state through subtle policies to gradually disrobe its secularity complemented by use of terror.

Ruga: Federal government policy requiring all the 36 federating states to donate free land, as large as the size of Belgium, for the settlement of rootless Fulani wandering pastoralists scattered across Africa. Literally, Ruga in Hausa means settlement.

Open Safe-Corridor: Executive pardon for terrorists after they have undergone “de – radicalization” programme. At the end, they are sent back to live in the same society they killed its people, raped women, razed down buildings and took captives, some of who were either beheaded or sold into slavery. It is supposedly built on “de – radicalization”, rehabilitation and re-integration (DRR).

2. Brief History of Islam in Hausaland and the Sokoto Jihad

Any historical investigation into the present jihadist killings targeted majorly at Christians is flawed if it omits the impact of Islam in Hausa land and the Fulani jihad of 1804 (Anaele, 2000), (Femi Kayode, 1999).

The two historical events determined power relations in the pre-colonial Northern Nigeria. They fused and made Islam inseparable from the state (Pongri, 2016). Both events also defined the character, the trend and the political land-scape of Nigeria, even in our contemporary era (Oleh, 1963). Thus, not to understand Islam and the Fulani jihad of 1804 amounts to not understanding Nigeria's politics and the present religious extremism on Christian targets.

By way of summary on the origin of Islam in Northern Nigeria, three different views stand out (Ajayi and Crowther, 1974). One traces the origin to Wangarawa migration eastwards into Hausaland 1431 – 32 AD (Smith, 1997). The other identifies the origin with Kanem – Bornu empire that existed in Chad Basin 700 – 1380 AD later re – established in Bornu in the present N.E Nigeria 1380 – 1893 AD (Smith, 1972). The Kanem Bornu Empire embraced Islam about 900 AD (Mustapha, 1982) pre – dating the Wangarawa migration (Kani, 1997). The third ascribed it to the influx of Arab traders, slave merchants, adventurers, scholars, missionaries e.tc into Hausaland from 1445 AD onwards (Cartwright, 2019).

Using time and period for the analysis, one therefore can rightly say Islam spread into Hausa land from Kanem Bornu in 900 AD. This pre – dated the coming of the Wangarawa, the Arabs or the Fulani. Nonetheless, the Wangarawa, the Arabs, (either as missionaries, scholars or traders) each in its own way contributed to the growth of Islam. In either of these three sources through which Islam came into Hausa land, none involved the use of force but peaceful conversion. Not a wonder, therefore, some of the kings and elites in Hausa states accepted Islam, then seen as not a threat to their sovereignty (Ajayi and Espie, 1965).

During the 14th and 15th centuries, many of the kings and elites in some Hausa sovereign states embraced Islam (www.ancient.eu/hausaland). Hausa land comprised seven sovereign, autonomous states (Sabi'u and Yusuf 2010). Two, among the states, are Katsina and Kano. Katsina was one of the foremost Islamic centres for learning and scholarship in the 1440's AD (Kani, 1997) and so was Kano (Adamu, 1978), and Smith (1987), not to talk less of Bornu, the ancient High Priest of Islam, before Fulani migration into Hausa land.

It is an irony of historical ingratitude as the same Islam and Fulani migrants welcomed by Hausa kings became responsible for their total loss of sovereignty over their states, people and land. What led to the collapse and disappearance of the Hausa states and their subsequent incorporation into a single foreign ruler was the Sokoto jihad of 1804 – 1808 (Quintana 2010) executed by Uthman dan Fodio (Eluwa et al, 1996).

Uthman dan fodio (1754 – 1817) was born in Gobir, a Hausa state, in the present N.W. Nigeria. His father, Muhammed Fodiye, of Toronkawa clan migrated from Futa Toro in Senegal (Kayode, 1999). In 1804, he embarked on a violent jihad against the hausaland, (his host), conquered Gobir in 1808, executed the king, Yunfa dan Nafata, and proceeded to conquer Kano and other Hausa states. At the end of his jihad or holy war (even though there is nothing holy in it, since it involved execution of a king, forced conversion, enslavement, raids, abductions, seizure of indigenous land, killings,

exploitations, and these atrocities not seen as crimes), he amalgamated the seven Hausa states into a single theocratic state known as the Sokoto Caliphate or the Sokoto Empire (Quintana, 2010). His invading armies continued the expansion of his empire into Adamawa, where the people resisted Islamisation (Pongri, 2016) resulting to its partial success but not without eternal impacts (Njeuma, 1978).

By the end of the conquests 1815, the empire included most of what is now Northern Nigeria and Northern Cameroon (Quintana, 2010) and quite afar into Nupe in the present Niger State, Kwara in Yoruba land, S.W. Nigeria (Anaele, 2020). This expansion of the caliphate further afar had many consequences, some good and some ugly.

- i. It brought together for the first time a number of independent states in the now northern Nigeria under a single political unit, the Sokoto Caliphate, administered under Sharia Law and Islamic Institutions.
- ii. It charted and altered the structure of inter – group relations as Islam and Fulbe ethnic identity turned out to be the indices for hierarchical differentiation.
- iii. It led to the deposition of Hausa kings and their replacement with Fulani Emirs, including Kings and Chiefdoms in non – Hausa states.
- iv. It created a new class of Fulani oligarchy and aristocracy in northern Nigeria.
- v. It paved and eased the way for Fulani full appropriation of land of the indigenous people.
- vi. It brought about excess use of forced labour and slaves to work on Fulani plantations, farms and local industries, especially in the N.E. Nigeria
- vii. Though, internal slave trade and enslavement existed in northern Nigeria prior to the jihad, the post jihad era institutionalized unparallel enslavement and sale of prisoners of war and non – Muslims abroad. This provided a big source for external slave trade across the Sahara to North Africa and beyond, and revenue to sustain the Caliphate and its emirates.

All of these consequences enumerated above are adequately treated in Henry Barth *Travels and Discovery Vol. II*, Kirk – Green (1958) *Adamawa; Past and Present*, Njeuma, M. (1978) *Fulani Hegemon in Yola*, Pongri, J. (2016) *A History of Relations in Adamawa from the Earliest Times to 1900*, Smith, A. “Islamic Revolutions of the 19th C in J.H.S Vol. II, No. 2, 1962 and Waldman, M.R. “A note on the Ethnic Interpretation of the Jihad” in *Africa*, July, 1966 to reference but a few. Of concern to this study is the semblance between Boko Haram and its Fulani Jihadist columns with the earlier Jihad of 1804 in goal, land seizure, killings, raidings, lootings, abductions, enslavement, forced conversion and sale of human beings. Even though the Shehu cautioned his jihadists to show compassion and moderation on the use of violence against the “infidels” (Njeuma, 1978), in practice, this appeal was not adhered to. Again, of interest and relevant to his study also is the continuity of the jihad in the Northeast and Middle Belt of Nigeria, even after the Sokoto Caliphate has been firmly established.

The theaters of this second wave of jihads were Adamawa (Pongri, 2016), southern Kaduna (Anaele, 2020), and the Middle Belt (Mbumega, 2019) but the people knowing the fate of states conquered by the Fulani, resisted conquests and islamization. Such was the situation (jihadists raids and counter resistance to their raids) until the British Conquest of the Sokoto Empire in 1900 (Pongri, 2016).

Instead of dismantling the Sokoto Caliphate and allowing Hausa kings and the various Chiefdoms in the North under Fulani hegemony to regain their freedom and revert to the

pre – jihad status quo, the British further consolidated the Sokoto Caliphate and its oppressive system by institutionalizing it through its administrative policy of indirect Rule. The British stopped the Jihad. It came on hold waiting to re- verbrate after British departure following Nigeria’s independence in 1960.

2.1 A Welcoming Government

What has not been emphasized in the study of the Sokoto jihad is its continuity, even after the Caliphate had been firmly established. Its continuity may not be unconnected to the statement of the Shehu himself in 1804 quoted by Kayode (1999) in which he said:

I have been given the sword of truth to defeat and conquer the enemies of Allah. I will establish the Caliphate to rule over all and Sokwoto shall

be its Capital. It is either the pagans and unbelievers accept Sharia and Koran or they accept the sword.

The above statement might have influenced his grand-son, Ahmadu Bello, the first Premier of the defunct Northern Nigeria Religion, to boast of “dipping the Koran in the Atlantic Ocean” (Anaele, 2020). Indeed, in 1957, he did say:

We, the people of the North will continue our stated intention to conquer the south and dip the Koran in the Atlantic Ocean after the British leave our shores.

The stated intention in the above Bello statement undoubtedly can be nothing but furtherance of his fore- father, Usman dan Fodio, ambition to bring all under Sharia. “They all” here connotes non – Muslims in Nigeria.

This intention was re – echoed in 2014 by Abubakar Shekau, leader of Boko Haram, who said:

By Allah, we will not stop fighting until every Nigerian abides by Sharia Law. If you don’t abide, we will kill you.

A critique on these statements of Uthman dan Fodio (1804), Ahmadu Bello (1957) or Abubakar Shekau (2014) shows Christians and traditionalists as the target persons for Islamisation by Sword. The three also share similarity in intention and means for its execution (i.e. by use of the sword). After all, a jihad is a war for conversion of non – Muslims, referred to as infidels, and in this context, the infidels are Christians in Nigeria. Going by the above statement of Shekau, Boko Haram leader, the motivating factor amongst other multi – faceted factors responsible for the gangs terror is Islamisation of infidels. To argue otherwise is incorrect since its leader himself has continued to justify his atrocities against Christians with religion, even as it is also equally wrong to pin his objective on religion only.

In a multi – ethnic cum religious state as Nigeria, its leader must remain neutral in religious patronage, if he/she must enjoy public acceptance and trust. Such a person must also run an inclusive and non – discriminatory government. This, cannot be said, to be true of Buhari (Obasanjo, 2019) whose government uses no other criteria but fuldeness and Islam as qualification for appointment into all public choice jobs (Kayode 2019).

Buhari critics on his mismanagement of Boko Haram terror accuse him of being a religious fanatic, an unamendable Islamist extremist, and “a vote for APC (i.e. his party) is a vote for herdsmen and killings.” (Uche Secondus,2018). Buhari testified against himself on fanaticism when he said in 2001 that inside and outside him is the total commitment to Sharia movement sweeping all over Nigeria.

A fanatic openly exhibits his/her intolerance and prejudice more than skin deep, for

other religious, seeing his/her act as sacrosanct and ordained by divine.

By relying on the abundant evidences, he created against himself, by his actions, inactions, and reactions, his critics are using them against him as proofs of his welcoming the killings of Christians. Consequently, majority of Christians see him as both unwilling to end the killings and recycling the terror (Southern/ Middle Belt Forum March, 2020, CAN, 2019, 2020) through his Open Safe Corridor initiative (Abdul Azeez, 2020) and his monopoly of the country's security apparatus "by a particular group" (Obasanjo, 2020).

In Nigeria, where ethnicity and religion mould public opinion (Emeka & Chijioke, 2016), such allegations, especially when they carry proofs of reality on the plain, have helped to deepen further the people's distrust in his fight against Boko Haram and killings of Christians (Kwamku, 2020). In the subsequent discourse, the study will present some of Buhari statements on Sharia, Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen jihadists.

Buhari, a former Nigeria's military head of state, 1985, and an incumbent president 2015 – present made the following statements:

i. *I will continue to show openly and inside me, the total commitment to the sharia movement that is sweeping all over Nigeria. God willing, we will not stop the agitation for the total implementation of the Sharia all over the country. (Buhari, 2001).*

The above statement is nothing short of open declaration of war.

ii. *Muslims should only vote Muslims and those who defend their faith. (Buhari, 2001).*

This is in line with Islam belief of faith being above the state and the state exists to do the bidding of faith.

iii. *Why should Christians complain when limbs are being cut off in the name of Sharia? after all, these are Muslim limbs, and not Christians. (Buhari, 2001).*

The above statement shows his approval of sharia law prescribing limb cutting for minor offences and violation of Nigeria's secularity and constitution. It also implies one state, but different laws.

iv. *Why are your Yoruba people killing my people (Fulani people)? (Buhari, 2001).*

Being a statement he made during his solidarity visit to Fulani herdsmen in Ekiti State, when the herders and farmers had conflict over farming land. This statement reflects his strong ethnic tie, empathy and favouritism for his Fulani people above use of nationalistic spirit in resolving the conflict. Thus, he is tribalistic on national issues, such as, safety and welfare of other tribes, by refusing to hear the Yoruba side of Fulani killings in Yoruba land.

v. *An attack on Boko Haram is an attack on the North. (Buhari, 2013).*

The above statement is self-explanatory, showing Boko Haram as creation of northern elites and politicians, and an approval to their terror. A terrorist cannot be seen as a brother, but is an enemy to the nation and the world at large. To Buhari, they are his brothers as th

vi. *Boko Haram are our misguided brothers. (Buhari, 2015).*

If attacks on the sect is taken as an attack on the north, the members are not misguided but executing the script of the founders.

vii. *The Fulani herdsmen are Nigerians and have right to be here. They carry sticks and not dangerous weapons. If you want peace, give them your land. (Buhari, 2018) and already President from 2015 – present).*

The implication of the above statement is support for terror and cover up of herdsmen killings because they have changed from stick to AK 47 which he cannot deny not knowing.

viii. *The problem of cattle herders is very long Historical problem. What is of concern is that before now, the Nigerian herder are Known to carry sticks and machetes to cut Follies for their animals, But these ones are carrying AK 47. So, I don't think we should underrate Libya, forty – five years of Gaddafi people were being recruited from Sahel and people were being killed. With the demise (of Gaddafi), they moved from their country and their region with their training and their weapons that was what aggravated the situation. (Buhari to Trump during his State visit to the White House, April, 2018).*

If Libyans are the people killing Nigerians, why has the government refused to declare them as terrorists?

On Dapchi girls 106 (abducted by Boko Haram)

We rescued 100 back, four died, one still in captivity (Buhari to Trump during his State visit to White House, April, 2018). The only remaining girl in captivity is Leah Shaibu, a Christian. "We won't tolerate further killings of Christians." (Trump to Buhari, 2018)..

On killing of Christians in Plateau State, especially that of January 2018 massacre, Buhari had this to say:

But the present herders I am told carry AK 47 and people are even blaming me for not talking to them because maybe (they saw) I look like one of them. There is some injustice in these aspersions. (Buhari, 2019)

Herdsmen kill with ease, but few arrests made, and none brought to justice (*Punch*, June 27, 2018), Nigerians after all, may not be wrong, in the opinion of (Ifeanyi Eze, *Sahara Reporters* June, 2018) to see Buhari "as taking sides with those killing them", otherwise who else is to blame? (*Sahara Reporters*, 2018) for the Fulani herdsmen killings across Nigeria put at "1,700 violent deaths" by Global Terrorism Index, 2018.

Fulani herdsmen terror has been classified as the fourth deadliest terror in the world by Global Terrorist Index and several other bodies have ranked it second among the most deadly terrorist gangs. Thus, their killings and those of ISWAP, High – way Islamists, and Ansaru are having international attention but receiving little internal investigation. Depending on who is doing the saying, one can rightly conclude that Buhari lack of response, his hesitancy and perceived silence on the killings now engulfing the whole country amounts to taking sides with Islamisation of Nigeria. But told, from his utterances, actions, reactions and inactions, the following deductions are made:

- i. He has demonstrated all attributes of religious extremism.
- ii. His reluctance to deal with all these Islamist terrors and their repeated serial attacks on vulnerable communities across Nigeria obviously contributed to the hardening of the merchants of these killings. Above all,
- iii. By not seeing the killings as a military necessity of government to stem the tide, he knowingly or unknowingly gave the Fulani herders the bold courage to change from Shepherd staff to gun.

iv. His plea and defence against allegations of his being silent on the killings as “injustice and aspersions” amounts to the proverbial ostrich hiding its head in the sand, or leadership compromise. Who else should be held accountable if not him, because he is the commander – in – chief of the Armed Forces and Nigeria’s Executive President under whose watch these massacres are exacerbating with each successive day.

v. As an ex – army general, the one thing he should know how to do best is security and gun battles, but has not put his military experience into use.

vi. So far, none of these Islamists has been brought to justice, or strong actions marshaled out for internal investigations into the killings, the jihadists financiers, source of arms, the perpetrators and their terror strategy. Until a counter history emerges, Buhari will remain in the eyes of Christians as the Islamist President of Nigeria.

3. Boko Haram and its Fourth Columns

Boko Haram is fighting for the establishment of full Islamic state in Nigeria (Onuoha, 2014), a country of about 200 million divided into roughly 50% Christians and 50% Muslims (Ofu Obiahu, 2020).

It is entirely opposed to western education, westernization of Nigerian society and concentration of Nigeria’s wealth among members of small political elites in the Christian south (Bartolotta, 2011), even as the richest man in Africa, Dangote, is a northern Muslim and Nigeria’s presidents predominantly northern Muslims. Thus, their killings are rooted on Islamisation agenda and not for social justice and hatred for western education, as they have adduced.

The sharia law adopted by the 12 states in Northern Nigeria in 2000 in the works of (Adesoji, 2010), (Barnaby, 2000) raised suspicion on links between the sect and Northern political leaders. But when the expected support did not come openly from northern governments, Boko Haram saw it according to (Kallamu, 2020) as a breach and began to extend their killings to Muslims. Following Buhari re – election in 2019, Christians became their primary target, if not all.

Boko Haram, deadlier than ISIS (CNN) has in recent years given birth to other supportive Islamist gangs, as deadly as it, or even deadlier (Inter Society 2020) (*Sahara* 2020). These recent brands of Boko Haram are, the Islamic State of West African Province (Obasanjo, 2019), the Fulani Herdsmen Jihadists (InterSociety 2020), the Ansaru (*Sahara Report* 2020) and the High – ways Bandit Terrorists (Steven Kefas, 2020). All these terror arteries of Boko Haram have one converging interest and mission; islamisation of Nigeria and eradication of Christianity (Enada, 2020).

Their gruesome killings of Christians have quadrupled in intensity since 2019 Buhari was re – elected (CAN, 2020) and are all in unity to raise the “Flay of the Caliphate” (Enada, 2020), making Nigeria “unsafest place to live on earth” (Obi, 2020), existential threat to Christians (Trump, 2020), and among the unsafest country to be a Christian (CAN, 2020). Their killings of Christians since 2019 is incredibly alarming.

4. Nigeria: Killing field of Defenseless Christians

Studies on Islamist terror in Nigeria shows the ecology distributed as follows: (i) Boko Haram in the Northeast (comprising six states), Ansaru in the Northwest (made up of seven states), Fulani herdsmen jihadists with base in the North central (consisting of six states and Abuja) but now present in all the 17 southern Christian states and the bandit terrorist based in Northwest and has extended to the 17 southern states, predominantly Christians.

The North – West is predominantly Muslim with appreciable number of Christians. The Northeast and Middle Belt Christian population is almost at par with Muslims.

Southern Nigeria is predominantly

Christians. Thus, there is a balance between Christian and Muslim population, in the absence of any reliable census figure to show otherwise.

“The northern elites don’t like statistics” (Nwabufo, 2020) and manipulate census figures (Okpara, 1963). Therefore, we have to admit that neither Islam nor Christianity has population advantage over each other.

In a research study conducted by International Society for Civil Liberties and the Rule of Law, (Inter – Society) titled “Nigeria: a Killing Field of Defenceless Christians” and published in *News Express*, Sunday, 8 March, 2020 “between 11,500 to 12,000 Christian deaths were recorded in Nigeria in the past 57 months or since June, 2015” under Buhari government, “2,000 churches lost” (Inter – society, 2020). Between January and February, 2020, 350 Christians were killed (InterSociety, 2020).

According to Inter – society 2020 Report, out of the figure of killed Christians, Jihadist Fulani Herdsmen accounted for 7,400, Boko Haram 4, 000 and High – way Bandit terrorists between 150 – 200. “While 100% victims of Jihadist herdsmen attacksss across Nigeria are Christians, the estimated 4,000 Christians were killed by Boko Haram as part of the estimated 4,000 Christians were massacred by the sect since June, 2015” (Intersociety, 2020) (when Buhari assumed office as president) emphasis mine.

Generally, many, if not most of the victims of Boko Haram and ISWAP Attacks in the North – East are Christians. In the past two months, January – February, 2020, no fewer than 350 Christians deaths according to Inter-society Report (2020) were “recorded and between 100 -150 Christian travellers abducted on high – ways” by Bandit terrorists operating along Benin-Lagos and Gwari Federal roads, near Kaduna. “320 Christians were killed in Nigeria in the month of January, 2020” (*Vanguard Newspaper*) and “223 killed in the month of February, 2020 (*Sahara Reporter*).” “2,040 persons (all Christianity) were killed by radicalized Fulani militants in 2018 alone” (Global Terrorist Index). In March, 2019 “no few than, 2,400 defenceless Christians were hacked to death by Jihadist Fulani herdsmen alone and in 2019, the number went down to 1,000 and 1,200” (Inter – Socieity, 2020).

The killings of Christians have intensified in March, 2020 and have led to the hacking down of several dozens (Kumashie, 2020). “The worst hit in the on – going ceaseless killings of Christians are Plateau state (70 – 80 deaths) Benue state (15 – 20), Delta (16), Taraba (10) perpetrated by Jihadist Fulani herdsmen in February, 2020. Other states within this period under review that reaped harvests of deaths from Jihadist Fulani herdsmen are Nasarawa, Adamawa, Edo, Delta, Ondo, e.tc. with Christian deaths running “into dozens” (Intersociety, 2020).

On December 22, 2019 ISWAP killed six Christians, abducted five, including two aid workers at the check – point near Maiduguri, Borno State (Kumashie, 2020). On Christmas Eve, Dec 24, 2020, Boko Haram killed seven persons in a raid near Chibok, a Christian community in Borno State and abducted a teenage lass. Earlier on 31st August, 2019 Boko Haram stormed a Christian village Balumri, Borno State, killing four and kidnapping six. Four of the kidnapped were later be-headed. On 26 December, 2019, ISWAP executed eleven Christians, who they kidnapped from Maiduguri and Damaturu. A day after Christmas, they released the video.

Fulani Herdsmen jihadist on Friday, 13th March late night to early hours of Saturday, 14th March, 2020 in a coordinated attack killed seven mourners and wounded several others in Guma LGA, Benue state, a Christian community. (*News Express*, 14/3/20).

On what is now referred as “Bloody January” the attacks of Boko Haram, Fulani Herdsmen Jihadists, Bandit Terrorists, Ansaru and ISWAP claimed 320 lives across Nigeria in January, 2020 (*News Express* 2/2/20), with Christians as target of the killings. On February, 2020, Boko Haram killed 30 travellers, abducted women and children (journalist101.com 2020-02-05) loaded with Igbo Christian passengers (Ohaneze, 2020). In February, 2020 Boko Haram again hit Chibok, a Christian community, killed undisclosed number of Christians, looted and set houses ablaze (*Cable News* 2020-02-19). In December 24, 2019, Boko Haram attacked Kwarangulum, a Christian village ten miles from Chibok, Borno State, killed seven, burnt houses and churches (*News Express* 22-2-2020). The stop vehicles, separate Christians and kill them (7th Div. Army Commander, Brig. General Abdul Khalifa) quoted by *News Express*, 2020 “in order to instigate crises across the country” (Brig. Gen. Abdul Khalifa). Islamists abduct Christian travellers in their hundreds, and on January 14, 2020 no few than 58 Igbo Christian travellers on board in Ezenwata Transport Luxury Bus were ambushed, forced to stop and the passengers abducted (Inter – society, 2020). The abduction and killing of Igbo Christian travellers made the Igbo apex organization to decry against “the systematic kidnap of luxury buses loaded with Igbo traders” (Journalist101.com 2020-02-01).

In February, 2020 Fulani Herdsmen Jihadists killed eight (8) Christians in Ugheli North Local Government Area accompanied by soldiers (*This Day Newspaper*, 2020-2-16). The minister for information, Lai Mohammed collaborated the statement of Brig. Gen. Abdul Khalifa, February, 2020 that Boko Haram singles out Christians for slaughter when the former admitted that the killer Islamists now target “Christians and Christian villages for specific reason, which is to trigger religious war and throw the nation into chaos” (*News Express* 28-2-2020).

Kwamkur Samuel (2020) CAN spokesman, dismissed the minister’s statement “as political rhetorics because Boko Haram and ISWAP have always been killing Christians.” (*News Express* 28 – 02 – 2020).

On March 10, 2020 the secretariat of the church of Nigeria Barri Diocese was attacked and the wife of the Bishop, Mrs Saratu Zubairu, kidnapped along with the diocesan staff, Deborah (Johnson Okunade, 2020). Boko Haram burnt down many houses with multiple deaths after a renewed attack on Dapchi, a Christian community in Yobe State (Ujuedochie.com 03-03-2020). On Friday night, 19 February, 2020 the sect attacked a Christian town of Garkida in Gombi, Adamawa killed many Christians, burnt several houses, “looted ships, burnt down house of General Paul Tarfa retired (a Christian). In addition, they burnt down Living Faith Church, Anglican Church and EYN Church” (*Sunday Punch Newspaper* 21-02-2020).

Top clergy are not spared. Since June, 2015, Buhari assumed office, 20 clergy were killed. Not less than 50 abducted. Among the slain in the Report of Inter – society (2020) are Rev.Fr. Clement Ugwu, abducted and killed on 14th March, 2019, Rev. Paul Offu abducted and killed January 1, 2019, Rev. Fathers Joseph Gor and Felix Tyolaha killed by Jihadist herdsmen April 24, 2018.

Five pastors of Redeemed Christian Church of God, RCCG, Ibelegbo Chidinma (a deaconess), Chidozie Eluwa, Chiemela Iroha, Okoro Ohowukwe and Ndubusi Owuabueze were abducted on Friday, August 2, 2019 on their way to Lagos for RCCG Retreat by Bandit Fulani Islamist Terrorist. Among the recent killings of Christians leaders was Boko Haram beheading of Adamawa State Chairman of Christian Association of Nigeria, CAN, on January 11, 2020 Rev. Lawan Andimi. Ceaseless killings of Christians with renewed vigour since 2019 orchestrated by Boko Haram, ISWAP, Jihadist Fulani herdsmen, and branch of Boko Haram called “Bandits high – way armed kidnappers” who engage in road – way abductions, armed robbery, house to house looting, all for the purpose of radical propagation of Islam and raising of blood funds for themselves and for advancement of their terror (Intersociety, 2000) have turned into thickening time bomb (Babatope, 2020). ‘These groups killing mainly Christians “are just cells” or departments of Boko Haram charged with the responsibility of raising funds through various forms of road –way and street criminality, including kidnapping for ransom, armed robbery, house to house looting and pleasure crimes such as rape, beheading’ e.tc. (Stev Kefas, 2020).

On March 22, 2020 High – way Bandit Terrorists abducted two Heart Land Players (both Christians) along Benin – Akure Express Way demanding for 20million naira ransom (*Daily Sports*, 2020). On the same day, Fulani Herdsmen Jihadists, labeled by government as “Gun men” (Anaele, 2020) attacked Div-Nzaav, a Christian community in Kwande Local Government Area, LGA, Benue State killing one person, with three persons missing. (*Daily Trust*, 23 – 3 – 2020). Many communities in Kwande LGA, in recent times have come under heavy serial attacks by “Gun men” resulting to the killings of four persons in Waga Christian community of Jato – Aka on March 22, 2020 (*Daily Trust*, 23 - 3- 2020). On and on, the killings have been escalating with government not doing enough to arrest the situation (Obansajo, 2020) , (Enada, 2020), Nnamdi Kalu (2020) etc.

In the wake of these killings and destructions, between 11,500 - 12,500 have been killed and over

1.3m forced to flee their homes to avoid being hacked to death by Boko Haram jihadists (Intersociety 2020) with over 13,000 churches and 1,500 Christian schools burnt down (Intersociety, 2020) .

Not a surprise, therefore, the call from Human Right Writers’ Associations HURIWA, to Nigeria’s government and the international community to “intervene now before Christian are wiped out in Nigeria” (HARIWA 2020). Johnnie Moore, Executive president of Congress of Christian Leaders and Rabbi Abraham Cooper of Simon Wiesenthal Centers, a Jewish Human Rights Group, after their travel to Abuja February, 2020 and meeting with dozens of victims of terror in five different Nigerian provinces for three days in their joint Report said “the terrorist’s aim is to ethnically cleanse Nigeria of its Christian...”

The report further lamented that “thousands have been killed by Boko Haram... in Nigeria N.E, with its splinter group (ISWAP) (that claim allegiance to the Islamic State) and radical Fulani herdsmen who have in recent years increasingly raided predominantly Christian farming villages in the country Middle Belt”. The report also made reference to “barbaric over-night raids, attacks, abductions, executions and displacement of civilian Communities” as becoming, “more and more common.” It therefore warned if

things “do not change immediately” Nigeria and the boarder Lake Chad region “may soon become the most dangerous place on planet earth” and “ground Zero for the next generation war on terrorism... and when we wake up, we have.... another Afghanistan”. Obansanjo (2020). in the second Open Letter to Buhari, March, 2020 worrisomely expressed all of the above forecast by Congress of Christian Leaders and Simon Wiesenthal Centre.

So far, the Buhari led government has not done enough on what is expected of it (Obansanjo, 2020), International Committee of Red Cross (2020), (Inter- society, 2020), (Southern and Middle Belt

Leaders, 2020) e.tc in stopping the killing (Reuters,2020), (HURIWA, 2020), (Catholic Bishops of Nigeria, 2020) e.tc. This glaring inaction of government in stopping the Ogre of Christian killings has made many to see her as welcoming Boko Haram and its sinister wings of terror (Anaele, 2020). According to the Report of Southern Kaduna peoples Union, SOKAPU (April 25, 2020) the Fulani herdsmen jihadists on Wednesday, April 23, 2020 in Atang, jemaa LGA razed down 5 villages, burnt ECWA church and killed dozens of persons.

On Thursday, April 24, 2020 armed Fulani herdsmen jihadists attacked Kujeni village in Kajura LGA, burnt 25 houses, burnt down the ECWA church in the town and its pastorium razed down, killed Geoffery Zakka (25yrs old). These killings, destruction of villages, razing down of churches, kidnapping of persons, especially young women are documented in the Christian Southern Kaduna People’s Union, SOKAPU Press Statement of April 25, 2020. The SOKAPU Press statement, said on the same day, April 24, 2020 at Makyalu village in Kajuru LGA, one Thomas Micah (42 yrs old) was killed. SOKAPU lamented on the killings unleashed on Adara communities since 2020. It also drew attention to the 2019 genocide suffered by Adara people in the hands of Fulani jihadists. On March, 23, 2020, the Fulani militia, according to SOKAPU Report killed Michael Yahaya of Mararanban Afogo. On March 25, 2020, Bakiro – Maro village was attacked. Killed were Beniah Daniel (12 yrs) Ishaku Apiletuwe (43 yrs) and Rita Atiteh (33 yrs) and on March 25, 2020, Fulani herdsmen jihadists pounded Tantatu village, abducted 4 persons who are still missing.

On April 29, 2020 Kachie LGA came under the heavy fire of Fulani herdsmen terrorists at night, killing 2 persons as they did earlier on Saturday, April 19, 2020 at Awake village in Kachie LGA, and in its wake killed Lami Adamu (female) along with her child. In Dambakasaya, Chikun LGA, armed herdsmen jihadists invaded the village on scores of motor – bikes, killed 5 persons, kidnapped a teenage girl, and set the village on fire, after looting and carting away with many valuables. On April 24, 2020 the Akwunakwo village in Chikun LGA was attacked leaving several persons dead (SOKAPU Report, April 25, 2020).

It has to be emphasized here that the gruesome murders is a daily experience of the predominant Christian areas of Southern Kaduna. On and on, the killing goes as though the people have no right to life and government protection.

On May 3, 2020 Adu Community and Kwall District in Bassa LGA, Plateau State came under series of coordinated attacks in which 19, persons were killed (*Community News* 4 – 5 – 2020). What is worrisome is that these killings are going on at a time Nigeria is under total lock – down because of Covid 19.

It is not surprising Ogebe in *News Express* 5 – 03 – 2020 accused Buhari government of

actually “inciting disunity, religious tension and discord by its actions.”

The Hausa Christian Foundation (HACFO) in their report dated May, 2020 decried “the kidnapping, forceful Islamisation, and forced marriage of Hausa Christian girls and even married women in parts of Kaduna and Plateau State and the killing of Christians on daily basis.

The report lamented on the incessant abduction of Hausa young Christian girls in northern Nigeria. The number according to the report was fifteen (15) in less than three years. By this evil of kidnapping, Islamising and forced marriages, the Fulani jihadists have upgraded their atrocities to include marriage jihad, a technique through which kidnapped Christian girls and women are forcefully married and Islamised. HACFO said from 2019 till date four (4) married women are in Islamic captivity in Kano, Katsina and Kaduna states. To authenticate its claim, it gave names of the women as follows:

i. Ragina Yakubu Solomon from Maraban of Kanny in Kafur LGA of Katsina State and mother of two.

ii. Malumfashi and Malamawa, both girls and of the same family in Katsina State.

It further gave names of girls adopted from March, 23rd to May 4th, 2020 as follows:

Kaduna State Joy Barsisa Aisha Mato Rose Sabo

Katsina State

Amina Mainassara Halima Mainassara Umami Dari Mallam Regina Yakubu

Kano State

Becky

(missionschacfo.org)

A Welcoming Government

The Boko Haram top agenda is Islamisation of Nigerian, but other factors such as greed for power to influence others, acquisition of wealth and social status cannot be denied, as part of the reason.

However, what has boggled the minds of many Nigerians is government apparent inaction in dealing decisively with the scourge (Obi, 2020), (Olonade, 2020), (HURIWA, 2020) e.tc. This becomes a provocative reality going by the revelation of Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs, Disaster Management and Social Development that 36,000 persons had lost their lives to insurgency in N.E. Nigeria (*FRCN Newstalk* 3-18-2020). Bandit Jihadists in seven months (June-December, 2019) killed 1,460 persons (Nwagufo, 2020), 17,000 missing, including 7,000 missing children (ICRC, 2020) and about 3m internally displaced persons/refugees (Inter-society, 2020).

The question begging for explanation is “government’s reactions against these killings” (Kwamkur, 2020), and “no decisive actions taken to stop the killing” (Reuters, 2020), (Obasanjo, 2019, 2020) e.tc.

Actions of Buhari inescapably made him and his Muslim majority Cabinet and Composition of Nigeria’s security architecture the first suspect of aiding and abating Islamist extremism in Nigeria (Anaele, 2020). What has brought this suspicion is Buhari’s breach of his campaign manifesto to “defeat Boko Haram in two weeks” (Anaele, 2020), a “promise on which his party rode to power” (Wike, 2020). Buhari is accused of not being sincere in his diplomatic statements of defeating insurgency (Wike, 2020) while in reality, what obtains is Boko Haram daily wasting of Nigerian soldiers and Civilian (Wike, 2020). The sect has lasted for 12 years and according to Obasanjo (2020) “we are told it is no longer there”. The rise of other terror Columns of Boko

Haram, notably the Fulani herdsmen Islamist terrorist and the high way bandit Islamists identified by Buhari “as bandits from Libya” (Obansanjo,2020), even as Nigeria and Libya are poles apart in boundary (Anaele,2020). His identification of the two terror groups as bandits fleeing from Libya, whereas they are his Fulani kinsmen in and outside Nigeria exposed his Fulanisation and Islamisation agenda. Other actions and policies of Buhari government suggestive of welcoming Boko Haram along with its other gangs of terror are;

(i) His refusal to classify Fulani herdsmen Islamists as terrorist group. (Ohaneze, 2019),(Afenifere, 2019), (Kayonde,2020) e.tc.

(ii) Executive pardon to “repentant” Boko Haram members contrary to Nigeria’s and International Anti Terrorists Laws that demand maximum punishment for terrorists and their financiers. Rather than punishing them for their crimes against humanity, Buhari has created for “repentant” Boko Haram, Operation Safe Corridor (Onyema, 2020) for their “de-radicalisation”, Rehabilitation and Re-integration” (Sadiya, 2020). Such a pardon will make the “ ex-Boko Haram” in the words of Sadiya Umar-Farouq, Minister of Humanitarian Affairs, Disaster Management and Social Development, “to have a re-think, denounce terrorism, so that they could be assisted in different areas of human development”.

New Express (2-22-2020) quoting Nigeria Army Authorities said not less than 608 “repentant Boko Haram insurgents are undergoing the programme of DRR under Operation Safe Corridor in Mallam Sidi, Gombe State” where they are “exposed to literacy classes, skill acquisition and Islamic Religions Knowledge, as well as drug and psycno-therapy.” Major General Bamidele Shafa, Coordinator of Operation Safe Corridor in an Interview with MOLLY KILETE in Abuja, reported in *Saturday Sun* 3-15- 2020 is quoted of saying, “it will help to see the end of this crisis for Nigeria to enjoy peace.” He further admitted they are paid little stipend, though the amount was undisclosed.

Other irritating policies of government is the APC dominant senate under Buhari control, okaying ‘repentant’ Boko Haram to “enjoy foreign education” (*Weetalk Online* newspaper 2-28-2020) and “government orders military air-craft to airlift Boko Haram from Niger Republic” (*News Express* 2-28- 2020). Many Nigerians have reacted against Buhari executive comfort for Boko Haram, and are wondering how a terrorist can ‘repent’. The further quarried the indices used to certify a “repentant” terrorist. While lots of money is spent on “repentant” terrorists, the victims of their terror in refugee camps are languishing in hunger and abandonment, and many of their children out of school.

This amounts to succor to the terrorists who have demonstrated satanic hatred to Christians/liberal Muslims and perpetual pains to the victims of their unprovoked killings and families. For Dons Eze (2020) it is payment for rebellion. Southern and Middle Belt leaders in their own reaction (2020) see it as Buhari open cuddling with evil group. To Atatoye (2020) it is a reward for killings and paradise for those who commits evil.

The study insists that Operation Safe Corridor of Buhari’s administration is recycling of insurgency. It has neither its type anywhere as a tool to end Islamist extremism, nor does it fit into any known peaceful strategy for Islamists to embrace peace, neither has it de-escalated the Boko haram terror, nor provided information from “repentant” insurgents on their strategy, hiding locations, supporters, sources of finance and

command structure.

The submission of the coordinator of Operation Safe Corridor, General Bamidele Shafa, that the programme “will help to see the end of the crisis for Nigeria to enjoy peace” is tantamount to a dream and ignorance of Islamic fundamentalists. Boko Haram killing is beyond crisis, but jihadist war. It does not believe in peace because when crimes and killings are perpetrated in the name of religion, they are executed cheerfully and completely. To Islamists, compromise is seen as an abomination. When the battle is hard on troop, some surrender to avoid being killed, and some who could not escape, captured as prisoners of war. This paper sees the so-called ‘repentant’ Boko Haram as either insurgents unable to dare in battle and had no other option than to surrender for survival or those caught as prisoners of war. In either of the two cases, they have no right to life, but Nigerian authorities give them life in abundance, while her law abiding citizens are drenched in shouting poverty.

On providing the “repentant” terrorists with western education, one wonders which country in the West will admit them since they are opposed to westernization. Perhaps the countries that would accept them are Iran, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Afghanistan e.tc so that upon their return to Nigeria, they will become more radicalized than ever.

Nigeria authorities have demonstrated a weak response to the sweeping killings of Christians. The following reasons are being used to indict the government:

i. Buhari has not prosecuted or sentenced any terrorist to death, as in Cameroon and Kenya *Guest View Point* (16 – 2 – 2020) and elsewhere. Rather than prosecuting them, he releases them back into the very society they killed, burnt, looted, raped, sold people into slavery, rendered many childless, orphans and maimed. This is counter-productive because many of them will go back to the trench after a while, having been orientated to wild life in animal kingdom. Even, some are alleged to have been recruited into the Nigerian Army, an allegation the government refuted.

ii. He is not doing enough to end Boko Haram and the general sense of insecurity in Nigeria (EU, 2020), CAN (2019, 2020), (Olanade 2020), (Kwamkur, 2020), but intends to criminalise “hate speech” to attract murder, while those “killing persons walk free in the streets” (Oyedepo, 2020).

iii. His RUGA policy through which he seeks to compel the 36 states to provide land for grazing and settlement of their Fulani killers living in and outside Nigeria (Anaele, 2020). The government intension on RUGA is suspicious and the “agenda behind it” (Akintoye, 2020).

iv. Government labeling of terrorists and Islamist Jihadists as “bandits” “cattle rustlers” and “herdsmen” instead of classifying them as terrorist gangs (Steven Kefas, 2020) and his refusal to see these killers as terrorist wings of Boko Haram and criminalise their killings, looting, abductions, rape, sacking and destruction of villages as acts of terror has made many to suspect his government as a welcoming partner. In spite of his efforts to exonerate himself from these widely popularized allegations, the peoples trust in him in his fight against terror wanes with each passing day.

Thus, such statements like “federal government is behind bandits” Okowa, Governor of Delta State, (*This Day Newspaper*, 2-16-2020), “Buhari knows the truth about Boko Haram and herdsmen” (weetalkniaja.com/news 2-28-2020) federal government supporting Boko Haram (Southern and Middle Belt Forum statement published in *News Express* online 3-7-2020), “The scale is just incomprehensive. It seems very, very clear to us that for various reasons, the government is failing at its fundamental responsibility

to protect its citizens. Everyone felt like the government was not doing enough or wasn't able to do enough" (Moore and Cooper, Report 2020) etc have continued to feature in many writings.

v. The dominance of his Muslim ethnic Fulani in his appointments, his earlier statements before he became Nigeria's president in which he drummed his full support for Sharia and his willingness to die for Sharia equally have remained undying references many call attention to, as evidence to justify the unending fear that he is the political arm of Boko Haram (Anaele, 2020). He mobilized his Islamic North to resist any attempt on the use of military force against Boko Haram when the former president and his predecessor, Dr. Good-Luck Jonathan, (a southern Christian) wanted to use force to end the killings (PDP, 2019). During his presidential contest with Dr. Good-Luck, he told the North never to vote for a Christian candidate (Anaele, 2020). Thus, by his actions and overt hatred for Christianity, his administration is seen as government of Islamic agenda and welcoming of Jihadists for spiritual landing in Nigeria for the Islamisation and Fulanisation (Obasanjo, 2019) agenda.

5. Summary and Conclusion

The study limited its scope (June, 2019-March, 2020) covering a ten-month span in the second tenure of president Buhari re-election May, 2019. It traced the root of the present Jihad to the earlier unfinished Jihadist war of Usman dan Fodio (1804-1815) and the adoption of sharia law in the year 2000 by 12 Northern States, contrary to Nigeria's secularity. The paper interprets the adoption of sharia law in the 12 Northern States as the second Jihad through government actions and policies.

Admittedly, granted that Boko Haram terror (the third Jihad) existed prior to Buhari's assumption of office in 2015, the position this paper is that since his re-election in 2019 to March, 2020, Nigeria all over is in the devouring jaws of four new terrorist gangs outside Boko Haram, but same with Boko Haram in objective (i.e. Islamisation agenda) and wild amusement with terror and pleasure crimes. This, the paper sees as the fourth Jihadist war spread all over Nigeria, under a welcoming terror lenient government.

Tragic as the scenario looks, the Buhari administration feels unconcerned by not doing enough and/or failing to do enough in the fight against Boko Haram and its sinister deadly wings. His inaction to act decisively has earned him the suspicion of executing hidden Islamisation and Fulanisation agenda, and indeed he is seen as the political wing of the terror mongering Jihadist gangs. The paper identified some of the gaps accountable for these suspicions. In the final analysis, the study discovers a renewed overwhelming, daily, unstoppable, cyclic killings of Christians generally, if not all, as never in Nigeria's history in Buhari's second tenure.

It finally presented Executive summary on its findings and proffered recommendations.

6. Major Findings

- i. Nigeria has become an unprecedented free killing field of Christians by all manner of terror Jihadists since Buhari re-election in 2019.
- ii. No terrorist has been prosecuted, or sentenced to death, so far.
- iii. Pre 2019 victims were Christians and Muslims but present astronomical rise in the killings from 2019 onwards are majorly Christians.
- iv. Government's carrot approach to Boko Haram terror through agreements, settlements and negotiations with the sect (though without peaceful outcome) has emboldened other terror gangs to emerge, all as deadly as Boko Haram in slaughtering

of Christians.

v. Earlier, Boko Haram terror was confined to the northeast Nigeria (its base and home) but has now engulfed the entire country through its Jihadist columns.

vi. Nigeria's executive has set for itself the boundary it does not want to exceed by refusing to classify Fulani herdsmen and high – way “Bandits “as terrorists.

vii. Government is down playing the religious aspect of the brutal Fulani attacks on Christians in the N.E., Middle Belt and Southern Nigeria.

viii. The terrorist goal is ethnic cleansing and Islamisation.

ix. Government is not holding the perpetrators accountable for their crime against humanity.

x. Government is not doing enough to end the killings.

xi. The rate at which the killings are escalating and spreading, if not stopped now, will make Nigeria another Rwanda, Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan, Syria e.tc. This hanging anarchy if it eventually lands will cause humongous disaster for many west and central African States as there is already presence of extremists in Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso, Cameroon e.tc.

xii. Refugees resulting from this anarchy will create humanitarian crisis in African beyond the capability of the African Union and the UN.

xiii. As never before, Nigeria under Buhari regime has polarized along ethnic and religious divide, loose as desert sand, which a puff of the wind is capable of pulling down.

xiv. The cumulative result, if these terrors are not addressed, will be our waking up one day to see Nigeria as no more.

7. Recommendations

i. Government must execute the war against terror with sincerity and unfledging commitment. Total, land and air.

ii. Terrorists and their financiers must be held accountable in strict compliance to extant anti-terrorist laws.

iii. Fulani herdsmen and high-way bandit Islamists should be classified as terrorist gangs.

iv. The secularity of Nigeria must be respected strictly.

v. The Executive must modify its Operation Safe Corridor by integrating the communities of captured and “surrendered” Islamists to ascertain if they were forcefully conscripted or captives of Boko Haram forced to carry arms. The communities also know their indigenes who voluntarily enlisted into Boko Haram. Such class of book Haram does not deserve life but those forcefully recruited, captured Christians or moderate Muslims qualify for re-habilitation and pardon.

vi. The preponderance of Fulani Muslims in Nigeria's security architecture and commanding height of Nigeria's government should be re-examined in line with federal character, as enshrined in the constitution. The federal character stipulates that all government's appointments should be made in such a manner that there should be no preponderance of one group, tribe or religion in federal, State and Local government appointments.

vii. Buhari should run an inclusive government in order to give sense of belonging and oneness to all the federating nationalities.

viii. There should be total separation of State from religion.

ix. Efforts must be geared towards poverty reduction and fight against corruption. Hordes of poverty stricken hopeless unemployed youth are vulnerable to terror recruitment as a pay-back to the government responsible for their frustration. Corruption has been identified as one of the obstacles against the war on terror, and poverty alleviation. A special tribunal should be set up for corruption cases without vendetta and selective prosecution.

x. The president should yield to the clamour by many Nigeria's for the retirement of his service chiefs for gross incapability in the fight against terror since their six years in office. Moreover, many of them are on extended service, having reached the compulsory retirement age of sixty years.

xi. The amalgamation of north and south into one State should be re-negotiated through a sincere national dialogue to reconstruct a new Nigeria built on equality, and true federalism. At present, Nigeria is a unitary federalism with enormous powers and responsibilities vested on the center.

REFERENCES

1. Abdul Azeez Alatoye “Plan to reward Boko Haram killers with best reward in life” *Punch News* 3 – 28 - 2020
2. Adamu , M (1978) *the hausa factor in west African history*, Zaria: ABU Press
Ahmad Salisu (2020) “Ownership of Nigeria from Sokoto to the sea shore” *Nigeria Voices Media*, (Feb. 2, 2020)
3. Ajayi, M and Espie ed. (1965) *A Thousand Years of West African History*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press
4. Ajayi,j.F. And crowder , m (ed) 1974 *History of west Africa vol2*, London: Longman
5. Akintoye, B (2020) Interview with Channel TV News Night, March, (2020)
6. Akinyetun, T. and Shola (2016) “Fulani Herdsmen in Nigeria” in *Asian Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies Vol. 4*
7. Alatoye Abdul Azeez (2020) “Plan to Train Boko Haram Insurgents is Illogical and unthinkable” interview with *Punch Newspaper* 28 – 3 – 2020
8. *aminoloaded.com* (17 – 12- 19) “ISWAP executes Aid Workers”
9. *aminoloaded.com* (27 – 12 – 19) “ISWAP Release Video of executed 13 persons, avenge killing of Leader in Syria, 10 Christians executed on Christmas Day”
10. Babatope “Insecurity now a Thickening Time Bomb in Nigeria” *Saturday Sun* 14 – 3 – 2020
11. Bartolotta, C. (2011) “Terrorism in Nigeria: The Rise of Boko Haram” *Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*. Retrieved (12 January, 2020)
12. Cartwright, M (2019) *Ancient History Encyclopedia*
13. *City Pulse* “Catholics Wear Black on Ash Wednesday to demonstrate against killing of Christians” (24 – 2 – 2020)
14. Cyril Anaele (2020) “ Herdsmen Terror in Nigeria: The Identity Question and Classification Dilemma” *American Research Journal of Humanities and Social Vol. 03, Issue 03* pp 10 – 25
15. CNN (2016) Report “Boko Haram overtakes ISIS as world’s deadliest Terror
16. Cyril Anaele (2012) “Boko Haram Terror: Missing Issues and Complexities” *Wukari Historical Review Vol. 1. No. 2* pp 241 – 257
17. Cyril Anaele (2014) “Insurgency Ecology of Africa” *International Law and Policy Research Vol 2(1)* pp 1 – 7
18. Cyril Anaele (2014) “Insurgency in East and Central Africa: Trends and Connectivity. *Asian Journal of Humanities Central Africa: Vol. 2. Issue 01* pp 128 – 134
19. Dons, E (2020) “Boko Haram: When Rebellion Pays” *-journalist101.com* (2nd March, 2020)
20. E.U “Nigerian Government doing nothing to end Insecurity in Nigeria” *Insightlinks.net* (20 – 1 – 2020)
21. Eluwa, G., Ukagwu, M, Nwachukwu, J and Nwachukwu, A, (1996) *Africa and the Wider World Since 1800 AD* Onitsha: Africana – FEP Publishers
21. Emeka, E.E and Chijioke, E (2016) “Conceptualising Fulani Herdsmen

Conflict in Nigeria” in

European Journal of International and Security Studies 12, No 2, pp 30 – 65

22. Enada Stephen (2020) “Violence against Nigerian Christians is intensifying” *News Express* (17 – 3 – 2020)
23. FRCN Newstalk (2020) “36,000 killed by Insurgency in Northeast” (18 – 3 – 2020) Quoting Minister for Humanitarian Affairs.
24. Gen. Abdul khalifa (2019) “*why Boko Haram singles out Christians*” in *News Express* 2 – 22 – 2020
25. Global Terrorism Index 2018
26. Henry Barth Travels Vol. II pp583 – 623, 1951
27. <https://www.yahoojournalist.com> (2-12-2020) “Buhari Government Releases 1, 400 repented Boko Haram members”
28. *Human Rights Writer’s Association* (2020) “Intervene Now Before Christians are wiped out in Nigeria” *News Express* (24 – 2 – 2020)
29. HURIWA “Intervene now before Christians are wiped out in Northern Nigeria” *News Express* (2 – 24 – 2020)
30. ICRC Report on Killings in Nigeria (2018)
31. Intersociety Report 2020 “Nigeria: A Killing Field for Defenceless Christians” *News Express Sunday, March 8, 2020*
32. *journalist101.com* (2020 -02 – 01) “Boko Haram Terrorists kill 30 Travellers, Abduct Women and Children in Borno”
33. Kallamu, Musa – Dikwa (2020) “Three Northern Governors created Boko Haram” *Sunday Punch, (March 1, 2020)*
34. Kani, M.A (1997) “The place of Katsina in the intellectual History Bilad –al-Sudan up to 1800AD in Isiga, I .A and Adamu , A.U. eds *Islam and the History of Learning in Katsina*, Ibadan: Spectrum Books
35. Kayode, F.F. (1999) “The Manifestation of Fulani Empire in Nigeria” *Daily Post* 11 – 11 – 2019
36. Kirk – Green (1958) *Adamawa: Past and Present*
37. Kwamkur Samuel “Boko Haram and ISWAP killings Christians *News Express* (2 – 28 – 2020)
38. Lai Mohammed Minister of Information “admission of killing of Christians quoted by Felix Onuah *News Express* 28 – 2 – 2020
39. Mustapha, A.A (1982) “A New interpretation of Islam in Karnen Barou “paper presented at the department of Islamic studies, Bayero University, Kano Nigeria
40. *News Express* “603 Repentant” Boko Haram Insurgents under-going Rehabilitation (19 – 1 – 2020)
41. *News Express* “Arch Bishop Peter Olonade Peter: Unbelievable the Rate of killings and migrations (02 – 23 – 2020)
42. *News Express* “Bloody January: Boko Haram, Herdsmen and others kill over 320 across Nigeria” *News Express* (3 – 2 – 2020)
43. *News Express* “Boko Haram: Southern, Middle Belt Leaders accuse Federal Government of Recycling 606 Insurgents” (March 7, 2020)
44. *News Express* “CAN Explodes, Accuses Federal Government of working

- with Insurgents to exterminate Christians” (1 – 22 – 2020)
45. *News Express* “Kidnap of 300 Igbo Traders, Ohanaeze Alleges” (3 – 2 – 2020)
 46. *News Express* “Southern and Middle Belt Leaders accuse Buhari of openly *News Express* “Cuddling with the Evil Group” (7 – 3 – 2020)
 47. Njeuma, M (1978) *Fulani Hegemony in Yola (Old Adamawa 1809 – 1902) Younde*
 48. Nnamdi Azikiwe (1960) Quoted by Oleh, S. Nwabara (1963) “*The Fulani Conquest and rule of the Hausa Kingdom of Northern Nigeria* retrieved <https://www.persee.fr>
 49. Nnamdi Kalu (2020) “The War on Christians and Biafrans is Rising” *City Pulse* 25 – 3 – 2020
 50. Obasanjo, O (2019) “Mobilising Nigeria’s Human and Natural Resources for National Development and Stability” paper presented at second session of the Synod, Cathedral Church of Oleh Isako South, Delta State Nigeria
 51. Obasanjo, O (2020) “Comment on Boko Haram in interview with New Telegraph quoted by *News Express* 23 – 3 – 2020
 52. Obasanjo, O (2020) “Open Letter to President Buhari. *journalist101* March 11, 2020.
 53. Obi, P. (2020) “ Living in Nigeria biggest threat to Life” in *journalist101.com* (28 – 8 – 2019)
 54. Okowa, I. “Federal Government behind herdsmen killings” *This Day Newspaper* (16 – 2 – 2020)
 55. Oliver, R. ed. (2001) *The Cambridge History of Africa, Vol 3* Cambridge
 56. Onuoha, F. (2014) “Boko Haram and evolving Salafi Jihadist threat in Nigeria” in Perouse de Montclos and Marc – Antoine (eds.) *Boko Haram: in Nigeria, Islamism, Politics, Security and the State in Nigeria*, Leiden: African Studies Centre, PP 158 – 191.
 57. Oyedepo, D (2020) “Buhari Government Most Wicked in Nigeria’s History” being sermon at Church of Faith Tabernacle, Ota – Ogun State – Nigeria. 8 – 3 – 2020.
 58. Paul Onyibo (2020) “Of Failed Jihad, Rampaging Herdsmen and Ahmad Salisu claim of Fulani Ownership of Nigeria”. *News Express* (28 March, 2020)
 59. Pongri, J.H. (2016) *A History of Relations in Adamawa from the Earliest Times to 1900*. Ibadan: Vast Publishers
 60. Quintana, M. (2010) *Usman Dan Fodio 1754 – 1817* Retrieved from <https://www.blackpast.org> – African – history/dan fodio – 1754 – 1817
 61. Sabi’u, I.F. and Yusuf, B.U (2010) “Issues in the Impact of Islam on Hausaland in the 21st Century” *Nigerian Academic Forum Vol. 19, No. 2*
 62. Sadiya Umar – Farouq(Federal Minister of Humanitarian Affairs) “why Buhari pardoned” repentant “Boko Haram *News Express* (2-22 2020)
 63. Samuel Smith and Simon Wiesenthal Centre Report on terror in Nigeria published in *City Pulse* (25 – 3 – 2020)
 64. *Save the children Global Childhood Report* (2019)
 65. Smith, A (1972) “The Early States of the Central Sudan” in Ajayi, J.F. and Crowder M (eds) *History of West Africa, Vol I*, New York: Columbia University Press PP 168 – 172

66. Smith, A (1987) *A Little New Light: Selected Historical Writings* Centre for Democracy Development and Training, Zaria – Nigeria
67. Stephen Enada “Silent Slaughter in Nigeria” *News Express* (3 – 17 – 2020)
68. Steven Kefas Quoted by Intersociety (2020) Report
69. *Sunday Punch* “Boko Haram killings and atrocities” *Sunday Punch Newspaper* (21 – 02 – 2020).
70. Uche Secondus (2018) “A vote for APC is a vote for herdsmen and killings” *News Express*, July 6, 2018
71. weeatalk.com.ng/nig/news (2- 16 -20) “Nigeria Soldier cries out over release of capture Boko Haram”
72. weeatalknaija.com.ng/news (2-13-2020) “Boko Haram check – points in the North”
73. Wukari Historical Review Vol. 2. Issue 01 pp 128 – 134