

AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY AND THE EFFECTS OF TERRORISM ON NIGERIA'S INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

With the different degrees of violence, hostilities and accompanying suspicions and tensed moments experienced in Nigeria today, it seems Nigeria can be comfortably named as one of the homes to acts of violence best described as terrorism. With phenomenology as a method employed in this study, it unearths unjust structure occasioned by the colonizers as the primary cause of terrorism in Nigeria. And that this unjust structure is today being sustained by some elements in Nigeria, hence, the pronounced nature of the problem under study. With these findings, the paper concludes that, with a re-thinking of the status quo flowing from genuine dialogue, acts of terrorism as experienced in Nigeria will be reduced to its barest minimum if not entirely eradicated.

Keywords: African Philosophy, Nigeria, Terrorism, Effects, Integral Development

1. Introduction

We are at cross roads in Nigeria today. The events of recent times give eloquent testaments to it. It is time to make or mar the corporate entity called Nigeria. The agitations cutting across almost the whole divides of the country show that all is not well.

This study is of the view that the current waves of terrorist activities in the country are simply mere subterfuge to a deeper but sinister plan against some

categories of people in Nigeria. And that the effects of the terrorist activities are rather having internecine effects on the integral development of the country. To drive the point home, this study is divided into several parts. A general introduction takes care of part 1. Part two elucidates the key concepts employed in the discourse. Part three gives the evidence of terrorist activities in the country. Part four draws the picture of political imbalance in the country fuelling the uneasy calm in the country. Part five x-rays the Islamic religion to uncover its connection to the whole scenario. Part six demonstrates the effects of terrorism on the nation as a whole. Part seven gives critical reflections on the study by way of proffering solutions. The last part is the summary and conclusion of the study.

2. Elucidation of Terms

Philosophy, African philosophy

Philosophy, etymological from two Greek words, *Philo*- love and *Sophia*- wisdom, signify love of wisdom. Derivatively, a philosopher is a lover of wisdom. Apart from this basic understanding of philosophy, many definitions are in pursuit of what philosophy is all about. In that vein, there have emerged differing views on what philosophy is. In spite of this, it is a common understanding among philosophers that, " philosophy is a kind of rational and critical inquiry into the issues that concern man, his existence, and his overall experience of the universe in which he lives"¹ Relating the core enterprise of philosophy to African philosophy, J.C.Ekei argues thus: "... if philosophy is a love of wisdom concerning man and his relationship with his world, African philosophy becomes a love of wisdom concerning the African and his relationship with the African world."²

The major occupation of philosophy is how to contribute by way of critical reflection towards the amelioration of human condition. By the same token, Africa philosophy preoccupies itself with the task of providing towards the amelioration of African contemporary condition. This aspiration appears the main thrust of contemporary African philosophy. The major problem is how to make African philosophy play its unique role towards a positive growth of Africa. Having passed through a transition from African traditional setting and coupled with long years of controversies on the new

discipline, the next stage is how to engage the contemporary African problems.³

For K.C. Anyanwu, "that which concerns itself with the way the African people of the past and present make sense of their existence, of their destiny and of the world in which they live,"⁴ is African philosophy. "A path to a systematic, coherent discovery and disclosure of the African as a being-in-the-African-world,"⁵ is, African philosophy, according to Chukwudum B. Okolo. From the above definitions, one can articulate the goals of African philosophy to include critical exploration of every situation affecting the African person and his experience of the African universe.⁶

Terrorism

A detailed explanation of the concept of terrorism is of necessity being given below for that is the plank of this discourse. "Terrorism is an ancient practice that has existed for over 2,000 years. There is no universally agreed-on definition of terrorism. At best, there is a 'most universally accepted' definition of it, which is the following: terrorism is the use of violence to create fear (i.e., terror; psychic fear) for (1) political, (2) religious, or (3) ideological reasons."⁷

Etymologically, Terror emanates from the Latin word *terrere*, which means "frighten" or "tremble." When combined with the French suffix, *isme*, which means "to practice", it therefore gives the idea of "practicing the trembling" or "causing the frightening." Trembling and frightening connotes the ideas of fear, panic, and anxiety. And they naturally amount to terror.⁸

As earlier stated the term terrorism has been in extant for over 2,000 years:

"Terrorism" originated in the French Revolution (1789-99). The revolution was inspired in part by ideals of equality in an age when kings ruled with little regard for the common people. But between 1793 and 1794 a political group called the Jacobins (pronounced JACK-uh-bihns) gained control of the revolutionary government in Paris, France. They sentenced an estimated seventeen thousand people to death for political crimes; many more died in prison or without a trial. Those put to death were mostly accused of plotting to overthrow the revolution and to restore the French king to

the throne. Many of them were convicted in secret trials and were publicly executed by guillotine.

The period from 1793 to 1794 is called the "Reign of Terror." It lasted only a year, but the idea of using violence to achieve political change in society endured much longer.⁹

Almost all terrorists are propelled by the imagination of how best a society could be organized. Some struggle to put in place a particular shade of government. While some fight to establish a discrete country for their nationality or ethnic group. "Leaders of terrorist groups usually study the writings of philosophers or theorists who describe ideal forms of society or government and the best way to achieve them. Some of these writers have concluded that violence is a good way to achieve social goals."¹⁰

Unlike traditional warfare, which is a contest of strength between two sets of armed forces, terrorism treats warfare as a political or social phenomenon that involves the entire population. In the terrorist's view, there are no "innocent civilians." Civilians can influence government officials—or sometimes vote them out of office. Civilian tax dollars support the military or police. Realizing they lack the physical or financial resources to defeat military forces using conventional tactics (such as tanks or warplanes, for instance), terrorists often use fear to bring about change in society. Fear in the minds of civilians is the terrorist's most powerful weapon.¹¹

Broadly speaking, terrorist groups can be categorized under the following headings: "National or ethnic independence movements, Political-economic warfare, State-sponsored terrorism, Social causes, Individuals with grievances, Religion, etc."¹²

Walter Laqueur, a known terrorism expert, argues that there exist today a significant shift in the *modus operandi* of terrorists; coalescing in the idea of old and new terrorism.¹³ Explaining the two, Laqueur maintains that, Old terrorism is terrorism that launches attacks on hand-picked, isolated targets. New terrorism, on the other hand, is terrorism that is random; the more the casualties the better the mission. It equally has in its kitty the inclination to enthusiastic

employment of excessively indiscriminating acts of violence. Laqueur argues that “the new terrorism is different in character, aiming not at clearly defined political demands but at the destruction of society and the elimination of large sections of the population.”¹⁴

Advocates of the notion of new terrorism single out total conformity with religion primarily radical Islam, as one of its cardinal features. Whereas old terrorism was predominantly secular in its direction and activity, new terrorism secretly operates in seamless connection with religious fanaticism. “New terrorism rejects all other ways of life and advocates a categorical and inflexible worldview consistent with the belief of the religion. New terrorism is also increasing.”¹⁵

From the elucidation of the concept it is the examined opinion of the authors here that terrorism may continue to be in Nigeria due to the factors below:

The key characteristics of modern jihad ideology include (1) hakimiyya (true sovereignty of Allah over nation-states or civil laws), (2) Islamic society and upholding hisba (praising good, forbidding evil) by following the sharia (i.e., “Islamic law”; the required implementation of virtuous vs. materialistic, status-driven behavior based on group interpretation), (3) the necessity for jihad, (4) occupation of Muslim lands (used as justification for jihad as individual duty), (5) martyrdom (i.e., “dying or suffering as a hero”; martyrdom is associated with jihad and praised through videos, poetry, songs, and web postings), and (6) takfir (i.e., “disbelief in Allah”; non-Muslim governments are viewed as infidels and unwilling to be subdued by Islamic law. Therefore, it is an object of jihad).¹⁶

Effect, “a change that [somebody/something] causes in [somebody/something] else; a result: the effect of heat on metal.”¹⁷**Integer** means “an individual entity or whole unit.”¹⁸ And by, **integral**, which is an adjectival form of it; it connotes the idea of affecting, touching every member of the class in question. **Development** is from the verb **develop**. And the latter means “to come or bring to a later or more advanced or expanded stage; grow or caused to grow gradually.”¹⁹**Integral developments** therefore imply the concept of growth that pertains to all the facets of a phenomenon or an entity such as a country.

From the foregoing explanation of the key words that form the topic of this study, it becomes clearer the import of this research work. Its import is to advance from the thrust of contemporary African philosophy that has its onus as, among other issues, the tackling of African problems. In this discourse, the problem to be tackled is terrorism as it affects the total well-being of Nigeria's gradual growth to advancement, development.

3. Terrorist Activities in Nigeria

It has come to stay that Nigeria is today known as one of the countries that have terrorist groups in their enclaves. The events of recent time have given eloquent testimony to that position. Below is an avalanche of data showing and buttressing the aforementioned position.

6 October 2010 Maiduguri (Borno State) Police Sergeant Both security personnel were attached to the NSCDC Corporal speaker of the Borno State House of Assembly

6 October 2010 Maiduguri (Borno State) Awana Ali Ngala He was the immediate past chairman of (Politician) the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) in Borno State

6 October 2010 Maiduguri (Borno State) Mallam Bashir Kashara He was killed along with one of (Islamic Cleric) his members

11 October 2010 Maiduguri (Borno State) Police Station at Gamboru The sects set the police station (Borno State) ablaze, but were overpowered by the police. A member of the sect was killed in the attack

23 October 2010 Bara, Yobe State Police Station at Bara They attempted to set the station ablaze, but were overpowered by the police. A member of the sect was killed in the attack

14 November 2010 Maiduguri (Borno State) Soldiers at 231 Battalion The soldier was attached to the 231 battalion of the Nigerian Army, located in Biu. Also shot was his friend who had gone with him to a local restaurant to have lunch Zannari

20 November 2010 Maiduguri (Borno State) Mohammed and They were both killed around Dal bus stop Salisu Jibrin Policemen while returning from work and Soldiers

24 December 2010 Maiduguri (Borno State) Christmas eve At least 86 people were reportedly killed bombings Several while over 100 were injured during the Churches in Christmas eve bomb attacks and clashes.

Maiduguri and Jos The Boko Haram claimed responsibility for the attacks

29 December 2010 Maiduguri (Borno State) 8 persons including The attack occurred near Baga road in 3 policemen were Ruwan Zafi district of Maiduguri killed in five separate attacks in the city

1 January 2011 Maiduguri (Borno State) Victory Christ Church Suspected members of Boko Haram attacked the church at Gawo Mai Lamba Area of Borno state

4 January 2011 Yola (Adamawa State) Prison break at Jimeta At least 10 prison officials narrowly escaped being lynched by members of the sect and over 14 inmates were freed. Members of the sect were recently transferred from Maiduguri Prisons to Jimeta Prison

May 29 2011 Abuja President Goodluck's Three bombs tore through a beer garden inauguration day Abuja in a military barracks in the northern city of Bauchi, killing 13 and wounding 33. Boko Haram claimed responsibility.

16 June 2011 Abuja Police Headquarters Abuja A suicide attacker believed to be member of the sect drove a car loaded with Improvised explosive devices (IEDS) in to the Police headquarters in Abuja.

20 June, 2011 Kankara Katsina Bank in Kankara Katsina Seven people including five policemen killed in gun and bomb attacks on a police station and a bank in Kankara, Katsina State.

27 June 2011 Maiduguri (Borno State) Maiduguri (Borno State) Boko Haram's gun and bomb attacks on a beer garden in Maiduguri left at least 25 dead and dozens injured.

25 August 2011 Adamawa Adamawa State Gun and bomb attacks by Boko Haram on two police stations and two banks in Gombi, Adamawa State, killed at least 16 people, including seven policemen.

26 August 2011 Abuja United Nations Office in Abuja At least 23 people were killed in the United Nations Office in the Nigerian capital, Abuja.

12 September 2011 Misau, Bauchi State Misau, Bauchi State Seven men, including four policemen, were killed by Boko Haram gunmen in bomb and shooting attacks on a police station and a bank in Misau, Bauchi State.

4 November 2011 Maiduguri (Borno State) Maiduguri (Borno State) The motorcade of Borno State governor Kashim Shettima came under Boko Haram bomb attacks in Maiduguri on its way from the airport to the governor's residence as he returned from a trip to Abuja.

4 December 2011 Azare, Bauchi State Azare, Bauchi State A soldier, a policeman and a civilian were killed in bomb and gun attacks on police buildings and two banks in Azare, Bauchi State. Boko Haram opened fire at a wedding in Maiduguri, killing the groom and a guest.

7 December 2011 Kaduna City Kaduna City An explosion linked to Boko Haram killed eight in the Oriyapata district of Kaduna city

13 December 2011 Maiduguri (Borno State) Maiduguri (Borno State) Bomb attack on a military checkpoint by Boko Haram and the resulting shooting by soldiers in Maiduguri left 10 dead and 30 injured.

22 December 2011 Potiskum (Yobe State) Potiskum (Yobe State) Boko Haram bombed in parts of Maiduguri killed 20. Four policemen and a civilian were killed in gun and bomb attacks on a police building in Potiskum, Yobe State. About 100 were killed following multiple bomb and shooting attacks by the sect's gunmen in ensuing gun battles with troops in the Pompomari outskirts of Damaturu.

25 December 2011 Madalla, Niger State St Theresa's 39 People were killed in bomb were Catholic Church killed in the apparent suicide car Madalla bombing on Christmas day in St Theresa's Catholic Church.

20 January 2012 Kano State Police Station, Immigration Offices Boko Haram set Kano ablaze with multiple bombings and shootings, which claimed over 128 lives. The bombings targeted eight police stations and immigration offices, including a regional police headquarters and the state police headquarters.

23 January 2012 Kano State Kano State Kano city again came under a fresh attack as the Boko Haram sect bombed a police outpost at Sheka along Zoo road, close to the Shagari quarters.

February 2012 Jos, Plateau State Church of Christ in Jos Boko Haram bombers forced their way into the headquarters of the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN) in Jos and detonated explosives within the church premises, killing eight and injuring 35 people

07 July 13, 2013 Yobe Schools in Yobe state Boko Haram insurgent group killed 42 people, mostly students, in an attack on a secondary school in restive Yobe state.

Source: Oluwatosin Babalola, 2013.²⁰

The above are the activities of Boko Haram alone. On a similar vein are the activities of Fulani herdsmen. Both terror groups have one thing in common, religion, radical Islam.

From Ralph Odua, we have the following data below:

- 17/6/2015 – Fulani gunmen shot and killed the Pastor of Living Faith Church Kuru Karma at Gada Bui area in Barakin Ladi LGA of Plateau State.
- 1/07/2015 – Fulani terrorists had a gun battle with soldiers , it led to the death of 2 soldiers around Mararaba Foron; Barakin Ladi of Plateau State
- 4/7/2015 – A Fulani terrorist's gun attack at Bisichi, Jos South, Plateau State which led to the death of a student and another critically injured.
- 5/7/2015 – A man was shot and killed by Fulani terrorist, at Bom village around Mararaba Kantoma on Barakin Ladi/Mangu LGA border in Plateau State.
- 5/07/2-15 – Twin bomb blast rocked the city of Jos, Plateau State capital, it led to the death of 48 persons.
- 12/7/2015 – 2 bombs were detonated at ECWA Gospel 1, Tudun Wada, Jos, Plateau State, there were no casualties.
- 12/7/2015 – Benue July 12 separate attacks allegedly carried out by Fulani herdsmen led to the death of 80 persons at different places of Ayilamo and Anyii LGAs in Benue State. Many villages are now displaced persons.
- 29/7/2016 – Fulani herdsmen attacked 5 villages under Gassol LGA of Taraba State and burnt the whole communities; it led to the death of 3 persons and injury of 3 persons.
- 7/8/2015 – Gunmen attacked Rakung in Barakin Ladi LGA of Plateau State. Villagers fled the villages.

- 11/8/2015 – Bisichi, Kwi and Kassa were under attack simultaneously by the Fulani marauders.
- 14/8/2015 – 2 Fulani were arrested with arms while grazing at Bisichi by the Special Task Force. The STF wanted to let them go.
- 24/8/2015 – 1 person killed by Fulani terrorists at Ndokwa West LGA, Delta State.
- 30/8/2015 – 33 killed in Ambie and Paa villages of Sanga LGA, Kaduna State.
- 31/8/2015 – Fulanis killed 3 persons and injured 2 persons at a Satellite village at Amorji in Ndokwa West LGA, Delta State.
- 13/9/2015 – Around 8 pm, Fulani terrorists brutally attacked 7 villages in Barkin Ladi. These include: Zakupwang village, Fan villages of Foron District, Nding village of Fan-Loh District and others. 13 people were reported killed.
- 15/9/2015 – Kaduna town of Langai District, Mangu LGA in Plateau State has been burnt down 16 feared dead.
- 15/9/2015 – About 10 killed in Fulani onslaught on Tiv community in Serking Gudu and Dooshima villages, Ibbi LGA, Taraba State.
- 17/09/2015 – About 4 trucks loaded with Fulani terrorists arrived in MAHANGA and embarked on serious attack on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of the week.
- 20/9/2015 – Hausa-Fulani mercenaries attacked Bisichi-Rakara but were repelled by a vigilante group.
- 18/10/2015 – Report says the STF now known as Operation Safe Haven (OPSH) in Plateau State detonated landmines at Gembos, along Kadunung road in Mangu LGA where hostilities between Berom and Fulani have spread killing about 20 people and displacing over 5000 villagers.
- 24/1/2016 – Fulani terrorists unleashed violence on over 3 communities in Jire LGA of Adamawa State. They burnt down houses in Ko, Gereng and Ndikajan and were shooting sporadically.
- 11/2/2016 – Thursday about 30 Fulani terrorists invaded Abbi Community in Uzo-Uwani LGA of Enugu State. 2 people were reportedly killed and 19 others missing. They also left 7 houses and several motorcycles razed down.
- 22/2/2016 – Suspected Fulani herdsmen attacked a village in Ayamelum LGA, Anambra State killing 2 people.

- 22/2/2016 – in Egba, Agatu LGA of Benue State 180 people were killed and village burnt.
- 31/3/2016 – Almost 10 Fulani herdsmen attacked a farm at Ilado in Akure North, Ondo State, belonging to Olu Falae, the former Secretary to the government of the Federation. The attack led to the death of one person.
- 25/4/2016 – Over 40 persons were reportedly killed around 7 am, heavily armed Fulani terrorists attacked 7 villages at Nimbo in Uzo-Uwani LGA of Enugu State. Attacked villages include: Nimbo Ngwoko, Ugwuijoro, Ekwuru, Ebor, Enugu Nimbo Umuome and Ugwoachara.²¹

From the foregoing, it is evidently clear that the menace of terrorism has spread to the whole geo-political zones in Nigeria making it abundantly clear that Nigeria can be unarguably said to be home for terrorist activities. What raises one's curiosity in all these is that the groups unleashing these acts of terror are from a particular section of the country. And they do all these without the appropriate quarters from the government--which happens to be of the same provenance with the named terror groups-- doing the needful. This obvious inaction from the government props up the point that, the government dominated by the particular ethnic group in question with a particular religion, is deliberate in their inaction in the face of the terrorist activities in the country and, by extension, smacks of hidden agenda.

The domination by the ethnic group in question in Nigeria politics is a structured one, not a happenstance. How?

4. Structural imbalance in Nigerian politics

That Britain designed Nigeria for the purpose of securing the British interests and not those of Nigerians is no longer a matter of scholarly debate but a *quod erat demonstrandum*. The famous British policy of 'Divide and Rule' is made very prominent in the way it manipulated the geographical division of the country which would ensure that one section is perpetually dominant in politics over those it perceived as potentially strong in international relations. It was for this reason and in order to enable it to continue to exact its control over Nigeria that the Northern Region is "five-sixths of the whole country" (Awolowo, 1947: 39; Nwankwo, 2006: 73). Bretton (1962) even contends that "the very construction

of the Northern Region, in the form in which it entered the era of independence, represents one of the greatest acts of gerrymandering in history”²²

Ifeajuna sees “the period between 1960 and 1966 as the darkest in the history of Nigeria attributable to the imbalance in the political structure of the country together with rigged census figures in favour of the sparsely populated North against the densely populated South—all ‘a deliberate imperial act’”²³ In the view of Osaghae, the colonizers equally “pursued policies of uneven development among ethnic groups and regions, and entrenched a system of ethnic ranking, stratification, and discrimination that virtually guaranteed the Fulani aristocracy and the northern system it controlled, political domination of the country...”²⁴

In order to entrench dichotomy, the British Government transferred power to the Northern People’s Congress (NPC), a party whose nomenclature, name and ideology made it clear that it was a party devoted primarily to promote and protect the interest of the North and not of Nigeria. Why did the British Government think it was wise and for the interest of Nigeria as a whole to hand over political power to the party? Fanon (1961), in describing the ‘pitfalls of national consciousness’ answers this question in the manner of saying that the colonialist would prefer as their successors those who would continue to depend on them and those they would easily manipulate, “a stooge of the colonial power” (Smith, 1993). The relationship between the British government and the Northern Muslim Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy demonstrates the truism, “imperialism makes its victims its defenders”. The lesson one can, therefore, draw from the process that resulted in Tafawa Balewa becoming the first ‘elected’ Prime Minister of Nigeria is the inclination to give credibility to the conspiracy theory, which claims that the British government simply, without any due legitimate democratic procedure enthroned Balewa as the people’s Prime Minister. Can it, therefore, not be argued that the out-going British colonial government deliberately willed and structured Nigeria to be perpetually disunited by

instituting geo-political inequality which favours the North
against the South?²⁵

The above discourse gives an ample illustration on how structurally imbalanced the country is. It gives the evidence on how the colonizers empowered a particular ethnic group in the country against others, leading to numerous negative fallouts. The ugliest aspect of this manipulated domination by the Northern part of the country is their religious understanding which has no accommodation for and seeks to subdue other creeds. This ugly phenomenon has been the under belly drive fuelling the terrorist activities in the country especially in recent times among other forms of unrests. It is a religion that "is victorious through terror,"²⁶ hence, the terrorist activities being experienced in the country.

5. Islamic Religion

There are ample testaments to show that the religion practised by the favoured ethnic group by the colonizers is the root of terror activities in the country.

The preponderance of the testimony that the Prophet of Islam left in the Qur'an and Hadith favors not tolerance and harmony between Muslims and non-Muslims, but just the opposite. A fundamental component of the Qur'an's view of non-Muslim is the often repeated and implacable belief in its own absolute truth, admitting of no rival: "The Religion before Allah is Islam" (3:19), or, as another translation has it, "The only true faith in God's sight is Islam." Most Jews and Christians ("People of the Book") are wrongdoers: "If only the People of the Book had faith, it were best for them: among them are some who have faith, but most of them are perverted transgressors" (Qur'an 3:110)²⁷

Again, the Qur'an says: "O ye who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors. They are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turns to them (for friendship) is of them. Verily Allah guideth not a people unjust" (5:51)"²⁸ With the tenacity the Muslims carry out the injunctions found in their creed, one cannot but wonder the veracity of their claims to tolerance and harmonious coexistence with others. "With Muhammad's prophetic career so thoroughly marked by blood and warfare, it should be no surprise that the sacred book bequeathed by the prophet of Islam to the world,

the Qur'an, would be similarly violent and intransigent. And it's true: The Qur'an is unique among the sacred writings of the world in counseling its adherents to make war against unbelievers."²⁹ How can one ascribe peace to a religion that has the following choices for the people they term unbelievers: "1. Accept Islam. 2. Pay the *jizya*, the poll-tax on non-Muslims, which is the cornerstone of an entire system of humiliating regulations that institutionalize inferior status for non-Muslims in Islamic law. 3. War with Muslims?", hence, R. Spencer remarks, "Always remember 'peaceful coexistence as equals in a pluralistic society' isn't one of the choices."³⁰ Islam instructs Muslims to lie, pretend, etc., just to advance their course.

Also, religious deception (practiced on hapless unbelievers) is taught by the Qur'an itself, telling Muslims: 'Let not the believers take for friends or helpers unbelievers rather than believers. If any do that, in nothing will there be help from Allah; except by way of precaution, that ye may guard yourselves from them' (Qur'an 3:28). In other words, don't make friends with unbelievers except to "guard yourselves from them": Pretend to be their friends so that you can strengthen yourself against them.³¹

According to R. Spencer, "It is not the function of Islam to compromise with the concepts of *Jahiliyya* [the society of unbelievers] which are current in the world or to co-exist in the same land together with a jahili system.... Islam cannot accept any mixing with *Jahiliyya*. Either Islam will remain, or *Jahiliyya*; no half-half situation is possible. ...*The foremost duty of Islam is to depose Jahiliyya from the leadership of man,....*"³² Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration readily comes to mind. Threats of deaths were made if he was re-elected into office. The elements were simply carrying out the injunction above: to depose *Jahiliyya* from the office of the country's presidency.

Likewise, Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi (1903-1979), founder of the Pakistani political party *Jamaat-e-Islami*, declared that non-Muslims have "absolutely no right to seize the reins of power in any part of God's earth nor to direct the collective affairs of human beings according to their own misconceived doctrines." If they do, "the believers would be under an obligation to do their utmost to dislodge them

from political power and to make them live in subservience
to the Islamic way of life.”³³

Today, all these injunctions are playing themselves out in the country especially with the current civilian administration. One sees the lopsided appointments in the security structure of the country with over ninety percent of the appointees coming from the Muslim North.³⁴ Before this; a massive retirement of military officers mostly from the Christian South of the country was carried out. One equally witnesses these institutional domination in the country in the educational set up of the country. Virtually, all the heads of educational institutions in Nigeria are from the Muslim North. The only non-Northerner though a Muslim is the person in charge of JAMB, a Yoruba man. Even the attempt to change the secondary school curriculum where Christian Religious Knowledge was to be submerged and made optional instead of compulsory for the Christians; and that of Islamic Religious Studies with subtlety being poised to be compulsory across board through Arabic language, were all efforts to the hidden agenda.³⁵ All these are subtle means the favoured ethnic group by the colonizers is using to Islamize the country according to their religious injunctions. And these have led to tensed moments in the country.

“Today, many Muslims today hotly deny that Islam spread by force, and point out that forced conversion is forbidden in Islam. That is absolutely true: What spread by force was the political and social hegemony of the Islamic system. Conversions to Islam followed the imposition of that system as the dhimmis began to feel their misery.”³⁶ The foregoing quotation captures the situation in the country today. The agitations and the call for restructuring are due to the political and social hegemony of the Islamic system that the current administration in the country is championing. And these have left devastating effects on the country as a whole.

6. The Effects of Terrorism on Nigeria’s Integral Development

Terrorism as understood here comprises both the subtle political and social hegemony of the Islamic system being championed today by the current administration through their appointments into public offices and, the manifest destruction of lives and properties of Nigerians by Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen terror groups.

Politically, Nigeria has never been divided in her history as it is today. There are agitations here and there because of the clear and total disregard to the principle

of federal character or quota system as enshrined in the constitution while making national appointments. The appointments to the security arm of the country; the educational sector; the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), etc., testify to this. Nigerians today see themselves more from their region of origins instead of Nigerian citizens. They tend to pay allegiance and loyalty to their individual subnational instead of the national unity of the country.

Economically, many Nigerians are seriously today under severe hardship. Virtually, no working infrastructural development; no good hospitals; no steady power supply; high rate of inflation; increase in unemployment rate, etc. All these are due to the narrow interest of the dominating ethnic group. In the South-East and South-South, there are water bodies there good enough for sea ports commercial activities and allied benefits, but they have been neglected or rather ignored and every serious business pertaining to sea ports are left entirely with the Lagos sea ports. Today, the nation is struggling to contain the traffic resulting from the congestion of these sea ports with their attendant damages to the environment and the people therein. They are looking for solutions with cost effect about problems that could have been solved naturally with ease if not for sinister motives. One can imagine the level of poverty reduced and good life achieved overall if the sea ports in these other areas are made to function and put into proper use. The same is seen in our air ports. In a particular geo-political zone, almost no international airport worthy of the name is found there even though the people from that region are known to be users of such means of transportation more than other regions. Whereas other regions have almost all their airports raised to international standard especially in the North, which ought not to be the case. The acts of terror being reported every day in the country has no doubt made Nigeria not to be a country favourable for foreign investment. The security concerns have scared so many away and most intending ones, no doubt, have changed their minds for no one invests in an unsecured environment. The list is endless. The cumulative effects of all these are uneven development leading to the current poverty rate and the attendant ills we have in the country today.

Educationally, Nigeria is further backward. Today, the cut off mark meant for admission into the various unity schools in the country instead of being strengthened is rather weakened by reducing the mark.³⁷ This is done with the unwholesome intention for the Northern area to catch up with her Southern counterpart instead of making way for healthy competition as each area develop

on their own pace. The result is a nose dive of education in the country instead of it soaring higher.

Religion wise, the situation is not even better. Nigerians are more conscious of their religious affiliation than the fact that they are supposed to be one people, Nigerians. The activities of the Boko Haram sect and the Fulani herdsmen both from the same religious background have made other creeds to be wary of Islam. It has made most Nigerians of other creeds to look at any person who is a Muslim to be a potential terrorist, a perception some Nigerian Muslims think it is unfair. But one cannot help such perception going by what has been shown about Islam in their Qur'an and Hadith in the course of this discourse. All these have bred bad relations among Nigerians.

Socially, there are palpable mutual suspicions among Nigerians more than ever. The kind of protests that trailed Jaiz and Sukkuk banking introduction into the country attest to this fact. Any action or statement made by a fellow Nigerian is read through the lens of ethnic provenance and religious lines of that person. There is pronounced distrust among Nigerians today due to the terrorist activities in the country especially among those at the receiving end of the injustice. This is clearly seen in our social media platforms. In these media, insults and abusive languages fly from one corner of comment to another. In those conversations are witnessed the depth of divide among Nigerians. Some are vividly afraid and reluctant to fend for a living outside of their areas of origin for fear of losing their lives, in the same country.

In all, there are suspicions, distrust, hatred via hate speeches and actions, divisions, ill-feelings against one another, etc., all occasioned by terrorism and those who sponsor it in Nigeria.

7. Critical Reflections

Leveraging on the truism that African philosophy is poised, among other duties, to solve contemporary African problems through the understanding that the major occupation of philosophy is how to contribute by way of critical reflection towards the amelioration of human condition, the researchers here proffer some solutions below.

The recent happenings in the country have shown that Nigeria is no longer what it used to be some fifty years back. Those dominated for too long now are tired of it and are ready to give whatever it takes in order to be free of the dominations.

Today, the dominated have international alliances and collaborations that will help them sustain serious struggle for their freedom. One remembers when the current administration came into power newly. They threatened to quell the struggle of Niger Delta Avengers by raw force arms. But the Nigerian government was advised against such move by those better in the know from around the world. The ability of the Niger Delta Avengers to carry out sophisticated activities like blowing up of oil pipe lines shows that they are no longer what they were some years back. It means that non-kinetic theory, that is, resort to other means other than force of arms is more profitable.

The government in power today, initially, against one of their earlier manifestoes reneged on the promise of restructuring the country. But today, through numerous serious agitations from almost the whole country, they are today reconsidering the idea of restructuring due to the immense pressures brought to bear on them. Again, they have realized that kinetic theory is not the best option. Everything therefore is pointing towards a peaceful resolution of the existing differences through genuine dialogue instead of force of arms or war.

It calls on the dominating ethnic group to heed the timeless advice of John Perkins who said: "No country or combination of countries can thrive in the long term by exploiting others"³⁸ There must be absolute regard and obedience to the constitution that guides the country in terms of federal character principle in appointments, adherence to the concept of secular state, and other provisions in the constitution. Let the dominating ethnic group not think that because they have the security apparati of the country under their firm control that they can do anything and get away with it. To avoid any possible internecine conflicts, the path of genuine dialogue is the way forward.

8. Summary and Conclusion

Propelled by the numerous agitations in the country, all seeking for justice, the researchers undertook this study in order to identify the cause of the agitations and to see how African philosophy can be of help. In doing this, the study was divided into various parts. Part 1 gave a general introduction of the work. Part two explained the different key words making up the discourse. Part three x-rayed the violent activities that give the country the apt name as a home for terrorism. Part four shows the structural imbalance in Nigerian politics that gave rise to the act of terrorism experienced in the country today. Part five buttresses the fact that Islamic religion is the fuel driving the vehicle of terrorism in Nigeria.

Part six demonstrates the negative effects of terrorism to the nation as a whole. Part seven in keeping with philosophic goal gives critical reflections on ways forward.

In conclusion, the recent agitations in the country show that the evil of one ethnic group dominating to the detriment of the entirety of the Nigerian people can no longer be endured. From all indications, any resort to raw force of arms on the part of the dominating government to quell the agitations shows that Nigeria may be plunged into a blind alley of internecine destruction that the end may not be well predicted. Therefore, she is left with no other choice than that of non-kinetic theory, that is, the path of genuine dialogue peaceful resolution of the existing differences.

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