



International Media Campaign on Human Rights Abuses and Extra-Judicial Killings in the Ongoing Nigerian Military's Counter-Insurgency: The Victor, the Victim and the Abused

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Abstract

The unsettled and subjective nature of what constitute human rights abuse and extra-judicial killing affords most western nations and international media to misconstrue security-related matters in most developing world. More problematic is how such misconstrued reality on the ground and publicity inform policy decisions of these nation, thereby, undermining military counterinsurgency operations in the North East. In particular, the consistent labelling of most Nigeria's military counter-insurgency operations in the North East as constituting human rights abuse or extra-judicial killing had denied Nigeria foreign assistance and collaborations against the insurgency.

Regrettably, this situation had left the military starved of weapons and equipment which these Western countries refused to sell to Nigeria. Unfortunately, this is yet to receive adequate academic attention. Hence, this paper attempts to examine the strategic effects of continued labeling of the Nigerian Military as human rights violators on Nigeria's ongoing COIN operations. This paper therefore contends that the real abused in the on-going Nigeria's counterinsurgency operations are the Nigerian military personnel, the people and the Nigerian state that had had to continually suffer repeated terroristic attacks in the hands of terrorists.

Keywords: International media campaign, Human rights abuses, Extra-judicial killings, Counter-insurgency, Nigeria.

Introduction

Since 2009, Northeast Nigeria has been the scene of an armed conflict between an insurgent movement Jama'atuAhliis Sunna Lidda'awatiwal-Jihad, popularly known as Boko Haram and the Nigerian Military with serious purported violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law from both sides. Boko Haram has killed thousands of civilians, abducted thousands of women, girls and boys, many of whom have been forcibly recruited as child soldiers or subjected to forced marriages and sexual slavery from till date. On the other hand, International Media and Civil Societies had purported, and continue to allege the Nigerian Military of committing extrajudicial killings, mass arbitrary arrests, detentions, torture and other ill-treatment against the Boko Haram terrorists.



The questions arising from these claims and counter-claims are whose abuse? Whose blame? And whose pain? In the fundamental questions lies the direction to full understanding of the nitty-gritty and politics in the purported human rights abuses in the ongoing Nigerian Military's counter-insurgency. Being the tradition of all scientific expositions as this, a quick conceptual review would therefore be necessary at this juncture, as well as a background review of the Boko Haram epidemic in our dear country.

A Conceptual Appraisal: Human Rights

Human rights are mostly traced to the stoics. As the founder of the stoic school of thought, Khan wrote that Zeno propounded the theory of Natural Law, under which human beings were supposed to have natural rights.¹ Like the Stoics, the ancient Greek city states also provide a glimpse of human rights in the form of Isogoria, (meaning freedom of speech), and Isonomia (with the meaning: equality before the law) coupled with Isotamia (which basically refers to equal respect for all). Evan then concluded that the concept of just and unjust had always existed throughout the civilizations and formed the very essence of what is to be regarded human right in today's world.²

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¹ Khan MM, 'Human Rights: Myth and Reality'(1998) XXXII Indian Journal of Politics

² Evan L, 'The International Protection Of Human Rights' (N.J Prentice hall, 1967): Khan MM. 'Human Rights: Myth and Reality'(1998) XXXII Indian Journal of Politics

Dominguez, in his book, however, asserted that the concern with human rights in the world today stems from the perception widely shared with Rousseau that, "Man, though born free, is everywhere in chains".³ With globalization, increasing awareness, coupled with the preoccupation on how best to safeguard them from rampant violations, have made the term 'human rights' a song sung by almost everybody. Yet the contradiction, hypocrisy, inconsistency, confusion, misinterpretation, absurdity, and plain stupidity that pervade notions of human rights are not only disturbingly worrisome but also telling.⁴ For instance, while the western industrial world tends to define it in terms of political and civil liberties (especially the domestication of liberal democratic ideals), third world nations seem to focus on the basic needs of food and shelter as a prerequisite for human dignity and, eventually, civil rights.

International Media and Political Messaging

International media is a concept that grew from many theoretical approaches and technological advances. It is communication from varied media that shape our global context through various political, economic, social, and cultural factors. International media can be dispersed and consumed via traditional or digital media. Its broad range connects the world from the bleakest lands to the busiest of cities. Connectedness is becoming exponentially important to people all over the world. International media offers the platform for which

³ Dominguez IJ, 'Enhancing Global Human Rights' (McGraw Hill Book Company, 1979)

⁴ Ojo EO, 'Human Rights and Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria' (2006) 13(1) *Journal of Social Sciences*



bilateral communication can take place and more importantly at any level. Stanley opined that mass communication is when a source, typically an organization, employs a technology as a medium to communicate with a large audience.⁵ However, very often the source is just one person distributing information via the internet for anyone anywhere to comprehend.

Human interactions and communication transactions are more closely examined with the help of technological tools and concepts such as surveillance cameras and behavioral targeting advertisements. There have been four eras of media theory. The first era, mass society and mass culture, is characterized by urbanization and the penny press, which made profits by selling newspapers for one penny to many of the “average” factory workers. This infuriated the elites and caused them to accuse media “of pandering to lower-class tastes, fomenting political unrest, and subverting important culture norms.” The second era of media theory, the development of a scientific perspective on mass communication eventually led to the emergence of the limited-effects perspective. This idea stemmed from propaganda techniques used in Nazi Germany. Paul Lazarsfeld, a German American, wanted to quantify social research methods in order to study political propaganda. Out of this grew limited-effects perspective, which was the view of media as reinforcing existing social trends and strengthening rather than threatening the status quo.

The third era of media theory occurred when competing cultural perspectives challenged limited-effects theory. After World War II,

⁵ Stanley J and Dennis K, *Mass Communications Theory: Foundations, Ferment and Future* (Wadsworth series in Mass Communication and Journalism, 1994)

American influence was strong in Europe and academics were challenging the clout. Neo-Marxism emerged as a social theory asserting that media enabled dominant social elites to maintain their power.

Strategic Communications

Strategic communications on the other hand is the deliberate deployment and dissemination of information to a targeted group or audience with the aim of achieving an intended goal. Basically, the art and science of strategic communications has assumed more serious and germane roles in contemporary system of governance and military studies. It has become one of the most important instruments in the administration of a state. State and non-state actors now make use of this tool in prosecuting a specific course or an agenda. Notwithstanding, it could be deployed to achieve positive ends and at the same, be geared towards the actualization of ulterior motives. This explains why in the contemporary wave of terrorism, terrorist networks and even some private and state-owned Mass media organizations resort to the use of strategic communications.

Extra-Judicial Killing

This is a concept naturally associated to the illegal killing of an individual or group of individuals without adequate recourse to the provision of the law. It is a phenomenon that undermines the very essence of fundamental human right of every living being. Mostly, extra-judicial killing is not only associated with a convicted offender,



an innocent suspect can end being a victim. It could be perpetrated by the state or its machinery against the people, and vice versa. In military operations, it could also be perpetrated by the military against the insurgents or enemies of the state or saboteurs or an innocent civilian. It is however difficult in most military operations like counter-insurgency to determine when the killing of an insurgent or a terrorist becomes an extra-judicial killing on the battlefield. Again, can we then be fair to label the killing of a terrorist who again attempted to kill or wreak havoc in custody by military personnel on the ground of self-defense? This and many more questions, cases and peculiarities are some of the reasons why the concept of extra-judicial killing is a complex and highly contested phenomenon.

Boko Haram: A Historiography

The group Boko Haram was founded around a preacher named Mohammed Yusuf, who rose to prominence out of a revitalized debate on the role of Islam in Northern Nigeria in the early 2000's. According to the literature, he took leadership of a Salafi group in the city of Maiduguri, where he established a religious community centre (Markaz) with a mosque, micro-finance schemes, and farms. The group allegedly had the name Ahlulsunnawal'jama'ahhija (Followers of the Teachings of the Prophet and his Community), but it eventually became colloquially known as Boko Haram. Initially, a nickname made up by locals, it was picked up by national and international media and has become a common designator for the group.

Mohammed Yusuf was known for vigorously preaching against what he saw as the corrosive effects of Western influence on northern

Nigerian Islamic communities and culture. He used the word Boko to denote this effect, which is an old Hausa word – Hausa being the most spoken language in northern Nigeria – equating Western influence from colonial times with something fraudulent and deceitful. This is exemplified in the literature by Yusuf pointing at the corrupt Muslim political leadership, "... referring to their western educations, their lavish homes, behemoth automobiles, and their practice of stealing millions of naira with impunity, and saying, "To idandaiwannan ne boko, to bokoharamun ne" (if this is education, then education is [Islamically forbidden]). The influence of Boko is still seen by some locals as the cause of poverty, corruption, lack of social cohesion, and underdevelopment. This provided the foundation for deeming education Haram (forbidden according to Islamic law). From the very beginning, Yusuf's group was under the attention of local police and security forces, which led to minor incidents, clashes, and arrests.

Around 2003-2004, a group known as the Nigerian Taliban, consisting of people associated with Yusuf, tried to establish a semi-secessionist community in the village of Kanama. They were allegedly dissatisfied with Yusuf's slow approach to building a community and focus on preaching (Da'wah) over violent confrontation. The group clashed with security forces, and its members were either killed or dispersed. The increased attention compelled Yusuf to go into exile in Saudi Arabia, from where he returned and continued to develop his Markaz and wider community. When the police shot and wounded several of the group's members during a funeral procession in June 2009, a furious Yusuf demanded that the responsible officers be prosecuted. When nothing happened, he told his followers to prepare for war. The



following month saw clashes between protesters and security forces in several northern Nigerian states. The security forces called in reinforcements, and in the following operation an estimated 800 people, mostly innocent bystanders, were killed. HRW documented how security forces in some cases had gone door-to-door and extra judicially executed people.

However, in September 2010 Boko Haram conducted a spectacular jailbreak in the state of Bauchi under a new name, Jama'atulAhlus-Sunnah Lidda' Awatiwal Jihad (People Committed to the Teachings of the Prophet and Jihad, JAS), now under the leadership of Shekau. The group conducted a campaign of assassinations targeting politicians, police officers, and religious and village leaders, in what can be characterized as acts of retaliation against people by whom the group felt betrayed. A few months later on Christmas Eve 2010, several bombs went off in the central Nigerian town of Jos and in Maiduguri, which showed that the group had larger ambitions than retaliation and that they were willing to use extreme violence to achieve them.

In 2011, the group expanded its targets with two ambitious operations in the Nigerian capital of Abuja, the first against the Police Headquarters in June and the second against the UN Headquarters in August. The group thereby demonstrated a level of sophistication, which to some analysts suggested external support possibly gained through establishing links to Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). The two vehicle-borne Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) used were thought by analysts to surpass the group's capacities, and none of the group's operations had hitherto suggested the capacity to

hit targets as relatively well defended and removed from Boko Haram's north-eastern areas of operation. So far, nothing suggests that they had international aspirations. The targeting of the UN Headquarters remains the group's only international target to date, excluding foreigners kidnapped for ransom.

That Boko Haram had or could develop connections to AQIM had been suspected since AQIM's then leader in early 2010 offered assistance to Boko Haram. Nevertheless, Boko Haram's developing ruthlessness showed itself to be an obstacle to making or preserving allies. After a coordinated attack on the city of Kano in January 2012, where both Muslims and Christians were targeted, a group calling itself *amā'atuAnṣāriMuslimīnafiBilādisSūdā* (Defenders of Muslims in the Black Lands, Ansaru) announced that it had broken away from Boko Haram, as they were unsatisfied with the group's attacks on Muslims. When Boko Haram in September 2013 massacred several predominantly Muslim pupils in the city of Gujba, AQIM also cut the bonds to the group and even released a fatwa (ruling) against the group.

In May 2013, the Nigerian State declared a state of emergency in four Northeast-Nigerian states and initiated a grand military operation against Boko Haram. Boko Haram was put under significant pressure and driven from its urban centers of operation. Through personal networks and a terrorism campaign of intimidation of local communities, the group managed to gain a foothold in rural Borno and the surrounding region. The group's brutal methods affected its popular support negatively, but at the same time, a parallel campaign



of violence arbitrated by Nigerian security forces, which included arbitrary arrests, extrajudicial executions, and widespread excesses and violations allowed the group to maintain a local support base or resulted in locals not trusting or supporting security forces. As such, the terrorism inflicted by Boko Haram was reciprocated with state-terrorism, creating a toxic dialectic of violence against the civilian population.

Security Forces have been known to randomly round up hundreds of men and boys following Boko Haram raids and in areas with an active Boko Haram presence – sometimes to extract bribes from relatives – and, as documented by HRW, the “vast majority of arrests carried out by the military appear to be entirely arbitrary, often based solely on the dubious word of a paid informant. As further documented by HRW, a number of detentions centers were created, where numerous abuses and atrocities took place, such as at the Giwa barracks.

Security forces' violence has led many civilians to feel that they were caught between two evils or that the Nigerian army itself constituted something akin to an occupying force. Many soldiers deployed have been from the south, with a poor understanding of local languages, customs and traditions, which has only exacerbated local contempt for security forces. An anonymous security official in Yola echoed this perception in relaying how, when entering cities, security forces would occupy the houses of wealthy people expelled by Boko Haram and extort favours from locals (food, money and sex). Demanding bribes at checkpoints was still very common when the author visited Nigeria, as was it for some soldiers to negotiate their way out of paying for food and drinks in local food places and markets in areas where the local

people were highly dependent on an influx of money. However, this was also an expression of a larger symptom of soldiers not being given adequate food, water and other resources, compelling them to in a sense 'live off the land.'

On 23 December 2016, take for instance, the defeat of Boko Haram was officially announced, when Nigeria's president, Muhammad Buhari, stated that the last Boko Haram camp had been cleared from the Sambisa Forest. However, this proclamation now seems premature. As soon as three days later, two female suicide bombers targeted a cattle market in the Borno State capital, Maiduguri. Not even a month later, in January 2017, the Nigerian air force mistakenly bombed a camp for Internally Displaced People (IDP), killing as many as two hundred and fifty-six persons, because they mistook the camp for a gathering of Boko Haram militants.

A couple of days after, a Boko Haram attack involving as many as 100 fighters on the same IDP camp were repelled. Borno State, especially, is still plagued by suicide bombings. The UN reports operational difficulties due to Boko Haram attacks and the army still encounters fierce resistance in the Sambisa Forest. All this suggests that Boko Haram might have been forced on the defensive but is far from defeated.

Naturally, this calls for reflection and analysis on the efficiency of the general international military strategy against the group in order to illuminate the advantages and drawbacks of choosing a military approach. One of the unanticipated implications of using the hard power cum military strategy was the possibility of abusing the fundamental human rights of not just the Boko Haram terrorist



members but also the innocent civilians and the military personnel themselves. The military personnel at the heart of the counter-insurgency war is included in one the possible victims of human rights abuse because of evidences from on and off the battlefield. It becomes more threatening and devastating when International media and civil societies who are mostly considered the harbingers of justice, fairness and peace begin to join the party of abusing not just fundamental rights of fair hearing of the military personnel before alleging them. The psychological implication of this self-evident: Imminent defeat of the Nigerian Military in this make or mar and life-saving battle.

Table 1: Boko-Haram Attacks in Nigeria from 2009 to 2019

S/N	DATES	STATE IN NIGERIA	LOCATION OF ATTACK AND NUMBERS OF DEATH
1	July 27, 2009.	Yobe.	Terrorist Attack on Potiskum, Yobe State Divisional Police Headquarters with three Policemen and one fire service officer killed.
2	September 8, 2010.	Bauchi.	Boko Haram set ablaze Bauchi Central Prison and freed many of its members from the prison.
3	March 13, 2010.	Plateau.	Boko Haram Killed 300 people in the northern part of Plateau State.
4	October 1 2010.	Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.	Boko Haram detonated bombs near the Eagle Square, Abuja claimed 12 lives, leaving many injured.

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5	December 24 2010.	Plateau.	Boko Haram detonated bombs in BarkinLadi, Plateau State killing eight People
6	December 31 2010.	Federal Capita; Territory, Abuja.	Bombing of Mogadishu Mammy Market, in Abuja, killing about 10 lives.
7	January 21, 2011.	Borno.	The Borno state Governorship candidate of all Nigeria Peoples Party ANPP for the 2011 election, Alhaji ModuGubio, a brother to former governor of the state, Modu Sheriff, was killed with six others by members of Boko Haram in Maiduguri, Borno State.
8	March 2, 2011.	Kaduna.	Two policemen attached to the residence of the Divisional police Officer, Mustapha Sandamu, at Rigasa area of Kaduna State, were killed by members of the BokoHaram sect.
9	March 30, 2011.	Yobe.	A bomb planted by Boko Haram in Damaturu, Yobe State, got exploded whilst injuring a police officer.
10.	April 8, 2011.	Niger.	BokoHaram bombed the Independent National Electoral Commission's office in Suleja, Niger State, killing eight corps members and the suicide bomber too.
11	April 9 2011.	Borno.	Bomb explosion at a polling unit in



			UnguarDoki Maiduguri, Borno State, killing the suicide bomber only.
12	April 26, 2011.		Three people killed and scores injured in bomb attack
13	April 29 2011.	Bauchi.	The bombing of Army Barracks in Bauchi by the Boko Haram group with no casualty recorded.
14	May 19, 2011.		Three policemen were killed, with two soldiers injured in bomb attack executed by Boko Haram.
15	May 29, 2011.	Bauchi.	Bomb explosion at Mammy/military market of Shandawanka barracks in Bauchi State by BokoHaram claiming lives while leaving many injured.
16	May 30 2011.	Borno.	Bombs explosion carried out by Boko Haram along Baga road in Maiduguri, Borno State leaving 13 dead and 40 injured.
17	June 16, 2011.	Abuja.	Nigerian Police Headquarters, Abuja, was bombed by a suspected suicide bomber of the BokoHaram group with three casualties and many vehicles damaged.
18	June 16, 2011.	Borno.	Four children were killed in a bomb attack carried out by Boko Haram at Damboa town in Maiduguri, Borno State.
19	June 20, 2011.	Katsina.	Seven policemen were killed by Boko

			Haram in a BokoHaram attack on Kankara Police station in Kastina state with two of the security men instantly killed.
20	July 9, 2011.	Borno.	A gun duel between Boko Haram and the Nigerian military in Maiduguri, Borno State, left 31 people dead. On the same day also, in Suleja, Niger State, a bomb targeted at a church by the Boko Haram group killed four and injured many others.
21	July 11 2011.	Kaduna.	Bomb explosion at a relaxation spot in Fokados street, Kaduna left many injured.
22	July 12, 2011.	Borno.	Boko Haram Group threw an explosive device on a moving military patrol vehicle in Maiduguri.
23	July 15, 2011.	Borno.	BokoHaram bomb attack in Maiduguri injured five people.
24	July 23, 2011.	Borno.	Boko Haram bomb attack close to the palace of the Shehu of Borno, Abubakar GarbaiElkanem, injured three soldiers.
25	July 25, 2011.	Maiduguri.	A bomb explosion near the palace of traditional ruler in Maiduguri claimed eight lives.
26	August 25, 2011.	Maiduguri	Members of the Boko Haram Group killed four policemen, one solder and



			seven civilians while carting away undisclosed sum of money in a bank robbery.
27	August 26, 2011.	Abuja.	A Boko Haram suicide bomber rammed into the United Nations building in Abuja, killing 25 while injuring 60.
28	September 12, 2011.	Bauchi.	Four policemen with three others were killed during a Boko Haram bomb attack on a police station in Misau, Bauchi State.
29	September 13, 2011.	Borno.	BokoHaram members shot and injured four soldiers in a terrorist attack in Maiduguri, shortly after the arrest of fifteen of its members, during military raids on Boko Haram hideouts in Bauchi State.
30	September 17, 2011.	Borno.	Brother in-law of Mohammed Yusuf, the slain leader of Boko Haram, Babakura Fugu was shot dead in front of his house in Maiduguri by two members of the BokoHaram Group two days after he was visited by former President Olusegun Obsanjo
31	October 3, 2011.	Borno.	Book Haram Group attacked Baga Market in Maiduguri in a terrorist attack and killed three people.
32	November 4, 2011.	Yobe.	About One hundred and fifty people

			were killed by Boko Haram in a single terrorist attack in Damaturu, Yobe State.
33	November 27, 2011.	Yobe.	Seven people were killed by Boko Haram attacks in Geidam. Yobe State.
34	December 18, 2011.	Borno.	Three members of Boko Haram were killed following the detonation of explosives in Shuwari, Maiduguri, Borno State by the Boko Haram sect.
35	December 22, 2011.	Borno.	Boko Haram explosives and gunshots claimed four people's lives, leaving several persons injured in Borno.
36	December 24, 2011.	Plateau.	Eighty people were killed in a Boko Haram bombing in Jos, Plateau State.
37	December 25, 2011.	Niger.	Fifty people died on a Christmas-Day bombing carried out by Boko Haram in Madalla, Niger State.
38	December 30, 2011.	Borno.	Seven persons were killed in Maiduguri, Borno State by Boko Haram.
39	January 5, 2012.	Gombe.	About six people died in a church in a Boko Haram-led attack in Gombe, Gombe state.
40	January 6, 2012.	Adamawa.	Seventeen persons were killed in a terrorist attack in Christ Apostolic Church, Yola, Adamawa State. Another twenty people of Nigerian



			Igbo nationality were also killed by the Boko Haram terrorist group in Mubi Local Government Area of Adamawa state.
41	January 20, 2012.	Kano.	More than two hundred and fifty people were killed in a multiple Boko Haram attacks in Kano state.
42	January 22, 2012.	Bauchi.	Two churches were destroyed in Bauchi State whilst a military personnel, a Divisional Police Officer, and eight civilian were also killed by members of the Boko Haram terrorist group at the headquarters of Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area in Bauchi state.
43	January 26, 2012.	Kano.	The Sabon Gari of Kano State witnessed another bomb explosion that was orchestrated by the Boko Haram terrorist group. Many were injured whilst some luxury buses were damaged in the explosion.
44	January 28, 2012.	Gambiru Ngala, (Borno)	Another Boko Haram terrorist attack in Gambiru Ngala, Borno state with one casualty.
45	January 29, 2012.	Gambiru Ngala, (Borno)	A Boko Haram attack in Gambiru Ngala, Borno state, leaving two civilians dead.
46	January 30, 2012.	Borno.	Six people were killed in Maiduguri,

			leaving two Air force officers.
47	February 4, 2012.	Borno.	Two civilians killed in Damboa, Borno State by the BokoHaram terrorist group.
48	February 5, 2012	Yobe,	An officer of the Department of State Security was killed by the Boko Haram sect in Yobe.
49	February 07, 2012.	Kaduna (Kano Market, Military Barrack).	Five civilians were killed by the terrorist group in Kano Market.
50	February 07, 2012.	Kano.	Ten persons were killed in Kano by Boko Haram.
51	February 10, 2012.	Borno.	Four persons were killed in a gun duel between Boko Haram sect and the Nigerian military in Maiduguri, Borno State
52	February 10, 2012.	Kano.	The Boko Haram group attacked a Police Station and engaged the police in gun duel in Shagari Quarters, Kano. No casualty recorded.
53	February 12, 2012.	Borno.	Some members of the deadly terrorist group were killed in Maiduguri by the Nigerian military.
54	February 15, 2012.	Kogi.	Jail Break that masterminded by suspected members of the Boko Haram group occurred in KotonKarfi Prisons, Kogi State. A warder was killed with 199 prisoners including some Boko



			Haram members escaped.
55	February 15, 2012.	Niger.	Two police men were killed and many injured by Boko Haram in Minna, Niger State.
56	February 17, 2012.	Yobe.	Two People were killed by Boko Haram in Geidam, Yobe State.
57	February 17, 2012.	Borno State.	Five people were killed in Maidugri metropolis by the Boko Haram, Borno State
58	29 September, 2013.	Yobe.	A terrorist attack carried out by the Boko Haram at the College of Agriculture in Gujba, Yobe resulted in the death of forty male students.
59	14th January, 2014.	Borno.	Thirty one people were killed with over fifty people injured by a Boko Haram suicide bombing in Maiduguri, Borno State.
60	25th February, 2014.	Yobe.	A terrorist attack on Federal Government College in Buru-Yadi, Yobe state by Boko Haram resulted in the death of twenty-nine teenage boys.
61	14th April, 2014.	Borno.	The renowned and popular 2014 Chibok girls' kidnapping was masterminded by the Boko Haram terrorist group. More than two hundred and thirty-four female students of the Chibok Secondary school were kidnapped by the

			terrorists and remain missing.
62	14th April, 2014.	Abuja.	Another Boko Haram bombing in Abuja in 2014 at a crowded bus station in Abuja, Nigeria, killed at least 90 people whilst injuring more than two hundred persons.
63	1st May, 2014.	Abuja.	A car bomb masterminded by the Boko Haram terrorist group exploded, killing at least Nineteen people whilst leaving more than sixty persons injured.
64	5th May, 2014.	Borno.	The 2014 Gamboru and Ngala terrorist attacks perpetrated by the Boko Haram left more three hundred and thirty-six dead.
65	18th May, 2014.	Kano.	A Boko Haram suicide car bomb killed five civilians
66	20th May, 2014.	Plateau.	Twin bomb explosions claimed by Boko Haram killed 118 people
67	30th May, 2014.	Borno.	Assasination of a Muslim leader Alhaji IdrissaTimta the Emir of Gwoza in Borno by the BokoHaram sect.
68	4th July – 10th July, 2014.	Borno.	Four simultaneous Boko Haram attacks resulted into the death of eleven civilians, one vigilante, thirty-three soldiers, four police and fifty-three Boko Haram members were killed. On the same day, the



			BokoHaram group captures a military base and police station in Borno whilst on the 6th; the Nigerian military killed a Boko Haram kingpin and his brother at their home in Kaduna. Similarly, Forty-four BokoHaram members were killed in two military operations in Borno on the 6 th July, 2014.
69	January 2, 2015.	Borno.	Boko Haram members razed down the entire town of Baga in North-East Nigeria. As many as 2,000 persons were killed in the terrorist attacks.
70	January 25, 2015.	Borno.	Boko Haram members launched offensive terrorist attacks against Nigerian forces in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State, leading to the deaths of at least Eight civilians, and Fifty-three terrorists, and an unknown number of soldiers.
71	April 5, 2015.	Borno.	Some BokoHaram members disguised as preachers to launch a terrorist attack in Borno, killing at least twenty-four residents of Kwafaja Village in Borno State.
72	April 9, 2015.	Borno	Members of Boko Haram attacked the village of Dile in Borno State, killing twenty innocent civilians.
73	June 22, 2015.	Borno	Boko Haram masterminded Maiduguri

			Mosque Bombing claimed thirty lives, including two young female suicide bombers. The terrorist group also attacked a mosque in the first day of the commencement of the Ramadan Fast of 2015.
74	November 17, 2015.	Yobe	A terrorist bombing of a marketplace in the northeastern Nigerian city of Yola left thirty-two people dead and over eighty persons wounded.
75	January 28, 2016.	Borno.	A Weekend terrorist rampage by the Boko Haram terrorist in Dalori, an outskirt of Maiduguri, Borno state, left at least sixty-five people dead and twice the aforesaid number injured.
76	August 21, 2016.	Borno	Another Boko Haram attack on a village called Kuburvwa (between Chibok and Damboa, Borno State) was reported to have left at least eleven people dead with countless women raped.
77	January 7, 2017.	Yobe	At least five soldiers were killed during an attack by Boko Haram fighters on the Nigerian forces in the Counter-Insurgency theater in Yobe.
78	January 8, 2017.	Borno.	Two people were killed in residential areas in the Kaleri area of Gwange following an attack by two female



			suicide bombers of Boko Haram.
79	January 13, 2017.	Borno.	Three soldiers were killed whilst ten Boko Haram insurgents died in a gun duel between the Nigerian forces.
80	January 28, 2017.	Borno.	Boko Haram launched an attack on Maiduguri-Biu highway, resulting into the death of seven civilians.
81	February 5, 2017.	Borno.	Troops of Operation Lafiya Dole of Nigerian COIN operations fell into a Boko Haram ambush in Ajiri village of Dikwa Local Government Area of Borno state, resulting into the killing of seven Nigerian soldiers.
82	March 15, 2017.	Borno.	Boko Haram terrorists launched an attack on Magumeri village in Borno state, killing seven people.
83	March 25, 2017.	Borno.	Boko Haram terrorists in a gestapo manner kidnapped eighteen girls and four women from Pulka village in Gwoza, Borno.
84	April 5, 2017.	Borno.	Boko Haram terrorists killed seven men in a farming community outside Maiduguri, and stole an estimated 360 herds of livestock.
85	April 12, 2017.	Borno.	A Nigerian soldier was killed during a suicide and gun attack on a military checkpoint on the outskirts of Maiduguri.

86	May 4, 2017.	Borno.	A Boko Haram attack by two female suicide bombers was launched on Mandarari ward in KondugaLGA in Borno which resulted in the death of five civilians.
87	May20, 2017.	Borno.	Boko Haram members invaded remote villages in Mussa, Borno and shot dead villagers in Askira-Uba LGA, Borno state resulting in the death of many, with scores kidnapped.
87	June 7, 2017.	Borno.	Boko Haram attacks rocked the east senatorial district of Maiduguri, with at least ten people killed.
88	June 18, 2017.	Borno.	Boko Haram suicide bombers detonated explosives in multiple attacks on Kofa, a village that's only 8 kilometers from Maiduguri, killing twelve civilians.
89	June 25, 2017.	Borno.	A security guard working with the University of Maiduguri was killed by a Boko Haram suicide bomber, while eight other civilians died in another attack by four suicide bombers in Zannari community in Maiduguri.
90	July 17, 2017.	Borno.	Eight civilians were killed by a Boko Haram female suicide bomber through detonated explosives at a mosque in Maiduguri.



91	July 28, 2017.	Borno.	Eight people were killed with fourteen others injured in a Boko Haram suicide bomb attack on an IDP camp in Dikwa LGA, Borno.
92	August 1, 2017.	Borno.	Following a Boko Haram attack on Mildu village in Madagali Local Government Area of Adamawa state, the Boko Haram terrorists launched another attack that claimed seven civilians' lives and many injured.
93	August 9, 2017.	Adamawa.	One civilian was feared dead from an attack by Boko Haram members in Ghumbili community in the Madagali Local Government Area of Adamawa State.
94	August 12, 2017.	Borno.	At least four civilian persons were killed in an attack carried out by BokoHaram terrorist sect at Wanori-Amarwa community of Konduga LGA of Borno.
95	August 20, 2017	Yobe.	Two people killed following an ambush by Boko Haram terrorists along Damaturu-Biu road in Yobe state.
96	2018	Zamfara.	At least three hundred and seventy-one people were feared dead following a coordinated and concurrent terrorist attacks masterminded by the BokoHaram group in Zamfara state in

			2018 alone. The total casualty recorded from the terrorist killing and attacks by Boko Haram for the year 2018 stood at 6562.
97	January 28 and 29, 2019.	Borno.	Sixty innocent people were killed in Rann, Borno State in a terrorist attack by Boko Haram.
98	April 29, 2019	Adamawa	Boko Haram fighters reportedly killed 21 people when they stormed into Kuda village in northeastern Nigeria and set it on fire.
99	May 1, 2019	Borno.	The Boko Haram terrorists killed fourteen men who had gone to collect firewood near Monguno in the Lake Chad area of Nigeria's Borno state.
100	May 2, 2019	Adamawa.	The BokoHaram terrorists went from door to door, killing as many as 25 people in Christian community of Kuda near Madagali in Adamawa State in northeastern Nigeria.

Source: Compiled by the Author, 2019.

In search of Victory against the Boko Haram Terrorism



The Nigerian government and military began a military campaign to root out the menace of Boko Haram terrorism and its tentacles from the soil of the Nigerian state well all diplomatic measures of achieving this objective had fail. Contrary to the general belief to the Nigerian government and the Military is clamping down and extra-judicially killing yet-to-be convicted Boko Haram terrorist, the Nigerian Government and Military had, on the contrary, taken it upon themselves to root out the Boko Haram Terrorism and not Boko Haram terrorists.

This gesture has been exemplified on many instances. Members of all terrorist networks, of which Boko Haram is no exception, are also humans and must be treated as such. This has on so many grounds prompted the Nigerian government, especially the President Muhammadu Buhari's regime to ensure the continued Reformation, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation of the repented Boko Haram Fighters by the Nigerian Army. Barely a month ago, over five hundred repented, reformed, rehabilitated and socially trained former Boko Haram members were integrated back into the society having followed the due process of the law. This and many more reinforce the Nigerian government and military's commitment in banishing the menace of terrorism and not the members of the sect whose majority happen to be citizens of the Nigerian state.

The International Community and the Politics of Double-Standards

The politics of continuous shifting of the goal post as to what actually constitutes human rights abuse or extra-judicial killing by the

Internationally community, most especially the Western world poses a severe danger to the national imageries as well as the developing world's capacity to root out and contain acts capable of undermining their sovereign existence. The continued bashing and labeling of the Nigerian government and Military as condolers of human rights abuses continues to make mockery of our intelligence as a nation. Placing the responsibility to determine what is and what is not human right abuses in the hands of a few states had sold out the collective conscience of the International community. While this paper is not one of the many attempts by scholars to label the continued allegation of countries like the US and other western countries on Nigeria's culpability on human rights abuses, it is an attempt to bring to bear the consequences of this action. The psychological effects of continued labeling of the Nigerian Military as human rights violators will only provide more momentum and inspiration to the Boko Haram insurgents while dampening the morale of our committed soldiers. Thus, only one entity is billed to emerge the Victor, viz., the Boko Haram if this campaign continues unabated, and consequently result into the defeat of not only the Nigerian military but the entire Nigerian state, its people, and even the international community given the spill-over effect of terrorism. This paper therefore contends that the real abused in the on-going counterinsurgency are the Nigerian military personnel, the people and the government.

This is arising from the fact that most times, the labeling of the Government as being inefficient, the military as being violators, are usually biased and turned out to nothing but half-truths. How do we reconcile the recent Saudi's attacks in Yemen without any form of protest or labeling from the west against such acts? In fact, through



Intifada, Israel has dramatically increased the use of extra-judicial executions in its struggle against the Palestinians, killing a total of 150 people within three and a half years. Side-stepping the crucial legal dimension of Israel's policy of extra-judicial executions, which has been employed in the Occupied Territories and abroad for at least 30 years, is currently being challenged in the Israeli High Court of Justice. Gross, made it known that Israel's policy of targeted killings has met with considerable controversy but not the continued bashing and labeling the developed world had meted out to countries like Nigeria.⁶ In the same vein, the Yemen attack by the United States of America (USA) and the 'targeted killings' by Israeli forces is yet to be castigated by human rights NGOs and some UN bodies as extrajudicial executions.⁷ The developed world must therefore realize the failure of the Nigerian State to succeed in the ongoing counterinsurgency is the failure of the entire international community because no aspect of the international community will be spared of the spill-over effects of such failures should it happen. The US and other developed countries must therefore support the Nigerian state to achieve her anti-terrorism agenda and quest for success in the ongoing counterinsurgency.

Conclusion

This paper is not one of the many attempts by scholars to baselessly refute the continued allegation of countries like the US and other western countries on Nigeria's culpability on human rights abuses, but

⁶ Gross ML, 'Assassination and targeted Killing: Law Enforcement, Execution or Self Defense?' (2006) 23 (3) *Journal of Applied Philosophy*

⁷ Kretzmer D, 'Targeted Killing of suspected Terrorists: Extra-Judicial Executions or Legitimate Means of Defense?' (*The European Journal of international Law*, 2005)

it is an attempt to bring to facts to bear in this discourse. The paper has found out that psychological effect of continued labeling of the Nigerian Military as human rights violators will only provide more momentum and inspiration to the Boko Haram insurgents while dampening the morale of our committed soldiers.

Thus, only one entity is billed to emerge the Victor, viz, the Boko Haram if this campaign continues unabated, and consequently result into the defeat of not only the Nigerian military but the entire Nigerian state, its people, and even the international community given the spill-over effect of terrorism. This paper therefore concludes that the real abused in the on-going counterinsurgency are the Nigerian military personnel, the people and the government, and not the Boko Haram Terrorists, as most International reports had suggested.