



BOKO HARAM:

AN UPDATE AND SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT WHO IS SPONSORING

BOKO HARAM

Mr. David Doukhan

Ph.D. Student, Department of Political Sciences, Bar Ilan University

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ABSTRACT

As every terrorist organization worldwide, whose activities depend on availability of funds, Boko Haram in Nigeria is not an exception. Its survivability on money collection, by different means, both inside and outside the country, are quite remarkable, since the methods used for that are familiar to all security agencies, and because it happens in an atmosphere of failed country and high degree of corruption, the group is alive and active and maintains a large scale of relationships with other terror organizations as well as international Jihadist groups.

* The views expressed in this publication are solely those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT).

Introduction

In my previous review, entitled: *Who are you, Boko Haram?* (dated December 2012)¹, I concluded that as a result of official ties with al Qaeda, AQIM (al Qaeda in the Maghreb) and al-Shaba'ab in Somalia, Boko Haram (BH) presents a real threat to Nigeria unity, and to Western interests in Africa. I emphasized the dangers from increasing cooperation in the operational capacity of Boko Haram. I also suggested that Western countries provide Nigeria with military equipment and counter-insurgency warfare training.

What Boko Haram achieved in less than a year is quite remarkable: Boko Haram was the de facto ruler of north eastern Nigeria for many years, purging the regions of Yobe and Borno of their Christian populations and of any semblance of government control.² The group instituted Sharia law, collected taxes, and developed an Islamic education system to indoctrinate youth into serving as jihadist fighters. The group was also involved in the Northern Mali conflict, which had reverberations throughout the sub-Saharan region. BH performed many bloody attacks inside Nigeria, targeting military barracks, police stations, churches, banks, merchandise convoys, and other civilian targets. Abducting foreigners became a hallmark of their activities (some foreigners were executed while others were released after paying a ransom). As a result of internal debates, a new group splintered away from BH in the beginning of 2012 named Ansaru,

¹ For the article check: <http://www.ict.org.il/Articles/tabid/66/Articlsid/1136/currentpage/2/Default.aspx>

² President Jonathan declared state of emergency across Borno, Yobe and Adamawa areas and started a huge military operation on May 14, 2013 to curb terrorism in the country. He admitted that the government had lost control in some parts of the states – some estimate that 10 of the 27 local government areas in Borno had come under Boko Haram rule. The military crackdown is the most concerted government effort to date to crush a group responsible for more than 3,000 deaths since 2010. <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2013/0528/In-Boko-Haram-country-Nigeria-s-new-crackdown-brings-mixed-feelings>

This group is also violent and operates on the international level but its leaders object to Boko Haram's attitude toward Nigerian Muslims.

In the beginning of 2012, the Nigerian government initiated talks with the local leadership in Northern Nigeria (Northern Elders Forum -NEF- religious leaders and traditional rulers)³, and various representative from Boko Haram in order to start a reconciliation process, including amnesty for Boko Haram members (as the federal government did with the MEND in the Niger Delta). On May 14, 2013, the Nigerian army launched "Operation Restore Order," a huge military offensive in three states in the north (Borno, Yobe, Adamawa), aimed at liquidating the BH presence in these states and returning a central government presence.. In the beginning of June, Nigerian President Jonathan Goodluck formally approved the proscription of Boko Haram and the publication of an order declaring the group's activities as illegal and acts of terrorism. The order, which has been publicized as the Terrorism (Prevention) (Proscription Order) Notice 2013, affects both Boko Haram (Jamaatu Ahlis-Sunna Liddaawati Wal Jihad) and the splinter group Ansaru (Jama'atu Ansarul Muslimina Fi Biladis Sudan). The order was approved by President Goodluck, pursuant to Section 2 of the Terrorism Prevention Act, 2011.

In June 2013, the Central Bank of Nigeria ordered banks and other financial institutions in the country to report accounts belonging to both Boko Haram and Ansaru.⁴ At the same time, federal

³ Ethnic groups in Africa have a strong regional base. In Nigeria, old ethno-regional identities – the Hausa-Fulani is in the Northern region.

⁴[http://www.cenbank.org/Out/2013/FPRD/TERRORISM%20\(PREVENTION\)%20\(PROSCRIPTION%20ORDER\)%20NOTICE,%202013.pdf](http://www.cenbank.org/Out/2013/FPRD/TERRORISM%20(PREVENTION)%20(PROSCRIPTION%20ORDER)%20NOTICE,%202013.pdf)

government officials held secret peace talks with BH representatives,⁵ On July 11th 2013, the Chairman of the Presidential Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of Security Challenges in the North and Minister of Special Duties, Alhaji Tanimu Turaki, revealed to State House correspondents in Abuja that BH made the decision to negotiate following their conclusion that the Federal Government was sincere in its intentions.

Turaki disclosed that the framework for the ceasefire still had to be finalized before the agreement would be signed after which details would be made public.⁶ In response to the disclosure, BH leader Abubakar Shekau released a 15-minute video denying everything: "We will not enter into any agreement with non-believers or the Nigerian government," he said, speaking in his native Hausa. "The Quran teaches that we must shun democracy, we must shun Western education, and we must shun the constitution."⁷ For the moment the Ansaru position toward the achieved agreement is unknown, though it is expected that they will reject the agreement automatically since the group announced that "We will have [a] dispassionate look into everything, to encourage what is good and see to its spread and to discourage evil and try to

⁵ Kabiru Tanimu Turaki, a cabinet minister and chair of a presidential panel tasked with exploring an amnesty offer for insurgents, told journalists he was dealing with credible Boko Haram members, authorized to negotiate by insurgent leader Abubakar Shekau. Turaki claimed to be negotiating with "somebody who is second-in-command as far as Boko Haram is concerned."

<http://www.foxnews.com/world/2013/07/10/nigeria-says-in-peace-talks-with-boko-haram-islamists-amid-doubts/#ixzz2b5GGDr75>

⁶ Leon Usigbe, Why Boko Haram opted to cease fire, *Nigerian Tribune*, 11.7.13, <http://odili.net/news/source/2013/jul/11/607.html> ; <http://tribune.com.ng/news2013/en/news/item/16436-why-boko-haram-opted-to-cease-fire-fg.html>

⁷ Boko Haram- Shekau denies ceasefire -Threatens more attacks, *THE TRIBUNE*, 13.7.13. <http://odili.net/news/source/2013/jul/14/616.html>

eliminate it."⁸ Meanwhile, on the ground, military operations against Boko Haram continue, as well as Boko Haram's terrorist campaign against military and civilian targets.

In the following article I will focus on who is sponsoring Boko Haram, an issue which I believe is fundamental for any terrorist group's survival and operational efficiency.

Who is sponsoring Boko Haram?

Not much is known of the annual budget of Boko Haram. At its early stage, Boko Haram was financially supported by wealthy supporters from Borno and Yobe States.⁹ The group has also financed its operations by robbing a lot of banks in the North, as well as sending threatening text messages to wealthy Nigerians, intimidating them into depositing money into specific accounts. It has also been reported that BH was paid millions of Nigerian naira on a monthly basis by some state governors in Northern Nigeria, especially those of Kano and Bauchi states. Such payments are deep rooted in an agreement to which Boko Haram was not to attack the respective governors' states. It was alleged that the group receives financial support from strong Nigerian politicians as well as former Nigerian heads of state. Even some members of the ruling People's Democratic Party have been named as sponsors. There are also indications that the group receives funds from external forces such as al-Qaeda and Al-Shaba'ab. But there is no hard evidence to support this claim.

⁸ Farouk Chothia, Profile: Who are Nigeria's Ansaru Islamists? *BBC-News Africa*, 11 March 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-21510767>

⁹Shehu Sani, Boko Haram: History, Ideas and Revolt, *Newsdiaryonline*, Aug 3,2011 - See more at: http://newsdiaryonline.com/shehu_boko_haram.htm#sthash.85oOw3DZ.dpuf
http://newsdiaryonline.com/shehu_boko_haram.htm

It is agreed that the financial sources of Boko Haram are not transparent. A local political analyst from Nsukka University, Nkwachukwu Orji, said "that there is no doubt the group is well-funded; if not, they would have fizzled out a long time ago. But for them to have continually been able to recruit, to train, to acquire their equipment and resources - that means there's a sustainable way of funding that organization".¹⁰ Orji wouldn't even speculate as to exactly who is paying the bills, as very little is known about the group's funding mechanism. If Nigeria's intelligence agencies know who is sponsoring the insurgency, they aren't saying. The greatest difficulty is that terrorist networks have stayed aware of the governments' efforts to stymie their activities and have adjusted their operations accordingly. Terrorism financing expert Laretta Napoleoni has stated that "terrorist financing mutates continuously."¹¹ This helps keep terrorists a step ahead of the authorities. Monetary practices embedded in Muslim culture, such as donating to charities and informal money-transfer centers, have compounded the difficulty in tracking down terrorist financial links.

Funds Anatomy

Boko Haram has partly financed its militant operations by attacking and robbing banks. Hundreds of banks have been robbed in Nigeria by Boko Haram militants.¹² Boko Haram robs convoys carrying money and successful businesses where the group maintains its power in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe. The robbery is justified by Koranic interpretation that bank robbery

¹⁰Voice of America: *Boko Haram's Funding Remains 'Elusive'*, May 22, 2013.

<http://www.voanews.com/content/boko-haram-funding-remains-elusive/1666150.html>

¹¹Laretta Napoleoni, *Terror incorporated: tracing the dollars behind the terror networks* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005).

¹²Joe Brock, Special Report: Boko Haram-Between Rebellion and Jihad, *REUTERS*, 2012, January 31.

is permitted, since the money from the banks is considered "spoils of war".¹³ Some estimate that the robberies brought the organization about 2 billion *naira* (about 6 million US dollars, or 4 million pounds). This data is difficult to verify.¹⁴ The money is distributed to the following: the poor, widows of those that died in the Jihad, *Zakat* (*the Islamic precept of donating a portion of one's wealth to charity*), those that brought in the money and to the leadership to be used in performing Jihad.¹⁵

Boko Haram has reportedly received financial support from governors of the Nigerian states of Kano and Bauchi. This support supposedly came from an agreement which specified that Boko Haram would not conduct militant operations in these states and in turn the group would receive monthly payments from the governors. "*Most of the Northern governors pay us monthly to leave their states alone*" said Boko Haram's spokesman Saidu Umar aka Usman Al Zawahiri. Former Governor Ibrahim Shekarau's administration in Kano made a monthly N10 (naira) million donation to the group. It was alleged that the Shekarau administration reached an agreement as far back as 2004 to pay a monthly fee of N5 million to the group which was later raised to N10 million. Sometime in 2009, Bauchi governor's spokesman denied this allegation and described it as a very strange allegation "*since we at Bauchi have been living in peace, we are not involved in*

¹³ See in the Koran – *sura* 8: "The Spoils of War", paragraph 41: "You should know that if you gain any spoils at war, one fifth goes to God and his messenger..."

¹⁴ Karen Leigh, Nigeria's Boko Haram: Al Qaeda's New Friend in Africa? *Time*, August 31, 2011.

¹⁵ Statement made by late Abul-Qaqa the group spokesperson, in an interview : Boko Haram gives reason for robbing banks, 14/02/2012, <http://news2.onlinenigeria.com/latest-addition/139998-boko-haram-gives-reason-for-robbing-banks.html> ;refer also to: *Jihadists pass zakat through Nigerian banks and charities for Boko Haram*, in Money Jihad-Combating Terrorist Financing ,March 25, 2013, <https://moneyjihad.wordpress.com/2013/03/25/jihadists-pass-zakat-through-nigerian-banks-and-charities-for-boko-haram/>

that".¹⁶ Support for Boko Haram has also allegedly come from Nigerian government officials who are members of Nigeria's leading political party, the People's Democratic Party.¹⁷ Boko Haram also reportedly receives training and support from several active militant groups including al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and al-Shaba'ab.¹⁸

Boko Haram has adopted an Islamic model of long-distance trade and financing: the '*Hawala*' system (to change).¹⁹ It is a type of informal transfer of money that relies on the honor code to get funds across to recipients without the need for normal documentation or technology. If an organization in Iran wants to transfer money to Nigeria it meets a Hawala broker/dealer (*hawaladar*) in Iran, and gives him the money with details of the beneficiary in Nigeria. The Iran dealer calls up a Nigerian dealer with the details. The Nigerian dealer contacts the beneficiary and pays him. To settle payments the Nigerian dealer waits until he has a transfer from the Iranian dealer, who can effect payment without any actual transfer of cash. Differences in accounts can be settled by means other the cash. The Nigerian dealer can ask his Iranian counterpart to import goods for him worth the difference without any actual transfer of money taking place. It is therefore very difficult to trace the origin or beneficiary of funds because no money goes through the banking system and no documentation exists anywhere. It is believed

¹⁶Scott Stewart, (2011, November 10) The Rising Threat from Nigeria's Boko Haram Militant Group; Adagba Okapaga et al., Activities of Boko Haram and Insecurity Question in Nigeria, *Arabian Journal Business and Management Review*(Oman Chapter), Vol. 1, No. 9; April 2012, p.85.

¹⁷Gillian Parker, Nigeria: Kano Recovers from Boko Haram Attacks, *Global Post*, 2012, January 27.

¹⁸Tunde Adeparusi, Facts about Boko Haram, *PUNCH*, 2012, January 8.

¹⁹Patrick M. Jost and Harjit Singh Sandhu ,The Hawala Alternative Remittance System and its Role in Money Laundering, United States Department of the Treasury, Financial Crimes Enforcement Network (FinCEN) in cooperation with INTERPOL/FOPAC

<http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/terrorist-illicit-finance/Documents/FinCEN-Hawala-rpt.pdf>

that large portions of Boko Haram's finances coming from the Middle East are funneled through the '*Hawala*' system.²⁰

Boko Haram financial sources are diversified: donations of rich Nigerians from the north, Governors, Senators, Muslim communities in Europe, drugs and arms traffic and foreign terror groups within and outside the African continent.

In 2006, Alhaji Bunu Wakil, a wealthy businessman and contractor from the north, was arrested by the State Security Services for serving as chief fundraiser for Boko Haram. He was uncovered by a group of children who claimed that they had been sent by the Boko Haram to an al-Qaeda training camp in Mauritania. In his defense, the businessman claimed that his donations to Boko Haram are an innocent attempt to observe the religious precept of *zakat*, which requires every rich Muslim to donate to charity.²¹

A well-researched article in the journal of the New York-based World Policy Institute, entitled: *Anatomy of African Terrorism: Boko Haram, Nigeria's homegrown terror network*²² designated former Ambassador to Sao Tome and Principe, Sheidu Pinda (killed recently in a car crash), as a major financier of BH. He made millions of naira available for logistics and the purchase of arms

²⁰ Sunday Tribune [IBADAN], July 24, 2010.

²¹ Ndahi Maram, Boko Haram Financier Arrested in Maiduguri, *Vanguard*, January 4, 2011; Freedom Onuoha The Audacity of the Boko Haram: Background, Analysis and Emerging Trend, *Security Journal*, 2011.

²² Anatomy: African Terrorism: Boko Haram: Nigeria's Homegrown Terror Network, *World Policy Journal* 29, 4; SAGE Publications, December 5, 2012, pp. 16-17. <http://www.worldpolicy.org/>

and ammunition. The report also alleged that Nigerian state governors, all members of the People's Democratic Party, as BH sponsors.²³

In November 2011 the authorities arrested the Senate member, Ali Ndume, of the People's Democratic Party. The senator from Borno was charged with financing Boko Haram. His arrest became possible after a senior member of the organization was captured and revealed the senator's involvement.²⁴ The Nigerian Financial Intelligence Unit (NFIU) confirmed the exploitation of Islamic monetary practices such as *Zakat* after they placed some banks and charities in the country under surveillance for allegedly aiding the transfer of funds by Boko Haram.²⁵

In England, A member of the British House of Lords, David Alton, has accused a London-based charity organization, Al-Muntada Trust Fund, of financing the operations of Boko Haram.

According to the London-based Guardian newspaper, the parliamentarian raised concerns about the Al-Muntada Trust Fund's activities with Foreign Office Minister Lord Howell in July, as well as with the United Kingdom's Charity Commission and the Metropolitan police. The trust's website shows that Al-Muntada Al-Islami parades itself as an independent organization initially

²³ Faces of Boko Haram Sponsors, Jan 27, 2012. <http://www.nairaland.com/856803/faces-boko-haram-sponsors-pointblank>

²⁴ Senator Mohammed Ali Ndume Had Contact with Boko Haram, July 02, 2013 .
<http://panafricannews.blogspot.co.il/2011/11/nigerian-senator-mohammed-ali-ndume-has.html>
Court admits fresh evidence linking Ndume to Boko Haram, *Vanguard*, 15.12.2012 - See more at:
<http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/12/court-admits-fresh-evidence-linking-ndume-to-boko-haram/#sthash.1k0GRCxX.dpuf>

²⁵ NFIU probes banks, charities over Boko Haram funds, *The Punch*, 23.3.13, <http://www.punchng.com/news/nfiu-probes-banks-charities-over-boko-haram-funds/>

established in the UK to cater to the needs of the local communities with a number of centers around the world, each delivering need-based projects through local initiatives. Some of these projects include: feeding programs for some of the poorest people in the world, educational programs to tackle illiteracy, constructing water wells, and community outreach programs. "*Easy Zakat is your all in one solution for fulfilling your Zakat obligation, we, at Al Muntada Trust, understand the sacred importance of Zakat and how it must only go to the permitted eight categories of deserving people mentioned in the Quran and Sunnah*" the website says.²⁶

Recently and perhaps most alarmingly, it has been determined that al-Qaeda is now involved in contributing funds supporting the organization's activities.²⁷ The arrest of key Boko Haram figures reveal that the group initially relied on donations from its own members, but its links with al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) opened it up to more funding from groups in Saudi Arabia. Other sources of Boko Haram funding uncovered in the investigations are the Islamic World Society, headquartered in Saudi Arabia, and some prominent local businessmen.²⁸ The trial of Kabiru Umar, also known as Kabiru Sokoto, the suspected mastermind of the Christmas Day bombing of St. Theresa's Catholic Church in Madalla, Niger State (25 December 2011), revealed that funding received by the insurgents came from an Islamic group, Musilimi Yaa'maa, based in Algeria. The defendant's statement also showed how the funds led to the

²⁶Paul Ohia, British Trust Fund Accused of Financing Boko Haram, September 10, 2012. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/09/mp-accuses-uk-trust-fund-of-funding-boko-haram/>; <http://allafrica.com/stories/201209100628.html> ; <http://www.almuntadatrust.org/> ; see also: England: Islamic Charity Channels Funds to Boko Haram, at: http://www.liveleak.com/view?i=8d8_1347365962#YbXLZ98cI4xfbYDh.99

²⁷Kimeng Hilton Ndukong, Nigeria: Boko Haram's Funding Sources Uncovered, *All Africa Com*, 14.2.2012 <http://allafrica.com/stories/201202141514.html>

²⁸ Ibid.

fragmentation of Boko Haram, following disagreements over the sharing of the money. The Islamic sect had broken into splinter groups, one of which is Ansaru.²⁹

Despite its absolutist religious ideology which forbids drug use and trade, the BH is suspected of drug trafficking. Evidence of that trade was discovered during "Operation Restore Order." A statement by the director of Defence Information, Brigadier General Chris Olukolade, divulges that apart from chemicals and materials for producing Improvised Explosive Devices (IED), narcotics of all types were also discovered.³⁰

A report entitled, "*Terrorism in Northern Africa and the Sahel in 2012: Global Reach and Implications*"³¹ alleges that Nigerian terrorist groups Boko Haram and Ansaru are being funded by drug cartels in Latin America. The report also suggested that al-Qaida in Islamic Maghreb had aligned with many other terror groups in order to expand its sources of funding. Intelligence reports have in the past identified a strong link between AQIM and Boko Haram with the newly emerging Ansaru.

²⁹Tobi Soniyi, Muhammad Bello and Yemi Akinsuyi, Kabir Sokoto Trial- Sharing of Funds Split Boko Haram, *This Day*, 10 May 2013, <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/kabir-sokoto-trial-sharing-of-funds-split-boko-haram/147166/> ; <http://allafrica.com/stories/201305100844.html>

³⁰Emergency: Condoms, narcotic drugs flood Boko Haram camps , *Vanguard*, –June 01, 2013 <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/06/emergency-condoms-narcotic-drugs-flood-boko-haram-camps/#sthash.xbzSy7Vy.dpuf>

³¹Yonah Alexander, *Terrorism in North Africa and the Sahel in 2012: Global Reach and Implications*, Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, 901 North Stuart street suite 200 Arlington, VA 22203, February 2013 <http://www.potomacinstitute.org/attachments/article/1358/Terrorism%20in%20North%20Africa%20&%20the%20Sahel.pdf>

In December 2012, the Commander of the United States African Command, General Carter Ham, stated that there was an increasing collaboration between AQIM and other terrorist groups in Africa, including Boko Haram. He expressed concern about Boko Haram's claim to be receiving support from al-Qaida linked groups in the region.

General Ham told a group of defense writers in September that he is especially concerned with the stated intent of these groups to work together. He said that intent has been "voiced most clearly" between AQIM and Boko Haram.³² The report states in part, "The threats of al-Qaida's new regional hub in northern Mali and from its associates constitute both tactical and strategic challenges". Primary sources of financing of their activities include kidnapping (in some cases, kidnapping is outsourced to common criminals), piracy and illicit trafficking of humans, vehicles, drugs, and other contraband goods. Intelligence reports and arrests have confirmed that AQIM has established links with Latin cartels for 'drugs-for-arms' smuggling into Europe through terrorist-trafficking networks in the Sahel. The report indicates that the drug and arms trafficking undertaken by the terrorists groups is further aided by porous borders of countries in the region. It is stated in the report that the status of AQIM in the Sahel has opened a new path for the terrorist group to shift its center of gravity from Afghanistan and Pakistan to a new region. With regional assessments on nine different African nations, the report states in the section on Nigeria, that Boko Haram and Ansaru's involvement with AQIM fits the "model of internationalization of terrorist movements" seen in other parts of the world.

³²VOA, Boko Haram Seen Linked to Other African Terror Groups, *Voice of America*, December 26, 2011 .
<http://www.voanews.com/content/boko-haram-seen-linked-to-other-african-terror-groups--136260858/150015.html>

Conclusions:

Boko Haram is still a real threat to the unity of Nigeria. Since the Army started "*Operation Restore Order*" on May 14, 2013, Boko Haram intensified its attacks with extreme ferocity such as: the killing of 42 people, mostly students, in an attack on Government Secondary School in Mamudo, in Yobe State; from 2010 till date, Nigeria has witnessed about 400 terrorist bombing. Boko Haram has also intensified its campaign against Christians: The Christian Association Nigeria (CAN), raised alarm over the continuous killing of Christians and burning of churches.

President Jonathan Goodluck and Lt. General Ihejirika, Chief of Army Staff (COAS), claimed that the military is winning the war against Boko Haram: "The troops on ground are doing a very good job in our quest to rid the country of insurgents, but the battle is not over, more efforts are still needed and this has been my message to the commanders and troops.

No doubt, the Army is doing well in the fight against terrorism, though we have lost a couple of men and equipment, we have made tremendous achievements and in line with the directive of the President, we will go all way to flush out the insurgents from our country."³³

It is believed that the group's leaders fled to neighboring countries (Chad, Niger, and Cameroon) where they are safe and still capable of planning a large number of terrorist attacks in Nigeria. On July 27, top military sources said that the JTF (Joint Task Force) intelligence located the area

³³Radio Biafra, Lt-Gen Ihejirika: we are winning war on terror, 27 June, 2013, <http://radiobiafra.co/news/lit-gen-ihejirika-we-are-winning-war-on-terror>

where the Boko Haram leadership was hiding and declared that they are combing Gwoza hills, in Borno state, where the army believes BH head Abubakar Shekau is hiding.³⁴

Identifying and removing Boko Haram's sources of funding is crucial to defeating their terrorist campaign. Recently, the Niger State Governor, Dr Babangida Aliyu made an conclusive point in an interview with the Vanguard: "The Boko Haram is a manifestation of a problem and to solve it on a permanent basis, their sponsors should be identified and punished because although they have not taken arms against the country, they are more dangerous than those fighting the nation whom we know".³⁵

³⁴ Army corners Boko Haram leader, Shekau, in Borno hills, *PUNCH*, <http://www.punchng.com/news/army-corners-boko-haram-leader-shekau-in-borno-hills/>

³⁵ Wole Mosadomi, North's economy has crumbled – Niger Gov., *Vanguard*, June 05, 2013, <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/06/norths-economy-has-crumbled-niger-gov/>