BOKO HARAM OPERATIONS IN NIGERIA:THE NEXUS BETWEEN FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND TERRORISTS

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Abstract
Nigeria as a country has been plagued by extensive internal security challenges. There are spate of armed militia engagements against the federal republic of Nigeria and security agencies in the North-East Boko Haram terrorist) and armed militia and acclaimed (freedom fighters) in the South-West, South- East and South-South regions with terrible fatalities in human lives and properties. There emerged several non-state armed groups in Nigeria which began to engage in resources and identity based struggles against presumed injustice and marginality. The growing state of criminality and criminal violence from the supposed freedom fighters and terrorist made it difficult to differentiate between Boko Haram terrorist operations to the armed militia (freedom fighters). Works are abounds on terrorism and freedom fighters in Nigeria and Africa, however, a few lay emphasis on persons engaged in terrorism and freedom fighting in Nigeria and Africa are actually freedom fighters not terrorists and the nexus between Boko Haram operations and the freedom fighters in Nigeria.Indeed, this paper investigates the assertion that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. It also argues that because of linkages to the nature of freedom fighters, crises have been particularly useful in driving the terrorism discourse in Nigeria and Africa. But the nexus between the Boko Haram operations in Nigeria; freedom fighters and terrorisms have not been stronglyscholarly established. It is on this premise that this research paper intended to bridge the scholarly gap. That, it is important to understand the context in which they occur and the nexus between them. Linking freedom fighters or agitators toBoko Haram terrorist operations, is also an attempts to develop a conceptual discourse that explains the nexus between freedom fighters and terrorism showing how politics, resources, religion, marginalization andclimate change, perceptions are implicated in the escalating terrorism (Boko Haram in the North-East) and freedom fighting (IPOB, Niger-Delta Militants). The study traces the historiography of the nexus between terrorism and freedom fighters in Nigeria, their impacts and implications and the challenges of fighting terrorism and freedom fighters in Nigeria and Africa. Using the historical approach, primary and secondary data,and the study found that both the terrorist and freedom fighter suffer from one form of marginalization or the other prompting agitations. Social justice and equity are at the heart of thepanacea for mitigating conflicts relating toBoko Haram terrorist and freedom fightinginNigeria and Africa.

Keywords: Conflict, Terrorism, Freedom Fighters, Boko-Haram Terrorist

Introduction

What is the nexus between terrorism and freedom fighters? For centuries, armed non-state groups varyingly characterize as terrorist, militias, freedom fighters, guerrillas, warlords, rebels, and bandits have held the world's spotlight. From Philippines to Colombia and other countries in the worlds, these groups are forthwith extensively perceived as the preponderant visage of contemporary warfare. Thus far, such organizations are not unheard-of. According to Pablo Policzer, as far back as the fifth century B.C. Herodotus opposed the organized empires in the Greek Islands with the warriors of the largely itinerant tribes in the Anatolian Peninsula, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. Much as this contemporary period freedom fighters, antiquated rebels were frequently roughly organized and get away all-out fight with large organized or standing armies, preferring instead to strike clandestinely or against soft targets, including civilians.

While non-state armed groups have consistently lived, to this contemporary period, there is no clear unison on how to define or describe the nexus between terrorism and freedom fighters, or on what should be clear definition of their act of operations. The bewildered over the past engendering is the brand of two impenetrable contestations. First and foremost, the contestations over whether given groups or individuals was freedom fighters or terrorists without finding or understanding the nexus between freedom fighters and terrorists were mostly a handiwork of insurgencies and counterinsurgencies of the cold war and end of colonialism. Accessory to one view point, diverse labels could employ same groups, and the withstanding potency of the believed that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighters" is a transparent acknowledgement that the argument was and remain open. Hitherto, nonetheless of where one stand, the freedom fighters or terrorists the debate or focal points of this paper ultimately revolved around finding the nexus between Freedom fighters andBoko Haram terrorist operations in Nigeria.

Studies abound as to the causes of freedom fighters, Boko-Haram terrorists in Nigeria. Scholars of foreign origin attributed the causes of the terrorism, freedom fighters and militancy in Nigeria to many immediate and remote reasons. They equally erroneously presented the nexus between the terrorism and freedom fighters in Nigeria to different situations.

Scholars with little knowledge of the nexus between terrorists and freedom fighters silence over their history and presented terrorism and freedom fighters as a product of conflict or violence among human.Violence conflict in Nigeria has been responsible for the direct and indirect deaths of millions of civilians and has contributed to the development of terrorism (Boko Haramand freedom fightersand these has also significantly contributed to the low levels of human security in Nigeria. Nigeria have been embroiled in violent conflict are characterized by abject poverty, inadequate service provision, political instability, retarded economic growth, marginalization and other challenges that birthed terrorism and freedom fighters that deter the enhancement of human security.

Nigeria is a plural country with over 250 ethnic and linguistic groupsas well as other factions or sects within the body polity that must be satisfied or at least treated justly for peaceful co-existence. Thus, since afterindependent, the country has faced several challenges in its bid to hold different groups and factions together as one indivisible political unit or nation for proper development and progress in the nation. However, due to the complex nature of the Nigeria state and the mutual feeling of dissatisfaction and suspicion between and among the various groups in the country, some elements have over the years risen up to voice their grievances, some have

even taken to arms as freedom fighters to make their case or resentment known while holding the nation to ransom and threatening the unity and security of the Nigeria state; hence many lives have been lost and properties worth billions of naira destroyed in the course of violent demonstration of grievances in the country-the height of which was the case of the Nigeria –Biafra Civil War, 1967-1970.

Nevertheless, in the post-civil war period, many groups still stood up as freedom fighters being unjustly treated or marginalized thus resorting to violent protest like in the case of the Niger-Delta Militancy, etc. the current aggrieved groups that are on the rampage posing security threats to the Nigerian states are the Boko Haram Terrorist and their twin Fulani Herdsmen ravaging the country with their incessant killings and massacre of Nigeria citizens in the country even with the presence of the defence and security. Hence, many conflicts and criminality activities birthed terrorism and freedom fighters that threats the peaceful disposition and security of the nation in the 21st century. It therefore become imperative to discuss the Boko Haram operations in Nigeria: the nexus between freedom fighters and terrorists which is the aim of this paper.

Conflict

Conflict is an extraordinary occurrence or circumstance that has been conceived differently by different writers and scholars. While some scholars view conflict from positive perspectives regarding some positive impacts and changes that conflict can birth, others view conflict from a negative perspectives as regards it destructive and adverse impacts. Hence, "many sociologists and psychologists have argued that it is through conflict that problems are often resolved and real differences harmonized"[2] in other hand, Deutsch views conflict as an action, which obstructs, interferes, prevents with, injures or renders ineffective another action with which it is incompatible.[3] Thus, Deutsch's view is from negative perspective. However, it seem to be a bit exhaustive and it present the picture of opposing ends. However, it does not include the aim or/and end of conflict which might be positive impact or changes.[4] more so, Hanna and Wilson, observed conflict as "a struggle involving idea, values, and limited resources",[5] while Osita sees it as "an opportunity to change."[6]from these two conceptions of conflict, for the purpose of this paper, conflict is viewed form negative perspective as anaction or event which, interferes, render, aided and birthed terrorism and freedom fighter with an art of terrorism that it is mainly destructive and inimical to reasonable development growth with is space of occurrence. Patrick Chabal opines that conflict has been part of human nature for millennia., "Conflict seems to be a distinctive feature of African societies".[7]Ndlovu-Gatsheni also sees Africa as a continent that has witnessed various forms of conflicts, crises and violence and has been severely impacted in terms of its human and natural resources.[8] Fanon was of opinion that colonial violence influenced the colonized Africans to be violent.[9] Fanon further said, the 'colonized people manifest the aggressiveness which has been deposited in their bones against themselves'. Again, Fanon showed how the colonized people's confrontations with the colonial order of things placed them in a partial state of aggressiveness.[10] This goes to explain the anti-colonial and anti-western stance of terrorist groups like Boko Haram in the North-East of Nigeria. Fanon also stated that the colonized native was "an oppressed person whose permanent dream is to become the prosecutor".[11]In his work on, "Colonialism and violence in Africa", Ndlovu-Gatsheni, argued that the reproduction of African subjectivities where race is used not only to besmirch the black population in what Fanon also referred to as the nation of the damned in his book, (The Wretched of the Earth), but to rob them of their own very humanity, so as to justify the use of violence against them.[12]Ndlovu-Gatsheni, has opined that, this form

of colonial violence against the blacks was also inherited by African nationalists in practice, in post-colonial Africa as a mode of governance; and this has made crises, violence and war justifiable within the nexus of security and national identity in post-colonial Africa.[13] Another problem of the colonial era, which African leaders comfortably re-introduced, was the strengthening and defense of particularistic new forms of identity and consciousness, which is embedded in ethnicity and religion.[14] African and Nigerian politicians, have taken advantage of ethnic and religious bigotry to incite violence, crises and wars, evident by the numerous conflicts and wars in Africa and Nigeria birthed by so-called freedom fighters and terrorists like Boko Haram in the North, Militancy in the Niger-Delta, Oodua People Congress (OPC) in the South-West and the IndigenousPeople of Biafra (IPOB) in the South-East.**Terrorism**

In the contemporary world, the term terrorism has become a common epithet of describing all manner of armed groups, agitators, rebels, violent revolt, uprising or insurrection against government or state and others even when they do not exactly conform to the principle and modus operandi of terrorism.Many scholars have defined terrorism in their different words and perspective. But this paper will not go into discussing all of these different definitions or conceptualizations of terrorism. However, in all, one thing stand out in this paper context which is that terrorism cannot be discussed in isolation from the nexus between terrorism and freedom fighters. Hence, Blown Away, Supra note 28, at 286 cited in Jacqueline Ann Carberry thatnumerous definitions of terrorism have circulated, many of which are over inclusive or mutually inconsistent.

Just like most concepts in the social sciences and humanities, the concept of terrorism has been viewed and described in many ways and perspective by different scholars and writers. With the passage of time, the concept has been expected to change with the changing nature of terrorist acts in the society which threaten the safety of lives and property of the citizens of a state, and by extension, the sovereignty and cohesion of a state. Terrorism has therefore been conceived as terrorization which involves the "the framing issues of terrorism" that is if something can be defined as terror to lives and property then it can be used to provide justification for emergency measures which gives authorities more power than they would otherwise have. For Oxford English Dictionary describes "terrorism" as a policy intended to strike with terror those against whom it is adopted; employment of approaches of intimidation; the evidence of terrorizing or condition of being terrorized". The 1989, United Kingdom promulgated Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) defines terrorism as the use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear. The State agree that terrorism and freedom fighters mandates effective response and that terrorist and freedom fighters acts are becoming increasingly violent. However, definition of terrorism and freedom fighter fails when it comes to identifying the nexus between "terrorism and agitator" and who will be classified as terrorist or freedom fighters.

A flick through at a handful of terrorist definitions explain the variance. In other words, that we are able to X-ray terrorism in relation to the nexus between terrorism and freedom fighters "the term terrorism means calculated, politically stimulated turmoil perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or undercover agents, usually intended to influence an audience.

A cursory survey of recent researches shows that terrorism and freedom fighting have elicited numerous publications like Shola Mayomi Dickson in his work "Terrorism- the Challenges of Globalisation"published in the Humanities and Globalization: the African Perspective, see terrorism not a new phenomenon, which it

has been part of the society like violence uprising, agitation and other militia groups with degree of novelty on the amount of damage they now brings yet it is new but the nexus between terrorism and freedom fighters not established, thus, this paper is intending to bridge the gap. According to Anthony Abayomi Adebayo in his article titled "Implication of 'Boko Haram' terrorism on national development in Nigeria: A critical review". That the Boko Haram insurgency has lately introduced a terrorist dimension into the crime space in Nigeria. The trademarks of the Boko Haram are wanton destruction of lives and property with reckless abandon, through bombings, abduction and slaughtering of human beings like rams but the paper did not established connections between Boko Haram Operation in the North to the militant (freedom fighters) in the other regions of Nigeria that have also engaged in wanton destructions of lives and properties (which is also an act of terrorism)in quest to draw the attention of government to their plight of injustice, marginalization and environmental degradation. Hakeem Onapajo, in his paper titled Boko Haram terrorist in Nigeria: the international dimension, the paper argues that Boko Haram's terrorism does indeed have a transnational dimension, demonstrating that its agenda and targets transcend Nigeria and that there are international links to the operations of Boko Haram. Given this international dimension, what concerns does Boko Haram generate for countries outside Nigeria, and what are their responses to the groups continued acts of terrorism?However, the few papers reviewed above one is yet to come across a seminal works or articles that adequately accounts for the differences or similarities and dynamics of the identity belonging to either terrorism or freedom fighting which is the thrust of the paper.

Freedom Fighters

According to Wikipedia, freedom fighters are group of persons who voluntarily engaged in a resistant movement like youth restiveness, uprising due to the existence of marginalization, underdevelopment of the Niger-Delta Region despite the huge oil resources that feed the entire country and against what they believe to be an oppressive, environmental degradation by the oil multinational corporation in the Niger-Delta region, political social system, representation of failed leaders, and illegitimate government and also revolt against or forcefully.

In the struggle for independence, autonomy, recognition, or access to material resources may lead to the formation of freedom fighters like as Ben Barber noted that violent political Islamic group, their formation as freedom fighters group are better understood as a reaction to global systematic disorders not fundamentalist zealotry. For example, secessionist Chechen resistance led by AkhmadZakayev, IlyasAkmadov, ZelimkhanYandarbiv and others in the early 1990s onward has consistently fought for their freedom from Russian despite the fact that President Putin labelled them as terrorist. For the purpose of this paper we shall restrict the analysis to the Nigeria context.

Freedom fighters or restiveness, according to Abudah, is a self-generating theory of conflict process within social groups. He further states that only restive act of groups whether inter or intra in nature in contemporary history of Nigeria is synonymous with conflict intragroup restiveness or occurs when there is a competition for an interest. The relative deprivation theory asserts that psychological variables and deprivation is the basic product for conflict, uprising, restiveness and freedom fighters of any kind. The more wide spread and intense deprivation is any member of population the greater is the magnitude of violence is one form or the other and Collins, argues that the unequal socio economic development of the various ethnic group in Nigeria led to inter-ethnic conflict metamorphosed into freedom fighters when there is an uneven development in all or some

facets of human existence within a given society the different groups will definitely become immersed in the competition for the goods of modernity which in variably leads to a conflict situation and form freedom fighters.

Achi Celestine, says that they are approximately 300 spills per year in the Niger-Delta region and he blames the restiveness of the Niger-Delta region and the oil multinational corporations that operates in the region that is not committed to the plight of their host communities. Again, he argue that the oil multinational corporations and federal government of Nigeria are implicated in the collaboration of militarizing the Niger-Delta region by the freedom fighters like Ken SaroWiwa, Isaac Boro, AsariDokubo and the others.

In the view of Ken SaroWiwa, the root causes of uprising and restiveness in the Niger-Delta region are inequitable distribution of revenue, uneven-development among the Niger-Delta. He goes on to say that development in the center has been given much attention than other level of government and that there is evidence inequality in the development approach in Nigeria. He argues further that the articulation of fundamentally different development paradigms had resulted in controversies to peace in the Niger-Delta conflict or restiveness that formulated freedom fighters. He further argues that the approximate causes of most uprising that birthed freedom fighters in the Niger-Delta can easily be identified as the dominant of leaders of specific group to gain office and use such states and institution to distribute economic and political benefit. Preferentially to their interest groups. Discriminate against subordinate groups, often portrayed as deserving human beings accompanies this preferential treatment. The Niger-Delta citizen are in such a very pitiable circumstances underdevelopment. It is based on view that restiveness in the Niger-Delta region is so prevalent that built up self-acclaimed freedom fighters to the destructions of the facilities, oil workers kidnapped or taken hostage and this circumstances leading to the loss of some 12 million barrel of crude oil worth billions of Naira.

Albeit, naturally having been thought of diverse dangers, the interplay between terrorism and freedom fighters is evolving. Previously recognized as commonly conformity, freedom fighters and terrorist activities have the effect of corroborating one another, transforming their relationship into one mutualism, in which it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between the two. Indeed, terrorists and freedom fighters may bespeak either directly or indirectlyin criminal activities such as oil pipelines vandalisation, extortion, kidnapping for ransom and illicit trade of natural resources, for financial and/ or material benefits. Such activities debilitate state security, stability, social and social economic development, which in turn may conceive or control the organized Boko Haram terrorism and freedom fighters activities to flourish.

Boko Haram Terrorist Operations

Boko Haramis a formidable domestic terrorist group in Nigeria like in Asia, we have the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) that have over the years become emboldened due to it lethality and linkage with other external terrorist groups. Terrorist is used to describe a movement's unlawfulness by virtue of not being authorized by or in accordance with laws of the land by extension a state or nation state. The ultimate goal of terrorist group is to challenge the existing government for control of all or portion of it territory or force political concessions in sharing political power. To achieve this, the terrorists require the active or tacit support of some portion of the population involved. The term was widely used during the Second World War (WWII) in 1045 when military revolutionary groups, freedom fighters and non-state actors used terrorist tactics against Nazi Germany and Poland. The most prominent during the

World War II, was the Ukrainian Nationalist (UON) who employ the use of terrorist tactics like kidnappings, and suicide bombings to instill fear or coerce their targets and members of the public into submission.

Muhammed Yusuf founded the Islamic sect known as Boko Haram. According to Onuoha the philosophy of the sect is rooted in practice of Orthodox Islam, which abhors Western Education. This may explain the literal meaning of Boko Haram. "Western Education is forbidden". In july 2009, the group under Muhammed Yusuf led a large scale uprising in the States of Bauchi, Yobe, Kano, Katsina, and Niger, which left many people dead, while others were wounded and displaced. Yusuf was arrested and later died in police custody.

Over the years terrorist has shown an uncanny potential for mutation. The first major terror incidence recorded in Nigeriawas the Maitasine Riot in the 80's. Since then, the phenomenal has transformed and assumed a level of sophistication heightened rise in profile. Like the American 9/11 and the British July 7, 2005. Nigeria can also reference the 1st October 2010 Eagle Square and 16 June, 2011 Police Headquarters bombing as well as the 28th August, 2011 United Nation Office suicide bomb attack as game changing incidents.

Terrorism in it present form, is a relatively new phenomenon in Nigeria, even though terror-related acts had occurred in the 1950s in Kano and, again in 1982 when the Maitatsine religious uprising was recorded. Both were respectively dismissed as mere violent crimes or externally sponsored extremist acts that were promptly nipped in the bud.

Although it may not be entirely correct to state that these events may have sowed the seed for the growth of current threat posed by SunnaLidda'awatiWal-Jihad a.k.aBoko Haram. What is clear is that the group, unlike its predecessors, has remained faceless with no definite identity frontiers, making it extremely difficult to effectively contain the threat like the way militant or freedom fighters in the other regions of Nigeria threat can be contained.

The group is tiny minority within Muslim community which first emerged in Borno State in 2000 using distorted and unrepresentative interpretation of the Islamic faith to justify violence links to global Islamic groups like al-Queda and al-Shabaab, the group is driven by its particular violent and extremist beliefs. The intensified cross-border operations of Boko Haram terrorists in Nigeria and the Neighbouring countries of Niger, Chad and Cameroon are due to the following factors like the region's are long, and porous, thereby giving room for Boko Haram terrorist to operate successfully and escape arrest by invading Nigeria armed forces offensives and develop havens where there recruit new members and plan attacks. And this is unlike the militants that operate within their regions in Nigeria with specific interest of liberating their people from government oppressive. The 2000 mile border Nigeria shares with Niger, Chad, Cameroon Republics has almost 1, 500 illegal or unmonitored cross border routes. Also the shrinking of Lake Chad has made it easier for the Boko Haram terrorists to operate successfully cross the hitherto very difficult border to traverse.

Freedom Fighters and Terrorists, the Nexus

This categorization continues to divide academics over whether Boko Haram is a terrorist group or a band of freedom fighters; ditto some ethno-nationalist militants like the OoduaPeople's Congress (OPC) in the South-West, Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in the South-East and various Niger-Delta militant groups in the South-South like the Egbesu war boys, Asari Dokubo's Niger Delta People Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) led by Henry Okah, Icelanders, Greenlanders, Martyrs Brigade, Outlaws, Bush Boys, Dey Bam among others. This paper

will argues that the nexus between freedom fighters and terrorist groups like those mentioned above were necessary efforts to push back the Nigerian government's perceived oppression,as their ideologies are rooted in political, economic marginalization, environmental degradation and cultural protection. Therefore, this study is right to see some of them are freedom fighters and not terrorist groups. The proscription of (IPOB) and failure to declare Boko Haram as a terrorists group or stigmatize bandits in the North-West is to promote the Nigerian government's agenda, alongside their legitimacy, through peace involvement. In order to examine, the nexus between Boko Haram isor is not a group of freedom fighters, thisstudy adopted the scholastic concepts of terrorism and freedom fighting.

According to John Bolt of the University of St. Michael's,"the difference between a terrorist and a freedom fighter is purely a matter of perception. When our guy kills in battle, he is a freedom fighter; when our enemy does, he is a terrorist".[9]Similar acts get different labels depending on who is doing the labeling. In making a judgment on freedom fighters versus terrorists, there is more at work than a perception. John also asserts that there is a metaphysical difference, not just a perceptive one, between two of the deadly sins.[10] He uses "Greed and Envy" to illustrate the difference or nexus between terrorists and freedom fighters. Greed and envy, though often lumped together and seen simply as the desire of one person or group to possess what another owns, are not identical. Greed has to do with requisition: onedesperately want what another has. Theft is the culminating sin of greed. Envy, on the other hand, is not directed at some item one wantswhat belongs to another but at that other person or group, its aim being to destroy the happiness of others. He concludes that envy seeks not to acquire but to destroy, rejoicing in the misfortune of others. Vandalism and arson are two of the best examples of acts that have their roots in envy; and, while greed can be assuaged, envy cannot. It is never satisfied until its object is destroyed.[11]From the above analysis, envy actually stands for terrorism. From John's analysis, what the researcher deduced is that greed is taken to mean "freedom fighters" whose prime purpose is to defend resource rights and secure access to state patronage and resources and to promote sustainability. The nexus here are that both the terrorists and freedom fighters engaged in kidnapping, wanton destructions of lives and properties as it would attract the attention of the government. An instance of well-known environmental groups or freedom fighters in Nigeria is the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP). Its leader, Ken SaroWiwa, was murdered in 1995 by the SaniAbacha-led military junta. SaroWiwa was the winner of many prestigious environmental prizes, including the Goldman award and the Hellwau/Hammeh award. Though MOSOP was not the first agitators to challenge the Nigerian state and the multinational oil companies operating in the Niger-Delta, MOSOP is significant because it generated immense international interest and effectively placed the crisis in the region at the center of the environmental discourse.[12] Even though SaroWiwa is best remembered as an environmental right activist, heis noted for the politicization of the environmental message of MOSOP. In one interview with Chris McGreal, SaroWiwa noted the Impact and implications of this change "We have been fighting for the environment for a long time. Nobody listened because the environment was not a serious issue with anybody except for those of us who were suffering. But when we made a political case, then that began to draw some attention".[13]It was the marginalization of the people of the Niger delta that led the famous playwriter Ken Saro-Wiwa to assert vehemently that:

> …I'm appalled by the denigrating poverty of my people, who live on richly-endowed land, distressed by their political marginalization and economic strangulation; angered by the devastation of their land, their ultimate heritage, anxious to reserve their right to life and to decent living….. I have devoted all my intellectual and material resources.

My very life to a cause in which I have total believe and from which I cannot be blackmailed or intimidated….[14]

There is no gainsaying that the marginalization and deprivation of the people of the Niger-Delta region, especially the down trodden, is what has led Ken SaroWiwato be known as a freedom fighter.

The Ogoni struggle led by Ken SaroWiwa was not a terrorist group as some persons viewed it but freedom fighting or environmental activism. No doubt, the Ogoni struggle brought the environmental crisis in the Niger Delta to a global audience and forced many countries to re-examine their political relationship with Nigeria in the 1990s.[15] However, Ken SaroWiwa's ability in linking the environmental question to the issues of political and economic development, particularly resource control and right, effectively elevated the political and economic consciousness of the Niger Delta; and the organizations that succeeded MOSOP at the frontlines of the battle of oil communities against the Nigerian state and multinational corporations.[15]Groups like Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta People (MEND), the Niger Delta People Volunteer Force (NDPVF) and the Ijaw Youths Congress (IYC) have all ended the oil communities' romance with the Nigeria government and multinational companies and appear to now increasingly focus on the central question of resource control rather than resource sustainability. They seek to achieve greater oil resources rather than protecting their environment – which was the hallmark of Ken Saro-Wiwa's struggle. The Nigerian government saw the weaknesses of the new agitators for the Niger Delta and made efforts to encourage the greater inclusion of oil-producing minorities in the political process at the federal level and the gradual demilitarization of the Niger Delta region by launching the Amnesty Program in 2009, creation of the Niger Delta Ministry and the Niger Delta Development Commission at the federal level, and approval of increased derivation percentage in the sharing of federal revenue. These are the government's declared goals, not necessarily its accomplishments. What is clear is the abandonment of the environmental struggle that birthed MOSOP which later birthed other organizations mentioned above that, actuated by greed, have deviated from the path trodden by their predecessors. It now appears that the compensations provided by the Nigerian government to the people of the Niger Delta, in terms of the establishment of the aforementioned measures, have largely satisfied the grievances of a movement that has shelved its battle cry of environmental degradation and resource sustainability. This is also an indication of how greedy the contemporary Niger Delta agitators are, with selfishness, criminalityand greed now the driving forces of the current Niger Delta agitators.[16]They are freedom fighters not terrorists. Though their actions at times could be related or serve as nexus to acts of terrorism, ideologies different from those of terrorists underpin their actions.

From John's analysis, "Envy"is analogous to terrorism. Terrorists are less concerned with the acquisition of wealth than they are with destruction.[17] They are very smart enough to cloak their ideas by hijacking the popular will of an oppressed people, but their wrath is not oppressed when they acquire what they really want. For example, would Boko Haram end the war against Northeastern Nigeriaifgets its Islamic state? Or would the war against Israel be over once the Palestinians get their own homeland or state? Most likely, they would not because the real goal of terrorist groups like Boko Haram is not acquiring but destroying. It is quite clear that terrorism is different from armed movement for control of resources or liberty like what Ken SaroWiwa and Isaac AdakaBoro of the Niger Delta stood for. Terrorism is not grounded in greed unlike freedom fighting which is driven by a preoccupation with resource control or self-rule. Instead, terrorism is an apex form of destruction and is actuated by envy and the nexus between freedom fighters and terrorists it is the wanton destruction of lives and properties by the parties.

Understanding the differences between terrorism and freedom fighting from the above, the concepts of terrorism and freedom fighting will help us to refrain from seeing Boko Haram terrorist operations as a freedom fighting group or give them a privileged social class. Due to its willful destruction of the North-East, with the death of over 8,000 people including security personnel, Boko Haram does not deserve the noble tag of freedom fighter.[18]

Concept of Terrorism and Freedom Fighting: Comparative Analysis

Terrorism and freedom fighting have occurred throughout history for various reasons: historical, political, socio-cultural, economic, psychological and religious. To a large extent, what has compelled people or individuals to engage in terrorism or freedom fighting are grievances due to economic exploitation, political oppression, cultural domination, ethnic and religious persecution. Perceived lopsided distributions of wealth and political power has led to agitation that birthed freedom fighters and also birthed terrorism in an attempt to overthrow even democratically elected governments Hutchful and Aningcited in Agbiboa,"The dynamics of Nigeria's BokoHaram insurgency: Fresh Insights from Social Identity Theory".[19]The most fervent breed of terrorists or freedom fighters is one whose members resort to violence for nationalist or separatist reasons.[21]

Depending on one's perception, the entire gamut of terrorism and freedom fighting can be considered as resistance against oppressors.[22] Mahatma Ghandi and his followers of the freedom movement managed to liberate themselves from foreign occupation by nonviolent means (M. K. Gandhi, 2001) in a long walk of passive resistance. In most other colonized countries, nationalist movements are often regarded as terrorists and in the course of resistance resort to terrorism as a means to an end.[23]For the above reasons, terrorism or freedom fighting remains a phenomenon that is very complex and challenging to conceptualize. Preferred definitions face difficulties both conceptually and syntactically. This is because terrorism and freedom-fighting, like other social phenomena, defies any, generally accepted definition owing to their complex nature. On this, Paul Pillar, former Deputy Chief of the Central Intelligent Agency (CIA) posited,that there were four key elements of terrorism *inter alia;* premeditated, politically motivated, violent act and aimed at civilians and sub-national groups.[24]This definition totally lacks any element of state-sponsored terrorism as there exists state-sponsored terrorism. Terrorism is the use of violent and intimidating methods to coerce a government or community to accent to their demands a method also deployed by freedom fighters. Again, this definition lacks the basic elements of modern terrorism.

Terrorist tend to give terrorism a strategic context based target and objectives, as rationales behind the terrorist groups and their acts. The more important of the two levels is that terrorism is designed to evoke a response of fear from the ultimate target of the act: the government or the society. The intention may be a change in government policy, such as giving its support to or withdrawing it from a nation or government or it could be to simply publicize and recommit to a cause. This partly explains the various attacks on American interests and the world considering her foreign policy especially in the Middle East and Africa. Brian Jenkins also argues that terrorism is a theatre.[25]Binyamin Netanyahu sees terrorism as a deliberate and systematic assault on civilians to inspire fear for political ends.[26]However, terrorists also target service personnel as could be seen in the Iraqi insurgents' attacks on coalition forces; and can also be seen in Nigeria where the Boko Haram terrorist group and the Niger Delta militants target services personnel. This afore-referenced definition of terrorism provided by Netanyahulacks some elements of terrorism. Jacqueline Ann, on the other hand, sees terrorism as a

global phenomenon that is easy to recognize but difficult to define.[27]He attributes the difficulty to the numerous ways by which terrorism could be viewed. Jacqueline Ann argues that "those that are affected by social and economic problems conceptualize terrorism as conflict between the haves and have not".[28]Similarly,those experiencing the use of terror tactics to gain political mileage consider terrorism a political phenomenon. These imply that, the causes and objectives of terrorists and freedom fighters have either socio-economic or political connotations or both. The statement above is in agreement with the basic concept or causes of terrorism and freedom fighting as already identified by Wilkinson, which are "ethno-religious, ideological conflicts and poverty".[29]

Ziyanda Stuurman, conceptualized terrorism as occurring when a group, whether in government or outside government, resolves to pursue a set of ideological objectives. This is carried out by methods that subvert or ignore the requirements of domestic and international law and also base their success rudimentarily on the threat or use of violence.[30]Ziyanda's conceptualization of terrorism does not give reasons why groups or individuals engage in terrorism.

Roberts espoused the general view on terrorism held by political scholars. He stated that "Terrorism is the use of violence often against groups or individuals not directly involved in a conflict by groups operating covertly, claiming to have political purposes in mind."[31]

Crenshaw agreed with Roberts' view when she posited that terrorism is the deliberate creation of specialized terror on any civilians by using violence to promote political ends.[32] However, their views agree on political objectives of terrorism, while they differ on central issues.

Crenshaw,for example, assumed that once terror is created in the midst of civilians, terrorism is also manifested.[33]Wardlaw, also defined terrorism, as an attack on unrelated and or undefended persons and or property for political objectives committed by either an individuals, non-state organization or legitimate government.[34] And (by his definition) embraced the most essential ingredients of the subject to the extent that he included the possibility of terrorism being state- or non-state-sponsored. However, his emphasis on politics as the beginning and end of terrorism, limits the concept since terrorism could also be for criminal purposes, like cheating and molestation. The challenge of definite definition of terrorism was clearly presented by Joyner,who opined that politically, economically, academically and legally, the phenomenon of terrorism eludes clear and exact definitions. In a sense, terrorism is like pornography. You know it when you see it, but it is impossible to find a generally accepted definition.[35]

Sabo I. A. agreed that hackneyed "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter"remains self-evident or obvious truth in international political perception.He also emphasized that terrorism is a criminal act needing or requiring political measures and application of military force in its dangers.[36] He failed to emphasize the crucial method of tackling criminal terrorism which, according to Nwolise, was prevalent in Nigeria.[37]In addition, the researcher noted an element of modern terrorism which has gained considerable currencylately: publicity. This is experienced worldwide. Publicity has been particularly improved through satellite television networks which beam images across the worldof the nefarious acts. The most prominent and referenced definition of terrorism is that postulated by Schmid. According to him, terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed covertly by individuals, groups or state actors. It is often for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons whereby, in contrast to assassination, the direct targets of violence are not the main targets selectively or randomly chosen from a target population, and serve as message generators.[38]Schmitt's definition emphasized the major characteristics and objectives of terrorism. It is completely accepted by this researcher and would be adopted as an operating definition in this paper. Like every other author, Schmitt did not give us the different perspectives on terrorists

and freedom fighters. The study would therefore emphasize the place of Boko Haram as a terrorist group, not freedom fighters and the Niger Delta militants as freedom fighters.

Conclusion

Due to the technical nature of interpretation and understanding of Boko Haram terrorist operations Nigeria and the attempt to define freedom fighters and terrorism undergo inherent flaws that can be illustrated by investigating the nexus between freedom fighters and terrorists in Nigeria. The use of the term "terrorism" for freedom fighters operations is not only heavily politicized but is, in real sense and practical technique, permeated with vagueness over what a freedom fighter is. Looking out the real ethical cases that would satisfy the nexus between freedom fighters and terrorists in Nigeria last resort hypothesis is as belligerent and tricky as defining the term "terrorism" itself.

Conceivably the single most important flaw in the conventional perceptions about the nature of terrorism and freedom fighters operations, lies at the bottom the generally accepted definitions that is, the claims that freedom fighters and terrorist is the systematic targeting of civilians and that its motivations and goals are to spread terror in a wider community to extract government policy changes. Boko Haram terrorist attacks in Nigeria have not been systematic on the part of the militant or secessionist in some regions of Nigeria. Such attacks on civilians/noncombatants have been peripheral to main use of political violence, which is directed against Nigeria state's military, political and economic asserts. Civilians are more often killed by reckless disregard, akin to collateral damage caused and tolerated by conventional security agencies. Within broadly accepted canon of contemporary philosophy on the ethics of freedom fighters in political violence, despite the ambiguities of that philosophy, there is even a case to be considered for the legitimacy of Boko Haram terrorist acts that have been carried out by the secessionist or militant or resistance under some articles related to the thrust of this paper-assuming we accept that these papers are valid. It is clearfrom the perceptions of the secessionist or the militant leaders, publicly express over time that they considered oil companies in the Niger-Delta region and the Nigeria state actions in the Niger-Delta as injustice, marginalization, injustice an environmental degradation provoke them to actions against Nigeria state and that is the basic nexus between terrorists and freedom fighters. While this paper considered the Boko Haram operations in Nigeria as senseless, killing without basic reasons for their actions which is reckless and disproportionate use of force against civilians in Nigeria at times has been genocidal, in particular its reliance on indiscriminate bombardment of civilians and destructions of properties and well-documented cases of massacres. If we apply the test of systematic indiscriminate attacks on civilian by Boko Haram terrorists in Nigeria we find that it is different to the freedom fighters operations. The nexus between freedom fighters and terrorists operation is the use of terrorism by some elements freedom fighters or militant or secessionist operation in Nigeria

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