

## *Genocide as a Threat to the Nigerian Federation*

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### **Abstract**

Genocide is the deliberate killing of a large group of people especially those of a particular nation, ethnic or religious group. It also means racial killing, massacre, wholesale slaughter, mass slaughter, indiscriminate killing, etc. Genocide generally means the destruction of an ethnic group. In virtually every case of genocide, a ruling elite group is in a precarious position with a fragile economy and a volatile political situation. In such a situation, the leaders are desperate to maintain control under conditions that could quickly devolve into chaos.

The paper discusses genocide generally and genocide in international law. The paper further discusses the Nigeria federation, the concept of federalism. Genocide in Nigeria is discussed with particular emphasis on the Boko Haram uprisings. The paper is concluded with suggestions on how to curtail the Boko Haram uprisings and make the Nigerian federation stronger.

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## Genocide in International Law

The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of Genocide was adopted in 1948. It came into effect after obtaining the requisite twenty ratifications required by article XIII, the Convention entered into force on 12 January, 1951<sup>1</sup>.

The Convention defines genocide in legal terms, and is the culmination of years of campaigning by lawyer Raphael Lemkin. All participating countries are advised to prevent and punish actions of genocide in war and in peacetime. The number of states that have ratified the convention is currently 146.<sup>2</sup>

The Convention is a major pillar in the evolving framework of international humanitarian rules. It declares genocide as a crime under the international law. It condemns genocide whether committed in time of peace or in time of war and provides a definition of what crimes constitute genocide.

The convention defines genocide as any of a number of acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group; killing, deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.<sup>3</sup>

Article 3 of the Convention defines the crimes that can be punished under the convention thus

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

The convention was passed to outlaw actions similar to the Holocaust by Nazi Germany during World War II. Its first draft included political killing, but the USSR along with some other nations would not accept that actions against groups identified as holding similar political opinions or social status would constitute genocide.<sup>4</sup>

The first time that the Genocide convention was enforced occurred on 2 September 1998 when the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda found Jean-Paul Akayesu, the former mayor of a small town in Rwanda, guilty of nine counts of genocide. Two days later, Jean Kambanda became the first head of government to be convicted of genocide.

The first state to be found in breach of the Genocide Convention was Serbia. In the *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro* case the International Court of Justice presented its judgment on 26 February 2007. It cleared Serbia of direct involvement in genocide during the Bosnian war.<sup>5</sup> But ruled that Serbia did breach international law by failing to prevent the 1995 Srebrenica genocide, and for failing to try or transfer the persons accused of genocide to the International Criminal Tribunal on Yugoslavia (ICTY).

## **Nigeria**

Nigeria is a federal constitutional republic consisting of 36 states and a Federal Territory, Abuja. The country is located in West Africa and shares land borders with the Republic of Benin in the West, Chad and Cameroon in the east, and Niger in the North. Its coast in the south lies on the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean.

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and the largest in area of the West African states and has the sixth largest area in Africa. Nigeria became an independent nation in 1960. Nigeria is a country of great diversity because of the many ethnic, linguistic and religious groups that live within its border. There are three dominant regional groups they are the Hausa in the Northern kingdoms of the savanna, the Yoruba in the west and the Igbo in the east. Like many other modern African states, Nigeria is the creation of European imperialism. The modern history of Nigeria as a political state encompassing 400 to 500 ethnic groups of widely varied cultures and modes of political organization dates back from the completion of the British conquest in 1903 and the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria into the colony and the Protectorate of Nigeria in 1914.<sup>6</sup>

The three major ethnic groups constitute more than sixty percent of the total population of Nigeria. They are Yoruba 21 %, Hausa 21% and Igbo 18%.

There are several dominant themes in Nigerian history that are essential in understanding contemporary Nigerian politics and society, The spread of Islam in the North and later South-western Nigeria, the slave trade and the spread of Christianity. Nigeria became a federation in 1954.

Against this background, Nigeria is a disaster waiting to happen. It is therefore not surprising that Nigeria is divided along ethnic and religious lines. Nigeria fought a civil war between 1967 –1970. From the late 1980s to the present time there have been series of attempt at genocide by different ethnic and religious groups.

Genocide in Nigeria is caused by a number of factors – political agitation, ethnicity, religion, militancy and resource control among other factors. Genocide has even been perpetrated by the federal government.

The origin and foundation of Nigerian federalism can be traced to the period of British colonial rule during which certain factors which were to influence Nigeria's federal system were already manifest. These factors such as tribalism, regionalism and structural imbalance merely acquired new strength and momentum after independence.<sup>7</sup>

The aspiration of the founding fathers of Nigeria at independence to build a stable and virile country were hinged upon the perceived efficacy of the federal principle. But within a few years of independence these aspirations and great expectations dissipated into national confusion, and ultimately crisis. The various crises of nation-building (the 1967-1970 civil war being the gravest) experienced by Nigeria since 1960, coupled with current demands for a general redefinition of the Nigerian federation via a sovereign national conference all go to show that federalism has not worked successfully in the country. The clamour for resource control by the federating units

has been a dominant aspect of the problematic federal system in Nigeria. The agitation for resource control by the people of the Niger Delta has given rise to militant nationalism. The failure by successive Nigerian governments to abide by the core principles of federalism, especially those that concern the control of resources by federating units in which such resources are domiciled, has been responsible for the various crises in the nation, particularly the armed struggle in the Niger Delta and Boko Haram uprising among others.

### **Federalism In Nigeria**

The notion of federalism which originated with the concept of intergovernmental relations dates back to the Greek civilizations, during which efforts were made to describe the legal relationships between the leagues and the city states. But the leagues differed from modern federations in that while the various governments freely interacted, no direct contact between the citizens of the various governments was allowed.<sup>8</sup> Mogi, observed further that Jean Bodin takes credit for being the first proponent of modern federalism and was emulated by scholars such as Hugo Grotus, Otto Cosmanus and Pufenderf who viewed federalism as a voluntary type of political union (which may be temporary or permanent) of independent authorities, for special common objectives such as defence against external forces, trade and communications, etc.

A new perception of federalism emerged in 1787 following the establishment of the United States of America (USA) Constitution.<sup>9</sup> Since then, the tendency among scholars has been to conceptualize federalism from the viewpoint of contact at two levels (Dual federalism, that is, at the governmental level between participating units and among the citizens of these different unit. Subsequently, various conceptual positions on federalism became popular. Such include the classic or orthodox school (coordinate federalism) represented by Kenneth Wheare<sup>10</sup>, the sociological and process school epitomized by William Livingstone and Carl Friedrich and the cooperative federalism school by which scholars have, presently, focused more attention on how to make federalism work through cooperation between the various levels of government.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of the different conceptions of federalism (i.e. the classical model, the sociological school, cooperative federalism etc) some basic characteristics and operational principles common to all truly federal systems can be identified.<sup>12</sup> First, the federal relationship must be established or confirmed through a perpetual covenant of union, embodied in a written Constitution that outlines, among other things, the terms by which power is divided or shared in the political system and which can be altered only by extraordinary procedures. Second, the political system must ensure non-centralisation, that is, diffusion of power among the constituent polities established by the federal covenant. A third element of any true federal system is the internal division of authority and power on an aerial basis, known in the USA as “territorial democracy”.<sup>13</sup>

Another basic requirement of federalism is that the constituent politics in a federation must be fairly equal in population and wealth or at least balanced geographically or numerically in their inequalities, if non-centralization is to be maintained. Permanence of the boundaries of constituent units is another characteristic of

successful federal systems. Boundary changes may occur, but such changes are made only with the consent of the polities involved and as a matter of political policy are avoided except in the most extreme situations. Also, in a truly federal system, the constituent polities must have substantial influence over the formal or informal constitutional amending process.<sup>14</sup> Finally, a basic requirement of true federalism is a particular kind of environment that is conducive to popular government and has the required traditions of political cooperation and self restraint. Most scholars of federalism conceive it as basically incompatible with authoritarianism or military rule.<sup>15</sup> They contend that where there are no liberal democratic institutions and structures such as elected parliament, an open competitive party system and free periodic elections, there can be no federalism.

Nigeria federation has had chequered history. It has been brought through four phases, namely, colonial, civilian, military and post-military. Between May and July 1966, Nigeria ceased to be a federation and became instead, though military fiat, a unitary system of government. Each of these phases has left its mark on both the nature and the operation of the country's federation. Each phase put it through some stress that, in some cases, forced some adjustments to the character of the nation's federalism.<sup>16</sup>

The pre-military federal system that Nigeria operated in the period now known as the First Republic was fundamentally different from the post-military federal structure. In the former, the three and later four regions, were fully autonomous federating units. Each region, with a premier as head of government, operated its own laws and constitution. Each of them had native authority police while the federal government maintained the Nigeria Police. Each region also had the symbol of its own authority. None of them was totally or near totally dependent on the centre for its fiscal and other needs. Each region was strong enough and rich enough to take care of itself. The main criticism of this arrangement was that the regions were too powerful and the centre was too weak for a meaningful federal system and national unity. The regions, given the degree of their autonomy, tended to treat the federal government with disdain. The federal government could not impose its will on the federating units. It was generally felt that if this continued, things would eventually fall apart.

From January 15, 1966 to October 1, 1979, Nigeria had a military government. The military administration effected some fundamental changes in the nation's political and administrative system of governments. The first of such fundamental changes was Decree 34 of 1966 promulgated by the first military head of state. Under the decree, Nigeria operated a unitary system of government. By the time the military quit the stage on October 1, 1979 they had succeeded in changing the character of the federation in response to the nation's historical problems of fear and domination. The centre became and remains powerful and the constituent units became and remain weak.

There are two basic reasons for the erosion of true federalism which characterised the Nigerian nation in the first republic before the onslaught of the military in 1966. One of the reasons was the collapse of the first republic when the military intervened in January, 1966. The 1966 coup killed the essence of federalism. The federal form which survived the military onslaught and the basis of which the country precariously persisted as an entity has never regained its true essence.<sup>17</sup>

The Military are used to the professional practice of unified command. The centralized federalism in Nigeria today is one of the disruptive heritages of military rule in Nigeria.

Thus military adventure into politics in Nigeria, from 1966-1979 and from 1983 to 1999 altered the nature of federalism in Nigeria and provides the basis for agitation in Nigeria today.

### **Genocide In Nigeria**

There have been several attempts at genocide in Nigeria. Each of the several ethnic groups in Nigeria is suspicious of each other. There have been many religious crises in Nigeria e.g. Maitasine uprising in Kano that killed thousands of people.

Religious violence reached a new height in 1980 in Kano, the largest city in northern Nigeria where the Muslim fundamentalist sect Yan Tatsine (followers of Maitatsine) instigated riots that resulted in four to five thousand deaths. In the ensuing military crackdown Maitatsine was killed, fuelling a backlash of increased violence which spread across other northern cities over the course of the next 20 years.

There have been several attempts at genocide in Nigeria. Table 1 below, gives a list of recorded or documented massacres/genocides in Nigeria<sup>18</sup>.

Genocide in Nigeria is not limited to ethnic groups and religious organizations.

The Government had also allegedly perpetrated genocide.

### **Odi Genocide**

The Federal Government of Nigeria allegedly committed genocide against the Odi community in 1999. The Odi massacre started with the murder of seven policemen sent to investigate the story that some Ijaw youths were planning to mobilize people to fight for the Ijaw people in Lagos. The policemen were led by Thomas Jokotola, a Yoruba, who also led the combined team that chased out the lawless gang from their Yenagoa base. The policemen were abducted and killed.<sup>19</sup>

On November 10, 1999, President Olusegun Obasanjo wrote to the governor of Bayelsa State, expressing grave displeasure at the killings and threatened to impose a state of emergency in the state if the killers were not arrested and prosecuted within 14 days. Four days to the expiration of the two-week ultimatum, President Obasanjo ordered killer soldiers into Odi and the surrounding environment. Thereafter, it was war and terror in Odi. The operation was tagged "Operation HAKURI II". According to the then Minister of Defense, the operation was initiated with the mandate of protecting lives and property, particularly oil platforms, flow stations, operating rig terminals and pipelines, refineries and power installations in the Niger Delta" (The Guardian, Lagos, November 26, 1999). Odi is an oil community with three capped oil wells controlled by Shell Petroleum Development Company Ltd.

At the end of Operation HAKURI II, a total of 2,483 people were dead, comprising of 1460 male casualties and 1023 female casualties. Heavy military artilleries were

deployed. It has been stated that the mission was to wipe out the community from the face of the earth. Nothing was spared. (A Blanket of Silence Images of the Odi genocide).

A court in Nigeria has ordered the Federal government to pay N37.6 bn. compensation for the Odi genocide.<sup>20</sup> UK court has also registered judgment on Genocide against Nigeria. In an audacious and unprecedented move, the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court has decided to disapply the State Immunity Act 1978 (SIA) and registered a judgment obtained in Nigeria against a sovereign state (Nigeria) because the SIA is incompatible with the Human Rights Act, 1998.

The judgment has now been registered in England under the Administration of Justice Act, 1920 with the view that the claimants who are the victims will now commence enforcement action in England.

Table 1: A List of Recorded Massacres/Genocides in Nigeria

Name	Date	Location	Deaths	Notes
Asaba massacre	7 October 1966	Asaba, Delta	Up to 500 men	Occurred during Biafran Civil War
Odi massacre	20 November 1999	Odi, Bayelsa State	43 2,500	Private military employed by western oil companies murdering a village and burning it to the ground, part of the Conflict in the Niger Delta.
2000 Kaduna riots	21 February-23 May, 2000	Kaduna	2,000 5,000	Religious riots between Christians and Muslims over the introduction of sharia law in Kaduna State, start of the religious riots phase of the Sharia Conflict in Nigeria.
2001 Jos riots	7-17 September, 2001	Jos	500–5000	Religious riots between Christians and Muslims.
Miss World riots	November 22, 2002	Kaduna	200+	Inter-religious riots that started on 22 November in Kaduna, along with many houses of worship being burned by religious zealots. Cause: article in <i>Thisday</i> about the 2002 Miss World beauty contest (to be held in Abuja), in which Muslims took offence.
Yelwa massacre	February-May 2004	Yelwa, Shendam and Kano	c. 975	Religiously motivated killings between Christians and Muslims.
Muhammad	18	Maiduguri	50+	The international crisis

cartoons crisis	February 2006			reached the Nigerian city of Maiduguri, in which over 50 people were killed and many buildings destroyed or damaged by rioting Muslims, outraged because of cartoons about Muhammad in the Danish newspaper <i>Jyllands-Posten</i> .
2008 Jos riots	28-29 November 2008	Jos	381	Religious riots between Christians and Muslims over the result of a local election.
2009 Boko Haram Uprising	July 2009	Maiduguri, Bauchi, Potiskum, Wudil	1,000+	Islamic militants killed over a thousand people between 26 and 29 July; during the violence, Christians were killed for refusing to convert to Islam
2010 Jos massacre	2010	Jos	992	Religious rioting; victims were mostly Christians killed by Muslims
2011 Abuja United Nations bombing	26 August 2011	Abuja	21	73 injured; Boko Haram attacked a United Nations compound
2011 Damaturu attacks	4 November 2011	Damaturu	100-150	Islamic militants associated with Boko Haram attacked police stations, churches, and banks
December 2011 Nigeria clashes	December 2011	Maiduguri and Damaturu	68+	Islamic militants associated with Boko Haram clashed with security forces between 22 and 23 December
December 2011 Nigeria bombings	25 December 2011	Madalla	41+	73 injured; Muslim militants bombed a Catholic church during Christmas mass
January 5-6, 2012 Nigeria attacks	January 2012	Mubi, Yola, Gombi, and Maiduguri	37+	Islamic terrorists attacked churches and Christian businesses; Boko Haram claimed responsibility
January 20, 2012 Nigeria attacks	20 January 2012	Kano	185	Islamic terrorists attacked churches and Christian businesses; Boko Haram claimed responsibility
April 2012 Kaduna massacre	8 April 2012	Kaduna	38	Islamic terrorists bombed a church on Easter

June 2012 Kaduna church bombings	17 June 2012	Kaduna, Wusasa, and Sabon Gari	12-19	80 injured; Islamic terrorists bombed three churches
July 2012 massacre	7 July 2012	Multiple northern Nigerian villages	100+	Islamic militants attacked Christian villages
Deeper Life Church shooting	7 August 2012	Okene	19	Islamic militants attacked a church; the pastor was among the dead
December 2012 shootings in Nigeria	25 December 2012	Maiduguri, Potiskum	27	Islamic militants attacked a church on Christmas Day; afterwards the church was set on fire
Baga massacre	19-20 April 2013	Baga, Borno	228+	Identity of the perpetrators remains unclear; some blame the Nigerian military while others blame the Islamic terrorist group Boko Haram
Yobe State school shooting	6 July 2013	Mamudo government secondary school	30	Suspected Boko Haram terrorists killed at least 41 children and one teacher
Gujba college massacre	29 September 2013	Gujba Yobe school	50	At 1:00 a.m. suspected gunmen from Boko Haram entered the male dormitory in the College of Agriculture in Gujba, Yobe State, Nigeria, killing at least forty-four students and teachers.
Kawuri massacre	11 January 2014	Konduga Local Government, Borno State	85	Attack by Boko Haram
Borno Massacre	11 February 2014	Konduga, Borno State	39	About 39 people are believed to have been killed in an attack by Islamist militants on a Nigerian town. Local residents said the attack on Konduga, in the north-east Borno state, lasted several hours, beginning shortly before sundown on Tuesday night with the arrival of gunmen in 4x4 trucks. A mosque and more than 1,000 homes

				were razed to the ground, residents said
Federal Government College Buni Yadi attack	25 February 2014	Federal Government College Buni Yadi, Yobe State	59	Islamist gunmen killed 59 students at a boarding school in Yobe State.
April 2014 Abuja attacks	14 April 2014	Bus Stand, Abuja, Nigeria	71	Two bombs exploded in a crowded bus station in the outskirts of Abuja, Nigeria.
May 2014 Gamboru attacks	6 May 2014	Gamboru, Borno, Nigeria	300+	Militants attacked at night and set houses ablaze. When people tried to escape, they were shot dead.
Gwoza massacre	2 June 2014	Gwoza, Borno, Nigeria	200-300	Boko Haram attack on Christian villagers
2014 Kano Bombings	23 June 2014	Kano, Nigeria	13	Dozens of people were killed in a bomb blast at Kano State School of Hygiene. The blast was attributed to militant group Boko Haram by the locals.

Source: ISAAC TERWASE SAMPSON, "Religious violence in Nigeria: Causal diagnoses and strategic recommendations to the state and religious communities", *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* (2012) p. 107-112.

## **Boko Haram**

What is known as Boko Haram is actually *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'Awati Wal-Jihad* (Western education is forbidden). It is a militant Islamist movement based in Northeast Nigeria. The group has received training and funds from Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and was designated by the US as a terrorist organisation in November 2013. Membership has been estimated to number between a few hundred and a few thousands.

Boko Haram killed more than 5,000 civilians between July 2009 and June 2014, including at least 2,000 in the first half of 2014, in attacks occurring mainly in northeast and north central states. Corruption in the security services and human rights abuses committed by them have hampered efforts to counter the unrest. 650,000 people fled the conflict zone by August 2014, an increase of 200,000 since May. Since Boko Haram's resurgence in 2010, the Nigerian government has struggled to respond to the growing threat posed by the group.

Mohammed Yusuf founded the sect that became known as Boko Haram in 2002 in Maiduguri, the capital of north-eastern state of Borno, establishing a religious complex with a school which attracted poor Muslim families from across Nigeria and neighbouring countries. Boko Haram has the political goal of creating an Islamic state, and became a recruiting ground for jihadis. The group has large followership from unemployed youths.

Inequality and radical nature of Islam, locally and internationally, beginning with the 1979 Ayatollah Khomeini revolution in Iran, contributed both to the Maitatsine and the Boko Haram uprisings. Boko Haram has close ties to Al-Qaida.

The violence of Boko Haram has also been linked to the militancy of the Arewa People's Congress, the militia wing of the Arewa Consultative Forum, the main political group representing the interest of northern Nigeria. For decades, politicians and academics from northern Nigeria have voiced their fundamental opposition to Western education. The ACF is a well-funded group with military and intelligence expertise.

#### **(a) Boko Haram Ideology**

Boko Haram was founded as a Sunni Islamic fundamentalist sect advocating a strict form of sharia law and developed into a Salafist-jihadi group in 2009. Boko Haram seeks the establishment of an Islamic state in Nigeria, and opposes the Westernising of Nigerian society that has concentrated the wealth of the country among a small political elite, mainly in the Christian South of the Country.

Boko Haram is becoming indiscriminate in its bombing activities both Christians and Muslims are targeted. Boko Haram is seen more and more as a political group rather than a religious group. People are now accusing the sect of having a political agenda.

#### **(b) Chibok Girls**

On the night of 14-15 April, 276 female students were kidnapped from the Government Secondary School, Chibok, Borno State while the girls were sleeping in their dormitories. Boko Haram claimed responsibility for the abduction. As of October 10, 2014 the girls are yet to be released. The abduction was greeted with world-wide condemnation. The hash tag #Bring back our girls # campaigns were held worldwide. Michelle Obama, the First Lady of the United States of America joined in the campaign.

Spates of bombing including an assassination attempt on a former Head of State, General Muhammadu, coupled with the fact that several town and villages in north eastern Nigeria are now under the control of Boko Haram has exposed the inadequacies of the Nigerian Military. There have been mutinies in the army due to refusal of some soldiers to fight Boko Haram because Boko Haram are better equipped. Recently twelve soldiers were sentenced to death for mutiny and many were also sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

#### **(c) Boko Haram: The Way Forward**

Virtually every group in Nigeria claim to be marginalised. There is need to call for Sovereign National conference to discuss the future of the country. Poverty, inequality and lack of development in the country are making many Nigerians to question the Nigerian project.

- A long time solution for containing Boko Haram and Ansaru's terrorism and for neutralizing them along with other insurgency groups in Nigeria, is to resolve the crisis in the country's nation-building processes. Terrorism would end when Nigerians see themselves as one.

- There is a need to re-start the stalled nation building process. All round economic development where no group is left behind is necessary. There should be equal distribution of political appointments and amenities. State Governments in the north should be empowered to lead the charge and be the faces of the fight against Boko Haram.
- Creating a Ministry of Northern Affairs - just like the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs would help to address the numerous challenges in the North including poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and radical Islam. There should be speedy and fair trials of those found to be Boko Haram activists or funders and allowing the law to take its full course.
- A Marshall Plan should be instituted for the Northeast aimed at winning the hearts and minds of the local populace. The plan should aim at providing quality education, building local capacity and providing jobs. The option of offering amnesty to the more moderate members of the sects while side-lining the hardliners and finding means to effectively neutralizing them should be employed.

There is a need to develop counter terrorism Strategy. Presently there is poor coordination between and integration of military means and political and economic objectives. The following are being suggested:

- (a) Building a new intelligence Gathering infrastructure
- (b) Improved intelligence gathering
- (c) Improve contingency planning
- (d) Pursue and Align military with political (negotiated) solutions
- (e) Re-radicalization strategy
- (f) Regionalize Response (ECOWAS and AU)
- (g) Effective information management and strategic communication
- (h) Economic development plan for northern Nigeria
- (i) Seeking assistance from the international community, NGOs, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to design peace building initiatives for the North eastern Nigeria.
- (j) Addressing the imbalance between north and south
- (k) Rebalancing the Nigerian economy and increasing transparency by fighting corruption.

## **Conclusion**

There are several dominant themes in Nigerian history that are essential in understanding contemporary Nigerian politics and society; the spread of Islam in the North and later South-western Nigeria, the slave trade and the spread of Christianity. Multi-ethnicity, languages and cultural differences in the country are some of these dominant themes.

Against this background, Nigeria is a disaster waiting to happen. It is therefore not surprising that Nigeria is divided along ethnic and religious lines. Nigeria fought a civil war between 1967 and 1970. From the late 1980s to the present time there have been series of attempt at genocide by different ethnic and religious groups.

Genocide in Nigeria is caused by a number of factors – political agitation, ethnicity, religion, militancy and resource control among other factors. The issue of resource control needs to be addressed. The Revenue sharing formula should be changed to ensure that more revenue are given to states and the local governments.

There is no quick fix to fighting terrorism anywhere in the world as the experiences in Afghanistan, Somalia, Yemen, Iraq and other countries have shown. However, with the suggestions made in this paper and strategies concurrently pursued with the long-term strategy of resolving the crisis in Nigeria's nation-building processes, Boko Haram's terrorism can be contained and the group eventually neutralized.

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- <sup>1</sup> United Nations GA Resolution 260.  
<sup>2</sup> Nigeria Acceded to the Genocide Convention on July 27, 2009.  
<sup>3</sup> Article 2 of the UN Convention on Genocide.  
<sup>4</sup> Staub, E.: *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*. Cambridge, Uk: Cambridge University Press. 8.  
<sup>5</sup> Hudson, A.: "Serbia cleared of genocide, failed to stop killing" Reuters, 26 February, 2007.  
<sup>6</sup> See generally Crowder (1978).  
<sup>7</sup> Adeyeri, J.O.: "Nigerian Federalism and the Resource Control: Conflict in the Niger Delta *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* (Volume 16 No. 1, 2014)  
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<sup>13</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1997) Vol. 4, 712.  
<sup>14</sup> Diamond, M.: "The Federalist" in Strauss L & Cr(1963) Chicago, Melthen.  
<sup>15</sup> Wheare *op.cit*.  
<sup>16</sup> Ebegbulem, J.C.: "Federalism and the Politics of Resource Control in Nigeria: A critical analysis of the Niger Delta Crisis" *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* Vol.1 No. 12 September 2011.  
<sup>17</sup> Nwabueze, B.: *Constitutional History of Nigeria*, (1982) Lagos, Longman.  
<sup>18</sup> Sampson, I. T. "Religious violence in Nigeria: Causal diagnoses and strategic recommendations to the state and religious communities", *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* (2012) p. 107-112.  
<sup>19</sup> A Blanket of Silence: Images of the ODI genocide published by Environment Rights Action/Friends of the Earth, Nigeria 2002.  
<sup>20</sup> Vanguard Newspaper, February 19, 2013.

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