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# Insurgency and the north-east question in Nigeria: A survey of underlying questions on Boko Haram insurgency

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## Abstract

This study examined Insurgency and the North-East Question in Nigeria. The research surveyed the underlying questions on Boko Haram Insurgency in the North-East Geo-Political Region of Nigeria. Qualitative and quantitative methods of investigation were used. The Positive Correlation Analysis (PCA) was utilized in analyzing the data collected. The study found out that questions on who are the sponsors of Boko Haram, politicization of the counter insurgency as well as poor management of humanitarian situation emanating from the insurgency are part of the underlying questions troubling the minds of the people of the Region. The study suggested that, Nigeria authority should endeavor to fish out the sponsors of Boko Haram and prosecute them as stipulated by law. It also recommended the depoliticization of the war against insurgency in the region and effective management of humanitarian crisis emanating from the insurgency.

**Keywords:** Insurgency; Boko-Haram; North-East; Questions; Nigeria

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## 1. Introduction

By May 2013, large portion of territories in the North-Eastern State of Borno were already under the control of Boko Haram. Nigerian government forces in a joint military operation to counter insurgency promoted by Boko Haram was also fully in existence in the state. Despite the military present, Boko Haram was able to extend its influence through the vast unmanned portion of the state into other states like Adamawa and Yobe. As soon as the military dislodges the group from a particular area, it was very tactical in withdrawing into capturing new areas again. The suspension of mobile network operation in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe States as a result of the state of emergency declared on 14<sup>th</sup> May 2013 by the Federal Government of Nigeria culminated in a new wave of attacks on innocent civilians and the distortion of communication in the three affected states (Higazi, 2013). Cameroun, Chad and Niger provided the safe heaven into which people from border communities go to make phone calls with their relatives who have migrated to other places in Nigeria.

The name Boko Haram was fabricated by the societal. The actual name of the group is “Jama`atul ahl al-sunnah li`l-da`wah wa`l-jihad”. But the popular nomenclature which the group is today known with was derived from its hatred for westernization and western education in particular. Boko haram condemns secular education and civil service although, it uses technological devices derived from secular education to further its causes and carry out its attacks. The group comfortably utilizes those aspects of secular education that create opportunities for them to extend their struggles (Higazi, 2013 and Iweze, 2014). This development made the claim and ideology of the group baseless in the eyes of the ordinary citizens especially its doctrine that secular education is forbidden.

Boko Haram started ordinarily like a religious sect in few communities along the Lake Chad Basin but soon spread its membership into more communities in the North-East Region. And within shorter period, it gains more ground in its preaching and teaching in the region. The group was first dislodged from Kananma axis in Yobe state. It moved sluggishly east ward into dominating several towns and villages in Borno and Adamawa states with a base in Maiduguri as its headquarters. The group claims it was struggling to establish an Islamic state and government in Northern Nigeria but it has attacked and killed more Muslims than any other people in its attacks. Christians too were not spared in some of those attacks. And several Churches have been bombed just as several Mosques have been bombed. And this has culminated in the relocation and migration of several Christians and some Muslims from communities around Gwoza, Konduga, Bama, Madagali and Damboa all in the North-East Region of Nigeria (Higazi, 2013; Nossiter, 2015). And, as counter insurgent operations are on by the military, displaced civilians are forced to flee as refugees to neighboring border communities in Cameroun, Chad and Niger. But these communities too are under attack as Boko Haram has extended its operation beyond the borders of Nigeria into Cameroun, Chad and Niger-development that made the insurgency in its current stage a regional insecurity than a national one in its first stage of commencement.

### 1.1. Statement of problem

Although combatant engagements in the north-east region of Nigeria seems to have come closer to an end due to the military liberation of communities under Boko Haram`s control. Development going on presently in those places are what Nigerian soldiers addressed as mob up operations towards complete liberations of

initially conquered communities. These operations are still on in different places with Internally Displaced Persons (IDP's) not yet returned to their homes by the Nigerian authority. Major problems emanating from the insurgency are the issues of rehabilitation of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs ) back to communities already liberated by the government forces as well as improving the living condition of those still taking refuge in camps established across the country, rebuilding of destructions incurred as a result of battles fought in the area specially in the rural communities, compensation for innocent lives lost as a result of the engagements, investigations of reported cases of human rights violation and abuse during the conflict as well as reconstruction of social and basic amenities especially schools and public water supply system destroyed during the insurgency. Failure to up till date apprehend and prosecute the sponsors of Boko Haram keep troubling the minds of the people of the region. These phenomena provided the basis upon which the north-east questions were built. And even with severe military presence and operation still going on in the region, Boko Haram could still carry out attacks and abduction just as the recent case of Government Girl's Science and Technical College at Dapchi in Yobe State where one hundred and nine school girls were abducted and taken away by Boko Haram in February 2018. These are issues arranged to be addressed by this research as previous ones could not trace the questions of the North-East people talk less of providing answers to them.

## 1.2. Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study are:

- 1- To survey the underlying questions troubling the minds of people about the insurgency in the North-East Region of Nigeria.
- 2- And to make suggestions on how these questions can be answered.

## 1.3. Research questions

This research raised and answered a number of questions such as:

- 1- What are the underlying questions troubling the minds of people about the insurgency in the North-East Region of Nigeria?
- 2- And how can these questions troubling the minds of people about insurgency in North-East Nigeria be answered?

## 1.4. Literature review

Insurgency in north east Nigeria started in 2009 when the Jihadist rebel group Boko Haram started an armed rebellion against the Nigerian government. The group was led by Abubakar Shekau until August 2016 when he was succeeded by Abu Musab al-Barnawi. Of 2.3 million people displaced by the insurgency since May 2013, at least 250,000 have left Nigeria and fled into Cameroun, Chad or Niger. Boko Haram killed over 6,600 in 2014. The group have carried out mass abduction including the kidnapping of 276 schoolgirls from Chibok in April 2014. The violence escalated dramatically in 2014 with 10, 849 deaths in addition to initially 1,000 reported death cases in 2013. The insurgency spread in 2014 to neighboring Cameroun, Chad and Niger thus making the conflict a regional battle. Boko Haram has been called the world's deadliest terrorist group, in terms of the

number of people it has killed in the ongoing insurgency (Vanguard 2016:3, BBC 2016:1, Winsor 2015:12 and Buchanan 2015:). The replacement of Abubakar Shekau with Abu Musab-al-Barnawi happened after the battle for Konduga in which the government forces forcefully pushed Boko Haram out of Konduga to recaptured the town back. It was announced that Shekau had been killed as the government forces displayed the picture of an insurgent killed in the battle as the dead body of Shekau. Shortly afterward, Shekau bounces back in his usual way and manner of sending messages to the Nigeria Government through the internet and announced that he was not killed in the battle for Konduga and that he still remains the leader of Boko Haram. It was later confirmed by the government forces that the insurgent killed was not actually Shekau. And that Shekau was still alive.

The insurgency took place within the context of long-standing issues of religious violence between Nigeria's Muslim and Christian communities (More, 2015:12). Though, Boko Haram consistently claimed it is fighting to establish Islamic state and law in Nigeria. But then, the reasons why more Muslims are attacked and killed in the conflict than people from any other religion is enough reason to argue the basis that the group is fighting for the sake of Islam. Most of the communities attacked and persons displaced in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states which are the battle fronts had more Muslims than Christians. Suicide bombings that took place in most of the soft spots across Nigeria have claimed the lives of more Muslims than Christians. Several Muslim Ulemas in Major towns especially in Borno and Yobe states have been attacked while few others have been killed especially in Maiduguri the Borno state capital (Karimi and Abubakar, 2015). In most of the camps if not all where Internally Displaced Persons (IDP's) are settled, there is hardly one without Muslims. This implies that the insurgency was affiliated with Islam by Boko Haram in other to deceive ignorant young ones who were ever willing to fight and die in the name of God into joining the group and build up more combatants needed to take up arms against the Nigerian state and authority.

Nigerian government's establishment of a state of emergency at the beginning of 2012, extended in the following year to cover the entire north-east Nigeria, led to an increase in both security force abuses and militant attacks. This in turn instead of arresting the insurgency culminated in its severity than the pre-state of emergency period and later culminated in what Nicholas (2015) considered as the rise in number of Internally Displaced Person's (IDP's) by the insurgency. The confusion and controversial conditions created under the state of emergency rule have not yet been addressed. Killings rose than before, brutality grew higher, civilians became helpless as some of the attacks on highways are done by people one cannot ascertain whether they are Insurgents of Nigerian government forces. The security scenario in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states became undefined as the demarcation between those fighting in defense of national interest and those killing in the name of God became relatively narrowed. Insurgents devised several strategies with which they countered government forces tactics to contain them. Anxiety rose ever than before, military transfer of aggression on innocent civilians grew with time and as such several citizens fled their homes in anticipation of possible aggressive military raiding. This also contribute in building up the number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP's) by the insurgency.

In mid-2014, the insurgents gained control of swathes of territory in and around their home states of Borno, estimated at 50,000 square kilometers (20,000sq mi) and hold tight to this territory up to January 2015, but did not capture the state capital Maiduguri where the group was originally based (Lamb, 2016 and Akimbi,

2015). But the Nigerian Armed Forces DHQ (2015) shortly revealed that “Nigerian Troops Have Destroyed All Boko Haram Camps”. The contradicting observation in this revelation is the point that all camps of the insurgents have been destroyed. If all Boko Haram camps have been destroyed, then conquered territories have been liberated. If conquered territories have been actually liberated then there is no need to continue accommodating Internally Displaced Persons (IDP’s) in the various camps where hardships due to shortage of amenities is the order of the day. We may accept the fact that repairs especially reconstruction of facilities damaged need to be done before IDP’s can be returned to their various communities. But then, the problem as Mark (2015) earlier pointed out is the basic question of how long or soon it is going to take the Nigerian government in doing this so that the IDP’s most of whom are already hopeless of the possibility of starting a new life all over again can be given the hope of starting a life with prospect of achieving higher level and standard than before.

## 2. Methodology

This study is a survey carried out on three different locations (towns) in the North-East Region of Nigeria using qualitative and quantitative methods. Secondary data were source through printed materials like journal articles, magazines, newspapers, lecture notes, text books and internet based information. Primary data for the research were sourced through the administration of structured interview on sixty respondents chosen from Internally Displaced People (IDP) Camps in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states which are the most affected states by the insurgency in the region using the stratified sampling technique. In Adamawa State, twenty respondents were chosen from the IDP Camp at Jimeta in Yola, twenty were selected from the IDP Camp at Dalori near Maiduguri in Borno State and at the Kukareta IDP Camp in Damaturu the Yobe State capital, twenty respondents were also chosen. The choice of the IDPs as respondents for this study is to ensure that people who are more affected by the insurgency are involved in the study as they by virtue of their experiences are expected to have several questions in mind troubling them about the insurgency. Their choice and involvement are to ensure that data obtained reflect the feelings of people mostly affected by the insurgency.

The interview was administered separately at different time in the three camps selected. And data obtained through this procedure were analyzed using the Positive Correlation Analysis (PCA) where statistical correlation was measured by coefficient correlation where numerical values ranges from  $H_0$  to  $-1.0$  gave the indication of the strength of relationship. Such as:

$r > 0$  indicated positive relationship

$r < 0$  indicated negative relationship

$r = +1.0$  described a perfect positive correlation

$r = -1.0$  described a perfect negative correlation

The closer the coefficients were to  $+1.0$  the greater the strength of relationship as specified below:

<u>Value or r</u>	<u>Strength of relationship</u>
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-1.0 to -0.5 or 1.0 to 0.5-----	Strong
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- 0.5 to -0.3 or 0.3 to 0.5-----Moderate
- 0.3 to -0.1 or 0.1 to 0.3-----Weak
- 0.1 to 0.1-----Non-or very weak

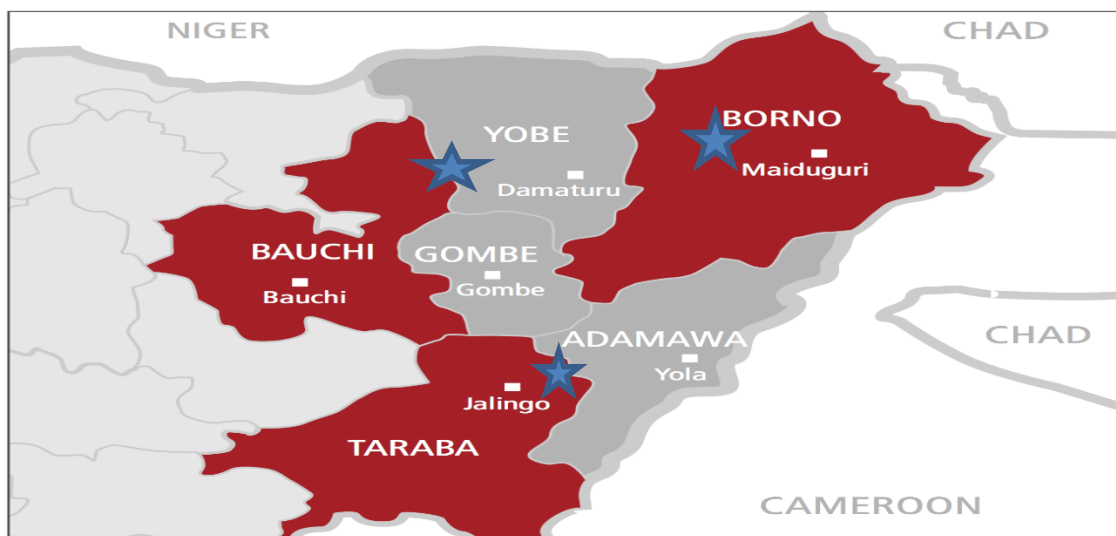


Figure 1. Map of North-East Nigeria showing the three Towns Surveyed in Stars (Source: <http://aoav.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Screen-Shot-2013-12-12-at-02.29.10.png>)

### 2.1. Data presentation

Below is the presentation and analysis of data collected for this research:

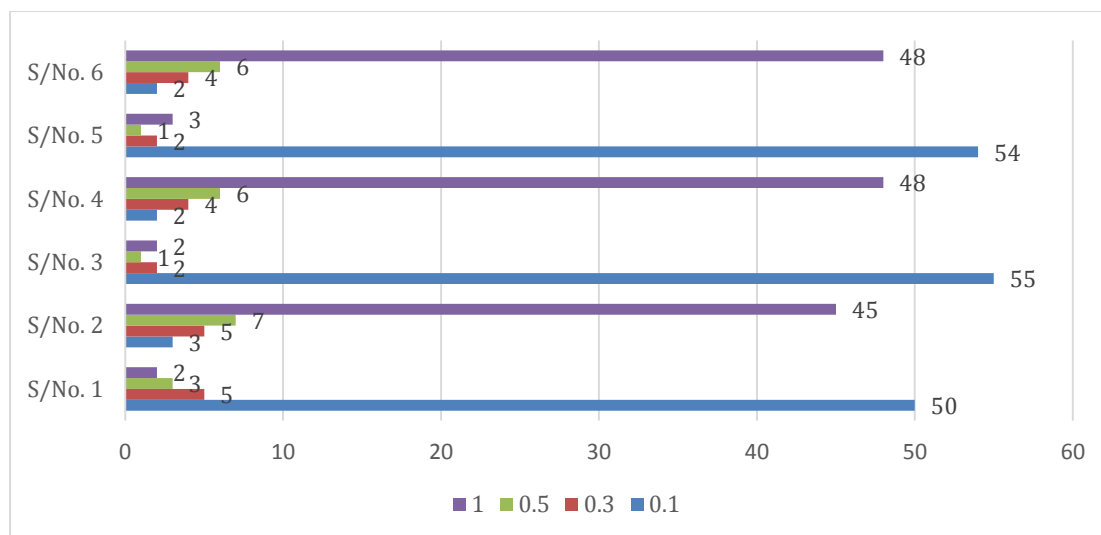
Table 1. Insurgency and the North-East Questions

S/No	Variables	0.1	0.3	0.5	1.0
01	Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) have been rehabilitated in their various communities	50	05	03	02
02	Social and basic amenities destroyed by the insurgency have not been reconstructed	03	05	07	45
03	There are accurate records of civilian lives and properties wasted and compensations for them have been paid	55	02	01	02
04	There are cases of summary execution and extra-judicial killings of civilians in the insurgency	02	04	06	48
05	There are no cases of human rights violation in the insurgency	54	02	01	03
06	Boko Haram has sponsors who have not yet been traced	02	04	06	48

Source: Authors Field Survey (2018)

## 2.2. Analysis of data

Table 1 as given above demonstrated that there is no relationship between the view that IDPs have been rehabilitated in their various communities and the insurgency in the North-East Region of Nigeria. This is reflected in the higher responses to 0.1 which means  $r < 0$  where  $r = -1.0$  or  $0.1$  described a perfect negative correlation. There is a very strong relationship between the view that amenities destroyed by the insurgency have not been reconstructed and the insurgency in the North-East Region. Hence,  $1.0$  implies  $r > 0$  where  $r = +1.0$  described a perfect positive correlation. There is no relationship between the view that there are accurate records of lives and properties wasted and that compensations for them have been paid with the insurgency in the North-East Region of Nigeria. This is because  $0.1$  connotes  $r < 0$  where  $r = 0.1$  and described a perfect negative correlation. The relationship between the view that there are cases of summary executions and extra-judicial killings of civilians and the insurgency in the North-East Region of Nigeria is a very strong one. This strength of relationship is demonstrated by  $1.0$  which is  $r > 0$  and implies  $r = 1.0$  which described a perfect positive correlation. The view that there are no cases of human rights violation has a very weak or no relationship with the insurgency in the North-East Region of Nigeria. Thus,  $0.1$  is  $r < 0$  where  $r = 0.1$  described a perfect negative correlation. The relationship between the view that Boko Haram has sponsors who have not yet been traced and the insurgency in the North-East Nigeria is a very strong one. As  $1.0$  means  $r > 0$  where  $r = 1.0$  described a perfect positive correlation.



**Figure 2.** Insurgency and the North-East Questions (Source: Authors Field Survey, 2018)

## 3. Discussion of results

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) have not been rehabilitated back to their various communities. Although, most of the communities under Boko Haram captivity have been recaptured back by the Nigerian government

forces. IDPs have been rehabilitated in some while in others especially the rural communities, IDPs are yet to be returned due to unsure security stability in such interior areas. And as such, majority of the IDPs are still taking refuge in the various IDPs camps established across the North-East Region of Nigeria and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) at Abuja. In fact, some IDPs from Bama Local Government Area of Borno State taking refuge in one of the displaced persons camps and facilities in Maiduguri demonstrated against continue stay in the camp and demanded that they be rehabilitated back to the various communities in Bama Local Government Area. Their demand was given a political connotation and thwarted on ground of security reasons. Pockets of attacks especially suicide bombings in soft places are still on in the region-development that made the liberated communities in rural area not completely safe for inhabitant by persons initially displaced from them. But then, the living conditions of IDPs in the various camps across the region are also too pathetic. Lack of source of income, reduction in ration of food serve, poor sanitary condition, inadequate shelter from rains, absence of effective health services, little or no school for children, poor toilet facility, inadequate sources of water supply as well as sexual harassment and assault of women and girls in the camps by officials and security personnel have contributed to the reasons for constant demands for rehabilitation back home by IDPs. The issue of rehabilitation presents an avenue from which questions seems to be emerging from the people of the North-East Region of Nigeria.

The insurgency in the North-East Region of Nigeria has not only crippled the once and initial booming economy of the region which serve as connecting points between Nigeria and the Central African Countries of Cameroun and Chad as well as Niger in West Africa. Though, the insurgency has escalated across Nigeria boundaries and affected the three countries stated above. And this has accorded the insurgency a regional nomenclature rather than internal conflict undermining Nigeria's national security. Boko Haram insurgency is manifesting in the destruction of social and basic amenities across the North-East Region of Nigeria especially in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe States which are the most affected in the region. An act of parliament establishing an independent commission for the development and reconstruction of the region had been passed in Nigeria's National Assembly and assented by the President and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The North-East Development Commission (NEDECO) has not fully come into operation. Until it comes, all efforts towards reconstruction of social and basic amenities destroyed by the insurgency have not been fruitful and enough as expected by the people of the region. Several schools were destroyed but only few have been reconstructed. And those reconstructed are in the major cities like Maiduguri, Damaturu, Potiskum, Mubi and Yola while those in the rural areas are yet to be rebuilt. In some places, instead of rebuilding, schools have become temporary camps for government soldiers deployed to counter insurgency in the region. Sources of water supply, health facilities, roads and connecting bridges have been bombed by Boko Haram combatants in several communities across the region. And in some other cases, civic institutions like police stations and outposts as well as local government secretariats and governmental departments have been destroyed by Insurgents. Several questions troubled the minds of people in the North-East Region in relations to the non-reconstruction of those facilities despite the fact that government forces have for long recaptured the communities affected by such destructions.

The records available to the government on civilian lives and properties wasted in the North-East Region of Nigeria as a result of Boko Haram insurgency are not authentic and accurate. The people of the North-East



Region of Nigeria believe that it is only God that knows the actual figure of civilians killed and properties destroyed by the insurgency. Several provocative attacks from both side of the conflicting parties have resulted in summary execution and extra-judicial killings of some civilians and which were not recorded. Guerilla attacks on government soldiers by Boko Haram Terrorists have on several times culminated in transfer of aggression on innocent civilians within the vicinity of the incidence. The killing and burning of the body of one Army Major by Boko Haram Terrorists along Sabon Layin Tanki in Gwange 1 ward in the center of Maiduguri city attracted a serious provocation of the government forces and retaliatory measure taken left several innocent civilians dead and their properties wasted. Also, deadly blows on the Terrorists by government soldiers in many cases have also resulted in provocation and transfer of aggressions on innocent civilians like in the case of Yobe State Government College of Agriculture at Gujba where hundreds of students were slaughtered in their sleep. In several confrontations between the government forces and Boko Haram Terrorists, several civilians were killed in the cross fire. And some of these were not part of the records of casualties available to the government. Confrontations between the conflicting parties at Buddum and Jajeri in Maiduguri, Pompomari Jamena and Angwan Sarki-Gashua Road in Damaturu as well as Gulak in Madagali area of Adamawa state left several civilians death. As records for some of civilian casualties are not known to the government and documented, those that were known and documented still attract complains from the families of those affected. The complains are one, compensation for innocent civilians killed have not been paid to their next of kin and secondly, those whose properties were destroyed have not also been compensated. And the issue of compensation for innocent civilian lives killed and properties destroyed continue to form part of the unending questions the people of the North-East Region of Nigeria continue asking.

Several cases of human rights violation happened as the insurgency and it counters unfold. Some of these cases were reported while others were left to divinity to act upon. Both conflicting parties have been accused of raping women and girls at different incidence. Complains of assault and harassment have been raised on the house to house military search. Forceful conscription of underage children into combatant operations by Boko Haram was also realized. Abduction and force marriage of under age girls were also witnessed from the side of Boko Haram. Hundreds of girls writing their final Physics examination in a government girls secondary school at Chibok in Borno State were kidnapped and taking into hostage by Boko Haram Insurgents. Some were turned into sex slaves, other forcefully given out for marriage, few impregnated and the leader of Boko Haram in a message to the Nigerian government threatened to sell some of the girls out as slaves and concubines. Military stop and search operation has resulted in the brutalization and torture of innocent civilians like frog jump, whipping, kicking, hitting, etc. along several roads and highways. In some cases, complains were lodged in the appropriate bodies and in some cases, victims live the act for divinity to decide. In cases where complains have been lodged for the human rights violation stated above, accusation and allegations have not been accompanied with investigations to ascertain the reality of the violation of rights committed. The insurgency is still on with pockets of attacks on soft targets by Boko Haram and mob up operations by the government forces to flush out the remnant of the Terrorists dislodged from their hideouts and main base in the Sambisa Forest. Therefore, the cause for justice to those whose rights were violated may still take some more time to come. But then, the people of the North-East Region of Nigeria are desperate to see that justice is delivered to those whose rights were tempered with and violated either by the government

forces or the Boko Haram Insurgents. This desire has continued to be part of the questions ringing on the minds of the people of the region.

Military operations aimed at countering insurgency in the North-East Region of Nigeria has been on since 2009 till date. The government as people in the region believe is doing its best to end the insurgency in the region. Considering the sacrifices, it is making in the areas of financing the counter insurgency and committing the lives of its troops in the search of security stability for the people of the region, the people are of the opinion that the Nigerian government deserve commendation despite the fact protection of lives and properties is the basic function of the government. People in the North-East Region of Nigeria believe that Boko Haram has sponsors. Several apprehensions may have been made in relations to the insurgency. But the disturbing issue is the inability to openly state those suspected to be sponsoring the insurgency. People in the North-East Region are very anxious to hear who are the suspected sponsors of Boko Haram. Tracing suspected sponsors and bringing them to justice for funding such national and regional terrorism will appease the people of the region seriously as their questions touches the issue of who are the suspected sponsors of the insurgency.

### 3.1. Major findings

The followings are the findings of this study:

- 1- Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) have not been completely rehabilitated back to their various communities.
- 2- Several social and basic amenities destroyed by the insurgency have not yet been reconstructed.
- 3- There are no accurate and specific records or figure of civilian lives and properties wasted in the insurgency. And for those recorded, compensations have not been paid.
- 4- There are cases of summary execution and extra-judicial killings of innocent civilians in the insurgency.
- 5- There are cases of human rights violation in the insurgency.
- 6- And, Boko Haram has sponsors.

Also, from the presentation and analysis done above, the Researcher found out that some of the underlying questions disturbing the people of the North-East Region which have not yet been answered includes:

- 1- Why have some of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) not been rehabilitated to their various communities till date?
- 2- Has reconstruction of social and basic amenities destroyed by the insurgency taking place in the affected communities or not? And why?
- 3- Who is responsible for reconstructing basic and social amenities destroyed by the insurgency?
- 4- Are there actual and specific records or figures of civilian lives and properties wasted by the insurgency?
- 5- Who is responsible for compensation of innocent civilian lives and properties wasted by the insurgency?
- 6- Are there reports of extra judicial killings and summary executions of civilians in the insurgency?
- 7- Who is the perpetrator of such illegal and unlawful termination of innocent civilian lives?

- 8- Are there cases of human rights violations like rape, torture and other forms of brutality in the insurgency?
- 9- Who exhibited such violation of human rights in the insurgency?
- 10- Have cases of human rights violation been investigated and perpetrators prosecuted?
- 11- If no, why? And whose responsibility is it to make such investigations and punish those that committed the acts?
- 12- And foremost, who is or are the sponsor (s) of Boko Haram?

#### 4. Conclusion and policy recommendations

Based on the major findings made, this study recommends that:

- 1- Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) taking refuge in camps scattered across the country should be returned back to their communities and rehabilitated by the Nigerian authority to give them a new face of life to start all over again instead of leaving them stay put to continue suffering for food and infrastructural shortages in the various camps across the nation. Considering the pockets of attacks especially suicide bombings and detonation of explosive devices in some towns across the North-East Region, it can be ascertained that relocation IDPs to such places for now is dangerous. But then, there is urgent need to returned IDPs who are from places considered secured back to their home towns. As well, those IDPs who could not be relocated back to their communities due to unsure security situation can still be allowed to remain in the IDPs camps across the North-East Region. But adequate arrangement should be made to ensure that their living condition is suitable than the its present stage. Food ration, sanitary condition, health facility, schools for children, shelter against rain and measures directed towards safeguarding the moral sanctity of women and the girl child should be positively improved to make IDPs feel much more at home than abandoned.
- 2- Social and basic amenities destroyed in communities across the North-East Region of Nigeria by activities of terrorism masterminded by Boko Haram should be reconstructed as soon as possible. This is necessary to ameliorate the hardship people are facing in the region due to acute shortage of social and basic amenities in several communities in the region. Sources of water supply, dispensaries and maternity centers destroyed in several communities should be rebuilt. Several connecting roads and bridges were damaged by Boko Haram to make accessibility to several communities difficult for the government forces. Those roads and bridges should be repair to create easy access and connectivity among the various communities in the region. Several public or general hospitals in some of the areas captured by Boko Haram and which were used by the Insurgents mostly as camps and treatment centers have been destroyed by the Terrorists as they were fleeing from such places. There is urgent need to reconstruct those hospitals so as to make access to health care possible for IDPs returning back home. Local Government Secretariats have been attacked and burnt to ashes by Boko Haram Terrorists in several local government headquarters. Civic institutions like governmental departments, courts, police stations and outpost as well as private and public financial institutions like banks and micro-finance centers were also destroyed by Boko Haram in several communities. Public schools and even private ones in some cases have been reduced to rubbles and ashes by Boko Haram. Those facilities should be reconstructed to give people especially IDPs returning back home a new face of life to start all over again. The North-East Development Commission (NEDECO) bill recently passed by Nigerian National Assembly and assented by the President is expected to among other objectives participate actively in the reconstruction of damaged facilities and come up with new ones where necessary in

the North-East Region. The Presidency should endeavor to ensure that fund accrue to the commission is utilized appropriately in the development of the region.

- 3- Although, complains are high that the government can not specially state the actual figure of civilian lives and properties destroyed by the insurgency. This is because of the believe that several summary execution and extra-judicial killings of civilians and also some civilian casualties recorded in some of the cross fire between the conflicting parties were not recorded. These claims are actually hard to deny or refute because the insurgency brought about scenarios with features of several civilians' casualties which were not actually recorded. But then, for those which records are available, necessary preparations must be made to compensate families of innocent civilians unlawfully killed in the insurgency. Those whose properties were mistakenly or deliberately destroyed in pursuance of fleeing Terrorists should also be compensated. Several houses, shops full of goods, cars, lorries, etc. were destroyed in the cause of searching and chasing the Terrorists. Their owners should be compensated as soon as possible. This will ameliorate the suffering and economic difficulty the families of innocent civilians killed by the insurgency are going through. The compensation will also give those whose shops and businesses were destroyed a new face of life and capital base to start their businesses all over again.
- 4- Independent judicial panel of inquiry is not only needed but should be established by the Nigerian government to investigate cases of abduction, torture of civilians, rape, extra-judicial killings and summary executions in the insurgency. Aggrieved families of innocent civilians summarily executed or killed extra-judiciously should forward complains and demand justice for their death relatives killed unlawfully in the insurgency. Civilians who were also tortured should be given the privilege to lodge complains before the panel of inquiry. Those who were apprehended, tortured and put to detention without trial for allegedly been accused as Boko Haram members should be allowed to file complains before the panel especially for torture, unlawful detention and deformation of character. Victims of rape and other form of brutality should also have opportunity to lodge complains before the panel. The panel's findings and recommendations should be implemented by the government. The panel should recommend to the government cases in which perpetrators should be liable for prosecution in the court of law and those which victims are entitled to compensation. This correction of injustices encountered in the insurgency will go a long way in quenching the grievances on the minds of the people in North-East Region who believe that justice has not been done to them in relation to the violation of their fundamental human rights in the insurgency.
- 5- And finally, there is need for the Nigerian authority to not only find out who the sponsor (s) of Boko Haram is or are. But to also make sure that if discovered, such person (s) should be apprehended and brought to justice to face the full wrath of law so as to serve as deterrent to others nurturing similar ambition of destabilizing national security.

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