RELIGION, EXTREMISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY

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Abstract

Religion is a bi-polar experience which has humanity and divinity as partners, unequal though. The spiritual and societal gains of religion in its truest cohesive forms are enormous. However, religion is also a phenomenon that has unleashed harm and havoc on humanity across centuries, continents and civilizations as a regrettable handiwork of its bigots and extremists. Religious extremism is characterized by absolutism, intolerance, terrorism, bigotry and elusive national security. This paper strives to discuss religion, its extremism and negative impacts on national security using Nigeria as the local context of study. Nigeria has the challenge of national security due to extreme violence which religion has brought to bear on it as one among other chief factors. Islam has dotted Nigeria's contemporary history with extreme violence in more instances than one. The findings of this paper reveal, inter alia, that the Boko Haram insurgency, Fulani herdsmen's extreme violence and the unchecked Fulani migrations into the country are favourable to fanning the flame of religious extremism and the consequent compromise on national security. This work recommends, among other solutions, a robust respect for the secularity of the country as enshrined in the constitution and its provisions for freedom of religion. There should also be a functional legal framework and actions to curb the culpable porosity of Nigerian borders and to punish culprits who move against national security under the guises of religion or by other pretences decisively and accordingly. The methodology employed in this study is phenomenal-descriptive which means that religious extremism and its posed deficits on national security have been studied over time and presented descriptively as an unwholesome phenomenon that should be stamped out in Nigeria with the validity of immediate urgency.

Keywords: Religion, Extremism, National Security, Religious Intolerance, Nigeria.

Introduction

In Nigerian contemporary history, we have an avalanche of violent extremism. This violent extremism is prompted and promoted by different interests such as cultural, political, economic and religious, to mention but four. Our interest in this paper is a specimen of violent extremism found in Nigeria which has its roots and reason in religion; or one that has a camouflage-interest in culture, politics, economy, social change but advances this hidden idea and inordinate purpose through religion. So, in Nigeria, we have violent extremism through faith; that is, faith intolerance cast on the absolute. The Boko Haram insurgency and the usurpation of ancient land marks that belong to different tribes in Nigeria by the Fulani herdsmen can be understood not just as economic, political, cultural or social but one that has religious dimension. Therefore, in this light one can vividly see the contributions of Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen to religious extremism in the country. Njoku (2019: 1-4) identified Boko Haram, Farmer-herder clashes as the top two among the five security challenges Nigeria's leader must tackle. The extents these challenges are being tackled by Nigerian government with every amount of seriousness and focus on deliberate actions are everyone's guess.

It is believed in many quarters that the Federal Government of Nigeria whose helm of affairs is presently manned by a Fulani President, General Muhammadu Buhari (retd) has advanced the course of Fulanization-Islamization in this country through different government's policies advertently or inadvertently, by omission or commission, like RUGA settlements, the bill to take over the coasts of rivers and water bodies in the country called the "Water Resources Bill 2020" or even the Companies And Allied Matters Act 2020

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(CAMA law) which was rejected repeatedly, loudly and clearly by other faiths in the country yet the government went on to sign it into law. "Ruga" (or Rugga) is a Fulani word for human settlement and as an acronym could be taken to stand for "Rural Grazing Area". The fear of the non-Fulani across the country became more concrete when usurpations of their ancestral lands were perceived to be imminent through the subtle RUGA approach and Water Resources Bill and by force through the means of extreme violence perpetrated by Boko Haram insurgents and Fulani herders. Boko Haram insurgency is not just to hoist a flag of an Islamic state that is political at its face value but it is also religious at its deepest level; hence it strives to increase the space of "Islamic State" in Nigeria and in West African sub-region. The space being struggled for if achieved would succumb to Islamic theocracy in its breadth and width, by peoples and institutions. Boko Haram has constituted a challenge to national security; it is a cog in the wheel of progress in Nigeria by its activities - kidnappings, usurpations, disruptions, killings, abductions, banditry, rape, maiming, arson et cetera. The recruitment of members by force or false promises and their (dis)orientation within the country and across the boundaries of the country helped by the porosity of Nigerian borders that makes a Fulani from any part of the world to become a Nigerian citizen any time, any day are huge threats to national security. It is a multi-million naira question to ask whether the aliens who migrated into the country with their cattle and arms or for some other reason, legal or illegal without proper documentations would not be on the queue to register as Nigerian citizens in the exercise of National Identity Number (NIN).

Population is critical to national security both in the traditional understanding of safety and in all its nuances that have acquired new referent values and meanings. Peace and social justice are necessary to national security. All these fundamentals have been variously compromised in the country. In the words of Oludare Richards & Tina Abeku (2019:2), "It is therefore no wonder that illegal migration into and even out of the country persists; it is even believed to be a major cause of insecurity issues such as farmers-herders conflict and Boko Haram insurgency bedeviling the country". The Fulani herdsmen by their activities have disrupted some other conceptualized forms of security: food security, environmental security, peace security, human security, cyber security among others as these have been diminished at some places and times and vacated entirely in some other spaces all in the quest to sack and supplant tribes and communities from their ancestral homes.

Religion and Violent Extremism

Religion is one concept that has variant shades of meanings, descriptions and definitions. The explanation of this conceptualization could come from the divergent and variegated experiences the adherents get from within and the experiences which non-adherents get from without and very importantly, the mysteries of the divine, spirits or gods seen as unfathomable touch, manifestations, revelations or sparks within the critical components of religious experience. As Sigmund Freud describes religion as "childhood neurosis" and Karl Marx explains it as "the opium of the people" from *unbelief or without experiential standpoints*, however, Religion, according to Rudolph Otto, "is that which grows out of, and gives expression to, experience of the holy in its various aspects". For John Hick, "Religion constitutes our varied response to transcendent Reality". In the words of Paul Tillich, "Religion is the state of being grasped by an ultimate concern, a concern which qualifies all other concerns as preliminary and which itself contains the answer to the question of the meaning of life." In the articulation of J. Milton Yinger, "Religion is a system of beliefs and practices by means of which a group of people struggle with the ultimate problem of human life." It is the opinion of George Bernard Shaw that "There is only one religion, though there are hundreds of versions of it." (web.pdx.edu/~tothm/religion/Dedinitions.htm). In Nigeria, we have predominantly three versions of it; namely: Christianity, African Traditional Religion and Islam.

Religion, true to its nature and goal, has violent extremism as a strange activity in its program. Naturally, Religion is "a source of motivation and inspiration for the vast majority of people around the world, who act in a spirit of generosity and kindness. Strategies to combat violent extremism must be rooted in a nuanced understanding of the role of religion, ideology and identity and its impact on individuals, communities and institutions. It is also important to counter the growing narrative that is religion per se that is the cause of violence; manipulation of religious politics and fanatical ideas is the challenge" (UNDP, 2016:31). In the

context of West African sub-region, religion contributes significantly to the activities of Boko Haram that has destabilized the Northeastern Nigeria since 2009. Violent extremism has community, national, regional and global dimensions. This insurgency has overwhelmed the many traditional methods and structures of conflict prevention, peace-building schemes and democratic systems in Nigeria. The insurgents have spread from the country to other West African States; hence Islamic State of West African Province (ISWAP) exists and holds destructive sways on human populations and properties in the sub-region. This is a huge threat to national and regional security. More concerns come from the connections and affiliations which Boko Haram has with other Islamist groups globally.

Nigeria has records of religious extremism perpetrated chiefly by Islamic Jihadists. Islam has dotted the country's religious history with extreme violence in more instances than one. Nigeria was dragged surreptitiously into membership of International Islamic Cooperation (OIC) by the military regime of General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida (rted) in 1986. Since then, it has joined other Islamic bodies and organizations and the obligations there from are satisfied with common wealth of all Nigerians. The Boko Haram insurgents and the Fulani herdsmen are not only political tools for dominance but Muslim jihadists and missionaries who are fighting aggressively to Islamize and Fulanize the country. The mission is to subdue other huge and plural populations of indigenes spread across the country in their native places and to dip the Noble Qur'an into the Atlantic Ocean through violent and subtle methods; these schemes have architects in government at all levels, Islamic leadership and Fulani socio-cultural organizations, political bodies and economic associations. This insurgency with complicated economic crises, complexities of political issues, ethnic colourations, acute stressors for the nation's military formations and corruption in high and low places has compromised national security gravely and sorely.

• Boko Haram Islamist Group

The name "Boko Haram" got from "Jama'tu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad" means that "Western education is a sin". It wants to overthrow the secular character of the government of Nigeria and replace it with Islamic theocracy. In the words of Nmah (2012:110-111), "Boko Haram is an Islamist fundamentalist group that advocates the replacement of state secular laws with Islamic law. It holds that the problems of the world stem from secular influences. For this group, western education is Haram, Hausa word for sin and its adherents are taught that it is their duty, as pure Muslims, to cleanse society of all influences of western education and replace it with sharia". According to 2020 *Terrorism Global Index* Measuring the Impact of Terrorism, "Boko Haram ranked as the second deadliest terrorist group in 2019, and remains the deadliest in sub-Saharan Africa. Since its rise in 2009, Boko Haram has been responsible for thousands of deaths throughout Lake Chad Basin region of West Africa. The Salafi-Jihadi insurgency has led to over 37,500 combat-related deaths and over 19,000 deaths from terrorism since 2011, mainly in Nigeria" (TGI, 2020:16). The Terrorism Global Index reports that Afghanistan (1st), Iraq (2nd), Nigeria (3rd) make the top three with the very high impacts of Terrorism. The four terrorist groups responsible for the most deaths in 2019 were the Taliban, Boko Haram, ISIL-Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant and Al-Shabaab (TGI, 2020: 12-15).

Boko Haram which started in the Northeastern part of Nigeria which has borders with Lake Chad region has spread into the neighbouring countries of Chad, Cameroon and Niger Republic. It has multiple splinter groups but the largest of them all is the Islamic State of West Africa Province (ISWAP). According to *Institute for Security Studies* (ISS, P.1), "The risks presented by the militant group are amplified primarily through the prevalence of porous borders in the West African sub-region. Countries like Benin, Cameroon, Chad and Niger are all potential targets due to their proximity to Nigeria, their demographics and their socio-economic realities." Today, these countries except perhaps Benin Republic are no longer potential targets but actual theaters of Boko Haram and ISWAP operations that threaten the security and peace of the sub-region.

The nefarious and dastard activities of these groups, Boko Haram and its offshoots, have dealt deadly wounds on the national security within the country and in the Sahel region.

Boko Haram has thrived thus far because of the factors of porous borders, Weak States Syndrome, politicization of security, poverty and corruption, among others. The politics in Nigeria revolves around

region and religion and with the inauguration and sustenance of Boko Haram, the beneficiaries see it as a good instrument in their hands to advance Islamic religion in the country.

• Fulani Herdsmen

The Fulani herdsmen are everywhere in the middle belt, that is the North central geo-political zone and Southern Nigeria that comprises of three geo-political Zones; namely: South East, South South and South West areas. The missionary thrust of these Fulani herders continued to unfold by the day. Their moves became an ugly phenomenon to watch very closely when they abandoned the normal routes of major roads through which they moved on foot from the North to the South, grazing their cattle by the road shoulders and shepherding their straying animals with sticks and wooden staff to occupy the remotest villages, bodies of waters and deep forests. This new dimension became bad news all the more when they started land grabbing and usurpations, grazing on farm lands, uprooting cassava for their cattle to eat, destroying maize, rice, yam farms, vegetable gardens and other cash crops whose plantations run into acres and hectares. When confronted or challenged, they resorted to extreme violence. As they occupied vast farm lands of communities, they started to claim ownership, banned the indigenes from going to farms and in some other cases, they sacked the entire community and took over their ancestral homes. They retaliated for perceived wrongs like mere quarrel with farmers or loss of cattle by reverse-aggression of the natives at nights with machetes, daggers, bows and arrows. The original stick or wooden staff with which the reared the animals have been replaced with AK 47 guns and other sophisticated weapons. As they killed, maimed, destroyed, suppressed the natives or sacked them totally, they installed their Seriki Fulani, a traditional ruler, built mosques and claim false dominance and fake supremacy.

They were not only pastoralists; they were missionaries of Islamic religion. Some of them complicated the issues and worsened the pain by raping the women and girls who went to farms, streams and markets. This crime is an abomination among these ethnic nationalities. The moral sanctity has been violated; some mothers were raped before their husbands and children; and daughters before their parents and siblings and yet some queens before their kings, the royal families and custodians of culture. They did not stop at rape, they kidnapped for ransom too. In some instances, ransom was paid and their victims were killed by the Fulani herdsmen. In the face of these many extreme violent cases and intimidations, the government looked the other way; the police released those apprehended by the help of brave natives, local vigilante or divine providence with the excuse that "the Order came from Above". One other frustration is that for one to make entry with the law enforcement agents, the official security operatives of the state, one and the social media were informed to make entry and media reports respectively that unknown "gun men" and not "Fulani Herdsmen" were the criminals. The Fulani herdsmen have perpetrated extreme violence among non-Muslim populations to enlarge the coast of Islam in Nigeria.

In order to be safe in their home states, many state governments in the Southern parts and North Central Zone are proposing security outfits in their areas of constitutional jurisdictions. These include the Amotekun in the South West as a regional security by the South West governors, Forest Guards in Enugu State by His Excellency Rt Hon Lawrence Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi and in collaboration with the governors of the South East ban open grazing of cattle in the region. Recently, the south west and south south governors banned open grazing out rightly in their respective regions. His Excellency, Simon Ortom banned open grazing in Benue State, all in the bid to curb the excesses and dangerous moves of the Fulani herdsmen whose criminal elements are merchants of extreme violence and implementers of the Fulanization-Islamization agenda.

• Religion and National Security

The contemporary studies on security see security as safety from threats and the sustainability of structures that promote the dignity of the human person. Security, therefore, "provides a form of protection where a separation is created between the assets and the threat" (ISECOM, 2014 cited in Umaru & Shuaibu, 2016:5). These 'assets' can be anything, such as a person, residence, community,

item, nation, or organization (Umaru & Shuaibu, 2016:5). In the words of Makinda (1998:281-292), Security is "the preservation of the norms, rules and values of society." The 'threats' can have military or non-military dimensions. In other words, security has the negative dialogues explained in terms of danger, risks, threats, safety-deficits and the positive dialogues seen as interests, opportunities, profits, collateral effects, among others. According to Otto & Ukpere (2012:6767) Security means "protection from hidden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life in homes, offices or communities". Security as a concept has many nuances in security studies and in the circle of governance, it is a basic political item whose fulfillment confers legitimacy to a dispensation or breeds harvests of agitations in the face of its absence. In terms of geographical spread, security can be domestic/local, national, regional or global. National security is the safekeeping of a country's assets and values from internal and external threats. National security as a task of government is one of the principal duties of a state and serves as one of the essential reasons for its existence.

Security is conceived in terms of either conventional security doctrine or alternative security doctrine, depending on whether one is toeing the Realist or Idealist theoretical perspective (Enuka 2010 cited in Nmah 2012:110). Adherents of political realism advocate conventional security which places emphasis on military and strategic concerns. On the other hand, the proponents of the idealist theory do not share this view, but stress on the alternative security which emphasizes such imperatives like food, shelter, health, employment, safety of lives and property, equitable distribution of national resources, strong political, educational, electoral institutions, moral and intellectual, spiritual citizens coupled with social cohesion. National Security can then be described as the sum of the efforts, energy, intelligence, commitment and the use of institutions (and their products) to enforce and ensure adequate protection of interests, people and properties of a nation (Nmah 2012:25). The critical national security issues in Nigeria are Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen, compromises on social justice and gross deficits in the sphere of integral development.

It is the opinion of Egbefo (2016:20) that there is a link between Religion and National Security. For him, this 21st century is an age which should not anchor its security on military hard ware and sophisticated weapons but on human security based on development. He averred that "without development, there would be threats to National Security".

In the words of XU (2013:2), "There has always been an indissoluble bond between religion and national security, which is determined by the very nature of religion. Religion and religious beliefs are often related to the core values of a nation. Religion and religious organizations have features such as mass mobilization, transnational connections as well as the power to relativize secular authority and legitimize violence. Hence, religious issues are more likely to be deemed as national security issues or to be securitized". One can see from the above words of XU that the powers of religion are waiting to be prejudiced; for instance religion can mobilize people nationally and internationally for human progress and peace; in its reverse religion has tremendous capacity to function woes and wars thereby giving legitimacy to violence, mass destruction and culture of death.

In this discourse, one shall see two opposing schools of thought; namely: one that sees religion as impacting positively on national security and the other that sees its negative contributory influences. This paper subscribes to the ways of making religion contribute to national security and also advocates for the effective means of curbing the extreme violence of any religion that distorts or destroys national security gains in the country and elsewhere around the globe. We believe that religion has contributed to building and sustaining beautiful civilizations across continents, cultures and centuries. And religion true to its name, Christianity for one, can do more along positive impacts on national, regional and global security spheres, the threats of secularization theory, notwithstanding.

The belief in some quarters that religion will quit the world stage and its influences on peoples and cultures dwindle as modernity advances has been proven wrong. The scholars in this school of thought hold the "secularization theory" which "holds that religion will wither as modernity advances. In fact,

over the past several decades, the opposite has happened. Faith, far from exiting the world's stage, has played a growing role in human affairs, even as modernity has proceeded apace" (Farr, 2008:110). In fact, Farr agrees with the sociologist Berger that "...the world today is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever". Nigeria has been adjudged as a religious country where each religion, Christianity, African Traditional Religion and Islam, which exits in the country, has many adherents, sacred spaces, mores and values, pilgrimages, feasts and festivals. However, it is wrong and unacceptable when one enthrones religious terrorism and faith absolutism over and above others and in contradiction to the secularity of the constitutional provisions of the country that guarantees freedom of religion and finds extreme violence punishable under its law.

In the next section we shall strive to proffer recommendations that would help religion contribute to national security in Nigeria with consequent implication to eradicating religious extremism in the country.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made:

- 1. Religious leaders have the responsibility to foster peace among their followers and promote both "intra and inter faith" dialogues within its rank and file and with other faiths respectively with the view to preventing violent extremism orchestrated through religion in Nigeria.
- 2. Religious leaders should be alert at all times to avoid the manipulation of religion by the political class or the politicization of security through religion by the same politicians whose aim is not the sublime goals of religion but selfish political gains and powers.
- 3. Nigerian governments should promote religious freedom. This is supported by the necessity of upholding the secularity of the country's constitution. The need for Nigeria to remain a secular state has the force of permanent validity derived from its constitution. Some Northern states are operating the Sharia law in their areas enforced with impunity and violence by Hisbah religious police and the insurgents hoist their "Islamic flags"; this breach of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria should be stopped forthwith to give room for love, peace, unity and progress in the country.
- 4. National security can be achieved with minimum efforts if Nigerian governments focus on the development of the citizens by promoting the dignity of the human person, the rule of law and social justice. The Decalogue in Exodus chapter 20 and Deuteronomy chapter 5 and the call for love (John 13:34, 15:12, Matthew 22:36-40) is not only for the Jews or Christians but for all men and women of good will across regions and religions; love is the key to peace and harmony in the country of diversity like Nigeria. We call God our Father, therefore we are his children. Therefore, let Nigerians love God and one another.
- 5. Religion should contribute to National Security through sound doctrines about God, humanity, salvation, eternity and the environment. Any religion that thrives on terrorism and extreme violence compromises National security and this trend should cease immediately. Religion should add positive values to National security and should not jeopardize it.
- 6. There should be a legal framework that is implemented in such a manner that crimes against national security are deterred through the just punishments of offenders, criminals and violators.
- 7. Nigerian governments at all levels should provide employment, education, welfare packages, good orientations and satisfactory examples to the youths of this country. When the youths are meaningfully engaged in positive actions, it would be impossible to recruit them for any forms of extreme violence.
- 8. The military engagements against violent extremism can also be complemented with and surpassed by alternative security doctrine by boosting the citizens' standard of living through structures that breed wealth and welfare, health and happiness so that hunger and anger, sigh and suffocation, aggression and agitations can be removed from the lives of Nigerian citizens permanently.

Conclusion

Nigeria is a country united in one common experience of suffering and grief due to the present violations of human rights of life, property and safety, to mention but three. Extreme violence in the name of religion or in its pretences has thrown Nigeria into a theatre of blood bath, insecurity and multiple versions of retrogression – political, economic, social, cultural and even religious. Religion has been manipulated adversely to the level of vivid suffocations of love, unity, peace and progress which religion offers peoples, nations and civilizations as known to history and across continents in plural instances. Nigerian government cannot compromise the secularity of the constitution, jettison the rule of law in many instances of weak or no implementations and show evidences of powerful citizens enthroned above the law and expect robust national security index. Nigeria needs to secure its citizens, boundaries and sacred values. Religious freedom and all inalienable human rights ought to be respected as inviolable at all times and in all nooks and crannies of the country. The solutions as recommended above will serve as effective compass of navigation back to the gains of religion, stoppage of extreme violence and the activation of true national security in Nigeria. National security, therefore, is not an alternative forgone in the Nigeria's scale of preference but a priority choice in its goal of governance.

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