

Case Report

Contemporary Security Threats and Terrorism on Socio-economic and Political Development of Nigeria

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Security is not just a scared value for humans, groups and nations, it is the ultimate value. Security in the world today has become a seriously endangered value. Nigeria's contemporary constitution actually asserts that the security and welfare of Nigerians shall be primary duty of government. Today, Nigeria has become the country where citizens are most endangered. Apart from the dangers posed by corruption, citizens are daily exposed to the fires from armed robbers, rapists, assassins, thugs, ritualists, human traffickers, arms traffickers cross-border bandits, drug traffickers, kidnappers, militants and above all terrorists. This paper examines the implication of contemporary security treats and terrorism of Boko Haram

and Ansaru on the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria, then, discovers that the constitutional provision of the federal system of government which gave enormous power to the federal government at the expense of the federating units led to series of instability, insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria, and concludes that to curtail instability, insecurity and terrorism, there is a need to embrace a political system of government that gives more power to the federating units rather than concentrating so much power at the centre.

Key words: Security treats, terrorism, economy, politics, development.

INTRODUCTION

The primary threats to nations' security no longer emanate solely from territorial and ideological disputes among nation-states but also from the environment, globalization, technological threats and international criminal networks (Zalur and Zeckhauser, 2002). Globally, new kinds of challenges are being seen in every nation and these threaten the sovereignty of nations. Among these challenges is terrorism which has announced itself as a formidable Global actor in effective competition with states.

Since the return to democratic rule in May 1999, Nigeria has witnessed a number of security challenges associated with militancy, kidnapping, armed robbery, political assassinations, arms proliferation, piracy and ethno-religious conflicts. However, the outbreak of the Boko Haram uprising in July, 2009 heralded new security challenges in the country. The Boko Haram uprising

stands out because of the seeming facelessness of the perpetrators and the mystery shrouding their real agenda. Boko Haram (which translates to "Western education is a sin") is a product of the resurgence in Islamic fundamentalism in Northern Nigeria. It has become more organized and dangerous in unleashing terror on Nigerians, particularly Christians, and government establishments in the Northern part of the country. The consequent decline in internal security and the reflections it has elicited from the state raises important questions above the effectiveness of governance and security agencies in the country (Pogason, 2013).

The nations within the spongy Nigeria are still struggling to live in good harmony. To gauge the state of Nigeria today, look no further that "the security and welfare of the people" which section 14 (2) (b) of the 1999 constitution declares "shall be the primary purpose

of government". Hence, safeguarding the lives and properties of the people becomes the first and most critical responsibility of governance. However, millions of Nigerians are in abject poverty, staring to God for deliverance from the shackles of an uncaring Nigerian system that refused to provide for their social basic needs including good roads, food, shelter, healthcare, better infrastructure, overall welfare package and of course the security of life and property. Unfortunately, the immediate past leaders except very few, blinded with their corruptive style of governance mortgaged the future of Nigerians: the results are being witnessed today (Okereke, 2013). People are killed on a daily basis from incidents of attacks, assassinations and road accidents. Insecurity has become the monster likely to frustrate the government efforts at realizing its goals.

Generally, it is the primary responsibility of government to ensure the security of life and property. So, much is expected from the leader and security services. But politicians, religious and Community Leaders also have important roles to play. This paper therefore attempts to situate the problem of insecurity in Nigeria within the context of governance and intelligence gathering with a particular focus on the Boko Haram uprising. The primary pre-occupation of this paper is to identify the causes, implications and remedies to Nigeria's national insecurity as a result of Boko Haram and ANSARU Insurgencies.

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

National Security has been conceived in terms of the maintenance and protection of the core values, interests and socio-economic order of a state in the face of threats from within or without. It is a condition where the most cherished values, ideas, beliefs, ways of life, institutions of governance and the well-being of a nation are protected and continuously strengthened. This implies that security is a holistic concept that involves the protection of lives and property. It encompasses a network of armed and civil forces that secure the citizens not only from external attacks but also from devastating internal disturbances, starvation, disease, homelessness, environmental degradation and socio-economic activities.

Since 1960, most threats to national security in Nigeria have been internal rather than external. This has necessitated a fundamental rethinking of the very framework of national security. The concept of human security has been developed to express the need for the safety of individuals in the area of basic needs. Human security emphasizes all the structures and processes that can engender peace and security in a modern state. Consequently, in an attempt to bridge the gap between state and human security, national security has been conceived in terms of human development. Hence, from a human development perspective, the Former Secretary

General of the United Nations (UN), Kofi Annan stated that,

"Today we know that security means for more than the absence of conflict. We know that lasting Peace requires a broader vision encompassing areas, such as education, health, democracy and human rights, protection against environmental degradation, and the proliferation of deadly weapons. We know that we cannot be secured amidst starvation, that we cannot build peace without alleviating poverty, and that we cannot build freedom on the foundation of injustices. These pillars of what we now understand as the people-centered concept of "human security is inter-related and mutually reinforcing".

The concept of "human security" therefore recognizes those human needs that must be satisfied to ensure sustainable security. It goes beyond arguing that problems such as socio-economic discriminations are likely to create security threats by encouraging conflict, to claiming that such injustices constitute a threat to the life of those affected. In other words, a threat to national security is something that threatens to reduce the quality of life of citizens of a state. A secure society must therefore promote a viable economic system while at the same time working towards ending physical and structural violence by eliminating socio-economic discriminations.

An important complement of national security is intelligence gathering. Intelligence deals with information and knowledge about threats that are obtained through investigation and analysis. Intelligence gathering, according to Lowenthal, (2000) is the process of which specific types of information important to national security are requested, collected, analyzed and provided to policy makers, the product of that process, the safeguarding of these processes and this information by counter-intelligence activities; and the carrying out of operations as requested by lawful authorities. In other words, intelligence refers to both the organizations that officially collect secret information or fore-knowledge relating to the strength, resources, capabilities and intentions of an adversary sought by a nation in response to external or internal threats in an attempt to protect its vital interests and especially the well-being and security.

Security is generally accepted to be about the condition or feeling of safety, the protection and preservation of core values and the absence of threats to these values. It also has to do with freedom from danger or from threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interests. (Imobighe, 1998). Security is crucial to the survival of any nation-state. Without adequate security of life's and property, the society will be plunged into the Hobbesian state of nature manifesting lawlessness, chaos and eventual disintegration. This is why security is considered as a dynamic condition which involves the relative ability of a

state to counter threats to its core values and interests.

In the literature, the definition of national security is numerous and keeps increasing (Nwolise, 2012; Onuoha, 2012, Oche, 2005; Okodolor, 2004; Mathews, 1989; McNamara, 1968). It is therefore common to see reference being made to national security, international security, human security, environmental security, regime security, corporate security, among others.

Security in the contemporary era means more than the security of the state. Security extends beyond its political and military meaning to encompass a wider understanding of terms such as satisfaction of basic needs, protection of basic needs, and protection of cultural and religious identity. etc. As McNamara (1968) argues, "Security is not military hardware, though it may include it, security is not military force, though it may involve it. Security is not traditional military activity, though it may compass it.

Security is development and without development there can be no security. Consequently the emerging argument is based on a set of assumptions that essentially attempt to dislodge the state as the primary referent of security and advocates a broadened conceptualization of security that extends beyond a military determination of threats. (Booth,1994).

The range of discussion places greater emphasis on the interdependency and trans-nationalization of non-state actors such as individuals, ethnic and cultural groups, regional economic organisations, multinational corporations, multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations and "just about all human kind". Indications of this trend of thinking about security may be seen in the emphasis now placed on non military dimensions of the issue such as social, economic and political factors that affect peace and security. For some, hunger, poverty, disease, human rights, migration, ethno-religious factors, governance and environmental contamination represent grave security threats even worse than physical violence. Others argue that the notion of security includes the idea of structural violence. i.e the structure of the relevant socio-political systems or the global trading system (Alli, 2010; Galting,1978). This whole range of issues is embedded in what is now known as human security; the re-conceptualization of security in a way that would address the concerns of the citizens as canvassed by scholars like (McNamara, 1968; Ochoche, 1997; Jinadu, 2000; Nnoli, 2006).

The conception of national security has changed fundamentally. It now includes a focus on people and development. National security can therefore be understood as the protection of a country from attack or subversion both from within and outside its borders. It involves the development of socio-economic, political, cultural and military strategies that would promote, preserve and maintain the interest of a nation, including its citizen's interests.

This notion of national security therefore captures both

traditional security and human security. Emerging circumstances of trans-national threats which now exist and thrive irrespective of national borders, and which they comprise a list of different trans-national crimes like terrorism, human and drug trafficking, money laundering etc, to widespread environmental degradation, disease, climate change and even political policies which might threaten nations; sovereignty (Brainar and Halon, 2004).The security of any state embodies a notion of order, or of the conditions necessary to maintain the smooth functioning and reproduction of an existing society. McGrew (1988) submits that the security of any nation is predicated on two central pillars. On the one hand, it entails the maintenance and protection of the socio-economic order in the face of internal and external threats. On the other hand, it entails the promotion of a preferred international order, which minimizes the threats to core values and interests, as well as to the domestic order of nations. Security in whatever form is a standard measurement of the viability of any state or nation. A state of insecurity means that the society concerned is on red alert and that a risk factor has been identified which must be contained. This largely may involve military and non-military activities. All nations have the right under international law to secure their territorial space and protect their citizens from any imminent attack in whatever form.

The nature and types of terrorism has become more varied and complex, and terrorist organizations even more evasive and difficult to understand. There is no universally accepted definition of terrorism and even when there is an agreement on a definition of terrorism, there is sometimes disagreement about where or not the definition fit a particular incident. In order to understand terrorism, one must assess the different views of what constitutes terrorism. The changing character of terrorism makes it difficult to define. The difficulty in defining terrorism is in agreeing on a basis for determining when the use of violence (directed at whom, by whom, for what ends) is legitimate, therefore, the controversial nature of the definition of terrorism.

The African Union Convention defines terrorism as:

Any act by an individual, group, organization, a state or its agents (excluding liberation struggles, armed struggles against oppressive governments, colonization, occupation, aggression and domination by foreign forces), which is a violation of the criminal laws of a state party and international law instruments criminalizing it, and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to achieve these objectives in Article 1 (3) (9) (1-11).(AU convention on the prevention and combating terrorism 1999).

Anti-Terrorism Bill also provides a board definition of what constitutes an act of terrorism in Nigeria as an act "intended or (that) can reasonably be regarded as having been intended" to force a government or an international organization to carry out or abstain from carrying out a certain act is an act of terrorism. Researching or developing a biological or chemical weapon without lawful authority is an act of terrorism.

One widely accepted definition of terrorism sees it as "the use of violence against random civilian targets in order to intimidate or to create generalized pervasive fear for the purpose of achieving political goals (Alexander, 1976). Shulz and Sloan (1980) define terrorism as the use of extra normal forms of political violence, in varying degrees or goals. The Federal Bureau of investigation (FBI) defines the term as, "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objective. Also, Cline and Alexander, (1986) define terrorism as a deliberate employment of violence or a threat of the use of violence by sovereign states in order to attain strategic and political objectives through the violation of law. Despite the multiple definitions of terrorism, there is, however, one common point of agreement which is that terrorism is a word with basically negative connotation that is commonly applied to one's adversaries and opponents (Sharma, 1992).

Since the 19th century, terrorism has been used for various reasons to achieve various goals and has developed as a tool for liberation, oppression and international global politics. A large number of terrorist groups surfaced and became active over time. Though these groups had same common characteristics, they have different motives and objectives. (Haque, 2006). The various categories of terrorist groups include: Issue group terrorism which usually springs from a wish to rectify a supposed grievance or wrong which is generally attributed to governmental action or inaction; exile terrorists groups who reside elsewhere than their homeland through personal choice or eviction. Exile groups often have a nationalist separatist irredentist motivation and an ideological basis, as well as the desire to oust a regime in their established national home; terrorism based on ideological doctrines which form the backdrop of a marked proportion of terrorist group; state and state sponsored terrorism practiced by the ruling or governing powers of a state is another category. The purpose of this category of terrorism is control or repression and generally, the activity is confined within the national borders of the state (Smith 1990). Religious fanaticism has also been a source of terrorist motivation over the centuries. The suicide bombing attacks by terrorists underline the extent to which religious fervour may be manipulate for political purposes (Ranstorp, 1996).

For better understanding of the concepts of security,

insecurity and terrorism, one should analyze some approaches applicable to them. Classical theories analyze security, insecurity and terrorism from normative, qualitative and value judgment points of view. They nourished two important lines of thought, realism and idealism, which contributed greatly to the understanding of the nature, determinants and dynamics of the concepts of security, insecurity and terrorism. Realism is central to the paradigms. The approach was developed under the basic assumption that competitions and conflict among nations and groups continue in some form or the other. It stresses the struggle for power or the contest for power among nations and groups. Most nations and groups revolve around this power paradigm for protecting their security against insecurity and terrorism. They adopt various means like balance of power deterrence and alliances, for effective check of the contest for power. The concepts of security, insecurity and terrorism also got new dimensions from the advocates of idealism who rejected the ideas of the realists and envisioned a new order free from power politics and violence. The theory is basically concerned with the interests of various groups and nations, and ensures the welfare of human kind. The theory visualized a New World Order free from war, violence, inequality, tyranny, insecurity and terrorism, and based on peace, harmony and mutual cooperation.

CAUSES OF INSECURITY AND TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

The unparalleled spate of terrorism, kidnappings and other violent crimes is to say the least, alarming. Religious leaders, churches, mosques etc. are not spared in the onslaught. At the risk of over-egging the pudding, there is no gainsaying the fact that Nigeria is at a cross-road and gradually drifting towards a failed state. The following are some of the remote and immediate causes of instability, insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria.

One of the primary causes of instability, insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria is our inadequate system of government and over-concentration of political power at the centre. Currently, it seems Nigeria is building on sand and not on a solid foundation because many of those issues that led to the Nigerian civil war are still prevalent more than forty years after the war ended.

The second factor is weak judicial system, injustices, nepotism and a culture of impunity. Here people commit all manner of crimes and get away with them. When justice is said to be meted out, a rich man gets a slap on the wrist for stealing or embezzling billions of naira while a poor man is sentenced to five years imprisonment for stealing a goat. There is a widespread notion that justice can be bought or sold in Nigeria depending on one's bargaining power and contacts in the corridors of power. Some of the alleged masterminds of Boko Haram are said to have been arrested in the past by security agents

but promptly released due to intervention of powerful individuals while some of them were jailed for just few months, they come out sooner than later and continue with their nefarious activities.

A similar factor to the aforementioned is the unprecedented levels of corruption that has permeated the fabrics of our national life. The figures these days are simply mind-boggling. An individual steals, embezzles billions or even trillion of naira without blinking an eye-lid. It would seem there is competition for who wins the highest award for corruption. Now the government is said to be negotiating with the indicted oil subsidy culprits. This definitely set a bad precedent.

State of origin and indigene syndrome or the so-called "quota system" also takes a toll on the stability and security of Nigeria. A typical Nigerian identifies him/herself with his tribe or state of origin rather than as a Nigerian. A Nigerian born and bred in an area, whose parents and grand-parents are also born in that particular area but are originally from another place, are still seen as strangers or settlers. They may be tolerated but at times they are not entitled to some of the privileges that the so-called owners of the land are entitled to currently, it is very much unlikely for a Yoruba born and bred in Ebonyi state to aspire and become a member of the House of Assembly of that state, same applies to an Igbo born and bred in Oyo State. Even when there is a law that stipulates one's entitlements or rights, in reality, it is not pragmatic. Recently in Sokoto State, indigent students were exonerated from paying school fees while making it compulsory for 'Settlers' to pay school fees. Whereas, the settlers from another country (Niger Republic) are perhaps inadvertently exempted from paying school fees, because they bear Hausa names, are Moslems and have strong cultural ties with the Hausa-Fulani people that inhabit Sokoto State. On the other hand, settlers from South Eastern or South Western parts of Nigeria pay school fees because they do not share the same name, culture or language with the Sokoto People (Okereke, 2012).

In Nigeria, some individuals, the so-called god-fathers, cabals and power brokers are known to be stronger than the government or the institution. They see themselves as untouchables. They boast that nothing will happen and nothing ultimately happens. A case in point is the petrol subsidy fraud masterminds. The government wants to broker a deal with them so they can return some of the money they embezzled. At times, the policy, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) etc. need some kinds of clearance from the powers that be before they can do what they are naturally supposed to do especially when a so-called god-father or powerful individual is involved. Unscrupulous money-bags and in some cases criminals are celebrated and put in powerful positions because they are connected.

There is no doubt that Nigeria is endowed with a plethora

of unpatriotic, unscrupulous and greedy leaders. Leadership in Nigeria is a do-or-die affair. It is not about competition of ideas or rendering selfless services as is the case in most western countries. A leadership position in Nigeria is seen as a lifetime opportunity for one to enrich oneself and exonerate the next twenty generations of his family from poverty. The so-called security vote has become a conduct pipe for siphoning money from the government coffers.

Unemployment and lack of record and database of criminals also no small measure, contributes to instability, insecurity and terrorism not just in Nigeria but in many other places. The saying goes that 'a hungry man is an angry man'. No wonder many Western Countries pay unemployed people stipends or give them food stamps. Nigeria has a superfluity of unemployed people and graduates and the jobs are not forthcoming despite the promise by politicians. Some of these unemployed people take to wheeling-dealing while other ones inadvertently go into crimes to survive. There is a paucity of a comprehensive database of ex-convicts or criminals in Nigeria. The implication of this alone has far-reaching effects on instability, security and terrorism in the country. There abound cases of ex-convicts serving even in the security agencies. Combating insecurity and terrorism where there are no comprehensive records of those that have committed one offence or the other in the past would be so difficult.

Nigeria is probably the only country where the sale of chemicals and to a large extent, drugs are unregulated and where anybody and everybody can walk into a shop and buy any quantity of chemicals without questions being asked. Hence, it is very easy for terrorist to buy some of the raw materials and ingredients like acetone, fertilizers etc. that can be used to produce Improvised Explosives Devices (IED's).

Nigerian borders are generally porous. Criminals can walk in and out of the country without detection. Oil bunkering is prevalent because Nigerian coastal borders are not adequately patrolled. Proliferation of arms and ammunitions are also common-place courtesy of the porous borders. The Nigerian Immigration Service, Customs, Navy and the Nigeria Air force cannot ensure effective borders patrol.

IMPLICATIONS AND CHALLENGES OF INSECURITY AND TERRORISM ON NIGERIA

In recent times, Nigeria has witnessed an upsurge in terror related attacks. Whilst, the country is not new as a target of terror attack, the dimension it has taken and the nature of weapons being used by these terrorists are unprecedented. Terrorism started in the country as a form of state backed violence, but today, it is commonly linked with political violence perpetrated by groups without the power of the state. Based on regional figures,

about 70% of all terrorist acts recorded annually for West Africa, like hostage taking, kidnapping and sabotage of economic infrastructures took place in the Niger Delta. (Imohe, 2010). The Bombing of gas and crude oil pipelines by militants in the Niger Delta and their threat to attack major infrastructural facilities threatened security in Nigeria. It has been estimated that Nigeria lost over \$24 billion in revenue in 2008 and a further \$20 billion in 2009 to militant attacks (Illegal bunkering, <[http://www.compasnewsperonline.com/ htm](http://www.compasnewsperonline.com/htm), 31May, 2011). It is important to note the "Christmas Day bombing attempt when 23 year old Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, a Nigerian who had concealed plastic explosives in his underwear, attempted but failed to detonate them properly during a Northwest Airlines Flight 253 from Amsterdam Airport Schipol to Detroit Airport in the United States. The flight was the target of a failed-al-Qaeda-bombing-attempt-([http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/a/Umar Farouk abdulmutallab/Index.html](http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/a/Umar_Farouk_abdulmutallab/Index.html)).

Against the background of the existence of pockets of armed Islamist groups in parts of Northern Nigeria, sects like the Hisbali, the Zamfara state vigilante service (ZSVS), Al-Sunna Wal Jamma a.k.a "the Nigerian Taliban" among others that were alleged to have established links with the al Qaeda Islamic extremists; Northern Nigeria has been linked with international terrorist networks Onuoha, (2012). The sect dubbed "The Nigerian Taliban" which preached against western culture and for the imposition of Sharia law throughout Nigeria clashed with security forces and dissipated in 2004. The group called, Al sunna Wal Jammaa engaged in the "Purification of Islam". Between December 2003 and January 2004, Seventeen of the self-styled Taliban were killed by security operatives when they attempted to impose the so-called purification of Islam on a community where they set up their military-style camps (Ibegbu, 2007). According to the Nigeria state security service (SSS) it received a tip-off from the U.S intelligence network which led to the arrest of some Nigerians connected to the Taliban. Therefore, the SSS was said to have foiled an attempt by a Taliban group that attempted to bomb some strategic locations in Nigeria (This Day, 2012).

Boko Haram emerged around this time. Boko Haram, whose name roughly translates as "Western education is sinful" in Hausa language was founded in 2002 by Mohammed Yusuf as a social network designed to impose a strict Islamic lifestyle in Northern Nigeria, Boko Haram instilled the group with extremist ideology, extolling a version of Islam where any interaction with Western society is considered a sin. Boko Haram grew its ranks by taking advantage of widespread anger in the north over the country's wealth gap (Tanchum, 2012).

In July, 2009, following Mohammed Yusuf's declaration that democracy and Western education in Nigeria must be done away with, military forces stormed the compound

of the Boko Haram in Maiduguri and captured Yusuf, its founding leader. Yusuf was later found dead while still in police custody (Omede, 2011), the alleged extrajudicial execution, expected to signal the end of Boko Haram, has been their greatest recruiting tool. After the death of Yusuf, and since its radical operational metamorphosis in 2009; Boko Haram experienced resurgence and a number of significant transformations (Uzoechina 2011).

Boko Haram has become increasingly sophisticated in its operation since first launching mass attacks in Northern Nigeria killing over 3000 people since the beginning of 2009. The net outcome is that Boko Haram directed its attack on Christians, Muslims, Media Institutes and destroyed government structures in places like Maiduguri, Damaturu, Potiskum, Kaduna, Bauchi, Sokoto, Kano and Abuja. Hence, Boko Haram sought to transfer religious authority from the Sultan of Sokoto and other traditional leaders to Boko Haram's religious leaders through a campaign of intimidation and assassination (This Day, 2012; Vanguard, 2012).

The sect, which was initially known for attacking churches and government facilities, became the subject of intense international scrutiny when a suicide bomber drove through the gates of the United Nations Headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria, in 2011. The Boko Haram attack on the U.N. Headquarters in Abuja led many to believe that the group has larger ends in mind than just the domination of Nigeria. Subsequently in April 2014, Boko Haram sect abducted more than 200 students of Government Girls College in Chibok, Borno State, Nigeria. The sect also bombed viewing centre in Damaturu, Yobe State in June 2014. It was reported in June, 2014 by Saturday Tribune that about 173 teachers were lost to Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. It was also reported in Nigerian Tribune that Boko Haram claimed the responsibility of Lagos bombing in July, 2014.

Another militant Islamist group in Nigeria, ANSARU, has also proved to be a formidable threat to national security. Its full Arabic name is Jama'atu ANSARU MUSLIMINA Fi Bidali Sudan (Loosely translated it means "Vanguard for the protection of Muslims in Black Africa"). ANSARU is suspected to be an offshoot of Boko Haram and is listed by the United Kingdom government as a "terrorist organization" aligned with al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. ANSARU has proved to be a formidable threat during its short existence, using dynamite to penetrate heavily fortified compounds and taking foreigners hostage. It abducted French national Francis Colump, December 2012, following an attack on a compound in the northern town of Rimi, about 25 km from Kastina city. It said the attack was to avenge "transgressions" by European nations in Mali and Afghanistan, where Western forces are battling Islamist Insurgents. In January, 2013, ANSARU said it had carried out an attack which killed two Nigerian soldiers as they prepared to deploy to Mali. (The Nation, 2013).

ANSARU also took a Briton and an Italian hostage in early 2012 in the north-western state of Sokoto. The two died in March, 2012 during a failed attempt to rescue them. Nigeria's government is however likely to find it more difficult to end the Islamist insurgency now that two-groups are operating within the territory.

POSSIBLE REMEDIES TO INSECURITY AND TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

Here, it is imperative to highlight some areas that require attention to enhance Nigeria's national security and overcome the current scourge of terrorism and insecurity. One of the first and important steps that must be taken to curtail instability, insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria is to embrace a political system of government that gives more power to the federating units rather than concentrating so much power at the centre. Even the so called federalism we claim to practice is adulterated. True federalism as practiced in United States of American will no doubt eliminate the frequent agitation inherent in our polity. Sequel to our diverse ethnic nationalities, diverse cultural and religious backgrounds, and one tends to have an affinity for a system of government akin to the British model-devolution or a variant of it minus, the monarchy aspect.

The problems and realities that gave birth to Nigeria's civil war in 1967 are yet to be dealt with. The Niger Delta militants agitated and were promptly pacified with an amnesty programme and with one of their own emerging the vice-president and subsequently the substantive president. Several years ago it was maintain that was unleashed terror. Today it is Boko Haram and ANSARU. Soonest the movement for the actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) will be tempted to take up arms since violence is the only language that the Nigerian leadership understands. There was so much excitement over the offer of Boko Haram to negotiate with the government. It is obvious that the group is playing dangerous hide and seek game with the Nigerian government. They are waging psychological warfare. Therefore, the Nigerian government must not negotiate from a position of weakness or helplessness. Sometimes, an offer of negotiation may be a ploy, by the other groups to re-strategize, regroup and advance. Therefore the present military exercise should be sustained.

Secondly, to eradicate or curtail instability, insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria, there is a need to strengthen our judicial system by ensuring that justice is dispensed no matter who is involved. Nepotism and a culture of impunity must also be eschewed from our national psyche and life. Nigeria must be an egalitarian nation and not a country where there are two sets of rules, one for the rich and another for the poor. Nigerians must not be made to suffer in the midst of plenty.

Thirdly, serious, concerted and visible effort must be

geared towards exterminating corruption and injustice in Nigeria. EFCC, ICPC must be truly independent. There must not be sacred cows or smoke-screens. Measures must also be put in place to ensure quick dispensation of justice in Nigeria.

Fourthly, merit must not be sacrifice on the altar of state of origin and indigenship or the so-called quota system. Laws must be made that guarantees every Nigerian, the right to reside in any part of Nigeria and be entitled to what every other person is entitled to. This issue is the root of problems in Jos and some other parts of Nigeria. The Hausa-Fulani tribes in Jos are still seen as strangers even though some of them, their parents grand and great grandparents were born in Jos and have no other place as home.

Fifthly, the institutions should be strengthened and encouraged. Nigerian institutions should walk the talk and not just be paper tigers. All citizens must be equal before the law. The culture of foisting candidates on the electorate during elections must stop. Elections must be free and fair and a system should be put in place that ensures only patriotic and not unscrupulous individuals holding positions of responsibility. Similarly, unemployment must be seriously tackled and curtailed. The private sector must be encouraged and supported to create the much needed jobs. Constant electricity supply will no doubt boost employment and increase productivity. The fire brigade approach to solving problems be it security challenges must be jettisoned. Nigerian government must embrace an intelligence gathering method. Problems and crises must be nipped in the bud before they escalate.

Nigerian police and other security agencies must be well-equipped and trained and re-trained to tackle present day security challenges. Qualified and bright individuals should be encouraged with good incentives to enlist into the security agencies. The police must not be a dumping ground for dullards. The recent enlistment exercise of IT professionals into the officer cadre of the Nigeria police is highly encouraged and commendable. The police forensic laboratory must be well-equipped funded and staffed with qualified personnel. Nigerians must be continually sensitized to be security conscious. Security is a collective responsibility. So, government must not push its citizens so hard that they resort to criminality, violence and terrorism, so that there will be improvement in the socio-economic and political system of Nigeria.

CONCLUSION

The contemporary national security environment is dynamic. The global environment affects and determines the ability of any country to manage its national security. Many of these threats arise beyond boundaries. Globalization weakened some of the barriers which

countries can use to protect their security interests. While there are many different approaches to understanding national security, one thing is clear; the security of the individual or community is no longer defined exclusively within the realm of states and as a consequence of national security. Our understanding of security sees human security as complementary to traditional approaches to state security. Even though security may be viewed from the individual, group, social, national and global levels, they are all linked. Without the provision of effective national security, neither citizens nor societies can be personally secure in the broader sense of the term. Without secure and stable countries and a body of practice of law, whereby countries regulate their interaction, individual, community, regional and international security remains elusive. Without good governance, national security, which is increasingly understood to be about development justice and fairness, cannot be achieved. In addition to threats posed by lack of good governance, other national security challenges aside from terrorism, include transnational crimes and conflict, drug trafficking, human trafficking, money laundering and cyber crimes. Terrorism has however proven to be one of the most prolific and perennial threat to the security of Nigeria today. Combating terrorism is a very difficult and complex task, it needs concerted effort by government and it should include the people as part of the plan.

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