

Contemporary security, terrorism and insurgency challenges, dimensions and implication on national security and development: An overview

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Abstract

The paper critically analyses and overviews contemporary security, terrorism and insurgency in the Nigerian nation and the implication on national development. The security of a nation is ultimately to be found in the security of its citizens as individuals as families or households and as larger groups making up the nation. The issues of terrorism and insurgency which have undermined national security and stability of the country, calls for collaborative effort both from the citizenry and security agencies. The major thrust of this paper is to x-ray the challenges posed by insecurity arising from terrorism, insurgency and the implication of this on national development. The paper argues that, most of the root causes of these act of criminality may not be unconnected with the high rate of corruption, unemployment, poverty, religious indoctrination and extremism. Insurgency and terrorists' activities have devastated economic activities and have led to internally displaced persons. Most affected parts include the north central and north eastern parts of Nigeria. The paper concluded by recommending measures to stem the tide of the menace.

Keywords: Security, Terrorism, Insurgency, National Security, Development

INTRODUCTION

It is very obvious that Nigeria since the return to civil rule in 1999 has been facing security challenges across the country. The security of a nation is ultimately to be found in the security of its citizens as individuals, families and the larger society.

Safeguarding the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the state, was central pillar of Nigerian National security policy. Other guiding principles were African unity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and regional economic development and security cooperation (NAN, 2011). Nigeria's security concerns and threat perceptions emanated from many quarters (Danjibo, 2009). The country's dependence on the production and export of crude oil was aggravated by naval deployment of major powers along the maritime transit routes of the south Atlantic and the Gulf of Guinea. Its experience of incursions by neighbours, coupled with fears of foreign influence or of subversion of neighbours by such potential adversaries as France, Libya and South Africa, heightened Lagos's sensitivities, about border security (Bagaji, et al, 2011).

Terrorism

Terrorism is a politically motivated violence, or the threat of violence against non combatants by sub-state actors (Zinkota 2002). It is a struggle between a non-ruling groups and the ruling authorities

in which the non ruling groups uses political resources and violence in a protracted political military activity” that uses irregular military activity” that uses irregular military forces. Long term objectives can appear similar between insurgency and terrorism.

Bockstette and Casten (2008) define terrorism as premeditated, deliberate, systematic murder, mayhem and threatening of the innocent to create fear and intimidation in order to gain a political or tactical advantage usually to influence an audience.

Diaz, paniagua, Catlos and Fernando (2008) defined terrorism as group of individuals privately, without the legitimate authority of a recognized state, it is directed indiscriminately against non-combatants, the goal is to achieve something relevant and this goal is pursued by means of fear provoking violence.

Primoratz (2011) defined terrorism as the intentional random murder of defenseless non-combatants with the intent of instilling fear of mortal danger amidst a civilian population as a strategy designed to advance political ends. The purpose of terrorism is to exploit the media in order to achieve maximum attainable publicity as an amplifying force multiplier in order to influence the targeted audience in order to reach short and mid-term political goals.

Terrorism and insurgency involve political aims and motives. It is violent or threatens and it is designed to generate fear in its target, Joose, (2012)

Insurgency

An insurgency is an organized movement intended to overthrowing a constituted government through the use of subversion or armed conflict against the country. (Institute for national strategic studies, NINSS; 2010). Insurgency has ravaged the country and destroyed social, and economic activities in Borno, Yobe, Adamawa and other parts of north east of Nigeria. This has also led to many internally displaced persons in the affected states.

Insurgency refers to one who rises in revolt against constituted authority, a rebel who is not recognized as a belligerent. Insurgency is defined as an interlocking system of actions, political, economic, psychological, and military, that aims at the overthrow of the established authority in a country and its replacement by another regime (Blomberg et al 2004).

The United State Department of Defense DDD, (Deloughery, *et al*2002) defines insurgency as an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through use of subversion and armed conflict.

Insurgency according to Stuart, Eizenstat (2005) grows out of gaps. To be viable, a

state must be able to close three 'gaps' of which the first is most important; security; protection against internal and external threats and preserving sovereignty over territory. If a government can not ensure security, rebellious armed groups or criminal non state actors may use violence to exploit this security gap. An inability to do so create a capacity gap, which can lead to a loss of public confidence and then perhaps political upheaval. In most environments, a capacity gap coexist with or even grows out of a security gap.

In Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of Congo, for example segments of the population are cut off from their governments because of endemic insecurity. In post conflict Iraq critical capacity gaps exist despite the country's relative wealth and strategic importance (Deloughery *et al* 2012).

Theoretical / Conceptual Review

Terrorism and Insurgency can be viewed from two perspectives and these are; the instrumental approach and the organizational approach.

The instrumental Approach: In this approach, violence is seen as intentional. Terrorism is a means to a political end Joose (2012). Government and adversary's actions are aimed at influencing the behaviour of the other. The classic works on the strategy of conflict, such as those by Joose (2012) who suggest that terrorism is

the form of violent coercion, a bargaining process based on the power to hurt and intimidate as a substitute for the use of overt military force.

Organizational Approach.

This approach focuses on the internal politics of the organization. It suggests that terrorism can become self-sustaining, regardless of its political consequences. It assumes that, the fundamental purpose of any political organization is to maintain itself. Terrorist behaviour represents the outcome of the internal dynamics of the organization rather than strategic action. The optimal goal of any organization is survival, but the goals of the people occupying roles in an organization transcend mere survival.

Historically, it is important to say from the outset that, there is no universally agreed definition of terrorism. However, the activities of terrorists, involves bombing, assassinations, hijackings, hostage taking and other violence in order to intimidate nations into changing their policies or their leaders or surrendering parts of their territory. Historically, the first known acts of what we now call terrorism were perpetrated by a radical offshoot of the Zealots, a Jewish sect active in Judea during the 1st century A.D. The Zealots resisted the Roman Empire's rule of what is today Israel through a determined campaign primarily involving assassination. (Danjibo, 2009)

Meanwhile, the word terrorism did not gain wider popularity until the early 20th century when it was adopted by a group of Russian revolutionaries during the Soviet revolution in 1917 to describe their violent struggle against Tsarist Rule. Thus Lenin and Stalin, evolved government sponsored terrorism as a useful tool to maintain government control. These two important personalities systematically used the act of terrorism to intimidate and frighten the entire society.

According to him, both terror and fear were veritable instruments for governmental operations (Danjibo, 2009). These state sanctioned acts of violence are more generally termed terror to distinguish them from violence committed by non-state entities. (Danjibo, 2009). The modern terrorism especially right from the late 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and up till the 1990s has taken different trends and dimensions. Abimbola and Adesote (2011). It is therefore important to briefly examine these trends and dimensions with a view to discussing its situation in Nigeria.

Trends of Terrorism

Basically, there are about three main trends in modern terrorism Abimbola and Adesote (2011). First, it is loosely organized, self-financed and internationalized network of terrorist. Another trend in terrorism is that which is religiously or ideologically motivated. For instance, radical and fundamentalist group or groups use

religion as platform to pose terrorist threats of varying kinds to many nations, interest. (Ojukwu, 2011). A third trend in modern terrorism is the apparent growth of cross-national links among different terrorists organizations which may involve combinations of military training or funding, technological transfer or political advice. In fact, looming over the entire issue of international terrorism is a trend toward proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). For instance the republic of Iran, seen as the most active state sponsors of terrorism, has been aggressively seeking a nuclear arms capability. Iraq under Saddam Hussein was thought to be stock piling nuclear weapons of both chemical and biological weapons. North Korea recently admitted to having a clandestine program for uranium enrichment. Also there are unconfirmed indications that the Al-Qaeda organization attempted to acquire chemical, biological and radiological nuclear weapons before the death of Osama Bin Laden (Bagaji 2011)

Dimensions of Terrorism

Modern terrorism equally has some dimensions. Prominent among the dimensions of terrorism includes state bound; non-state terrorism and terrorism across national boundaries Adesoji (2010). The state bound terrorism deals with the orchestrated and aided by states. This dimension of terrorism could be in the form of intimidation, selective political

assassination, abduction and kidnaping. Example of this dimension include the ethnic cleansing and genocidal activities. The Nazi regime carried out against the Jewish population between 1939 and 1945, and the Stalinist purge of the peasant class of Kulaks in Ukraine that led to the death of millions of civilians carried out by individuals or groups who feel it is no longer worth it to accomplish political objectives within the law.

A good example of non-state dimension of terrorism was the maitatsine activities in the 1980s as well as the on-going Boko Haram attack in Nigeria. A number of factors were said to be for the non-state terrorism. These include relative deprivation-asymmetrical allocation or distribution of public resources, poverty, political frustration and religious intolerance or fanaticism (Adesoji 2010, Ojukwu, 2011). The third dimension of terrorism is across national boundaries. This dimension has external and international connections. A vivid example of this dimension of terrorism is Al-Qaeda whose activities are mostly drawn on external factors (Ojukwu, 2011).

Emergence of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria.

The emergence of Boko haram in the northern part of the country can be traced back to the post independence era, when attempts were made to forcefully impose religious ideology or belief on the Nigeria society since the 1960. The first major

attempt in the post colonial period was led by the leader of the *maitatsine* sectarian group in the 1980s and eventually led to large scale uprisings Bagaji (2012). Thus it can therefore be said that the emergence of this dreaded Islamic sect popularly known as Boko haram had its root and inspiration from colonial period as well as from the maitatsine uprisings of the early 1980s in particular. Although Boko haram could be compared in terms of philosophy or ideology and objectives to the maitatsine sectarian group, its organizational planning, armed resistance and modus operandi is Taliban (Danjibo, 2009). The maitatsine uprisings of the early 1980s inspired by a Cameroonian dissident preacher named Mohammudu Marwa, characterized by massive socio-economic inequality and following on from constitutional debates in 1977 which polarized the country were the first incidence of Islamic fundamentalist agitation against the secular state. At around the same time two other Islamic fundamentalist groups, emerged, *Jama'atuizalatil Bidiawalgar maticsunna* (society of removal of innovation and reestablishment of the sunna" founded in 1978 in Jos and known as *Izala* and the Islamic movement led by Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, founded by Iran and which Yusuf was thought to be a major player, exactly how and when Yusuf was involved and how this related to his links with sheikh Jafar is unclear (Dearn, 2011). Though Dearn (2011) had argued that both groups have been associated with Boko Harams

modern incarnation, there is no substantial evidence to justify this.

In 2009, the Islamic movement of Nigeria rejected claims that El-Zakazaky was the founder of Boko Haram arguing it could never be so against western education when it owns 300 schools in Nigeria which teach a mixture of Islamic and western education. Izala threatened legal action against publishers of pictures of its members labeled as BokoHaram foot soldiers. What is clear is that the combination of constitutional debates in the 1970s, military rule under successive despots, including the jailing of El-Zakzaky by SaniAbacha's regime, entrenched poverty in the areas where such groups are active and have been grist to the fundamentalist Mill (Dearn, 2011).

It was reported by Danjibo (2009) and Adesoji (2010) that many Islamists were not satisfied by the adoption of Sharia law in 12 northern states between 1999 and 2001. They believed that its introduction has been watered down. It was also perceived by these Islamic fundamentalist that an imported system of government based on "western values" has resulted in ostensible corruption, poverty, unemployment and the continued suppression of 'true' Islam in northern part of the country (Danjibo, 2009). Therefore, the best approach to understanding the ideology and philosophy of the movement is by explaining the two key words Boko

and Haram. In Hausa language, the word Boko is an equivocal term which means either book, western or foreign, while the word Haram is an Arabic derivative meaning forbidden, ungodly, or sinful (Danjibo, 2009; Adesoji, 2010)

Contemporary Security Challenges in Nigeria and National Security

The security of a nation is ultimately to be found in the security of the citizens as individuals, as families/households and as larger group making up the nation. Security as a concept is characterized by its ambiguity of definition (Bomisaye 1994), Mashat, 1983). Due to the state centric nature of the international system and due also to the historic preoccupation of international systems, with wars, the concept of security has traditionally been militarily defined. Thus security is conceptualized in terms of preservation of independence and sovereignty of nation states. (Mashat, 1983). He contends that a country is secured to the extent that it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war and is able, if challenged to maintain them by victory in such a war. Such core values denote the preservation of territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state. Security here therefore is ability to deter an attack or to defeat it. (Wafers as cited in Mashat, 1983). These definitions centre ground weaponry and military hardware as the source of protection and threat (Bucan, 1983). Interms of the gun-butter dichotomy,

national security is therefore conventionally seen as an issue of guns.

This paper is of the view that people and states must be secured from the fear of violence at the local, national, regional and international levels if an enabling environment for sustainable political and economic development is to be created. This means both that states must be adequately protected against aggression and internal subversion and that the lives of ordinary people must not be crippled by state repression, violent conflict or rampant criminality.

National security is a corporate term covering both national defence and foreign relation of countries. It refers to the protection of a nation from attack or other danger by holding adequate armed forces and guarding state secrets. The term national security encompasses within it economic security, monetary security, energy security, environmental security military security, political security and security of natural resources.

Specifically, national security means a circumstance that exists as a result of military or defence advantage over any foreign nation or group of nations or a friendly foreign relations position, capable of successfully presenting hostile or destructive faction. (Mashat, 1984)

Contemporary Security Challenges in Nigeria and National Development

Development is critical and essential to the sustenance and growth of any nation. A country is classified as developed when it is able to provide qualitative life for her citizenry. Nigeria in the last fifty years has been battling with the problems of development in spite of huge human, material and natural resources in her possession.

This problem has been compounded by the activities of Boko Haram terrorism and insurgency which has crippled and devastated economic activities in the country especially the north eastern Nigeria states of Borno, Yobe, Bauchi and Adamawa states, where millions of people have been killed and displaced internally and some taking refuge in neighbouring countries like Niger, Cameroun and Chad. The pride of any government is the attainment of higher value level of development in such a way that its citizens would derive natural attachment to governance. However, for a nation to be in phase of development there must be some pre-requisites which include socio-political and economic stability

The gap between the developed and the developing countries is not static or narrow but is continually widening. A large majority of the world's population in developing world lives in a state of poverty. The problem of urban population, rural

stagnation, unemployment and growing inequalities continue to face less developed countries, which Nigeria belongs. Hopes of accelerated development are difficult to realize. This gloomy situation is of great concern to stakeholders and the concerned citizenry. Nigeria has not been able to engender meaningful development in spite of her huge resources endowment. This has greatly affected her quest to improved quality of life of her citizen. Poverty, unemployment and starvation still pervades the nook and cranny of the country. Development is essential and critical to growth and sustenance of any country. In order to successfully enhance meaningful development effective strategies must be evolved.

Development as a concept is a victim of definitional pluralism it is a difficult world to define. However, attempts have been made by erudite scholars to conceptualize development some of these definitions are by Gboyega (2003), who define development as an idea that embodies all attempts to improve the conditions wellbeing of all citizens, not the most powerful and rich alone, is a sustainable way such that today's consumption does not imperil the future. It also demand that poverty and inequality of access to the good things of life be removed or drastically reduced. It seems to improve personal, physical, security and livelihoods and expansion of life chances.

Naomi (1995) believes that development is usually taken to involve not only economic growth, but also some notion of equitable distribution, provision of health care, education, housing and other essential services all with a view to improving the individual and collective quality of life (Naomi 1993). (Hisman (1984) views development as a process of social advancement, where improvement in the wellbeing of people are generated through strong partnership between all sectors, corporate bodies and other groups in the society. It is reasonable to know that development is not only an economic exercise, but also involves both. Socio-economic and political issues pervade all aspects of societal life.

National Development

National according to Longman dictionary of contemporary English refers to a phenomenon that embraces a whole nation. National development therefore can be described as the overall development or a collective socio-economic political as well as religious advancement of a country or nation. Gboyega (2003). This is best achieved through development planning which can be described as the country's collection of strategies mapped out by the government (Aremu, 2003).

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citizenry. Nigeria in the last 100 years has been battling with the problem of development in spite of huge human, material and natural resources in her possession. This paper discusses and links the factors affecting national development to the upsurge of insurgency, terrorism, poverty, corruption and incompetence and mediocrity in governance.

The pride of every government is the attainment of higher value level of development in such a way that its citizenry would derive natural attachment to governance. However for a nation to be in a phase of development, there must be some pre-requisites, which include socio-political and economic stability as against the present situation posed by the emergence of insurgency, terrorism and ethno-religious conflicts and its devastating consequences on the nation.

This gloomy situation is of great concern to stakeholders and the concerned citizenry. Nigeria has not been able to engender meaningful development in spite of her huge resources endowment (Gboyega (2003). This has greatly affected her quest for improved quality of life of her citizens as poverty, unemployment and starvation still pervade the nook and cranny of the country. Development is essential and critical to growth and sustenance of any country.

Gboyega (2003) captures development as

an idea that embodies all attempts to improve the condition of human existence in all ramifications. It implies improvement in material well being of all citizens.

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National development therefore can be described as the overall development or a collective socio-economic, political as well as religious advancement of a country. This is best achieved through development planning, which can be described as the country's collection of strategies, mapped out by the government.

We have had series of development plans in Nigeria. Nigeria is permanently limited by the spectra of development. Its over fifty years of independence actually are rolling by daily in search of development. The myth of growth and development is so entrenched that the country's history passes for the history of development strategies and growth models from colonial times up to date. No term has been in constant flux as development. This seems the only country where virtually all notions and models of development have been experimented

(Aremu, 2003).

In spite of series of development strategies put in place by successive governments and sometimes with good intentions, all attempts to generate meaningful development proved futile. Based on this, one is now confronted with these puzzle. Were those previous development plans or strategies bad in their context, or wrongly projected? If nothing was wrong with the plans, then why is it still difficult to generate meaningful development in spite of the huge resources at our disposal?

The solutions to these puzzles are not far fetched. A lot of factors have combined together to factor the nations development. One, there are in most cases, no executive capacity responsible for the formulation and implementation of the plans. What we usually see are officials entrusted to such a position but without any meaningful executive authority. Some of the previous development plans failed because, there was little or no consultation of the general public. Planning is supposed to involve even the peasants in the villages and the local government officials who are close to the people.

The problems of underdevelopment as highlighted from the foregoing is been compounded by terrorism, insurgency and high level of corruption at all levels of the Nigerian society. Insurgency and terrorism have claimed millions lives and destroyed

the economy of the people thereby aggravating poverty and misery among the people.

Major incidence of Boko Haram attacks since 2009 up till date 2016

DATE	CASUALTIES
July 26, 2009	Boko Haram launched mass uprising with attacks on a police station in Bauchi, starting a five day uprising that spread to Maiduguri and elsewhere.
September 7, 2010	Boko Haram attacked a prison in Bauchi, killed about five guards, and freed over 700 inmates including former sect members.
October 11, 2010	Bombing/gun attack on a police stations in Maiduguri destroying the station and injuring three by the group.
December 24, 2010	The group carried out a bomb attack in Jos killing 8 people
December 28, 2010	Boko Haram claimed responsibility for the Christmas eve bombing in Jos that killed 38 people.
April 1, 2011	The group attacked a police station in Bauchi.
April, 9, 2011	The group attacked a polling centre in Maiduguri and bombed it
April 20, 2011	A bomb in Maiduguri kills a police man.
April 22, 2011	The group attacked a prison in Yola and freed 14 prisoners.
April 24, 2011	Four bombs exploded in Maiduguri, killing at least three people.
May 29, 2011	Bombing of an army barracks in Bauchi town and Maiduguri and led to death of 15 people.
May 31, 2011	Gunmen assassinated Abbas Anasibn Umar Garbai, brother of the Shehu of Borno, in Maiduguri.
June 1, 2011	The group killed Shehu of Borno's brother, Abba El-kanemi
June 7, 2011	A team of gunmen launched parallel attacks with guns and bombs on churches and police stations in Maiduguri killing 5 people.
June 16, 2011	Bombing of police headquarters in Abuja, claimed by Boko haram. Casualty report vary.
June 26, 2011	Gunmen shot and bombed a bar in Maiduguri, killing about 25 people.
August 16, 2011	The bombing of United Nation's Office in Abuja, killing over 34 people by the group.
December 25, 2011	Bombing of St. Theresa's catholic Church Madalla, killing over 46 people.
January 6, 2012	The sect attacked some southerners in Mubi killing about 13 Igbos.
January 21, 2012	Multiple bomb blast rocked Kano city, claiming over 185 people.
January 29, 2012	Bombing of Kano police station at Naibawa areas of Yakatabo.
February 8, 2012	Bombing rocked army headquarters in Kaduna.
February 15, 2012	Kotankarfe prison Kogi state was attacked by the sect and about 119 prisoners were release and a warder was killed.
February 19, 2012	Bomb blast rocked Suleja, Niger state near Christ Embassy church leaving 5 people seriously injured.
February 26, 2012	Bombing of Church of Christ in Nigeria Jos leading to the death of about 2 worshippers and about 38 people sustained serious injuries.
March 8, 2012	An Italian, Franco Lamoliaara and a Briton, Christopher McManus, who were. Expatriate staff of stablism vision construction firm were abducted in 2011 by a splinter group of Boko Haram and were later killed.
March 11, 2012	Bombing of St. Finbarr Catholic Church, Ray Field Jos resulting in the killing of 11 people and several others wounded.
April 26, 2012	Bombing of three media houses (Thisday Newspaper in Abuja Killing 3 and 2 security officers and injured 13 people; ThisDay, the sun and the moment newspapers in Kaduna, Killing 3 persons and injured many others.
April 29, 2012	Attack on Bayero University, Kano, Killing 13 Christian worshippers, a senior non-academic staff and two Professors.
April 30, 2012	Bomb explosion in Jalingo, claiming 11 persons and several others wounded.

Source: Field Research, 2015

The above forgoing analysis of the activities/attacks of the dreaded Islamic sect, Boko Haram has revealed that not less than 1,200 person, including civilians and security personnel's have been killed since its emergence up to February, 2012 (Punch 16, February, 2012). It is worthy of note that the activities of Boko Haram terrorism has continued unabated into 2015 and 2016 with scores of innocent persons and security Personnel's killed in the north east state of Borno, Yobe, Bauchi, Gombo and Adamawa state of Nigeria

Also significant in the analysis is that, the activities of the sect over the years have taken different trends, and dimensions. The sect has graduated from cruel drive by attacks on beer parlours to bombing of security buildings, public buildings and churches.

The Problems of National Development in Nigeria

In spite of series of development strategies put in place by successive governments and sometimes with good intentions. All attempts to generate meaningful development proved futile. Based on this, one is now confronted with these puzzles 'were those previous development plans or strategies bad in their context or wrongly projected? It nothing was wrong with the plans then why is it still difficult to generate meaningful development in spite of the huge resources at our disposal? The solutions to these puzzles are not far

fetched. A lot of factors have combined together to deter nation's development. One, there are in most cases, no executive capacity responsive for the formulation and implementation of the plan. What one usually see are officials entrusted to such a position but without any meaningful executive authority.

Some of the previous development plans failed because, there was little or no consultation of the general public. Planning is supposed to involve even the peasants in the villages. Lack of good governance also militates against national development. Where therefore is no good governance, development becomes a mirage. This is as a result of bad leadership in the country. Most of our leaders have no sense of commitment of development.

Mimiko (1998) captures the situation this way "the decolonization allowed the crop of leaders that aligned with colonial powers to take over Nigeria. This ensured the sustenance of neo-colonial economy even after political independence. These leaders on assumption of power quickly turned up the repressive machinery of colonial state rather than dismantling it. Significantly, they have no vision of development to accompany the efficient instrument of repression, they inherited. All they were interested in was access to power and privileges and not development"

High level of corruption and indiscipline is

another barrier to development. Nigeria state is corrupt, managed by corrupt leaders who have made the state an instrument of capital accumulate, rather than using it to project the interest of the citizenry. A very good plan supervised by a thoroughly corrupt state can hardly do a thorough good job (Mimiko,1998) corruption and development are anti-thetical to each other, the two cannot not cohabit and so, where one is present, the other suffers. Another important factor is the mono-economic base of the country. The country largely depends on crude oil for her survival to the detriment of other resources. All other sectors of the economy are neglected. For instance, agriculture, which constitute the mainstay of the Nigerian economy in the 1950s and 1960s, has been thrown into limbo over the years. How would government encourage export promotion when there is virtually nothing to export? The economy is not diversified and this is not suitable for a sustainable development (Mimiko, 1998).

Causes of Terrorism and Insurgency

The following are possible causes of terrorism and insurgency in the Nigerian society.

According to Plummer, (2012) Relative deprivation and inequality: Widespread perceptions of deprivation and inequality especially among culturally defined groups, serve as the basic condition for participation in collective civil violence.

Terrorism and insurgency may be part of this violence.

Terrorism by spoilers: peace processes based on negotiated settlements are frequently accompanied by increased levels of terrorism by rejectionist groups. The contagion theory: the occurrence of terrorism in neighbouring countries. Terrorist learn from one another and new tactics are usually quickly emulated. Spill over occurs in a variety of ways.

Terrorism and Mass Media

Paradigmatic shifts in modern mass media appear to influence patterns of terrorism by enhancing its agenda setting function, increasing its lethality and by expanding its trans-national character. Delougherty, *et al* (2002).

Rapid Modernization makes societies more exposed to ideological terrorism. Societal changes associated with modernization creates new and unprecedented conditions for terrorism such as a multitude of targets, mobility communications anonymity and audiences, socially disruptive modernization, may also produce propitious conditions for terrorism, especially when it relies heavily on the export of natural resources causes widespread social inequalities and environmental damage and creating mixed market-clienteles societies.

Poverty, weak states and insurgencies; poor

societies with weak states structures are much more exposed to civil wars than wealthy countries. Economic growth and development undercut the economics of armed insurgencies. Economic growth and prosperity also contribute to lower level of transnational terrorism.

Democratization: States in democratic transition are more exposed to armed conflict and terrorism than democratic and autocracies. Because of pervasive states control totalitarian regimes rarely experience terrorism. States with high scores on measures of human rights standard and democracy are less exposed to domestic ideological terrorism. Levels of transnational terrorism also seem to be highest in semi-authoritarian states especially when undergoing a democratization process.

Political Regime and Legitimacy

Terrorism is closely linked to a sex of core legitimacy problems lack of continuity of political system and a lack of integration of political fringes, tend to encourage ideological terrorism ethnic diversity increases the potential for ethnic terrorism. A high density of trade union membership in a population has tended to contributed to a lower level of domestic ideological terrorism.

The ecology of terrorism: Technological development offer new and more efficient means and weapons for terrorist groups but

also increase the counter-terrorist capabilities of the counter-terrorist capabilities of states. Transnational organized crime and terrorism are partly inter-linked phenomena and growth in transnational organized crime may contribute to increased levels of terrorism Hegemony in the international system; An international state system characterized by strong hegemonic power is more exposed to international terrorism than a more multi-polar system. High levels of bipolar conflict in world politics invite the use of state-sponsored terrorism as a means of war by proxy. A strongly unipolar world order or a world empire system. On the other hand, will experience high level of transnational ant-systemic anti-colonial terrorism.

Economic and cultural globalization: Economic global has mixed impacts on transnational terrorism, depending on how globalization is measured cultural globalization, measured by the rate of NGOs, tends to cause higher levels of transnational terrorism, especially against US targets.

The proliferation of weak and collapsed states seems to have a facilitating influence on terrorism. Failed or collapsed state, causes by civil wars underdevelopment, corrupt elites, etc, may contribute to international terrorism in a variety of ways. The ongoing and past wars; while terrorism in some cases is an armed conflict in its own right, terrorists motivations are often

rooted in ongoing or past war in one way or another. Armed conflicts also have various facilitating influence on transnational terrorism

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has clearly revealed the challenges of insurgency terrorism, insecurity and underdevelopment. It is very obvious that insecurity and violence of different dimensions and trends have significantly threatened national security and fear of the unknown in the country since the return of democratic rule in Nigeria, 1999.

Therefore, having known a number of factors responsible for this ugly situation among which include failure of good governance, issues of neglect, poverty, high rate of unemployment especially among the youths and so on, what is expected is that the government in particular should brace up to its constitutional responsibilities by addressing the problems through critical appraisal of suggestions made in this paper.

Government should address poverty and unemployment in the country. Perceived marginalization of some sections of the country should be addressed and of course even distribution of wealth across the country must be given top priority.

Finally, the armed forces should be strengthened especially the intelligence

arm like the Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI), Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and the National Intelligence Agency (NIA). The Armed Forces and the Police should be strengthened and motivated adequately, items' of welfare and modern equipment to fight and defeat terrorism and insurgency in the country.

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