



Combating Violence and Security Threats in Nigeria: A Legal Examination of the Terrorism Act, 2011

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Abstract – *The study examines the violence and security threats that are presently bedeviling Nigeria and how to combat these threats through the enforcement of the Terrorism Act, 2011. The study also examines the legal process in which the activities of any terrorist organization or group will be proscribed under the law; the extradition and seizure of terrorist properties, etc. the various counter-terrorist conventions the Nigerian state have ratified through the specific-adoption procedure in its domestic laws and the law enforcement agencies that are empowered to combat, investigate and prosecute matters of terrorism, will also be examined and analyzed. It argues that the jurisdiction of court, procedure for prosecution and the penalties imposed on such an offence, are grossly inadequate to deter persons or groups from committing such heinous crimes. The study concludes that although the Terrorism Act, 2011, is an instrument to combat terrorism and security threats in Nigeria, the undue influence by influential politicians, godfatherism and also those in governmental authority that are secretly backing these terrorists, are likely to prevent and protract the Nigerian government from enforcing the full wrath of the law on offenders.*

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1. Introduction

Terrorism, violence and security threats have in recent time, assumed notoriety locally and globally. No country is immune from such violent acts of terror, kidnapping, armed robbery, shooting, hostage-taking, hostilities and so forth. Acts of terrorism and violence are criminal offences that are punishable under the law. In the Criminal Code Act of Nigeria, there are 521 sections that list various offences. The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission Act, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency Act and other security enactments contain a number of such offences. Recently, the Nigerian government has enacted the Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2011, and has also set in motion, various machineries to combat such crimes.

This study will analyze these enactments and other approaches by the Nigerian government to combat terrorism, violence and security threats, and to ascertain whether their enforcement, implementation and efforts, have achieved the desired objective.

2. Terrorism and Violence: Distinctive Analysis

Some people think that terrorism and criminal violence is the same type of crime, or that at the very least, they have big commonalities. However, terrorism is not like other types of violence,

and therefore, there are basic components and criteria that can be used to distinguish the two. David Goldstein (2007) explains the concept further by showing the intricate differences between criminals and terrorists:

The terrorist is often well trained and supported by some senior government officials and organizations. He or she has a specific goal in mind, often more symbolic than opportunistic. On the other hand, it is a fair statement that the “ordinary” criminal is one who seeks opportunistic targets, has little backing, is selfish, lacks discipline and may be deterred relatively easily.

In general, terrorists are assumed to be well trained as opposed to a regular criminal. Therefore, the propensity for violence and level of destruction can be much greater. Terrorists are more likely to believe in their cause, so much, that they are even willing to die for it (Goldstein, 2007). This is very unlike mainstream violence, where for example, the criminal perpetrator runs for cover when being chased by the police, while the terrorist may confront the police with a bomb strapped to his/her chest.

Criminals tend to hide after they commit a crime, but terrorists often like to take credit and bask in the media’s propaganda. Another factor to consider is the span of attacks of regular criminals and terrorists. Most criminals operate within the proximity of their hide out, while most terrorists operate within entire countries, and many of them, operate internationally; with hideouts and safe houses in many geographic regions (White, 2006).

By distinguishing terrorists from other types of criminals and terrorism from other forms of crime, we come to appreciate that terrorism is:

- ineluctably political in aims and motives
- violent – or, equally important, threatened violence
- designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target
- conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial cell structure (whose members wear no uniform or identifying insignia) and
- perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state entity (Bruce Hoffman, 2006).

Terrorist attacks are usually carried out in such a way as to maximize the severity and length of the psychological impact (Bruce Hoffman, 2003). Each act of terrorism is a “performance” devised to have an impact on many large audiences. Terrorists also attack national symbols (Rick Hampson, 2009) to show power and to attempt to shake the foundation of the country or society they are opposed to. This may negatively affect a government, while increasing the prestige of the given terrorist organization and/or ideology behind a terrorist act (Juergensmeyer Mark, 2000).

Terrorist acts frequently have a political purpose (Style, 2009). Terrorism is a political tactic, like letter-writing or protesting, which is used by activists when they believe that no other means will effect the kind of change they desire. The change is desired so badly that failure to achieve change is seen as a worse outcome than the deaths of civilians. This is often

where the inter-relationship between terrorism and religion occurs. When a political struggle is integrated into the framework of a religious or "cosmic" (Juergensmeyer, 2000), struggle, such as over the control of an ancestral homeland or holy site such as Israel and Jerusalem, failing in the political goal (nationalism) becomes equated with spiritual failure, which, for the highly committed, is worse than their own death or the deaths of innocent civilians (Alexander Stille, 2003).

Very often, the victims of terrorism are targeted not because they are threats, but because they are identified or are within the area of their attacks .or are in possession of "symbols, tools, animals or corrupt beings" that tie into a specific view of the world that the terrorists possess. Their suffering accomplishes the terrorists' goals of instilling fear, getting their message out to an audience or otherwise satisfying the demands of their often radical religious and political agendas (Juergensmeyer Mark, 2000).

In early 1975, the Law Enforcement Assistant Administration in the United States formed the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. One of the five volumes that the committee wrote was entitled *Disorders and Terrorism*, produced by the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism under the direction of H.H.A. Cooper, Director of the Task Force staff (Washington D.C, 1976). The Task Force classified terrorism into six categories.

- **Civil disorder** – A form of collective violence interfering with the peace, security, and normal functioning of the community.
- **Political terrorism** – Violent criminal behaviour designed primarily to generate fear in the community, or substantial segment of it, for political purposes.
- **Non-Political terrorism** – Terrorism that is not aimed at political purposes but which exhibits “conscious design to create and maintain a high degree of fear for coercive purposes, but the end is individual or collective gain rather than the achievement of a political objective.”
- **Quasi-terrorism** – The activities incidental to the commission of crimes of violence that are similar in form and method to genuine terrorism but which nevertheless lack its essential ingredient. It is not the main purpose of the quasi-terrorists to induce terror in the immediate victim as in the case of genuine terrorism, but the quasi-terrorist uses the modalities and techniques of the genuine terrorist and produces similar consequences and reaction (The New York Times, 1988). For example, the fleeing felon who takes hostages is a quasi-terrorist, whose methods are similar to those of the genuine terrorist but whose purposes are quite different.
- **Limited political terrorism** – Genuine political terrorism is characterized by a revolutionary approach; limited political terrorism refers to “acts of terrorism” which are committed for ideological or political motives but which are not part of a concerted campaign to capture control of the state.
- **Official or state terrorism** –“referring to nations whose rule is based upon fear and oppression that reach similar to terrorism or such proportions.” It may also be referred to as **Structural Terrorism** defined broadly as terrorist acts carried out by governments in pursuit of political objectives, often as part of their foreign policy.

Most scholars like Hudson (1999), Barry (2009) and Philip (2007), have further defined the typology of terrorism:

- Political terrorism
- Sub-state terrorism
- Social revolutionary terrorism
- Nationalist-separatist terrorism
- Religious extremist terrorism
- Religious fundamentalist Terrorism
- New religions terrorism
- Right-wing terrorism
- Left-wing terrorism
- Single-issue terrorism
- State-sponsored terrorism
- Regime or state terrorism
- Criminal terrorism
- Pathological terrorism

3. Nigerian Government's Approaches to Combat Terrorism and Violence in Nigeria

The Nigerian government has established a number of methods to combat acts of terrorism and violence. This study will examine each of these methods thus:-

(1) **Through the Enactment of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2011**

This law came into force in 2011. It seeks to provide measures for the prevention, prohibition and combating of acts of terrorism, the financing of terrorism in Nigeria and for the effective implementation of the convention on the prevention and combating of terrorism and the convention on the suppression of the financing of terrorism. The Act seeks to prescribe penalties for violating any of the 41 sections or provisions.

Section 1(2) of the Act define acts of terrorism to mean *“an act which is deliberately done with malice, afterthought and which:-*

- (a) *May seriously harm or damage a country or an international organization;*
- (b) *Is intended or can reasonably be regarded as having been intended to:-*
 - (i) *Unduly compel a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act;*
 - (ii) *Seriously intimidate a population;*
 - (iii) *Seriously destabilize or destroy the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an internal organization; or*

- (iv) *Otherwise influence such government or international organization by intimidation or coercion; and*

- (c) *Involves or causes, as the case may be:-*
 - (i) *An attack upon a person's life which may cause serious bodily harm or death;*
 - (ii) *Kidnapping of a person*
 - (iii) *Destruction to a Government or public facility, a transport system, an infrastructure facility, including an information system, a fixed platform located on the continental shelf, a public place or private property, likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss;*
 - (iv) *The seizure of an aircraft, ship or other means of public or goods transport and diversion or the use of such means of transportation for any of the purposes in paragraph (b) (iv) of this subsection;*
 - (v) *The manufacture, possession, acquisition, transport, supply or use of weapons, explosives or of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons without lawful authority;*
 - (vi) *The release of dangerous substance or causing of fire, explosions or floods, the effect of which is to endanger human life;*
 - (vii) *Interference with or disruption of the supply of water, power or any other fundamental natural resource, the effect of which is to endanger human life;*

- (d) *An act or omission in or outside Nigeria which constitutes an offence within the scope of a counter terrorism protocols and conventions duly ratified by Nigeria”.*

The other sections of the Act makes it an offence to belong to proscribed organization, attendance of terrorist meeting, harboring of terrorists, provision for training for terrorist, obstruction of terrorism investigation, dealing in terrorist property, suppression of financing international terrorism, terrorist funding. Section 12 of the Act empowers the National Security Adviser or the Inspector General of Police with the approval of the President to seize any cash where he has reasonable ground to suspect that the cash is intended to be used for the purpose of terrorism or belongs to, or is held on trust for a proscribed organization or represents property obtained through acts of terrorism. Section 14 of the Act empowers all financial and non-financial institutions to forward reports of suspicious transactions relating to terrorism, within 72 hours to Financial Intelligence Unit, which shall process such information and forward it to the relevant law enforcement agency where they have sufficient reasons to suspect that the funds are derived from legal or illegal sources but are intended to be used for acts of terrorism or the proceeds of a crime related to terrorist financing or belong to a person, entity or organization considered as terrorist. Sections 18-23 of the Act empowers foreign state to make request for mutual assistance and extradition in the investigation or prosecution of any person or organization through the Attorney-General of the Federation. While sections 24-30 of the Act list the procedure for investigation and prosecution of persons or organizations that are

suspected to have committed acts of terrorism. Section 40 of the Act refers “counter-terrorism convention” to mean any of the following conventions ratified by the Nigerian state:-

- (a) Convention on Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally protected Persons;
- (b) International Convention Against the Taking of Hostage;
- (c) International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombing
- (d) Convention Against Terrorist Financing;
- (e) Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft;
- (f) Convention for the Suppression of the Unlawful Acts Committed on Board Aircraft;
- (g) Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation;
- (h) Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation;
- (i) Convention on the making of Plastic Explosive for the purpose of Detection;
- (j) Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the safety of Maritime Navigation;
- (k) Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against Fixed Platforms located on the Continental Shelf; and
- (l) Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, whenever they are duly ratified.
- (m) Or such other convention assented by the Nigeria Government.

Section 32(1) of the Act vest jurisdiction on the Federal High Court to try offence of terrorism and to impose the penalties specified in this Act. Section 32(2) of the Act provide thus:-

The Federal High Court shall have: (a) Jurisdiction to impose any penalty provided for an offence under this Act provided that the Penalty for an offence does not exceed 20 years. (b) Power to order sentences imposed under this Act to be served consecutively provided that the term of such sentences does not, in the aggregate exceed 30 years.

While Section 33(1) of the Act imposes the following penalties upon conviction:-

Subject to subsection 3 of this section a person who commits an offence under this Act is liable on conviction:- (a) In the case of an offence under sections 1 and 10 of this Bill, to life imprisonment or to a fine of not less than 150 million Naira or both; (b) In the case of an offence under sections 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12 and 14 to an imprisonment for a term of not less than 3 years and not exceeding 20 years;

*(c) In the case of an offence under sections 6 and 7, to an imprisonment for a term of not less than 2 years and not exceeding 15 years; (d) In the case of an offence under sections 25 and 29 to a fine not exceeding N1,000,000.000 or an imprisonment for a term not exceeding 5 years or both; and (e) **Where death result from any terrorist act, the penalty shall be life imprisonment.***

Upon a careful examination of section 33(1) of the Act, the penalties imposed on a terrorist even where his or her act result to death, is “life imprisonment” only. If you compare this penalty with section 319(1) of the Criminal Code Act where the penalty for a case of murder is “death sentence”, you will observe that the penalty imposed on a terrorist is lesser than a person that commits “murder” and it is not in any way severe to deter anybody; or group persons from committing such an offence. A situation where a terrorist kills 10 or more persons under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, his penalty upon conviction is just life imprisonment, while an offender for a case of murder of just one person under the Criminal Code Act, gets death sentence. How do we reconcile this unfair penalty? Is it that the Prevention of Terrorism Act seeks to pacify terrorist than other offenders under the Criminal Code Act? The Prevention of Terrorism Act should attract severe death penalties for offenders, having regard the severity of their offence or criminal act.

(2) United Nations Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) and the Integrated Assistance for Counter-Terrorism Initiative (I-ACT)

Given the complexity of the security situation in Nigeria, blended with the economic, political and social strife and following the deadly terrorist attack that killed more than 200 people at the UN building in Nigeria and other parts of Nigeria, the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) unveiled three projects under the Integrated Assistance for Counter-Terrorism (I-ACT) Initiative to support the Nigerian government efforts in combating the scourge of terrorism. Through I-ACT, the CTITF provides partners states with holistic and country-specific assistance to support integrated implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

The projects were launched in a ceremony attended by Nigerian government officials, Members of the diplomatic corps, representatives of international and regional organizations and Nigerian Security agencies on 24th January, 2012, in the capital, Abuja. The Nigerian Foreign Affairs Minister, Olugbenga Ashiru, expressed profound appreciation of his government to the UN Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon”, for his support (The Beam- CTITF, 2012).

Other areas the CTITF and its cooperative agencies are working on, includes cross border controls, interpol, capacity building, enforcing the rights of victims of terrorism, strengthening the criminal justice system in Nigeria and protecting human rights from being violated.

(3) The use of Military and Security Agencies

Section 40(3) of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, empowers the following security agencies to investigate matters connected with terrorism:-

- (a) Nigeria Police Force; (b) Department of State Service; (c) Economic and Financial Crimes Commission; (d) National Agency for the Prohibition of Traffic; (e) National Drug Law Enforcement Agency; (f) National Intelligence Agency; (g) Nigeria Customs Service; (h) Nigeria Immigration Service; (i) Defence Intelligence Agency; (j) Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC); and (k) Any other agency empowered by an Act of the National Assembly;

The Counter-Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency Centre (CTCOIN) of the Nigerian Army School of Infantry (NASI) in Jaji, Kaduna State, turned out the following soldiers who received special training in counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency for the purpose of combating insecurity in Nigeria (Guardian, 2012):-

- (a) 256 passed out April 29,; (a) 295 Inducted Mid-March (b) 500 Inducted May 15; (c) 396 passed out May, 18

Speaking at the graduation ceremony, NASI Commandant, Major-General Kenneth Osuji explained that the decision of the Army authorities to train soldiers under the programme was because “the internal security in Nigeria today has created security challenges, which were hitherto alien to the country”.

According to General Osuji: “the most recent security challenge is the spate of bombings and armed attacks by some misguided elements in the society (Boko Haram). “It is apparent that these contemporary security challenges have brought out some grey areas in our doctrine in counter-insurgency operations, which need to be immediately addressed in order to enhance the Nigerian Army’s operational efficiency”. He urged the soldiers to endeavour to put practice, the special skills they acquired in the discharge of their duties, adding: “I also charge you to exhibit high sense of professionalism, dedication and responsibility in the conduct of your assignments”.

Earlier, the Director of CTCOIN, Brig-Gen. Tijani Golau, said the course participants were trained in the identification of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), cordon and search techniques and search and arrest procedures for both male and female suspects. Others are unarmed combat, presentations on dynamics of terrorism and insurgency, as they relate to Boko Haram, information and intelligence gathering techniques, raids, ambushes, anti-ambush drills and fighting in built up areas. “On the whole, the graduating participants are qualified and can be deployed to carry out counter-terrorist and insurgency tasks wherever they are deployed”, he explained (Guardian, 2012).

(4) Nigeria’s Government Partners with Security Agencies to Combat Terrorism

The federal government is collaborating with foreign security agencies to tackle terrorism in the country (Punch Newspaper, 2012). Speaking during the presentation of a book, *Overcoming Security Challenges*, written by the former Inspector General of Police, Mr. Mike Okiro, in Abuja on Tuesday, the President said “the government had stepped up efforts at ensuring the safety of Nigerians and foreigners alike, in

response to the current security challenge facing the country". He noted that the security agencies alone could not achieve it without the support of Nigerians. The former President Jonathan, who was represented by his Special Adviser on Project Monitoring, Mr. Sylvester Monye, said

to ensure the safety of all, government was already collaborating with the international community to overcome the new trend of terrorism in the country. Apart from internal measures being taken to overcome the new trend of terrorism, we are also cooperating with the international community to put an end to the mindless recourse to violence embarked upon by a misguided few. I assure that government will not rest until the negative elements are defeated (Punch Newspaper, 2012).

He recommended the book to all, saying that no responsible government would disregard sound advice on security, most especially when such advice was coming from one of its former security chiefs. President Jonathan said the book would complement efforts at finding solution to the current challenge and ensuring the safety of the citizens.

The National chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alhaji Bamanga Tukur, who chaired the occasion urged Nigerians to support government's efforts at finding solution to the current challenge. The book author, Mike Okiro, said "the present security situation where innocent people were killed at the snap of a finger prompted him to write the book". He stated thus:

that as a former crime officer, he wrote the book to bequeath some of his experiences to the society as a contribution to the efforts to save lives and property. The fear and knowledge of the existence of terrorists and criminals in our society today has made it more imperative for everyone to seek knowledge on security to stay alive and be useful. You need to be in tune with the rubrics of crime prevention and control, through proper understanding of the role of the law enforcement agents as well as the minimal effort required of the individual to secure his life and property (Punch Newspaper, 2012).

The chief presenter, Prince Arthur Eze, and the co-presenter, Chief Emmanuel Nwankwo, commended the author's effort at enlightening people on security measures

(5) The Use of New Number Plate to Combat Terrorism

The Director-General of the State Security Services, Mr. Ekpeyong Itah, has described the new number plate project as a catalyst in the collective push to combat terrorism and other national security challenges facing the country (Nigeria News, 2012). Speaking during an advocacy visit by World Bank road safety consultants, Itah expressed his delight with the World Bank initiative of integrating safety components on road rehabilitation and construction in Nigeria as it would add value to traffic enforcement and proper identification of vehicle owners, across the country. The Director-General said

these innovations had made Nigeria an investment destination which would no doubt provide the potentials for socio-economic development.

Earlier in his presentation, the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) Corps Marshal and Chief Executive, Osita Chidoka said:

The World Bank consultants were in Nigeria for a review of the FRSC enforcement capacity, in line with the World Bank Safe corridor project which seeks to infuse road safety components into road construction and rehabilitation in Nigeria (Nigeria News, 2012).

- (6) Other methods adopted by the Nigerian Government to combat crime, is the use of Digital and Technological Cameras to track Terrorists crime violators.

4. Nigerian Government's Crime Combating Options: An Evaluation

The spate of violence and terrorist attacks and incessant bombings by the sectarian group called Boko Haram, has continued to heighten the state of insecurity and seeming failure of leadership in the country (Sahara Reporter, 2011).

The first and primary duty of any responsible and responsive Government to its citizens is that of ensuring the security of lives and property. Where this is lacking, such a Government has evidently failed in its primary role and constitutional duty. In addressing the current security challenges in the country, it is pertinent to mention that security is not just about intelligence gathering, crime prevention and eradication. It is much more than that. There are three basic pillars which are sine qua non and pre-requisites for attaining effective and meaningful security, to wit, food security (provision and availability of food to the teeming population, particularly the down-trodden), job security (job creation/provision of employment opportunities, especially for the teeming youth population) and education security (developing and empowering the people through formal and informal education). Accordingly, unless the Government, effectively addresses and tackles the basic and fundamental issues of hunger and poverty, ignorance and illiteracy, as well as the high level of unemployment, especially youth unemployment (all of which are the root causes of violent crimes and insecurity), the goal of ensuring security, peace and harmony will only be a long dream and an ideal that may never be attained. According to the legendary philosopher, Aristotle, "Poverty is the parent of revolution and crime. Where some people are very wealthy and others have nothing, the result will be either extreme democracy or absolute oligarchy, or despotism will come from either of these excesses". In the words of William Cowper Brown, "No man can be a patriot on an empty stomach". And according to the popular maxim, "The idle hand is the devil's workshop"; the situation whereby majority of the people are poor and hungry and a lot of youths are jobless and unemployed, will, doubtlessly, engender high rate of crimes and criminalities. This may eventually lead to a situation in which "the poor will have nothing to eat, other than the rich" (Roger, 1982).

Terrorist and other criminals of their ilk are mostly jobless and hungry youths who have become ready instruments being used and manipulated by some self-serving, powerful, wealthy and influential elite in pursuit of their myopic interests and ambitions. These leaders seemingly have some grievances against the authorities in power and are, therefore, using the Boko Haram and other terrorist groups to settle political scores. Whatever their motives or *raison de etre*, there is no justification whatsoever for the despicable acts of mindless killings being unleashed on innocent citizens of the country. These

dastardly acts cannot be justified or tolerated under whatever guise, be it religion, hunger, unemployment, illiteracy or political manipulations.

At present, the federal government of Nigeria has so far, been handling the issue of Boko Haram sect with kid gloves; which is why the sect has brazenly and flagrantly been holding the country practically to ransom. It would appear that the security agencies are losing grip and momentum and seem to be clueless on how to effectively deal with the Boko Haram menace. If our security agencies are overwhelmed (and they seem to be) by the sheer bravado and guerilla/ambush tactics of Boko Haram, then the government should, without any shame or loss of national pride, call for external support, especially from countries such as United States of America and Israel which are experienced in this complex endeavour of fighting terrorism. Also, efforts should be improved as part of the structural and operational reforms/re-organization of the security agencies, to have a pool of specially trained and well-equipped composite anti-terrorist elite force to be able to effectively tackle and combat all manner of terrorism and violent crimes. On its part, the government must be steadfast, courageous and exhibit the political will to fight the menace of Boko Haram and all other forms of terrorism and violent crimes to a standstill.

If the Boko Haram is to be effectively tamed, it is important that the Northern leaders/elders should all speak out, openly and in one accord, to condemn Boko Haram. Such condemnation will send a clear signal and unequivocal message that the Northern leaders, as being insinuated in certain quarters, are not behind or in support of the activities of Boko Haram. Such a joint action and concerted effort by the Northern leaders would also put pressure on Boko Haram which may weaken the seeming cohesion and resolve of the sect. To be candid, the Boko Haram menace cannot be resolved by police or military action; it requires a political solution, because it has its roots in politics and power tussle. Towards this end, the government will have to devise means of appeasing some aggrieved Northern leaders and politicians who felt betrayed (rightly or wrongly) by the jettisoning of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) power shift/rotational arrangement between the north and south which brought President Jonathan into office. The Government, in finding a meaningful and lasting solution to the Boko Haram debacle should, therefore, engage the Northern leaders in a sort of win-win dialogue (give and take, concessions and compromises) to seek their support, so that peace, harmony and tranquility can return to the country, without which no meaningful progress or development can be achieved.

The problem of security cannot be addressed or tackled by the Government alone; it is the collective responsibility of the society as a whole and requires concerted efforts by all stakeholders. Every citizen of Nigeria have to be security conscious and vigilant, while volunteering and providing relevant, useful and necessary information to the authorities, in order to combat the spate of violent crimes in the country.

It will soon be one year after the major terrorist incident recorded in Abuja, Nigeria. The October 1, 2010 Independence Day bombing of Abuja during the Golden Jubilee anniversary of Nigeria was not the first incidence of terrorism in the country.

Nevertheless, it was the first and a symbolic attack in the capital city since General Babangida hurriedly relocated the administrative center to Abuja in 1990 after the Gideon Orkar abortive bloody *coup detat*. The Abuja terrorist attack was alleged to have been executed by the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta, (MEND), on October 1, 2010. Of course, just like the way Americans failed to imagine the possibility of attack in their homeland, we also failed in our imagination that our home-grown terrorist groups have developed the capability to carry out daring attacks in few yards away from the Aso Rock Presidential Villa. The October 1, 2010, bombing further confirmed the assertion that the 21st century terrorist organizations can attack anything, anywhere, and at any time. Therefore, there is a need for strong leadership at all levels to prepare the nation and reduce the

vulnerability of Nigerians to terrorism. But what, in turn, has Nigerian government achieved to end the risk of terrorism since October 1, 2010, taken into consideration the huge sums of money so far spent on security?

We have not seen our security agencies working as a team since October 1, 2010. The rivalry among our security agencies is too obvious to the extent that Nigerians do not actually know who is in charge and who to listen to and even who to trust. Working as a “Team” in order to continue to work cooperatively to ensure that all of the instruments of national power – including leadership, specialized technical expertise, research, and development investments – are brought to bear on the challenges the office of the President face in a coordinated and unified manner will go a long way to make all our security agencies to be effective and potent.

Northouse (2007) observed thus:

team that has clear goals and standards and effective structure and decision-making will have higher task performance.

Adoption of organizational leadership that communicates internally and externally to maximize cooperation builds and leads effective teams while working effectively with partners and enables staff to achieve their full potential and fully supports staff development. Therefore, there is the need for “intelligence and operation fusion center” where activities would be coordinated. Giving clear direction and focus, skilled in planning and arriving at right strategy to meet targeted objectives or goals, should be the focus of government and all concerned. Good media and public relations, manages resources efficiently and effectively; good organization skills with effective use of personnel and good operational knowledge and experience.

In a time of crisis, it is natural for people to look up for a way out. Every crisis always produces leadership that may come in the form of individual or organization to give hope to people in the midst of their trouble and inspire them to triumph over their problems. Leadership is a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve common goals (Northouse, 2007). Leadership involves influencing a group of individuals who have a common goal. Nigerian citizens are the group; our common goal is our public safety and reduction of our susceptibility to terrorism. Of course, we are not doubting the fact that the Government is making efforts to restore security but Nigerians need to be inspired by the its leaders who must provide leadership capable enough to take our security organizations away from the “cult of amateurs” and replace them with effective leadership that can drive the policy of the administration towards achieving the national security strategic goals. Nigerians are yet to see these changes since October 2010.

We need not to deceive ourselves that one year after the Abuja bombing; the government has not done enough to prepare Nigerians and the entire nation on how to confront the scourge of terrorism since the year 2010. The focus has always been on the protection of the senior government officials and political leaders at the expense of the common people. Also, our critical infrastructures, key assets and key resources are at the mercy of the terrorists. In addition, the Federal Government has spent much money on technology. Billions of Naira spent on the importation of the CCTV cameras and other technological items.

But all these technologies failed to discover or stop the June 16, 2011 attack on the police headquarters and the August 26 bombing of the United Nations Building in Abuja. The reality is that technology can increase the effectiveness of security measures and streamline security procedures.

We must realize that the ability of technology to reduce manpower requirements is less certain. New systems require trained human operators and continued quality control and testing and which something lacking in Nigeria system. For the next ten to fifteen years, security, like intelligence, will remain manpower intensive. There are no “hands-free” security solutions. Therefore, let us prepare by building human capacity; the common people must also be protected, we must overhaul our security system by training our security officers.

We must enhance our intelligence capabilities with emphasis on the combination of technology with human intelligence gathering. Intelligence is a life and death profession just like medicine and mass transportation of which failure can mean casualties. Enough of politicizing the intelligence report for the selfish or political purpose. Also, intelligence collection must be expanded beyond Nigeria shores.

The best option for combating terrorism is to undertake all available options. The terrorists are not resting and the government also should not slack or relax without employing multiple approaches to the fight of terrorism. The intelligence gathering to determine or acquire a fore knowledge at the development phase of any terrorist plan for immediate interdiction is very important. The ability to prevent and stop the terrorist action with timely solution is very necessary. Such an intelligence gathering will make the attackers vulnerable and expose them for deterrence without negotiation. However, the strategy that consists of both offensive and defensive measures is the best in combating terrorism.

The approach towards fighting terrorism is neither military nor semi-military aspect of security. The significant aspects of terrorism and its suppression are political and law enforcement concerns and for which military responses only are ineffective. Claude Inis Jr. (1971) observe thus:-

“Tension produce armament; armament breeds counter-armament; competitive armament increases tensions. The self-propelling arms race is regarded as an inexorable march to the violent climax of war”.

Therefore, the President should empower the State Security Services, (SSS), the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) and all security agencies to be at the fore-front of the campaign against terrorism. Also, Nigeria collaboration with foreign security agencies is important but we should not surrender our national security to foreign nations. Collaboration in term of training, exchange of intelligence and technology for the purpose of investigation and mitigation should be enough.

The former National Security Adviser (General Andrew Owoye Azazi, Rtd) once made an honest assertion that “terrorism has come to stay in Nigeria”(Vanguard, 2011). Most Nigerians may find it disturbing but that is the reality. Terrorism has found its footage in Nigeria and anything can be attacked, anywhere, anytime. But the government cannot protect everything, everywhere, all the time but we can minimize the effect through our vigilance and mitigation. Hence, we should not wait any longer before we start preparing ahead for mitigation against the future incidences of terrorism. Therefore, the government must be proactive and reactive. It is a considered opinion for the urgent need for an office of the National Security Adviser to create a special department to coordinate the preparedness and response to all these threats.

Our security must be a responsibility shared across our entire Nation. As we further develop a national culture of preparedness, our local, state, and federal governments, faith-based and community organizations, and businesses must be partners in securing the homeland and this effort must be coordinated by the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed forces of Nigeria as part of his leadership effort. We are slowly moving in this direction. Effective leaders must establish direction and purpose, communicate that direction and purpose, and maintain the thrust of the group. They need to promote innovation and creativity and serve as a resource for invigorating the organizational culture. Leaders must also be resilient, maintain a multi-directional vision and focus, and develop an understanding of the psychological forces that move people. Only by doing this can they make decisions about what to do and when to do it in a context full of conflicting data and opinions.

Moreover, the Nigerian Government should adopt a radical re-constructionist perspective which involves good leadership, building a culture of preparedness by identifying, mitigating, and eliminating the underlying factors that lead to terrorist activity or natural disaster severity. This approach involves more than making plans and providing equipment or response. Radical re-constructionists are much more than stopping the next terrorist attack, responding to natural disasters, or getting ready for pandemics. The government can pay more attention to the social and economic conditions that give rise to and support 'premeditated, politically motivated violence. Dialogue and conflict resolution approach, as was done to the Niger Delta militants, could assist to combat terrorism in Nigeria.

Therefore, it is, of course, highly imperative for the President to win the confidence of the people on the administration commitment to public safety by initiating intelligence and early warning mechanism to alert members of the public on both terrorism and natural disasters. No longer is it just the fear of being attacked by both local and international terrorist organizations. A lot of these groups now have the capability support from some government officials and infrastructure in Nigeria to attack anytime they choose to do so.

5. Conclusion

The penalty for terrorist under the Nigeria Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2011, is not severe and may not act as deterrence to offenders, hence the need for a review of the Act. The government should understand the root cause or grievance of the terrorist and use the traditional rulers, political leaders and elder-statesmen in that region of Nigeria to resolve “terrorism” or matters connected to such crime, through dialogue or peaceful mediation. Some

senior government officials or political leaders in some parts of Nigeria should be re-examined or scrutinized, respecting their conspiratory roles with terrorist.

If a government is ready to combat terrorism, the government cannot do it alone without the support and involvement of the entire nation. People want to see the genuine effort and not a blame game. People want assurance of their safety. Government must inform people from time to time on its activities to combat terrorism. Hence, everybody (whether Nigerians or foreigners) as long as they reside in Nigeria, must work as a team to combat terrorism. Our security officers and personnel must work with civil societies and faith-based organizations to combat terrorism. Government need to be more open and sincere in managing information than giving opportunities for rumor mills to peddle rumors which create and heighten tension and conflict.

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