

The Need for Human Security in Combating Terrorism and Proliferation of Illegal Arms In Nigeria

By

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Abstract

Section 14(2) (b) of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria states that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government”. Contrastingly, issues of terrorism, arms proliferation, illegal arms trafficking, kidnapping, influx of illegal immigrants, clashes between herdsmen and local farmers, resurgence of Boko Haram and human insecurity has gained ground in Nigeria. The objectives and aims of the study are to address and identify the causes, the magnitude, the consequences of insecurity and illegal arms in Nigeria and to provide warning and solutions to the dangers, and threat of insurgency, terrorism and arms proliferation in Nigeria.

Keywords: Terrorism, Arms proliferation, Boko Haram insurgency, Social Injustice, Religious Dogmatism, and ignorance,

Introduction

Security, in its semantic and philosophical sense, implies a stable, relatively predictable environment in which an individual or group may pursue ends without disruption or harm, and without fear of such disturbance or injury. Contrastingly, issue of insecurity in Nigeria are made headlines on the radio or on television or mentioned in the newspaper. Also, the spate of insecurity in Nigeria has generated international concern as the country now ranks as the 16th most dangerous country in a survey of 163 nations across the globe.¹

Defining The Terrorist Threat

The concept is highly controversial, and definitions are sensitive to locations, morality, period of history and institutions. According to Juliet Lodge,² terrorism is resort to violence for political ends by unauthorized, non-governmental actors in breach of accepted codes of behaviour regarding the expression of dissatisfaction with dissent, from or opposition to the pursuit of political goals by the legitimate authorities of the state whom they regard as unresponsive to the needs of certain groups of people.

According to Richard Shultz “Political terrorism may be defined as the threat and/or use of extra normal forms of political violence in varying degrees with the objective of achieving certain political objectives/goals”. Such goals constitute the long range and short-term objectives that the group or seeks to obtain. These will differ from group to group. Such action

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1. This was contained in the April 29 – June 21, 2019 *Global Peace Index (GPI)* report, produced by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), an independent, non-partisan think tank dedicated to world peace and human well-being, based in Sidney, Australia. See also Nigerian Tribune, Monday, 24 June 2019 p. 2. Note that according to the GPI report, leading Nigeria, which scored 2,898 as the most dangerous are Afghanistan (3,574), Syria (3,566), South-Sudan (3,526), Yemen (3,412), Iraq (3,369) and Somalia (3,339). Afghanistan is now the most dangerous country in the world, replacing Syria, which is now the second most dangerous. South Sudan, Yemen and Iraq make up the remaining five most dangerous countries. “At the end of the scale, Iceland has maintained its position as the most peaceful country in the world, followed by New Zealand, Portugal, Austria and Denmark.

2. Juliet Lodge (ed.) *Terrorism: A challenge to the state* (London) Martin Robertson Press, 1981.

generally is intended to influence the behaviour and attitudes of certain targeted groups much wider than the immediate victims.³

Also, terrorism is defined as the systematic use of violence to force a governing body to meet specific political, social, or economic demands⁴ and according to T. M. Frank and B. Lockwood terrorism is criminal acts against a state and intended to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public.⁵

For Wilkinson, terrorism connotes a special form of clandestine, undeclared, and unconventional warfare waged without any humanitarian restraints or rules.⁶ Terrorism is defined as a planned use of violence to frighten and intimidate others in order to achieve political ends.⁷ Terrorism is regarded as a deliberate attempt to create terror through a symbolic act involving the use of threat of abnormal lethal force for the purpose of influencing a target group or individual. Terror is an intense paralyzing fear, or the dread of it⁸. The term *lethal force* is used in lieu of *lethal violence* due to the pejorative nature of the latter term. In conventional parlance *violence* connotes the illegitimate use of force, as in *criminal violence*.

According to Stephen Vertigans⁹ terrorism is defined as “the targeted and intentional use of violence for political purposes through actions that can range in intended impact from intimidation to loss of life”. Furthermore, he describe *terrorist* as “someone who actively and deliberately engages in activities that contribute towards act of terrorism”.¹⁰ This includes individuals whose roles range from bomb makers to maker of accompanying bombast. Terrorism is further defined as “the unlawful use or threat of violence against a person or property to further political or social objectives. It is generally intended to intimidate or coerce a government, individuals, or groups to modify their behaviour or policies.”¹¹

Characteristics And How Terrorism Functions

The four major characteristics of the kinds of terrorism are:¹²

1. Terrorism is essentially political. That is, it is designed to influence public opinion, the actions of governments or both. It is a form of propaganda – even a kind of psychological warfare. It often achieves its purpose by unsettling society and inspiring terror among the population.
2. Terrorism almost always involves violence of a particularly brutal and merciless kind. Terrorism is meant to torture the imagination of everyone who hears about it.¹³

3. Richard H. Shultz (ed.) *Responding to the Terrorist Threat* (New York) Pergamon Press, 1980, p. 2, pp. 9 – 10.

4. Elaine Landan; *Terrorism America's Growing Threat*. Lodestar Books, Dutton New York, 1992, p. 10.

5. Frank Oshanugor; *Terrorism: The Nigerian Experience 1995-1998*; Advent Communications Ltd. 2004, pg 6, See also Malcom N. Shaw; *International Law*. Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 803-804.

6. Ibid.

7. Michael Kronenwetter, “*The War on Terrorism*”. Westport Publishing Group (1989).

8. Donald J. Hanle, *Terrorism The Newest face of Warfare*. Pergamon-Bassey's International Defense Publishers, Inc. USA (1989), p. 104.

9. Stephen Vertigans, *The Sociology of Terrorism: Peoples, Places and Processes*. Routledge Publishers, USA (2011, p. 2.

10. Ibid, p. 2.

11. Dycus, Berney, Banks, Raven-Hansen; *National Security Law* (3rd Ed.) Aspen Publishers 2002, p. 563.

12. Michael Kronenwetter, “*The War on Terrorism*”. Nestport Publishing Group (1989), pp 7-8.

13. Ibid at p. 8.

3. Terrorism tends to involve violence against civilians or other non-combatants. If terrorists hope to terrorize the general public, their actions must reach beyond the military into the civilian population itself.
4. Terrorist activities are clandestine, covert or secret. The violent, illegal nature of terrorism requires strict confidentiality to ensure the terrorist group's survival and success. Communications are rarely intercepted because terrorists discourage the use of telephones, photocopies, or fax machines in devising their plans. If captured, terrorists tend not to answer questions truthfully but try instead to confuse authorities by relating conflicting accounts of the same incident.

Target Choices: Terrorism and the Media

Terrorists usually do not differentiate between military and civilian targets. Unlike soldiers in traditional warfare, they do not try to capture enemy territory. Instead, they target victims whose plight will generate panic and fear among the public. Terrorism often relies on the news media because maximum public exposure is vital to an operation's success. The more unusual or exciting a target is, the greater its media value. Mass media can turn even a poorly planned terrorist act into a global event, and sophisticated terrorists skilfully know how to manipulate the media and allow the terrorist to achieve degree of celebrity status both for himself and his organisation.¹⁴ The issue of the media and terrorism is a complex one as much of terrorism is undertaken solely for dramatic effect. The publicity terrorists seek is also a means of getting access to the public agenda. It is an attempt to have their grievances discussed within the international community. Many terrorist episodes appear to have no other function than at of getting publicity.¹⁵

The September 1976 hijacking of a Trans World Airlines flight by Croatian separatists is a reference point. Not only were the terrorists unarmed and with no hope of obtaining sanctuary, but their demands were directed at obtaining publicity. Prior to the terrorist scenario, who but a few European authorities ever heard of Croatia? Likewise, the terrifying actions of the Hanafi Muslims who held Washington, DC at bay in March of 1977 were, when fully understood, little more than an attempt to obtain media exposure.¹⁶ Hamass Abdul Khaalis, the Hanafi leader, upon surrender, admitted to Police that he never anticipated that the authorities would give in to his demands.

The Purpose of Terrorism

The purpose of terrorism is to influence the behaviour of some target entity. This normally, but not always, entails the creation of a state of fear or terror in a target collectively that is so intense it renders that target helpless – unable or unwilling to resist. Ultimately, the end sought by terrorism is essentially – to undermine and destroy the cohesion of the target entity, reducing it to its smallest constituent part: the isolated, individual human being.¹⁷ As Grant Wardlaw contends¹⁸ “the ultimate (expression) of the terrorization process occurs when the individual is

14. Elaine Landan Ibid, p. 14.

15. Abraham H. Miller; “*Terrorism and Hostage Negotiations*”. Westview Special Studies in National and International Terrorism (1980), Westview Press Inc., Boulder, Colorado, p. 82.

16. For an in-depth discussion of the Hanafi Muslim episode, see Abraham H. Miller, “*Negotiations for Hostages: Implications from the Police Experience*”. *Terrorism: An International Journal*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1978.

17. Donald J. Hanle, *Terrorism: The Newest Face of Warfare*. 1989 Pergamon-Brassey International Defense Publishers, Inc. USA, p. 108.

18. Grant Wardlaw, *Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics and Countermeasures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 5.

so isolated as to be unable to draw strength from usual social supports and is cast entirely upon his or her own resources". In such cases, the very cohesion of society is in jeopardy, and resistance to the terrorist becomes increasingly difficult.

Classification of Terrorism

Terrorism can be categorised on the basis of a number of factors which include motivation, objectives, size, constituency, and outside support.¹⁹ According to Edward Mickolus, terrorism is categorised based on location and perpetrators. In that regard, he identified international, transnational, domestic and state terrorism. He opined that international terrorism is a violent action initiated by an individual or group controlled by a nation-state that occurs outside that state, while transnational terrorism is an action in the international arena initiated by an individual or group not controlled by a nation state. Mickolus further emphasized that domestic terrorism is a violent action by an individual or group of nationals within its own nation state and state terrorism consists of violent actions conducted by a nation state within its own borders.²⁰

Paul Wilkinson draws distinction between four types of terrorism, namely criminal, psychic, war and political terrorism. Accordingly, criminal terrorism is also categorized according to goal-oriented actions, that is, terrorist acts stem from a deeply felt sense of injustice. Whether the perceived wrong is political, social, or economic in nature, it is nevertheless blamed on the government. Gearing a group's actions to achieve a specific goal believed necessary to "right the wrong" is an essential aspect of terrorism. Such aims separate terrorist strikes from common criminal acts or the erratic behaviour of the mentally ill. Most individuals who have been called terrorists resent the label. They remind us that one person's terrorist is another's freedom fighter.²¹

A Palestinian, who does not consider himself to be a terrorist despite his involvement in violent political protests, defends his reasoning as follows:

"We will continue struggling and resist (Israeli) occupation which is the legal way. People who face opposition or occupation, according to the U.N Charter have that right. You Americans tasted British occupation and you faced it, Europe tasted Nazi occupation and faced it. We have the right to do the same".²²

Illegal Arms Proliferation and Trafficking

The proliferation of illegal firearms such as pump action riffles, Israeli made sub-machine guns – Uzi, Italian made sub-machine guns – Beretta, Kalashnikov rifles, grenade and AK47 are major security challenges currently plaguing Nigeria.²³ The major security concern is how illicit firearms find their way into the hands of unlicensed and unauthorized users, including non-states actors, and their roles fuelling terrorist activities in the country, communal clashes,

19. Frank Oshanugor, *Terrorism: The Nigerian Experience, 1995-1998*. Advent Communications Ltd. (2004), p. 12.

20. Edward Mickolus "Statistical Approaches to the Study of Terrorism" in *Interdisciplinary Prospect* (New York), McGraw Hill 1977, pp. 209-269.

21. Elaine Landan, *Terrorism America's Growing Threat*. Lodester Books, Dutton, New York 1992, p. 12.

22. Ibid. p. 12 also in Karstien Prager and Murray J. Gart, "Knowing the Enemy", *Time* 132 (November 7, 1988), 46.

23. *Sunday Telegraph*. Sunday November 4, 2018, p. 8.

political instability, Boko Haram insurgency, religious crises, insurrection, militancy, revolt, robbery, cross border-smuggling, and kidnapping, among others.²⁴

The mounting fears over arms proliferation became more palpable because of the nexus between arms proliferation and violent crimes in the country. According to *Sunday Sun*,²⁵ the daily diet of killings by bandits and herdsmen in parts of the country is believed to be necessitated by the prevalence of illegal small arms in circulation. Akinyemi²⁶ re-echoed a United Nation's alarm, which tagged Nigeria as home to about 70 percent of over 500 million small arms in circulation globally. He commented that "About 70 percent of the proliferation of global small arms estimated at 500 million has found its way into Nigeria with 300 million arms in a nation of 150 million. That is an average of two arms per person".

Furthermore, Yabouri²⁷, Director of UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC), while speaking in Abuja on the alarming proliferation of small arms, expressed concern that Nigeria was being flooded with illicit weapons, which have found their way into unauthorized hands, noting that the development was a threat to the existence of the country as well as life and property.

The former Minister of International Affairs, General Abdulrahman Danbazau (rtd),²⁸ stated there are approximately 500 million assorted firearms in West Africa. Of these 500 million, 70 per cent, approximately 350 million of them are in Nigeria". The former Minister further observed that Nigeria's porous borders contributed to the proliferation of the illegal weapons. According to him, "Nigeria has 5,000 kilometres of land and the littoral border, all porous and with these weapons and drugs smuggled into this country, if we do not do something now, I am afraid things will be worse than it is now".

The extreme porous nature of the Nigeria's borders has triggered illegal importation of small arms and light weapons into Nigeria from other countries. The inability of the customs and immigration services to secure Nigeria borders and stem smuggling activities has become evident in the alarming rate illegal weapons and other illicit items are smuggled into the country.²⁹

To buttress the assertion, the Nigeria President Muhammadu Buhari observed that the partial closure of Nigeria's land borders had helped to reduce the influx of illegal arms and ammunition used in banditry. The President stated this when he received President Roah Marc Christian Kabore of Burkina Faso at the presidential villa in Abuja on February 21, 2020. President Buhari explained to his guest that Nigeria's decision to partially closed the borders to goods from neighbouring countries was purely to safeguard national security.³⁰

Arms Control

Arms control is the policy of securing negotiated limits or reductions on the deployment of weapons systems. Arms control can usefully be divided into two types: one is the control over

24. *Sunday Sun*, November 4, 2018, p. 8.

25. *Sunday Sun*, November 4, 2019, p. 8.

26. *Ibid*, p. 8.

27. *This Day*, September 4, 2018, p. 23, *Sunday Sun*, November 4, 2018, p. 8.

28. *Sunday Independent*, October 28, 2018, p. 12.

29. *This Day*, Tuesday September 4, 2018, p. 23.

30. *The Nation*, Saturday February 22, 2020, p. 4.

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existing weapons systems; the other, sometimes called pre-emptive arms control tries to prevent the original deployment of some new or potential weapons.³¹

Numerous initiatives of the international community have outlawed the provision of weapons for use in acts of terrorism³². The first attempt to codify this prohibition was the League of Nations' 1937 Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism. It required parties to criminalize 'the manufacture, obtaining, possession or supplying of arms, ammunition, explosives or harmful substances with a view to the commission in any country whatsoever' of an act of terrorism³³. The General Assembly's 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law reiterated the duty of States to refrain from 'organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in ... terrorist acts in another State'³⁴. A similar prohibition against the provision of direct or indirect assistance to terrorists was repeated in the General Assembly's 1988 Declaration on the Enhancement of the Effectiveness of the Principle of Refraining from the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations³⁵.

Speaker of the ECOWAS parliament, Moustapha Cisse Lo,³⁶ and the former Speaker, House of Representatives, National Assembly of Nigeria Hon Yakubu Dogara have called for an intensified efforts to end the proliferation of small arms and terrorism financing in the ECOWAS Region. According to Moustapha Cisse Lo while speaking in Abuja on 7th December 2017 at the Parliamentary Workshop on Legislative Actions for the Containment of Small Arms Proliferation and Terrorism Financing in the Sub-region said that *"the illicit circulation and illegal possession of small arms and light weapons have contributed to nurturing hotbeds of tensions and conflicts in Africa.*

Also, Hon Yakubu Dogara³⁷ said further *"to end small arms proliferation and terrorism financing in the region, there must be legislative actions that require registered companies doing business within an ECOWAS Member State to declare the names of the entity's true ultimate beneficial owners. Dogara further suggested that there must be legislative actions that scrutinize import and export invoices for signs of mis-invoicing which may indicate technical and physical smuggling and share more information between agencies and departments on the illicit markets and actors that exist within a country's borders"*.

Sources of Illegal Small Arms in Nigeria

From available surveys conducted by INTERPOL and by the United Nations Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice on the sources of illicit trafficking in firearms³⁸ this is a reference point and direction for the Nigeria government to provide a comprehensive picture on the sources of illegal small arms to the country.

Some of the channels for the illicit trade are stated below:

31. David Robertson, *Guide to Modern Defence and Strategy* (1987). Europa Publications Limited, London, p. 20.

32. Lora Lumpe, *"Running Guns in the Global Black Market in Small Arms"* (eds.) Zed Books, London (2000) pp. 37-38.

33. Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism, 16 November 1937, serie de publications de la societe des Nations, *Questions Juridiques*, 1937, Vol. 10, Article 2.5

34. *Ibid.*

35. General Assembly Resolution 42/22, 17 March 1988, para. 16.

36. *The Authority Daily*, Friday, December 8, 2017, p. 31.

37. *Ibid*, p. 31.

38. United Nations, *International Study on Firearms Regulation* (New York: UN, 1998), pp. 73-102.

- 1) **Theft:** Theft of handguns, assault weapons, rifles and short guns through the distribution processes or while en route.
- 2) **Police and Army stocks:** State-owned firearms may also leak into illicit markets through theft, corruption, or other forms of diversion. Sometime military authorities falsified records to conceal the theft.
- 3) **Straw purchases and other re-sales:** Instances whereby firearms are purchased legally and then resold or given to a second owner. Firearms also flow from countries with weaker regulations or war zone countries to countries with tighter gun ownership. Also, cross-border gunrunning from Libya to Nigeria are ample instances. We also have instances of illicit guns which are largely unregulated is circulating in the country and encourage high incidence of criminality.
- 4) **Falsification of Export Documents:** Smugglers also engaged in using false documentation and concealment with other commodities to ship weapons into the country. Likewise, false label are used to conceal the identity of small arms and ammunitions. There are instances of illegal importation of AK-47 assault rifles into the country. The weapons were mis-labelled. Several cases of this have been identified in our ports.
- 5) **Illegal Manufacture and Reactivation:** Illegally homemade small arms and assembly of firearms from imported parts. Sometimes, arms are reactivated by the legal owner and resold to criminals.
- 6) **Maritime Port:** Considerable ninety percent of maritime trades are done through the shipping domain. This provides avenue for considerable quantities of arms and ammunitions to be ferried by sea. Illegal arms are smuggled through maritime corridors.

Strategies for arms control measures include:

- 1) Intensive international boundary control.
- 2) Cancellation of firearms (dealer) import license.
- 3) Withdrawal of arms from individuals.
- 4) Periodic check of arms on charge in a public armoury.
- 5) Continuous recovery of arm and ammunition by the Police from armed robbers and other criminals.
- 6) Full scale inspection of containers and
- 7) Establishing an information exchange network and strategy for the control of the proliferation of light weapons in the sub-region.

Interfaces Between National Security and Human Security

The primary responsibility of any government is to provide security for its citizens as stipulated section 14(2) (b) of CFRN. Government has legal obligation under domestic and international law, to operate by rules and regulations aimed at ensuring the safety of the lives and properties of its citizens. While domestically, this legal obligation flows from the establishment of government of laws, rules and regulations aimed at ensuring peace, order and good governance, internationally, it flows from the voluntary decision of the government to bind itself to the observance of international laws, statutes, treaties and conventions that guarantee the protection of human rights in its various ramifications.³⁹

Nigeria's perception of security reflects a realistic paradigm of projecting its power within a state-centric system. This perception is increasingly becoming problematic to the extent that

39. Talla Ngaka Sunday and Reuben B. Ziri (ed). *Law and National Security in the Fourth Republic*. Lapai Democracy Series. Aboki Publishers, Makurdi, Nigeria (2010), p. 116.

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security thrust is directed toward the interest of the governing classes and their propertied allies, while most Nigerians are alienated from the security processes that ironically turn on them from time to time. The consequence of this is that national security planners tend to strengthen the coercive apparatus of any government any time the nation is faced with internal security challenges neglecting non-coercive and social welfare approaches. However, the real security threat is the problem of unemployment, poverty, political instability, and social injustice.

The former President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo observed that *“the primary objective of national security shall be to strengthen the Federal Republic of Nigeria to advance her interest and objectives to contain instability to control crime, eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development, progress and growth, improve the welfare and wellbeing and quality of life of every citizenry”*⁴⁰

Security is a mirage when the citizens can no longer maintain their accustomed standard of living, when employment opportunities are no longer guaranteed, when the leaders are corrupt and when all the components of human survival are endangered.

Dunmoye in his contribution to issue of national security and human development observed that *“there are three important aspects of development that have organic relationship with security. These he identified as: raising people’s living standard – their income, consumption of food, medical services, education, shelter, etc. through relevant economic processes; creating conditions that are conducive to the growth of people’s self-esteem through the establishment of social, political and economic systems and institutions which promote human dignity, and increasing people’s freedom to choose by enlarging the range of their choices – social, economic and political.”*⁴¹

Dunmoye also observed that *“the nature, character and manifestations of crises and threats to security in Nigeria today predicates on lack of sustainable livelihood, basic education, lack of good health care, clean water, decent housing and healthy environment”*.

Plethora of security crises in Nigeria emanates from a violence ridden environment characterised by security problems, unemployment, poverty, corruption, bad governance, social deprivation, hunger, lack of access to social justice, lack of food, health care, education, housing, political instability, underdevelopment, and ignorance. The enormous growth of insecurity and increase in criminal activity in Nigeria has raised many questions like do we have anti-terrorism legal framework? Are terrorists suffering from mental and psychiatric problems? Are terrorists heartless barbarians? Why will terrorist plant bomb in their bodies? Who are these terrorists? Where do they come from? Why do they engage in it? Are the military competent enough professionally skilled enough to combat terrorist? Access to illicit arms trafficking and Boko Haram insurgency and how effective government efforts in addressing or prevention of terrorism in Nigeria? Akinade⁴² opined that,

“the security calculus of Nigeria failed because it did not include vital aspects of social and national development such as the provision of basic social amenities and implement human security doctrines. He further argued that the insecurity of the

40. Ibid, p 117, also in Obasanjo O. *“Grand Strategy for National Security”*, p. 1.

41. Talla Ngarka Sunday and Reuben B. Ziri (eds.) *Law and National Security in the Fourth Republic*, Lapai Democracy Series. Aboki Publishers, Makurdi, Nigeria, p. 32 also in Dunmoye, A. R. *Security-Development Nexus: Conflict and Crises in Nigeria*. National Defence College, Abuja (2009).

42. *Security Challenges, Urban Violence and Terrorism*. Institute of Security Handbook and Study Guide Series (2013), p. 55.

*ordinary people makes them highly vulnerable to various forms of insecurity as a result of increasing reports of clashes between herdsmen and local farmers with the nomadic aggressors wielding sophisticated weapons*⁴³

Akinade observed further that⁴⁴ *“the increasing activities of terrorist group, Boko Haram in the north-east, through a resurgence of kidnapping in the south-east, insecurity has gained ground, requiring more competence than currently displayed by the security agencies”*.

The human insecurity in the country necessitates the inauguration of the South-Western Nigeria regional security network otherwise known as operation *Amotekun*.⁴⁵ *“Amotekun”* was conceived to complement the efforts of the conventional security agencies by providing them with relevant information through access to very remote areas and bushes which ordinarily are difficult for the former to penetrate.⁴⁶

The Chief of Field Office for Bauchi State of The United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) has said that *“kidnapping, rape, stealing and dwindling per capital income are the social-economic consequences of out-of-school children in Nigeria”*. Mr. Bhanu Pathak further identified the factors contributing to the nation’s out-of-school children as economic reason; cost of schooling, socio-cultural and religious factors remain uphill in reducing the figure. In identifying where those out-of-school children are, the UNICEF in its school statistics report of 2019 said that Kano State has the highest number of out-of-school children with 1,496,736 while Bauchi State follows with 1,080,150. It said Jigawa is third with 960,146; Katsina, 946,900; Sokoto, 899,538 and Kebbi with 755,682.⁴⁷

Also, the Director General of the International Labour Organization (*ILO*), Guy Ryder painted a gloomy future for young people across the globe, saying *“a whopping 255 million young people across the globe are unemployable”*. He said further, *“we should be realistic, there is an overall picture which really require us to stop, to think and then to take action”*. He further stressed that *“policy for and investment in education and skills are essential so that the skills we provide young people with are those that our labour market really need”*⁴⁸.

As at today, the unemployment rate in Nigeria stands at 23.1% and underemployment rate is at 16.6 percent. A recent World Bank forecast has it that the unemployment rate in Nigeria will skyrocket a table of 33.5 percent by the year 2020. These figures represent only to qualified citizens actively in search of jobs. Common observations in every other part of Nigeria experiences of exponential rise in the number of hoodlums and jobless youths roaming about the streets. The 2019 Global Cannabis Report revealed that Nigeria is the highest in Africa in *Marijuana consumption* with 20.8 million cannabis users. This statistics indicates that even as the country is faced with increasing unemployment, the youths have decided to remain relentless in drug abuse.⁴⁹

With each passing year, Nigeria gradually increased its number of unemployed youths and sank into poverty; political leaders (emphasis mine) became increasingly unaccountable to the people. Political parties became conspiracies to seize the federal and state treasuries and loot

43. *Ibid*, p. 58.

44. *Ibid*, p. 57.

45. *The Nation*. Saturday, February 22, 2020, p. 2.

46. *The Nation*. Monday, January 20, 2020, p. 18.

47. *The Guardian*, Saturday, August 10, 2019, p. 9.

48. *The Nation*, Sunday August 4, 2019, p. 8.

49. *The Nation*, Tuesday, June 25, 2019, p. 18.

them. Nigeria's present fastest growing job sectors – kidnapping, banditry, armed robbery, cattle rusting, Boko Haram invasion and herdsmen atrocities have turned the notion of how to succeed in business on its head.⁵⁰

Also, President Muhammadu Buhari bemoaned the level of insecurity, and corruption in the country; saying, “*under-investment in education may have been responsible for the phenomenon*”. The President said further when the delegation from Adamawa State led by the governor, Umaru Fintirin paid him a visitation that “*many of the issues confronting our nation today, especially in the areas of insecurity and corruption, are directly or indirectly linked to the decades of under-investment in education and healthcare*”⁵¹.

Conclusion

Terrorism reflects very real and very deep problems in the world. Terrorism range from such problems associated with poverty, hunger and repression that exist in so many countries around the globe today. As long as such problems exist, they will continue to breed rage and frustration in the people who suffer from them. Those feelings, in turn, will reed terrorism. Finding quick and peaceful ways to solve the problems then, would be the best possible way to put an end to terrorism.⁵²

With particular attention to Nigeria, the observation is that no much tremendous success has been achieved in the prevention of terrorism, mostly based on corruption and diversion of security allocation, mis-governance and bad leadership, lack of legal framework for the regulation of small arms license, religious dogmatism, lack of serious anti-terrorism measures, lack of will power to prosecute terrorists, faulty government amnesty programme, hate speech inspired terrorism, unregulated immigration policy, *Boko Haram* altruistic motives, government hypocrisy on security measures, problems associated with poverty, deprivation, hunger, repression, social injustice, lack of ethical value, lack of proper education and problems of cooperation between security agents and lack of intelligent information necessary among the security agents in capturing terrorists.⁵³

Hobbesian society like we have in Nigeria now, will not take us anywhere in winning war against terrorism, insurgency, and proliferation of illegal arms.

50. *Sunday Vanguard*, May 26, 2019, p. 17.

51 Daily Independent, Friday, August 9, 2019, p. 2.

52 Micheal Kronenwetter; *The War on Terrorism* (1989). Westport Publishing Group. Pp. 108-109.

53 *The Nation*, Thursday, June 27, 2019, p. 17.