

TERRORISM AND NIGERIA'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE: AN APPRAISAL:

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ABSTRACT

The state of terrorist activities in Nigeria today is unprecedented and most worrisome. The frequency of the activities of terrorist groups in the country and the observed helplessness of government in the face of these violent attacks has led to the loss of unquantified lives and properties of Nigerians. This study interrogates the activities of terrorist groups and its impact on the international image of the country. The paper will attempt to establish whether foreign direct investment and Nigeria's good international image are being hampered as a consequence of the current high wave of security challenges in the country. The paper adopted the conspiracy theory as its theoretical perspective while data were collected through the secondary sources. The paper argued that the low level of foreign direct investment and the declining international image of Nigeria and more importantly the great apprehension and state of fear among the citizens are the direct consequences of terrorism in the country. The paper however recommended that government should demonstrate more political will by the way of engaging those involved in these heinous acts in a dialogue in addition to the military option which the government is presently executing. There is the dire need for the convening of a Sovereign National Conference to further discuss the Nigerian federation.

Introduction

Terrorism or the activities of terrorist organizations are not novel and has continued to occupy global discourse with major attention being centered on the best ways to arrest their violent activities and make the world a peaceful and serene environment to inhabit. Today terrorist insurgencies are experienced in almost all parts of the world that even the developed countries of Europe are not spared.

However, as terrorism continues to grow and get more sophisticated, various governments have equally developed means and strategies aimed at combating their nefarious activities. The dangerous and unbecoming activities of terrorist organizations came into stronger limelight with the September 11, 2001 bombing of Pentagon and the World Trade Centre in United States of America. This impact of the terrorists on the United States sent shock waves to other countries of the world and brought to light the vulnerability of every state to terrorist acts. The high level of security in the United States seen as one of the most secured countries in the world has made many opinion leaders and scholars to contend that the ease with which the World Trade Centre and Pentagon were bombed had domestic assistance from United States citizens.

This is fundamentally the position of the "Truth Movement" in the United States. According to Alan (2006:24):

Insiders within the United States government were directly responsible for the September 11, attacks as they were planned and executed in order to provide the United States with a pretext for going to war in the Middle East and by extension, as a means of consolidating and extending the power of Bush's administration and justification for more wide spread abuses of civil liberties and to invade Afghanistan and Iraq to ensure future supplies of oil.

However, whatever the position of the "Truth Organization", the fact remains that terrorists can strike anywhere, anytime notwithstanding whether there is conspiracy from insiders or not.

In Nigeria, the incidence of terrorism is not of a recent origin as its etymology can be traced to the era of colonialism where most Africans in a bid to resist the taking over of their land by the imperialist embarked on various forms of terrorist activities but all these were quelled due principally to the superior fire power of the imperialist. Though acts of aggression against the colonial masters as a consequence of maltreatment of African did not abate but they were too insignificant to make any impact on the colonial government.

Present day terrorism in Nigeria is often ascribed to the agitation of the people of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria over the disproportionate sharing of resources accruing from the oil wealth found in their area. However, there are variants of opinion among scholars and opinion leaders on whether the agitations of the people of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria should be regarded as terrorism. To Dandurand (2009) the usage of the concept of terrorism has been severely abused by most Nigerians as even politicians and political office holders brand members of the opposition as terrorist". This according to him is a disturbing phenomenon in our body politic. Nwokedi (2010) however justified the branding of the Niger Delta militants as a terrorist organization when he stated inter-alia

The agitations of the people of the Niger Delta for a fair share of the resources from their area accruing to government is a legitimate demand but one wonders a development where they abandoned all available genuine means to actualizing this demand and took up arms against the state and in addition engaged in pipeline vandalization and kidnapping which are terrorist acts.

The controversy arising from the conceptualization of Nigerian terrorism notwithstanding, the acts of terrorism amongst Nigerians came to limelight and catching greater international attention with the attempted bombing of a Detroit bound United States airline on 25th December, 2009 by a Nigerian al-Qaeda linked terrorist Faruk Abdul Mutalab. This unfortunate incidence accelerated Nigeria's listing among terrorist countries by the United States government to the detriment of her international image.

The international image of Nigeria has over the years been on steady decline due principally to a plethora of vices such as drug trafficking, advance fee fraud (419), corruption and the obvious unbecoming behavior among Nigerians. This has made Nigerians to be the subject of attacks and dehumanizing treatment anywhere in the world as they are usually seen as security and economic risk. While the country was busy

battling to have a way out of salvaging her worst ever international image, the events of 25th December 2009 in which a Nigerian attempted to detonate bomb in an American bound airline brought the country into another dilemma in the international arena as she was thereafter listed among terrorist nations.

The government of Nigeria put up a spirited fight to ensure the delisting of Nigeria as a terrorist nation but hardly had United States cleared the country from her terrorist list than the country started experiencing the worst activities of a terrorist religious sect, "the Boko Haram". The group which has no major agenda to pursue other than the Islamization of the northern part of the country and the fact that western education to them was evil and should be discarded had thrown the administration of Goodluck Jonathan into the worst security challenges ever experienced in the history of the country. The president himself corroborated this position when he stated during his visit to the site of the Madala December 25th bombing that the security challenges posed by the dreaded Boko Haram was worse than the 1967 Nigerian civil war as in the present situation the enemies are unknown.

The spate of bombings, killing and destruction of lives and properties of the Nigerian people by this sect has heightened tension in the country and also causing more damage to an already battered Nigerian international image. The terrorist activities of the Islamic sect "Boko Haram" fighting for the Islamization of northern Nigeria have placed Nigeria as a terrorist country in the global stage. This development has increased the hatred Nigeria and Nigerians have around the world. It has prevented genuine foreign investors from coming to do business in the country because of security challenges.

THEORETICAL EXPLICATION

The subject matter of terrorism is very topical in contemporary global discourse and as a consequence scholars have propounded a lot of theories designed to explain the concept of terrorism. This development is not unusual taking cognizance of the fact that phenomenon in the social sciences is given to variety of definitions and interpretations.

An in-depth analysis and understanding of the phenomenon of terrorism clearly indicates that terrorists can instill fear, destroy and kill and in so many cases with the objective of bringing down regimes. As an objective reaction to this, the subject matter of terrorism can be located within the "conspiracy theory" of politics and to that extent, this paper tends to utilize this theory in making a comprehensive analysis of terrorism and the impact it has created to Nigeria's international image.

The conspiracy theory boldly explains events as being the result of an alleged plot by a covert group or organization or, more, broadly, the idea that important political, social or economic events are the products of secret plots that are largely unknown to the general public. To Adewale (2009:12):

Conspiracy theory is frequently used by scholars and in popular political culture to identify secret military, banking, or political actions aimed at "stealing" power, money or freedom from the people. The theory is based on the notion that complex plots are put into motion by powerful sudden forces.

Several scholars have written extensively on the concept. For Bakun (2003) "conspiracy theory is a belief which explains an event as the result of a secret plot by exceptionally powerful and cunning conspirators to achieve a malevolent end". He went further to assert that the appeal of conspiracism is threefold. First, conspiracy theories claim to explain what institutional analysis cannot. They appear to make sense out of a world that is otherwise confusing. Second, they do so in an appealing simple way, by dividing the world sharply between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. They trace all evil back to a single sources, the conspirators and their agents. Third, conspiracy theories are often presented as special secret knowledge unknown or unappreciated by others. For conspiracy theorists, the masses are brainwashed into believing the actions undertaken by the conspirators while the conspirators congratulate themselves on penetrating the people though by deceptions. (Fenser, 1999:36)

Bakun in a bid to substantially make further explanations on the concept of conspiracy theory listed three types of conspiracy theories in an ascending order of breadth and they include: event conspiracy theories, which essentially have to do with limited, discrete event or set of events. Here the conspiratorial forces are alleged to have focused their energies on a limited, well defined objective; systemic conspiracy theories which is a development where the conspiracy is believed to have broad goals, usually conceived as securing control of a country, region or even the entire world and the goals are sweeping; and lastly the super-conspiracy theories which is a case where multiple conspiracies are believed to be linked together hierarchically. In the super-conspiracy, event and systemic conspiracy theories are joined in complex ways, so that conspiracies come to be rested together. At the summit of conspiratorial hierarchy is a distant but all powerful evil force manipulating lesser conspiratorial actors

The application of conspiracy theory is very apt in understanding and appreciating the existence of terrorism in Nigeria's body politic. The import of this position is anchored on the fact that in Nigeria today, there exist the activities of many covert groups or organizations that had not only led to declining economic fortunes of the country but has also led to loss of many innocent lives. For instance, at the early period of agitation by people of the Niger Delta over a fair share of the resources in their area, they started with a protest as a way of making their positions and objectives known to government. At this period the perpetrators are known. However, as a response to continued government neglect, the agitation became more violent leading to the destruction of oil pipelines, hostage taking and outright kidnapping but the perpetrators at this time are faceless. Their conduct not only brought down the oil producing quota of the country but also created fear among investors who would have come to Nigeria to invest and improve the fortunes of the nation's developmental agenda.

While the nation was still contending with the activities of the Niger Delta Militants and their being pacified with the granting of amnesty culminating in many of them being sent abroad to acquire self-sustaining skill, the country was again visited by the activities of the Boko Haram sect. The group has carried out a number of attacks on innocent citizens especially in the northern part of the country. Their activities amount to

terrorism and conspiracy against the government of the day.

While it is not in doubt that the Boko Haram sect has a lot of sponsors among very wealthy and influential members of the Nigerian society, the arrest of senator Dume in connection with sponsorship of the sect and the public acknowledgement of president Goodluck Jonathan as to the effect that the group has some apologists in his cabinet is a clear indication that the group has dangerous agenda that might not be unconnected with bringing down the government of Goodluck Jonathan. The observation clearly brings out the relevance of the application of the conspiracy theory in this paper.

CONCEPTUAL ELUCIDATION

Finding a universally accepted definition of terrorism has generated a lot of controversy and hiccups among scholars. Historically, there has been a constant search for clarity through a universal and internationally shared definition of terrorism. However, scholars have identified more than 100 different definitions of terrorism, many of which contradict each other. The United Nations itself has struggled to reach a consensus about a single definition of terrorism. An Ad-hoc Committee established by the General Assembly has been working on a comprehensive convention on international terrorism since 1996, but as at its 12th session in March 2008, a full agreement on "a clear legal definition of terrorism" had yet to be reached (Saul, 2005; Hoffman, 2006; United Nations, 2008, Dandurand, 2009).

Despite the apparent difficulty in pinning down terrorism to an accepted and universally acknowledged definition, there exist a general agreement among scholars and even within the United Nations that terrorist offences are "acts which lead to death, serious bodily harm, or serious property damage when their purpose is to intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act". However, as a way of appreciating the phenomenon of terrorism, an examination of some scholarly definitions of the concept will suffice.

Hoffman (2006) made a serious effort to give a working definition of terrorism but his inability to do that brought him to the belief that there are certain identifiable key characteristics of terrorism which align to the effect that terrorism is

- Ineluctably political in aims and motives.
- Violent in nature
- 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 sub-national group or non state entity.

These features unarguably give us a leeway to a better understanding of terrorism and brings us closer in the search for a definition of terrorism.

Carstein (2008:20) defines terrorism as:

Political violence is an asymmetrical conflict that is designed to induce terror and psychic fear (sometimes indiscriminate) through the violent victimization and destruction of non-combatant targets (sometimes iconic symbols). Such acts are meant to send a message from an illicit clandestine organization.

He further added that 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 (s) to reach short – and midterm political goals and/or desired long term end.

For Nesho (2001:12) terrorism is

A scourge that takes innocent lives, threatens values of humanity, human rights and freedoms and impede development and world progress. The fight against terrorism should rise above the individual interests of states and can be justified with differences in the social development or cultural and social disparities. This fight, in no way, can be confused with the legitimate struggle of the people for freedom and self-determination, equality and respect of their democratic rights and, furthermore, cannot be used to justify the intransigent stands of some countries to not respect the rights of citizens in the multi-ethnic society and principles and laws of democracy therein.

Despite the complexity in pinning the concept to an agreed definition, the reality remains that terrorism is an evil and dangerous scourge and terrorists have as their main objectives the destruction of innocent lives and properties, threatening the stability of government. In certain instances, the actions of terrorists have religious undertone and in other instances have no clear-cut objective rather than instilling fear among the populace with the objective of being recognized.

ACTS THAT CONSTITUTE TERRORISM

The difficulty arising from scholars agreeing to a universally accepted definition of terrorism equally presents itself when examining acts that constitute terrorism. This position is against the backdrop of the controversy surrounding the actual meaning of terrorism or terrorist acts. At one point, terrorism can be used as political labels to condemn violence or the threat of violence by certain actors who sees it as immoral, indiscriminate and unjustified or to condemn an entire segment of the population but at the other end of the divide those labeled as terrorists by their opponent rarely identified themselves as such (Thomson 2005:16). In the words of Reynolds (2005):

“Those labeled as terrorists use other terms or terms specific to their situation, such as separatist, freedom fighter, liberator, revolutionary, vigilance, militant, paramilitary, guerilla, rebel, patriot, or any similar meaning word in other languages and cultures, Jihadi Mujaheddin and fedayeen are similar in Arabic which have entered the English lexicon. It is common for both parties in a conflict to describe each other as terrorists.

Another similar situation is where the actions of government no matter how violent is seen as legitimate while similar acts by groups or organizations within the

society are considered illegitimate or terrorist in nature. Broomhall (2004) warns of the self-serving "tendency to characterize the conduct of non-state opponents as 'terrorist' while depicting the state's own conduct as purely defensive of the 'public order' or 'national security'.

However one looks at the phenomenon of terrorism, there are certain acts that constitute terrorism. The terrorism (common wealth power) Act of 2002, section 79 (2) a – f sees the following as acts that constitute terrorism.

- Acts that causes serious harm that is physical harm to a person or
- Causes serious damage to property; or
- Causes a person's death; or
- Endangers a person's life, other than the life of the person taking the action; or
- Create a serious risk to health or safety of the public or a section of the public; or
- Seriously interferes with, seriously disrupts, or destroy, an electronic system including but not limited to an information system; or a telecommunication system; or a financial system; or a system used for the delivery of essential public utility; or a system used for, or by a transport system.

An examination of the acts that constitute terrorism gives a wide range of deferent types of terrorism, as the acts can be perpetrated both physically and through telecommunication technology.

TYPES OF TERRORISM

The United States in 1975 formed a National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals and under the direction of H.H.A. Cooper gave six classifications of terrorism in one of the volumes of their report entitled "Disorders and Terrorism", they include:

Civil disorder – a form of collective violence interfering with the peace, security, and normal functioning of the community.

Political terrorism – Violent criminal behavior 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 technique of the genuine terrorist and produces similar consequences and reaction.

Limited Political terrorism – Genuine 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 – this refers to nations whose rule is based upon fear and oppression that reach similar to terrorism or such proposition. It may also be referred to as structural terrorism defined broadly as terrorist act carried out by governments in pursuit of political objectives, often as part of their foreign policy.

TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

There is no gain saying the fact that terrorism in Nigeria is not of recent origin as its etymology can be traced to the period of colonialism where Africans engaged in all sorts of terrorist activities to fight against colonial domination. Though this phenomenon was at its lowest ebb at that time and even in the early years of the country's independence in 1960, this ugly pandemic became rampant in the late 90s and further culminating in today's epidemic proportion. Today, the name 'Nigeria' is synonymous with terrorism around the world.

When the agitation by the people of the Niger Delta started with a clear-cut objective of requesting for a fair share of the nation's wealth extracted from their area, succeeding administrations in Nigeria failed to address the agitations of the people but rather choose the military option of suppressing the people. This insensitivity of government towards genuine agitations of the people of Niger Delta led the Late General Abacha government to execute Ken Saro-wiwa and the famous Ogoni eight. Little did government know that they are starting a war which they will find difficult to win.

The utter neglect of the agitations of the people of the Niger Delta, the execution of Ken Saro-wiwa and other famous Ogoni leaders set the stage for modern day terrorism in Nigeria. The youths of the Niger Delta seeing the execution of their leaders by government for asking for a fair share of resources extracted from their area thereby mortgaging their future decided to employ a violent approach to the agitation as a way of making government to address their worries. The wave of pipe-line vandalization, kidnapping and outright killings of innocent Nigerians, oil workers and expatriates perpetrated by the militant youths of the Niger Delta region of the country was better imagined.

The terrorist activities of the Militants equally manifested in low oil production in Nigeria culminating in a scenario where the country could not produce her approved OPEC quota with its concomitant effect on her national revenue generation output. When government's military campaign in the Niger Delta could not do the magic of bringing peace in the region, the government of Late Umaru Yar'adua granted amnesty to the militants with the promise of training them to acquire skills that would enable them eke out a living legitimately.

Today, a great number of ex-militants from the Niger Delta are beneficiaries of

the post-amnesty programme of the federal government and relative peace has been restored in the area. However, as the federal government was heaving a sigh of relieve as a consequence of the gains from the amnesty granted to the Niger Delta Militants, there came the eruption of terrorist group in the country (the Boko Haram). This group has no clear agenda, but is presently hiding under the guise of Islamizing the whole of Northern part of Nigeria to engage in incessant bombings of not only Police stations and even Military barracks, but has gone to the extent of bombing worship places and markets to the chagrin of Nigeria. Nwokedi (2010: 28) gave an insight into the reasons for the prevalence of terrorism in Nigeria:

Terrorism in Nigeria is a fall out of unemployment of youths. It is compounded by growing ignorance of the young arising from low quality of education and life. This is against a backdrop of stupendous inexplicable wealth and display by those whose rise to fame could only be traceable to few moments of lawlessness or defiance of order. Some of the super rich were former coup plotters turned Head of States and their retinue of appointees. Others are those who looted the Ministries and Parastatals dry taking advantage of the loose judicial and enforcement arms of government at these times as well as today.

He went further to paint a gloomy picture of terrorism as he sees it to reflect "a breakdown of law and order in the society and a sign that formal authority is ineffectual and that checks and balances in government are not working since little or no persecution of cases abound".

It is obvious that the above position as it relates to unemployment and low quality of education and life are intrinsic in determining the root causes of terrorism in Nigeria, there is still other dimension to the argument over the real causes of terrorism in Nigeria

CAUSES OF TERRORISM IN THE COUNTRY

Ogundana (2011) opines that terrorism in Nigeria first started as state backed violence but today it is usually perpetrated by those without the power of the State or those who lost in the struggle for the control of state power. In his words: *Nigeria has in recent times has been witnessing an upsurge in terror-related attacks. The country is not new to attacks; however, the dimension it has taken and nature of weapons being used by these terror gangs have created fear in the mind of the people. Terrorism started in the country as a form of state-backed violence, but today, it is usually, linked with political violence perpetrated by groups without the power of the State or those who have lost out in the struggle for the soul of the State.*

Most non-State terrorists call themselves revolutionaries or freedom fighters.

Another dimension to argument is that which sees terrorism as a product of religious fanaticism. According to Ekwugum (2011: 12):

Terrorism is an ideology rooted in religion, and it is not peculiar to Islam. The Jews in the Bible days waged ceaseless guerilla warfare against the Roman government. As a matter of fact, they pioneered the concept of suicide bombing later in the 20th century. Christians that did not agree with them, may be because of the embarrassment

of admitting the ugly reality, or the assumption that it could lead to stigmatization of a particular religion we shy away from calling problem what it is.

However in a twist over the argument as to the causes of terrorism, Nwangoji (2010) opines that poverty and illiteracy cannot be advanced as causes of terrorism. He made good his argument by citing the profiles of terrorist masterminds thus:

As strong as the argument over poverty and illiteracy may be, things get a little sticky when you examine the profiles of terrorism masterminds. For instance, Umar Farouk Abdulmutalab, the Nigerian underwear bomber, had everything going for him; the son of a wealthy and influential banker, he had access to the best western education in Europe where he studied. El-Zakzakky, one of the pioneers of radical Islam in Nigeria, is believed to have jettisoned his first-class university degree in Economics to pursue his vision of an Islamic state governed by the principles of Sharia. On the international level, aside from attending a university, the late Osama Bin Laden was the son of a billionaire construction magnate with close ties to the Saudi royal family. His successor, Ayman al-Zawahiri, is a qualified surgeon born to an upper middle class family in Egypt. Quite clearly, therefore, the argument that poverty or lack of education is the immediate cause of terrorism is fatally flawed.

Whatever the angle one looks at the reasons for the cause of terrorism in Nigeria, it is common knowledge that the incidence of terrorism in the country is a combination of the factors of unemployment and inequality that have manifestly created a great gulf between the rich and the poor; the problem associated with non-State actor sponsor of terrorism and the problem of religious fanaticism while not also forgetting ideological orientations and beliefs of terrorists.

TERRORISM AND ITS IMPACT ON FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT AND THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY

It is a fact that the Nigerian economy has recently wobbled under the attendant weight of terrorism which has obviously punctured investors' confidence and the Nigerian economy left on the downward slope. The economic cost of terrorism can be seen from two dimensions, the direct and immediate cost of productivity. The direct causes has to do with the declining fortunes of investors' confidence culminating in low Foreign Investment (FDI) in Nigeria, the immediate impact is tied to the loss of man-hour of productivity to bureaucracy and security checks in airports and offices across the country. (Umejei, 2011:18).

The impact of terrorism on FDI and the implication for the Nigerian economy has generated a lot of interest among analysts. Chizea (2011:22) opines that terrorism would complicate the already unattractive Nigerian economy. In his words:

There is no doubt that terrorism has a definitive cost on an economy, including the Nigerian economy. These costs for an economy such as Nigeria's which had suffered from lack of attractiveness to foreign investments, is to particularly worsen the unattractiveness of the economy to direct foreign investments. But it is going to be difficult to quantify the extent and quantum of this cost. The direct effect of terrorism is to

increase the risk factor on doing business in Nigeria and would imply that the cost of risk management, including insurance would to that extent increase. There are also costs which will arise from the need to increase spending on security.

Also in agreement with the above position, Amaechi (2011) sees terrorism as evil for the economy. According to him "terrorism is bad for the economy of Nigeria, as it is bad for the global economy. It certainly leads to economic, political and regional instability".

The problem associated with terrorism has led to the decline of FDI capital to Nigeria. The 2011 World Investment prepared by United Nations Conference on Trade and Development confirms the decline on FDI. According to the report FDI capital to Nigeria declined from \$6.1 billion in 2010 from \$8.28 billion in 2009, Bello (2011) got agitated with the decline and state thus:

It is a major challenge to the Nigerian economy because it has to rely on FDI, which terrorism is fast eroding. Nigeria has to rely on FDI capital from outside the country as well as what it can harness internally to be able to drive the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth. It is a major challenge. That means we still need to talk to a lot more transnational companies. We need to bring the CEOs to come and see what Nigeria is, appreciate the kind of market that we have and the larger market of about 150 million people that will support them.

TERRORISM AND NIGERIA'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE

The debate over the international image of Nigeria has been on the front burner of national discourse for sometimes now. This is against the backdrop of the fact that the international image of a country is an important determinant of how well the country is doing at home and abroad. International image provides a basis for self assessment in the event of any ugly happening. Bola (2007:13) gave an insight into what is meant by good image and the benefits derivable when he states thus:

Image, be it national or international, is function of perception, which again can be a resultant of objectivity or subjectivity of purpose, there is no disputing the fact that a good image constitute a source of good will and patronage for a country. It is considered by investors in determining where to direct funds. It also brings the level of unfriendliness down. It is therefore quite understandable if every person and every government seeks to promote at all times, a better image for himself or itself nationally and internationally.

It is an indubitable reality that a good image be it of a person, association, organization or a state is a window through which better things can happen to that person, association, organization or country. This development is a pointer to the drive by all no matter how placed in the scheme of things in the society to preserve good image.

While it could be said that the international image of Nigeria at independence was seen in good light especially in her resolve to champion the cause of Africa, the years preceding the country's independence especially with the long period of military interregnum failed to consolidate on this good standing. The dwindling image of Nigeria

in the global arena has continued to be a subject of debate, while some blame it on the character of the average Nigerian, other see bad governance and ineptitude on the part of government officials as the cause whereas other see the long period of military rule as a corollary of the country's bad international image.

Commenting on the dent on the image of Nigeria and why the average Nigerian should not absolve himself of the blame, Emeka (2010) states that:

Many Nigerians are quick to point accusing fingers to the country's leadership but fail to see themselves as part and parcel of the unworkable Nigeria. By no means, nobody is excluding the elite and ruling class from the generated mess but the masses cannot fold their hands and anticipate a change to initiate itself. The average Nigerians must also shoulder some responsibilities by shunning corruption including coming to work on time and rejecting short dubious path to wealth accumulation.

He was further to bring to bear the average behavior of Nigerians that has added to the already battered image of the country globally. According to him:

The litany of Nigerian sins and misbehaviours are no longer a new to the entire world, as the world have come to see the intractable problems of Nigeria as threats to global financial and economic stability. Nigeria is known for e-mail fraud, manipulation of established standard operations and now for terrorism. The peril of this dented image is taking its toll on the average citizens of Nigeria who cannot freely travel or conduct international business.

For Chuba (2012) the government both military and civilian is to blame for the ugly image of the country in the global arena. According to him, "a development where Nigeria generates a lot of wealth from oil and other local resources and yet the people live in abject poverty created the avenue where Nigerians in order to eke out a living engage in unwholesome practices and behavior". He however advocated for responsiveness on the part of the government by living up to their part of the social contract. This is because the transformation of Nigeria's image must be deliberate, coherent and self-evident.

The blame game has over the years been a feature of succeeding government in Nigeria as the military blames the civilians for corruption and ineptitude, the civilians on their part sees the travails of the Nigeria polity as a consequence of military getting involved in politics which is outside their constitutional role.

However, as Nigeria was contending with her ugly international image as a result of advance free fraud (419) money laundering, corruption, drug trafficking and other vices that has more often subjected Nigerians in all part of the world to international humiliation, another chapter was opened in 2009 with her been listed among terrorist nations by the international community. This development was made possible by the attempted bombing of a United States bomb plane by a Nigerian farouk AbdulMutala. While the international community was treating internal terrorism in Nigeria arising from the activities of Niger Delta militants with levity, this new dimension to international terrorism by a Nigerian was enough to give the world a new view of Nigeria.

Arising from that most unfortunate incidence is the current home grown terrorism

being perpetrated by the Islamic sect "Boko Haram". The modus operandi of the group is so unprecedented and Nigeria has never witnessed this quantum of killing before in her political history less for the civil war (1967 – 1970). One characteristic feature of the group is the fact that despite coming from an Islamic background, their attacks have no bound. According to Campbell (2011) "Boko Haram is a loosely organized grassroot insurrection against not only the Abuja government but the traditional Muslim establishment as well"

CONCLUSION

Terrorism is today a global scourge and various countries of the world are developing different strategies aimed at fighting the pandemic. However while some countries are busy fighting terrorism others have more often than not been accused of sponsoring terrorism.

In Nigeria, the problems which terrorism has created are enormous starting from the destruction to the lives and properties of Nigerians, it snowballed into the low patronage of the Nigerian economy by foreign investors leading to instability and low pace of development; presently the scourge has badly affected the international image of Nigeria as the country is seen as one of the areas where terrorism is on the rise. As if all these problems are not enough, the problem associated with terrorism in Nigeria is also trying to lead the country to the part of disintegration. This is because the incessant killings perpetrated by the Boko Haram sect especially against the Christians and the Igbos to be precise is making most Nigerians to call for the convening of a Sovereign National Conference to discuss whether the country should remain one indivisible entity or the different regions be given the choice to secede.

However, the most worrisome is the fact that government is not summoning enough political will to combat terrorism. It is against this backdrop that this study recommends that government should evolve an effective formula to stop the scourge by the way of engaging terrorist groups like Boko Haram, Movement for Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOP) Oodua peoples' congress (OPC) and Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) in a dialogue for peace to reign in Nigeria. There is also the dire need for government to provide jobs for the teeming unemployed youths; fight the corruption pandemic and bridge the ever widening gap between the rich the poor. It is reasoned that when corruption is removed from our society, there would be enough capital to create more jobs and this can bring terrorism to its lowest level in Nigeria.

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