

Counter Terrorism and National Security: A Study of North East of Nigeria Operations (2009 – 2021)

Ebhaleme Victor

Department of History and War studies, Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna

Corresponding Author's Email: victorebhaleme1@gmail.com

Received: 19-04-23

Accepted: 19-05-23

Published: 17-08-23

Abstract

Terrorism, banditry, kidnapping, farmers/herders' clashes and political motivated killings have dominated the Nigeria's security landscape with terrorism as one of the major challenges. These challenges have been putting the country in bad light globally among the committee of Nations therefore affecting the peaceful environment and disrupting socio-economic development and National Security. Both military and civilian targets have been displaced during the period under review. Prior to this, the insurgents created fear to both military and civilian populace because of the nature of their attacks, killing several people. The Nigerian Government with the military as its arrowhead adopted series of counterterrorism measures/strategy aimed at checking the terrorist towards achieving national security. These strategies which ranges from tactics and changes in the name of the operations severally from Op RESTORE ORDER, Op ZAMAN LAFIYA, Op BOYONA, LAFIYA DOLE and HADIN KAI did not significantly change the outcome of the operations but revigorated the operation until recently from 2021 when the terrorist were degraded and they started surrendering in large number as it became important for the Nigerian Military to revisit the strategy. Finding from the study reveal that lack of political will and nonactivation of all lines of operation was responsible for the limited success during the period under review. The paper recommends that for counter terrorism strategy to contribute effectively to the attainment of national security, all lines of operations need to be activated in addition to strong political will by the leadership at all levels.

Keywords: Terrorism, Counter Terrorism, National Security

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The absence of good governance is responsible for the security challenges that manifest inform of banditry, kidnapping, militancy, farmers/herder clashes and terrorism, which affects socio economic development and National Security (NS) (Ebhaleme 2012:3). Since the Post-Cold war and events of

9/11, the security threat to the international system has been redefined and terrorism has dominated the global security landscape hereby constituting a threat to global security (Ebhaleme 2012:2). Thus, a foremost security challenge facing most countries today is terrorism, which connotes the unlawful use

of violence or threat of violence to perpetrate fear and coerce government or societies in pursuit of certain goals. As Bruno (2004:11) posits, "Terrorism exists all over the world and has its origin far back in history". The National Counter-Terrorist Strategy in Nigeria emphatically declared terrorism as a movement that "undermine national security, which is the primary duty of any government" (NACTEST, 2016:i).

Counter terrorism generally describes actions taken by the Nigerian government to prevent and neutralise the various act of terrorism. This include both the kinetic and non-kinetic approaches and the defensive measures to remove factors that motivate terrorism. National Security include the effective mobilisation of all security architecture towards the realisation of a secured environment. Therefore, any responsible government of any country needs to take effective measures towards countering terrorism to achieve National Security.

In Africa, the activities of terrorism is not a novel one as major parts of the continent are experiencing one form of terrorist attack or the other, "with devastating effects on human life and stability and development" (Goredema & Boba, 2004:1). As far back as 1992, the Organization of Africa Unity (OAU), meeting at its 28th Ordinary Session, held in Dakar, Senegal, adopted a Resolution on the Strengthening of Cooperation and Coordination among African States (African Union, 2015), in which the Union pledged to fight the phenomena of violent extremism and terrorism. At its 30th Ordinary Session held in Tunis, Tunisia, in June 1994, the OAU (now AU) adopted the Declaration on the code of Conduct for Inter-African Relations, in which it rejected all forms of extremism and terrorism, whether under the pretext of sectarianism, tribalism, ethnicity or religion (Organization of Africa Union, 1994). The declaration also condemned, as criminal, all terrorist acts, methods and practices, and expressed its resolve to enhance cooperation to combat such acts (Organization of Africa Union, 1994).

Nigeria is by far the most populous country in Africa and a strategic state in the continent as well as in the global context (Ebhaleme, 2012: P2). Her role as a key player in the global politics has not

been an exemption from a myriad of security challenges in recent times. These security challenges have been putting Nigeria in bad light globally as an unsafe place to live thereby preventing both local and foreign investors to invest in. In recent time, large number of Nigerians have been travelling out of the country in search of greener pasture and better living conditions. This has affected the socio-economic development of the country and thus undermines its national security.

The Nigerian state witness its first major terror attacks in 2010 and now, the menace has continued to show the ability to wreck major havoc (NACTES, 2016:ii). Terrorist activities that were confined to the North East states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa have spread to other parts of the country especially North Central and North Western states of Kaduna, Niger, Zamfara, Sokoto and the Federal Capital Territory. The Nigeria Government, in an attempt to find a lasting solution to the terrorist challenges by Boko Haram Sect in some states of the North-East geopolitical zone, adopted a series of counter-terrorism measures to deal with the threat. The operation which initially started like a single service approach was marred by lack of synergy of efforts and rivalry among the various security agencies. This necessitated the establishment of Joint Task Force Operation RESTORE ORDER in July 2011 to coordinate the activities of all security agencies coupled with the declaration of state of emergency in 15 Local Government Areas of Nigeria (Daily Trust, 2012), to solve the problems.

The approach to counter terrorism has taken various dimensions with the security agencies battling with the threat thus, questioning their ability to perform their duties creditably. Scholars and commentators have argued that the Nigerian military are not trained to counter the terrorist activities as the strategies applied have not yielded enough successes within the period under review. Though, the operation has changed names severally from Op ZAMAN LAFIYA, to Op BOYONA, Operation LAFIYA DOLE and currently Op HADIN KAI, these changes in name has not changed the operation significantly but rather reinvigorated the operation. Even though the operation is recording some degree of successes, the operation is considered by the Nigeria people as a military

operation. Additionally, areas that have been liberated by the military are still being unoccupied by government agencies calling to question the political will of the government and the need for the Armed Forces of Nigeria to change their strategies in the fight against terrorism.

The National Counter Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST) represents an attempt by the Nigerian Government to address the terrorist activities experienced in the country. The document explains what Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDA's) and individuals can do to facilitate the implementation of the strategy to reduce the associated risk of the attack. Undoubtedly, this counter terrorism operation ought to be a comprehensive and multi-dimensional approach involving all lines of operations as articulated in the national counter terrorism strategy. This ought to be coordinated from the Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) to achieve better coordination and ensure all lines of operation are activated. As it seems that it is only the military line that is very active. It is against this backdrop that this research is focused on counter terrorism and National Security in Nigeria with North Eastern states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa as a study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The National Counter-Terrorism doctrine has been faced with multifaceted interpretations by a wide range of scholars and political commentators. Some have limited this doctrine to military based approach, while others point out the deficiencies of the Nigerian Armed Forces of its failure to ending the insurgencies. Very few scholars have discussed in details the need for a wholistic approach in handling the security situations in the country. This study intends to identify the problems that necessitated the research, so as to discuss in details the approach NACTEST presupposes in the war against terrorism. This approach as described by the doctrine should not be restricted to the Nigerian Armed Forces but the entire agencies of government, Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and the populace.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. What is the nexus between Counter Terrorism and National Security?

- ii. What is the Counter Terrorism measure adopted by the Nigerian Government in the North East?
- iii. Why has these measures not been entirely successful?
- iv. What better strategy could be adopted to mitigate terrorism in the North East for the enhancement of National Security in Nigeria?

1.4 Aim and Objective of the Study

The aim of this study is to examine the counter-terrorism measures in the North East and its impact on National Security of Nigeria.

To achieve this aim the study outlines the following objectives:

- i. To describe the link between Counter-Terrorism and National Security.
- ii. To establish the various Counter-Terrorism measures adopted in the North East.
- iii. To assess the effectiveness of these measures in North East of Nigeria.
- iv. To examine the challenges involved in the strategies adopted to mitigating terrorism in the North East.

1.5 Research Assumptions

- i. That lack of political will and good governance are the main reasons for the unending terrorist activities in the North East.
- ii. That the unending terrorist activities have adverse socio-economic effect that threatens National Security in Nigeria.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

In a research of this nature, methodology portrays and describes the means and method of data collection and analysis adopted in the course of the study. Methodology does set out to provide solutions, however, it offers the theoretical blueprint method to be applied in a specific case. This section presents the methodology adopted for the research and the analysis of data gathered in the course of the research. It dwells on the mix of methodology deemed appropriate for the research study including the research design, the sources of

data collections, sample and sample technique, instrument for data collection and method of data analysis.

2.1 Research Design

The research typology adopted for this study was secondary method of data collection. The data was sourced from documents, reports, textbooks, pamphlets, newspapers and magazines. This study used content analysis to make systematic discuss and description of the study from data collected in the course of this work.

2.2 Research Philosophy

In analysing the nexus between terrorism, counter-terrorism and national security, the research philosophy usually was interpretivism driven. Interpretivists contend that, through the subjective interpretation of and intervention in reality, reality can be fully understood. Therefore, the study of phenomena in their natural environment is vital to the interpretivist philosophy, together with the acknowledgement that scientists cannot avoid affecting those phenomena they study. Furthermore, they posit that, there may be many interpretations of reality and maintain that these interpretations are in themselves a part of the scientific knowledge they are pursuing. Interpretivism is no less glorious than positivism (Willig, 2008).

The philosophy that ran through this study was scientific method, which gave the research the necessary means to interprets the unfolding of various events that may have led to the decline of the nation's war against terrorism and its implications on national security, as well as noting other changes that may have spurred its development within the period of study.

2.3 Secondary Data

The study employed the secondary source of data collection for the doctoral research presentation by making extensive use of books, journals, magazines and relevant publications as well as the internet sources. This study was however limited to terrorist activities from the period 2009 – 2021 as the threat is an ongoing phenomenon. This was because the period witnessed increased terrorist activities in the country. The sources for the study have come from a wide consultation of published materials including

newspapers, magazines and internet sources. Such literature consulted are textbooks, journals, government reports, newspapers, internet sources, among others. The libraries visited in the course of this research are Nigeria Defence Academy Library, Arewa House Library Kaduna, General Aliyu Mohammed Gusau Institute Library Kaduna, and National Defence College Library Abuja.

2.4 Methods of Data Presentation and Analysis

The qualitative method of analysis was based on descriptive presentation from journals, newspapers and textbooks, etc. The analysis that is used in the course of analyzing these data is content analysis and descriptive analysis. Content analysis which often use frequent count as a means to analyzing and procuring data, the study has envisage the use of words such as terrorism, counter-terrorism, national security, among others. One thing to consider is that, synonyms may be used for stylistic reasons throughout the analysis of data and thus may lead the researcher to underestimate the importance of a concept. In identifying these foreseeable challenges, the researcher will systematically analyse the data presented in this research which would be articulated.

The research, in employing descriptive method of data analysis, made a comparative study of the impact of the National Counter-Terrorist Strategy (NACTEST) on the war against terrorism in the Nigeria's northeast. It also drew a historical materialism of the political economy of the war process relating to the slow pace of achieving results in the past to present gains achieved. In achieving this the data was arranged by the time this group began its operations and government response; actual chronology of events that led to the decline and successive government reactions; most prevalent theme to the least prevalent themes; moving from a broad context of an event to a lesser context; or, describing the reactions of most scholarly works on their perspectives of the national counter-terrorism operations. The outcome is the production of a descriptive summary of selected book chapters, books, journals, unpublished thesis, documents, newspapers, reports, amongst others, in the most relevant manner.

2.5 Ethical Issues Considered in the Research

Ethical considerations are issues that affect the validity of the undertaken research. In the process of carrying out a research, certain ethical factors and considerations were acknowledged. Firstly, the research topic and the nature of the environment in which the research data was obtained necessitates ensuring the safety of the researcher as well as any other research party that was involved in one way or another with the research, through interview. To this end, the research study adhered to the principles of research ethic 'veracity, justice, beneficence, fidelity and respect, to guarantee the success and originality of the research.

3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

The three key variables used in this study are Terrorism, Counter Terrorism (CT) as the dependent variable and National Security as the independent variable. These variables are conceptualised and the relationship established.

3.1 The Concept of Terrorism

There are several views on a generally acceptable definition of the term "terrorism" and this may be responsible for unsuccessful collaborative efforts fighting against these armed groups' spreads all over the globe. According to Dershowitz (2002:3) in describing the issue compounding the global war on terror, "one man terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". In specific terms, Dershowitz sees terrorism as:

Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public; groups of persons or a particular person for political purposes are in any circumstances justifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them. (Dershowitz, 2002:3).

The UN General Assembly Resolution 49/60 defined terrorism as "criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic,

religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them" (UNSCR, 1994). This resolution which invariably led to the definition was made in 1994 but with the rapid growth of terrorist activities the definition became untenable. The terrorist activities increased drastically over the years as the UN Security Council was unable to accept the mentioned definition because of its irregularities.

The UN Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004) gave another definition of terrorism ten(10) years later, when it states that terrorism is any "criminal acts including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury or taking of hostages, with the purposes to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular purposes, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international to do or abstain from any act" (UNSCR, 2004). In similar term, Hoffman (2009) describes terrorism "as the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear for bringing about political change" (Hoffman, 2009:1). This definition of terrorism, as well as the UN General Assembly was unable to assert the fact that terrorist activities target both human and public infrastructures, in which it end result is destructive.

A workable definition of terrorism as it affects this study was the United States Federal Statutes, which defined terrorism as;

Violent acts dangerous to human life... appear to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by assassination and kidnapped (USFS, 2004).

The act of forcing government against its will could be seen as an act of terrorism. This simply means that the government activities or policy should or must not be influence by the civilian population or any group using force or blackmail. Government must be able to be free from all forms of intimidation or fear to carry out her everyday activities.

In a broad sense, Miller (2009) defines terrorism as a political or military strategy that consists of violent actions directed against civilians involving

such methods as assassination (targeted killings), indiscriminate killing, biological or nuclear weapons, in order to cause other groups to do what they otherwise might not have done” (Miller, 2009:39). In his definition, he underscores that terrorism as a strategy used by state or non-state actors to engender widespread fear in the targeted political or social groups to achieve a political goal.

In Chailand and Blin, (2007) work’s explanation of terrorism, they view terrorism “as tools or techniques, and these tools or techniques do find its ways in cultural and religious orientations... terrorism only last if it pursues cultural and religious means but for political aspiration, it is sustained” (Chailand and Blin, 2007:1-4). The study claim that “the importance of the cultural competence of terrorism is mostly found in religious inspiration and the means to achieving it is mainly spelt on the purpose of it recruitment” (Chailand and Blin, 2007:2). Ordinarily, terrorism would have been less heinous but with the message of terrorist leaders, the members now see it as a duty of honour, especially that which is direct to the Almighty God.

Chailand and Blin, 2007, emphasise that terrorism is virtually by definition opposed to the state apparatus such that where the state is essentially rational, the terrorist group will tend to appeal strongly to evolution. Where the state apparatus operates on the basis of “realist” policies and understanding of the balance of power, the terrorist movement will imbue its politics with a powerful moral tone (whose code varies depending on the ideology in play) and a weak-versus-strong strategy reliant for the most part of its psychological impact on the adversary. Aaron (1978) has a felicitous way of getting to the heart of the matter, “a violent action is deemed terrorist when its psychological effects are disproportionate to its purely physical results (Aaron, 1978:24).

These definitions showed a strong complacency in the war against terrorism and as it may be expected in the course of this discourse, the framework of counter-terrorist operation is viewed from different perspectives of scholars.

3.2 The Concept of Counter-Terrorism

Many scholars like Bala and Tar have expressed their views on the term Counter Terrorism

depending on how the author/scholars and organisations see it. The term generally describes actions taken by individual and government to neutralise various acts of Terrorism. The United States Department of Defence (USDoD) views Counter Terrorism as operations conducted to neutralise terrorists, their organisations and networks in order to render them incapable of using violence to instil fear and coerce government or societies to achieve their goals (USDoD, 2015). This view clearly identifies CT as military means of preventing terrorist from affecting governments or citizen’s security. This view mainly considers Kinetic measures in response to terrorist activities without consideration of other non-kinetic approaches such as diplomatic or economic. Therefore, the view is not robust enough and will not be adopted in this study.

Counterterrorist activities and operations are taken to neutralize terrorists, their organizations, and networks in order to render them incapable of using violence to instil fear and coerce governments or societies to achieve their goals (USSOC, 2014;5). The purpose of counterterrorism is to disrupt, isolate, and dismantle terrorist organizations and networks to render them incapable of striking the homeland, US facilities and personnel, or US interest abroad (USSOC, 2014;5).

Imobigbe (2001) posit that Counter Terrorism involves the various forms of response to pre-empt, prevent and eliminate terrorism. He further noted that Counter Terrorism includes the use of intelligence, Counter-Intelligence as well as military and paramilitary forces to deal with all forms of terrorist threats. This view exposes the concept to include the use of intelligence and counter intelligence to address terrorism. This view does not consider preventive measure, the need to address factors like fundamentalist ideology which motivate terrorists. Therefore, Imobigbe’s view is not sufficiently encompassing and would not be considered.

Wilcox (1996) view Counter Terrorism as the policies and methods used to deter and defeat terrorism, which involve the use of information gathering, law enforcement, diplomacy, military force and protective security. He further stated that

effective Counter-terrorism also attempts to discover and remove the causes that motivate terrorists. In the opinion of Wilcox, Counter Terrorism encompasses policies and measures that can achieve, determine and also defeat terrorism. This view covers offensive measures such as military approach and defensive measures as protective security and other non-kinetic approaches like diplomacy and attempts to remove factors that motivate terrorism. This view by Wilcox which is also reinforced by NACTEST is adopted as it captures the essential attributes required for this study.

3.3 National Security

The concept of National Security is a highly contested concept and has no universal definition. There are several definitions by various scholars, thus the concept has been construed in many different ways. (Bashir & Tar: 2011 P.24). According to Zabadi (2001) national security is “about national interest of which physical survival of the country is just an aspect”. He posits that national security is about the good life, basic values that keep the Community together, about advancement in the quantity and quality of life available to the individual. He observed that these ought to be provided and developed in order to enhance national security. Zabadi’s assertion of national security is about the ability of nations to improve the well-being of their citizens. Zabadi’s view sees national security from the idea of ensuring that the basic requirement for the wellbeing of the people is provided. It did not emphasis on the aspect of human security.

The former Vice President of Nigeria Prof Yemi Osinbajo sees National Security as the protection of the State and its citizen from threats or vulnerabilities (Osibanjo, 2018). Osibanjo noted that, National security also means effective mobilisation of the state security architecture towards the realisation of security needs (Osibanjo, 2018). This concept broadly focuses on what the National security architecture seeks to achieve; however, it does not capture all the components as they relate to specific actions of the State to achieve National Security (Eyoma, 2019: P12). Furthermore, the definition does not cover the

protection of key infrastructure and is thus considered unsuitable for the study.

The National Defence College of India (2010) opined that national security is “an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of national resources as well as military might”. This view embraces both military and non-military dimensions of national security. It also identified its attributes to include political resources, human resources, economic structures, industrial and military might. This view of the National Defence College of India is all encompassing and is apt for this study.

3.4 Gaps in the Literature

The literature explored in the study are received from three broad concepts; terrorism, counter-terrorism and national security; while the relationship of these concepts were analysed. The study further gave the perspectives of the researcher on the actualities and realities at the theatre of war as it relates to the war against these terrorist groups. Thus, the opinions and postulations of these eminent scholars (Dershowitz, 2002; Miller, 2009; Chailand and Blin, 2007; Bala and Tar. 2019) on terrorism, counter-terrorism and national security show that they are in conformity with the *modus operandi* of these groups but differ in the responsibility of uprooting these groups. Some of these scholars blamed the Nigerian Armed Forces for failing to effectively combat these groups, while others blamed government finances or its inability to purchase the required weapons for this war. However, the issue of counter-terrorism as a political tool that requires the entire instruments of state to combat these groups were scarcely discussed in details, herein the gaps of the literature. The study in a departure from these discourses will examine the counter-terrorism strategy not just as a military operations but a political process in which the entire nation must be involved. It is important to note at this moment that Nigeria security challenges clearly defined a war situation, that is, Nigeria is a country at war and by virtue of the Marshall Doctrine “war should not be left at the hands of Generals and Political Leaders” the entire citizens must be involved. The study intends to fill these

gaps by assessing the involvement of the various agencies of government, Non-Government Organisations, Tiers of Government, Arms of Government, Nigerian armed forces, paramilitary among others in the counter-terrorism operations.

3.5 Theoretical Framework

In this work, social contract and deterrent theories are considered appropriate in exposing the root causes and dimensions of the Boko Haram insurgency in the Northeastern part of the country, extending towards other geopolitical zones of the country.

3.5.1 Social Contract Theory

The theory came from the theoretical explanation of state and how it evolved, describing its responsibility to the people, which had willingly given up its sovereignty to what Thomas Hobbes, referred to as *Leviathan*. According to Shaapera (2000), a liberal theorist, that the State is a political organization of a human society made up of organized characteristics of present-day institutions like the legislature, executive and the judiciary, with important roles (Shaapera, 2017:13). The State according to Machiavelli “the Power which has authority over men”, and Marx Weber captures the state as “that authority which give order to all but receives known” (Mahajan, 2000:133). Thus, it is within the power of the State to provide the basic structures, such as the security apparatus through which the people and resources in a given society are organized; policy and priorities are established.

Social contract theory, according to Shaapera (2000), presents the state a product of collective agreement of men, in the fabrics of a definite purpose to serve specific social needs (Shaapera, 2017:16). The proponents of the social contract theory are Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), John Locke (1632-1704), and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), which theses are on the theory of the Origin of the State. In Hobbes theory of State, he considers self-interest to be the central reason in man as he saw man to be basically selfish, pursuing his personal interests at the detriment of others (Leads, 1981:71). The life in the state of nature was one of insecurity and anarchy; without strong compelling forces centralised in the state, in which the ambitions of men would not be controlled.

In the thought of Rousseau “... the King and Government were only the agents of the sovereign people. Government was created by a contract among the people and derived its powers from them. Government existed for the benefit of the people, who had the right to change it when it proved no longer satisfactory” (Leads, 1981:73-4). He succinctly advocated obedience for an absolute ruler that man would strive to breakout from the unbearable state under which he existed in the state of nature. The people under the circumstances of the state of nature are mostly conscious of the fact that a departure from such state means a no going back to an uncivilized and unsecured future where lives are taken without following due process of law.

3.5.2 Deterrent Theory

The theory of deterrence is a punishment mechanism for crimes or insurgent groups deters people from committing crime and reduced the probability and/or level of offending in society. Proponents (Cesare Beccaria, 1738-1794 and Jeremy Bentham, 1748-1832) of deterrence theory believe that people chose to obey or violate the law after calculating the gains and consequences of their actions. Overall, however, it is difficult to prove the effectiveness of deterrence since only those offenders not deterred come to the notice of law enforcement. Thus, we may never know why others do not offend. In the case of terrorism, it is quite difficult to conclude the actions of terrorist groups using vulnerable citizens as a means of sending messages to government institutions of their agitations of social exclusion as the case may be.

Deterrence theory is designed to prevent crime in the general population. Thus, the states punishment of offenders serves as an example for others in the general population who have not yet participated in criminal events (Onwudiwe, et’al., 2015:233). It is meant to make them aware of the horrors of official sanctions in order to put them off committing crimes. Examples include the United States reprisal attacks meted on the al Qaeda base in Sudan and Afghanistan in 1998 after the attacks of the United States Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania (Egendorf, 2000:167). The measurement of the reprisal is as more and devastating effects of the United States counter-terrorist retaliation almost crippled the

organization that al Qaeda could not carry out any attacks until 2001 when the Twin Tower was brought down by Osama bin Laden (Tonegger, 2011).

3.5.3 Assumption of the Theories

Liberal views of the state recognised the state as a geographically delimited segment of human society united by common obedience to a single ruler. The term may refer either to society as a whole or, more specifically, to the sovereign that controls it (Sills, 1968:150). According to Jean Bodin "...there ought to be in every state, a single recognised lawmaker, or sovereign, whose decisions was recognised as having final authority" (Sills 1968:150). As against the authority no vested interest and no sort of jurisdiction, secular or spiritual, could rightfully prevail (Tedheke, 2007). This view of the state was squarely in line with Western tradition of respect for the rule of law. It did not border about the historical specificity, the socio-economic and class character of law/the state.

A key assumption underlying the theory of deterrence is that it makes insurgent groups to weigh up its pros and cons of certain course of action and make rational choices for fear of a harsher punishment from the constituted authority. For instance, the use of force by the Nigerian armed forces against insurgent groups is by no means the dictate of institutional behaviour to excessively dispossessed groups of its right to peaceful protest or assembly but deter groups from organizing themselves against the state. Thus, force is necessary once it is used for the overriding interest of the society, such that if we must have a durable peace we must have a clear understanding of the role, which the armed forces play in the society (Earle, 1967). For it is not force in itself, which is wrong but the purpose to which force is sometimes used.

3.5.4 Relevance of the Theories

The social contract theory presupposes that the primary responsibility of the state to its citizens is the protection of lives and properties. In order to keep society within the chains of 'order' and to forestall the people from devouring themselves in futile struggles (Engels 1983:166), the state was formed to organise these disparate groups or

individuals with variant interests under the protection of the authority of the State. This theory gives a clear analysis about the state's roles in ensuring the safety of lives and properties, and protecting the citizens from groups whose goal is attacking the civilian populations. While the deterrence theory on the other hand posits that force does the largest part of keeping society from disparate groups, especially groups seeking control of its spaces or self-preservation and do more of the damages to public and private properties (Tilly, 1978).

3.5.5 Limitation of the Theories

In the Marxian context the changes of class power is mostly revealed in the state and the state as a medium of historical demonstration of this class power. Hence the theory failed to explain how elitists' struggle is believed to be a contributing factor of insecurity in the state. The social contract theory did not give profound expression of the material relation that exist between the various groups in the society, leaving the real issues of state's sovereign over its internal affairs. The social contract theory is limited to administrative control of state, therefore, treats material historical expression with disdain. While the deterrence theory proposed limited means of tackling criminalities particularly on individual level, it left a general societal problem with little solutions to insecurity. For instance, specific deterrence is designed by the nature of the prescribed sanctions-to deter only the individual offender from committing a crime in the future. However, the continuous existence of every nation is its ability to respond to situation of conflict particularly putting such crises using every possible force necessary so as to prevent its escalation.

3.5.6 Justification of the Theories

The social contract theory is important to explaining the failure of the counter-terrorist approach, particularly the use of conventional strategy by the Nigerian armed forces has yielded little result, hence it becomes important for the state to revisit the strategy and introduce a more robust strategy to keep the Nigerian state safe from these groups. For instance, John Locke posited that in a situation where the Police and Courts failed to take care of things, the people have the right to take the law into

their own hands. The Nigerian state has not shown to be a public force; nor is it objective in using its monopoly of coercion to police and guide the society neither impartially or manage the public institutions and resources to the interest of the public. Consequently, some of the people who reject western education; later suffering desertification resulting from the drying up of the Lake Chad Basin, and majority of them displaced from their farmland due to the desertification were easily lured to take up arms against the government. The Boko Haram sect in this case have been indoctrinated to believe that the government do not care about them and it is only through the use of violence that they could restore all that they have lost.

4.0 RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Relationship between Counter-Terrorism and National Security

Counter terrorism includes both deterrence and defeat of terrorism as well as the removal of factors that motivate terrorists. This can be achieved through protective security, law enforcement and the use of diplomacy and military forces. Furthermore, National security entails the enhancement of a country's economic growth, the people's welfare and wellbeing. It entails all measure of counter terrorism aimed at freedom of movement for citizens to pursue their legitimate business without hindrances. Counter Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency (CT-COIN) Bala and Tar (2019) noted are integrated set of political, economic, socio and security measures intended to prevent and end the recurrence of insurgency and acts of terrorism, create and maintain stable political, economic and social structures, resolve the underlying causes of terrorism and insurgency in order to establish and sustain the conditions necessary for lasting stability (2019: P26). These measures are aimed at achieving national security.

Furthermore, the issue of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration is another important component in understanding relationship between the variables. (Bala and Tar. 2019: P26). The authors emphasised the need to have effective control of the weapon used by terrorist stressing that it would enhance the territorial integrity of the country and also enhanced National Security. It is important for any responsible government of any

country to take necessary reactionary steps by countering terrorism and insurgency to achieve National Security if not the territorial integrity and her responsibility to its citizens to protect lives and properties would be compromised. To this extent, CT-COIN and National Security are connected significantly.

4.2 An Assessment of the Counter Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency Operations in the North East of Nigeria from 2009 - 2021

The CT-COIN Operations in the North East states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa has been against the Boko Haram Sect and ISWAP. The activities of this terrorist has led to the death of several persons and wild scale destruction of properties thereby threatening the cooperate existence of the country. Since her independence in 1960, the country has witnessed attacks by non-state political entities (Usman & Tar, 2019: P4). The advent of democracy in 1999 has further brought several security challenges like terrorism, banditry, religious extremism and cultism which were hitherto not common (Eb haleme 2012:12).

The Nigeria Government underestimated the threats despite the killing, burning of police stations and their dastardly act resulting to the overrunning of many military units and deployment in most of the Local Government Areas of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa States during the period of this study. This development and a new dimension to the insurgency and terrorism posed by the sect became a huge task on the Nigerian security agencies to which the Nigerian Army remains a spearhead. (Bala & Tar, 2019:5). As noted by Bala and Tar, the complex and multi-dimensional tasks of combating the insurgency undoubtedly rests primarily in the military particularly the Army in spite of participation of other services. Nigeria is still grappling with the BH insurgency which has so far claimed thousands of lives, confiscated and destroyed properties worth billions and thus, constituting a huge threat to Nigeria's national security. CT-COIN operations are essentially police operation and even when the military is called in to assist in aid of civils authorities, the police ought to be the lead agency. However, the

Nigeria Police Force was completely overwhelmed. Unlike in other climes and international best practice, the Nigerian Military took responsibility of the CT-COIN operations during the period under review. This exposed the inadequacies of the Nigerian Military fighting unconventional warfare with conventional tactics and obsolete equipment. The Nigerian military were not left out of the blame game by scholars and both international and local media commentators as incompetent, ill equipped, corrupt, misapplication of fund and applying wrong tactics and strategy. Usman and Tar noted that perhaps, issues of deployment of obsolete equipment (Oyeniyi, 210: and Bappah, 2016), application of conventional strategy to combat asymmetrical threats (Jerome, 2015), massive orientation and adoption of war of attrition at the expanse of counterrevolutionary warfare, misappropriation of military spending (Ogunnubi, 2017 et.al) and the concern on military involvement in the counter terrorism and counterinsurgency (CT-COIN) operations.

Though the challenges to the successful participation of the Nigerian Military in the various operations since 2009 – 2021 are hinged on the challenges numerated above, the Nigerian people did not appreciate the fact that the country was at war and needed their support, the absence of political will on the part of the ruling class did not help either. The fact remains that in the conduct of CT COIN operations like any other operations, the military aspect was just a line in the entire operations to achieve success. The military may apply either the enemy-centric, population-centric and authoritarian approaches in the fight. The improvement in the equipment of the Nigerian military provided more confidence to the military personnel and changed the tide in their favour.

Be that as it may, it is important to state that the CT-COIN led by the Nigerian military was characterised by some shortfall especially in its

5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion.

Counter terrorism and the question of National Security has dominated the Nigeria's security landscape thereby putting the country in bad light in

tactics and strategy employed. CT-COIN operation is essentially intelligence driven operation. Intelligence which was the key driver of the operations was lacking and when available, it was poor and, in some cases, not utilised. The operation was however driven by manpower deployment as against the use of modern technologies like drones in the fight against the insurgents and terrorist. Furthermore, the piecemeal deployment of the military units did not help leading to the dislodgement of some units thereby affecting the morale of troops in the fight against terrorism. This necessitated the adoption of the super camp concept in Op LAFIYA DOLE that was largely criticised by Nigerian people as a defensive posture against a ragtag insurgent. This concept of super camp became necessary as most of the formations were faced with equipment challenges. The situation with the Nigerian Air Force was not entirely different, as they faced similar challenges like the Nigerian Army.

The procurement of military hardware was also a serious issue. Military hardwares were not purchased off the shelf and the request was faced with conditions from the advanced countries. For instance, the Super Tucano aircraft that was purchased and ordered by the Nigerian Military took several years to arrive and with some conditions given for its deployment. Additionally, the military until recently were at most period of the operations reactionary and proactive in some case with the arrival of modern arms and ammunitions. This with the increased synergy among the security agencies led to the surrender of a large number of insurgents including women and children to the Nigeria military as at date.

the committee of Nations. The Nigeria Government with the military as the arrowhead adopted various counter terrorism strategy to curtail the situation. These measures meant applying the wrong strategy as the conventional strategy was adopted for asymmetric warfare with limited successes coupled with the obsolete equipment used by the military

during the period 2009 – 2021. Additionally, the name of the operation was changed severally with limited success until recently when the terrorists were relatively degraded and large number of them surrendering to the Nigerian military. Furthermore, some areas that have been liberated especially in Borno and Yobe States are still unoccupied by the people. This creates the impression that the areas are still occupied by the terrorist.

It is important that ONSA ensure a proper coordination of all lines of operations for effective performance and the attainment of national security. The approach as described by the NACTEST should not be restricted to the Nigerian Armed Forces but the entire agencies of government,

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and the populace.

Besides, all these require the strong political will of the country's leadership at all levels. A strong political will is required to take decisive actions on preventing and addressing the issues of insecurity in the country.

5.2 Recommendations

The paper recommends as follows:

- i. ONSA should properly coordinate the various lines of operations to achieve national security.
- ii. Countering terrorism requires a strong political will of the country's leadership.

References

- Ashiegbu E.O, (July 2019), Counter Irregular Warfare and National Security: An appraisal of the Nigerian Air Force Operations in the North East Nigeria unpublished individual research project submitted to the National Defence College Nigeria.
- Bashir Bala and Usman A Tar (2019) Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Nigeria: Perspectives on Nigerian Army Operation Against Boko Haram.
- Bruno SF, (2004) Dealing with Terrorism – Stick or Carrot.
- Charles Goredema and Anneli Botha (2002), African commitments to combating organised crime and Terrorism, A Review of Eight NEPAD Countries.
- Davis, 'K and Moore. W '(1998), Sociology Theory, New York: MCRAW-Hill.
- Ebhaleme V, (2013), Terrorism and National Security Implication for Nigeria. Unpublished Individual MA research paper submitted to Kings College London.
- Eyoma S.A, (July 2019), Counter-Terrorism and National Security: An Assessment of Airport Security in Nigeria. Unpublished individual research project submitted to the National Defence College Nigeria.
- Famakinwa O, (July 2020), Counter Insurgency Operation and National Security Operation: LAFIYA DOLE IN PERSPECTIVE. Unpublished individual research project submitted to the National Defence College Nigeria.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria, National Counter-Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST) (Revised, 2016) Office of the National Security Adviser Counter-Terrorism Centre.
- Len Ski G, (1966) Power and Privilege: A Theory of social stratification, NeGraw-Hill, New York.
- National Defence College, (2010). National Security in Paleri, P (eq). National Security: Imperatives and challenges, Tata McGraw-Hill, New Delhi, P.521.
- Obot O.S, (July 2018), Counter Terrorism and National Security: An Appraisal of the Nigerian Army Engineers in Operation LAFIYA DOLE.
- Osinbajo. (2018), Economic Dimension of National Security: The Nigerian Experience. In Osinowo, Dauke & O. Alarape, Strategic Lenses Series 1 (P 51) Abuja: National Defence College Nigeria.
- Radcliff – Brown A, "On Social Structure" Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol.3, No.2 (1940).
- USDOD (2016) Department of Defence

- Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms. Joint Publication 1-02. Retrieved October 30, 2018, from https://fas.org/irp/dodddi/dod/jpl_02.pdf.
- Wilcox, P., (1996). "Testimony: Combating International Terrorism" Congressional Hearing, Intelligence and Security at House of Representatives, Permanent Select Committee Washington DC.