

International Terrorism and Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Emerging Paradigms

¹Franc Ter Abagen, PhD and ²Selumun Tyona

¹Department of Political Science, Benue State University, Makurdi, Nigeria

²Department of Organizing, Benue State Sports Council, Makurdi, Nigeria

Email: terabagen@gmail.com selumuntyona@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper interrogates international terrorism and Nigeria's foreign policy: the emerging paradigms. It took a historical journey into the evolution of international terrorism. The power approach was used as an explanatory model. It is one of the approaches to the study of foreign policy objectives. It sees separatist or ethnic consideration and religious extremism as some of the causes of terrorism. For conveniences, the paper reveals only the Boko Haram terrorist acts in Nigeria. Peace and security, and economic diplomacy are very fundamental objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy. It observes that these foreign policy objectives were not well pursued by the previous governments, especially that of President Goodluck Jonathan between 2010-2015 when the terrorist activities perpetrated by the Boko Haram sects became rampant, especially in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria and Nigeria was seen as a terrorist nation by other nations of the world. This gradually weakened Nigeria foreign relations. But with the emergence of the current President Buhari led government, there has been an emerging paradigm on international terrorism and Nigeria's foreign policy. His administration has vigorously pursued the peace and security, and economic diplomacy objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy to a much more better level than ever before. It calls on Nigeria to seek international cooperation with all nations to aid her in the fight against Boko Haram terrorists.

Keywords: Terrorism, Foreign Policy, International, Military, Sect.

Introduction

International terrorism is a very important subject matter and one that must form a major focus of Nigeria's foreign policy operations now and in the foreseeable future. The world of the 21st century, in which we are today, is more precarious, unpredictable and more dangerous than any time in the history of mankind. There is a spectre haunting the world, the spectre of terrorism. The times have changed throughout the whole world as a result of the activities of people who willingly destroy, maim and kill in order to score political or social points. Indeed, terrorism has become such a world-wide phenomenon that, a respected and highly placed Vatican official, Cardinal Renato Martino, described terrorism as the 4th world war, the 3rd world war being the Cold War, which ended with the demise of the former Soviet Union. Cardinal Martino further said: "we have entered the fourth world war... I believe we are in the midst of another world war... and it involves absolutely everyone because we don't know what will happen when we leave a hotel, when we get on a bus, when we go into a coffee bar, war itself is sitting down right next to each and every one of us" (Okeke, 2005, pp. 91-92).

Thus, that is how pervasive terrorism has become and it affects the world, with no nation being immune from acts of terrorism. Terrorism also challenges the assumption that any nation could guarantee absolute security to its citizens without collaboration with the larger international community. The bombing of vacationing youth in Bali in Indonesia, the bombing of train stations in Madrid, Spain and the hostage taking, which led to death of over 300 people among them several school children, in Baslam, Russia are clear demonstration of this fact. However, more than any other terrorist incident before it, either in terms of casualty or weapons used, the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United State of America (USA) will remain a turning point in the history of terrorism. For, it was after the attacks that the issue of terrorism acquired greater attention and created necessary awareness among the populace and governments all over the world (Okeke, 2005). Equally some terrorist attacks were carried out in some parts on the globe. On Saturday, January 27, 2018 at least 103 people were killed, 235 wounded in Afghanistan's suicide bombing, Afghan Taliban claimed responsibility for the suicide attack in Kabul. Eight (8) were killed in a clashes between Iran's security forces and Islamic State (ISIL) militants. Twenty-three (23) people were wounded in a blast at a Police station in Ecuadorian border town, San Lorenzo. Again, gunmen killed at least 14 Malian soldiers in attack on Army camp (CGTN, 2018).

Before going further, it will be proper for us to have a brief history of international terrorism. According to Okeke (2005), various terrorist activities were carried out by the Irish Republic Army (IRA), ETA, acronym for Euskadi Ta Askatasunna, that is Basque Fatherland and Liberty, as well as HAMAS and various Palestinian groups, such as the popular P9.4 Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The IRA was first established in 1790s while ETA was formed in 1958. HAMAS was established in 1978 by late Sheikh Ahmed Yassin while the PFLP and Al Fatah, which came off the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), were known to carry out widespread terrorist attacks in the 1960s and 1970s not confined only to the Middle East, but in Europe which was perceived along with the USA, as supporting the State of Israel. The Latter itself was known to have carried out widespread acts of terrorism from the 1940s in order to ensure the creation of the State and its survival thereafter. Israel continues to practice state terrorism till today, allegedly to ensure its survival and safety. The IRA, ETA, the PFLP and Al Fatah were fighting for self-determination but employed terrorism in the struggle.

However, there were groups which carried out serious acts of terrorism without clear objectives of the groups referred to above. The best illustration of this type of terrorist organization is the Baader-Meinhof gang whose activities plagued Germany from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s. As far as one could determine, this group was made up of misguided young and affluent Germans who had no genuine left-wing policies other than the disruption of capitalism. The activities of the leftist groups in Italy one of which kidnapped and killed the Italian Prime Minister, Aldo Moro, and those of some Japanese groups, which used sarin, a lethal nerve gas, to disrupt public transportation in Tokyo are also well known. Indeed, acts of terrorism by these leftist groups and the self-determination groups have been on the increase since the 1970s. For example, in 1971, it was recorded that Two hundred and seventy-nine (279) separate terrorists acts, including bombings, murders, hostage-taking and kidnapping took place. By 1980, the figure had grown to one thousand seven hundred and nine (1,709). On the whole between 1981 and 2000, a total of Nine Thousand, One Hundred and Seventy Nine (9, 179) international terrorist attacks were recorded with the average of 459 attacks per year. There now seems to be an upsurge in terrorist attacks again as current estimates by intelligence organizations indicate that, in recent years,

terrorist attack of all kinds worldwide have averaged almost 60 a month, that is, a total of 720 in a year (Okeke, 2005).

In Nigeria, the Boko Haram is well known for carrying out terrorist acts. And over the years the Boko Haram sects have been changing their mode of operations. It is pertinent to recall that Tafawa Balewa, Nigeria's first Prime Minister acknowledged that peace and security are very vital to Nigeria's foreign policy. For academic purposes, the paper is divided into six sections, the introduction which is currently running, clarification of concepts, theoretical framework, causes of terrorism, international terrorism and Nigeria's foreign policy: the emerging paradigms as well as draws a conclusion and recommends the way forward.

Clarification of Concepts

Terrorism

Terrorism is the systematic use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective. Terrorism has been practiced by political organizations with both rightist and leftist objectives, by nationalistic and religious groups, by revolutionaries, and even by state institutions such as armies, intelligence services, and police (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2019). Again, terrorism is, in the broadest sense, the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence as a means to create terror among masses of people; or fear to achieve a religious or political aim. It is used in this regard primarily to refer to violence during peacetime or in war against non-combatants [mostly civilians and neutral military personnel] (Wikipedia, 2019a). From the above explanations, therefore, terrorism can be defined as the unlawful use of violence, especially, against civilians in pursuit of religious or political, social or ideological, ethnic or racial and philosophical objectives or aims.

International Terrorism

There is no universal agreement on the definition of terrorism. Various legal systems and governments have been reluctant to formulate an agreed-upon and legally binding definition. Difficulties arise from the fact that the term has become politically and emotionally charged (Schmid, 2011; Hoffan, 1998 cited in Wikipedia, 2019b). In the United States, the term international terrorism means activities that involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State, or that would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States or of any State (Wikipedia, 2019b).

Equally, the European Union sees as terrorism acts those that aim at: seriously intimidating a population; unduly compelling a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization. These objectives can be achieved through various illegal activities. They range from attacks on a person's life to cutting vital services to society, and respective threats; they include hijackings, kidnappings and other forms of criminal activity. According to the European Union definition, terrorism is not a particular ideology or movement, but rather a method or tactic for achieving various goals (Council Framework Decision of June 13, 2002 on Combating Terrorism, Official Journal of the

European Communities, 2002; EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report, 2007) cited in (Mannik, n.d). From the foregoing assertions, therefore, international terrorism can be defined as the use of any violent method or tactic by a sub national group or organization to cause harm to the lives and property of a given society or nation-state, international organization in order to achieve a purpose. For example, the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York, United States of America.

Nigeria Foreign Policy Perspective

Abagen and Tyona (2019) conceptualize foreign policy as the promotion and protection of a country's national interest in the international arena. Also, Chapter 2, Section 19 of the 1999 Constitution, which is the fundamental objectives and directive principles as provided in Section 19 (a-e) encapsulates the Nigeria's foreign policy objectives to include; (a) promotion and protection of the national interest; (b) promotion of African integration and support for African unity; (c) promotion of international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and eliminations of discrimination in all its manifestation; (d) respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication; and (e) promotion of a just world economic order (1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria).

Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework are ideologies that describe, analyze and explain why things happen or exist in the society. Attempting to explain socio-political issues that affects the society, especially in academic research without a theoretical support can be quite frustrating (Abagen and Tyona, 2018). Therefore, this study is anchored on power approach.

The power approach has been stated, elaborated upon and refined considerably by Hans Morgenthau, who perceives power itself as "man's control over the minds and actions of others". For Joseph Frankel (cited in Mbachu, 2011), it is the ability to get one's wishes carried out despite opposition, the ability to influence the actions of others in accordance to the study of foreign policy, this approach of analysis emphasis:

- (i) actor capacities to alter or influence the policies, priorities and choices of other actors;
- (ii) actor capacity to wage war or withstand external attack
- (iii) actor capacity to realize its interest (Mbachu, 2011, pp. 13-14).

Power is, therefore, ever present in the analysis of foreign policy. It may/or may not be exercised or demonstrated, but the fact of its existence and its possession, or its non-existence and its deficiency, influences attitudes, roles and policies remains. Thus, the role of power as a framework of analysis rages from the mere existence of deficiency of physical power, through diplomatic and economic pressures, to the unlimited use of violence. The power approach involves discussions of the general world and regional environments; the issues in conflict among actors; the perception of and will of actors, and the rational character and mood of actors. It also involves detailed examination, of elements of actor power positions such as their location, and geography, national orientation and outlook, industrial and economic capacity, their system of politics and government and, of course, their physical power position (Mbachu, 2011). From the above

assertion, therefore, a typical example of this power situation is the current Nigerian show of military force by the President Muhammadu Buhari led government against the Boko Haram sects in the North-East Part of the country.

Causes of Terrorism

Factors that create, nurture terrorism and motivates terrorist groups or organizations are varied. Okeke (2005, pp 99-101) categorized motivations of terrorist groups as follows:

Religious Extremism

Although other faiths have their own fundamentalists and extremists, international terrorism is perceived to be closely linked to Islamic fundamentalism. The political desire by fundamentalist groups in the Islamic world to overthrow their secular governments and replace them with theocratic ones is responsible for the violence in countries such as Algeria, Egypt, Indonesia, and Philippines. A similar group, but with Christian background, is the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda which uses kidnapping and violence as a means of replacing the Ugandan government with one that is based on the Ten Commandments.

Perceived Oppression

Groups which use oppression as excuse for terrorism believe they are not getting a fair share of the resources available to the state, or consider themselves as being inadequately represented in the central government. Some many also claim inability to practice one's faith or express one's view as excuses. Typical examples of this phenomenon can be found in the Israeli/Palestinian crisis over land use, agitation for resource control in Niger-Delta or the clamour for freedom of religion in China.

Nationalist, Separatist or Ethnic Considerations

These groups have clearly defined political objectives, which include self-determination and independence for their territory. Examples include, ETA in Spain, IRA of Britain and the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka.

State-Sponsored

In this category are the activities of state-run terrorist operations, which in the past included, terrorists act allegedly perpetrated by Libya and Iraq. They also include activities carried out at the behest of some governments by terrorist organizations for example, the US, Iran and Syria. Such activities have been directed against dissidents at home and abroad and foreign nations whose political opposition has caused substantial irritation to a dictatorial regime.

Ideological

These could be left or right wing or anarchist. It is recalled that during the Cold War era, a number of terrorist groups emerged, which were motivated by ideological beliefs to pursue unlawful aims and objectives. Such groups include, the Baader-Meinhof in Germany.

Poverty and Ignorance

These factors also precipitate terrorism as the perpetrators easily capitalize on the deprived economic conditions of the masses to manipulate and instigate them against the state. Monetary incentives and religious indoctrination are used by terrorist as veritable tools where poverty and ignorance have taken root.

Absence of Central Authority

The total breakdown of law and order in failed states such as Somalia and Sierra Leone and Liberia at some point in time, give rise to the emergence of warlords which engage in taking hostages, extortion and attacks on civilian targets.

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There are various terrorist groups in West Africa. For the purpose of this paper, we shall restrict our discourse on the activities of the Boko Haram sects. Boko Haram operates mostly in the Northern part of Nigeria, Northern Cameroon, Niger, Chad and Northern Tip of Central African Republic (Falowo, Ogunniyi, and AKpu, 2018). It is difficult to say precisely the day Boko Haram was born. However, there is a consensus among analyst and scholars that Boko Haram was founded in 2002 in Maiduguri by one Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf as its leader. In the year 2004, the group headed by Yusuf moved to Kanamma, Yobe State where it set up a base called "Afghanistan" where they use to attack near by Police outposts killing Police officers (Kertyo, 2015).

In July, 2009 the Boko Haram sect clashed with security agencies in Bauchi state after an all-night attack on Dutsen-Tanshi Police station in which 31 members, 2 policemen and one soldier died, more than 3,600 people have officially been declared dead by government security agencies. An analyst on Aljazeera even argued that, the 3,600 people are the one that officially have been declared dead by government security agencies. To him, considering the way and manner the group operates, more than 6000 lives have been lost to the heinous activities of Boko Haram. Between January and February, 2014 more than 700 people died during the sects attack in Gwazo, Kontuga, Kawuri areas and Buri Yadi area of Borno and Yobe States respectively, a development that attracted wide spread criticism from the international community especially the killings of 59 students of the Federal Government College Buri Yadi and of course which led to the closure of Nigeria's border with the Republic of Cameroon (Kertyo, 2015).

Equally, in April, 2014 the Boko Haram Sect abducted more than 200 school girls in Chibok, Borno State. On the same day at least 88 people were killed in a bomb attack in Abuja. Again, the Boko Haram sect on evening of June 1, 2014 set of a bomb at a football field in Mubi, Adamawa State, killing at least 40 people in the attack, while 19 others were injured (Wikipedia, 2014).

In another development, the attempted bombing of a USA bound Delta Airliner in 2011 by Abdul Mutalab, a Nigerian made the Homeland Security to specially target Nigerians entering the US as potential bomb carriers and were subjected to embarrassing screening methods by airport security officials upon their entry into the country. This scenario had a trickledown effect as most countries also applied same derogatory searching methods on any person carrying green passport.

It was observed that the Abdul Mutalab's incidence was too much a tag to be placed on Nigerians traveling abroad, but the incidence lends credence to the fears that Nigeria is a fertile ground for Al-Qaeda recruitment (Agan, 2018).

Equally, the United Nations (UN) building suicide bomb blast in August, 2011 in Abuja, the declaration of state of emergency by the then President Goodluck Jonathan in May, 2013, the December, 2013 attempted bombing of Maiduguri International Airport in Borno State, the relocation of big time foreign investors from the far North to other parts of Nigeria or completely leaving the shores of Nigeria implies a breakdown of law and order in some States in the far North among other developments made other nations around the globe to tag Nigeria as a terrorist State. Records have it that during the Boko Haram heinous activities in Borno State and, the Nigerian military were deployed to the State to curtail the crisis, but were unable to, due to lack of military equipment and logistics. Then, there was a controversy between Alhaji M. Shettima, the Borno State Governor and Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, then President of Nigeria, when the former questioned the ability of the Nigerian military to quell the Boko Haram insurgency.

Indeed, to the best of his abilities, Goodluck Jonathan renewed diplomatic and bilateral relationship with many countries. He also addressed international gathering to help Nigeria in fighting Boko Haram terrorist activities and corruption. He also urged Europe and Asian giants to invest in Nigeria's private sector, especially in key areas of energy, downstream and agriculture (Boma Lysa, Terfa and Tsegysu, 2015). Equally, President Jonathan stressed that, "therefore, there is urgent need for a holistic effort by the government, corporate bodies and individuals to stamp out evils of insecurity, crime and corruption so that the country is relatively safe for both Nigerians and foreigners" (Ajaebili, 2011) cited in (Boma Lysa, Terfa and Tsegysu, 2015).

In their contributions, Chukwuemeka, Bartholomew, and Ugwu (2012) wrote that:

Internationally, the pervasive corruption in Nigeria had tarnished the image of the country and has resulted in foreign nationals exercising extreme caution in entering into business transactions with Nigerians, thereby weakening the economic sector.

Therefore, it was reported that during the era of President Jonathan, Nigerian's government money running into millions of US dollars which was meant to purchase military equipment to fight the Boko Haram Sects terrorizing Nigeria was seized by the government of South Africa, and that the government of the United States of America refusing to sale military equipment to Nigeria proved that the Jonathan's Presidency failed in implementing Nigeria's foreign policy thrust.

It was also reported that, Col. Sambo Dasuki, the then National Security Adviser to former President Goodluck Jonathan diverted and shared the sum of 2.1 billion US dollars Arms Money meant to prosecute the war against insurgency. The table below shows the names of the beneficiaries of the Arms Money and the amount they got respectively.

Table 1. Beneficiaries of Dasuki Arms Deal

S/N	Name	Nomenclature	Amount
001	Dr. Peter Odili	Former Governor Rivers State	₦ 100 million
002	Attahiru Bafarawa	Former Governor Sokoto State	₦ 4.5 billion
003	Aliyu Shinkafi		₦ 100 million
004	Jim Nwobodo	Former Information Minister	₦ 500 million
005	Tony Anenih	Former BOT (PDP) Chairman	₦ 260 million
006	Ahmadu Ali	Former PDP Chairman	₦ 100 million
007	Bode George	Former PDP Deputy Chairman	₦ 100 million & \$30, 000.00
008	Olisa Metuh	Former PDP Publicity Secretary	₦ 400 million
009	Gen. Bello Sarkin Yaki		₦ 200 million
010	Dr. Raymond Dokpesi	Chairman DAAR Communication Plc	₦ 2.1 billion
011	Dr. Iyorchia Ayu	Former Nigeria's President of Senate	₦ 345 million
012	Dalhatu Investment Ltd		₦ 1.5 billion
013	Bello Haliru and Son	Former PDP Chairman	₦ 300 million
014	Bello Mutawalle		₦ 300 million
015	ACACIA Holding		₦ 600 million
016	Bashir Yuguda	Former Minister of State Finance	₦ 1.9 billion
017	Rashidi Ladoja	Former Governor Oyo State	₦ 100 million
018	Olu Falae	Former Secretary to the Federal Government of Nigeria	₦ 100 million
019	Tanko Yakasai	Former Presidential Adviser	₦ 63 million

Source: Daily Trust, January 17, 2016 culled from Niworu (2018)

Again, reports have it that even the huge sums of money earmarked for the purchase of military equipment by the Jonathan administration were mostly misappropriated or diverted by the various security units. In fact, it was reported that one of the Service Chiefs' in the administration purchased a military helicopter that was of low-standard or non-functional, despite the fact that, adequate funds were allocated for the purchase of a new and standard one. The above assertions show that the President Jonathan's administration failed in achieving peace and security as well as economic diplomacy which are among the fundamental objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy.

Similarly, as enshrined in the foreign policy objective of Nigeria, economic diplomacy is one of the pillars of transformation. Economic diplomacy is aimed at wooing investors from other countries to invest in Nigeria. The present security problem in the country has frustrated this goal, because instability and violence has led to balance of trade deficits, especially in Northern Nigeria. Terrorism has a large effect on economic and social activity of a country. Nigeria has been caught in the web as terrorist acts are now recurrent attribute which has affected its image abroad. Incidences of abduction and bombing in Nigeria have made the country lose its 6th position as a leading oil exporting country to Angola (Nwanko, 2012; Ojukwu, 2011 cited in Agan, 2018).

The economic, social and psychological costs of the Boko Haram insurgency cannot be quantified. Commercial activities in the Northeast have been reduced because of the unprecedented attacks by the sect. Banks, markets, and shops did not open regularly due to the fear of the coordinated attacks from Boko Haram. Human capital and investors drain is hampering economic development in the Northeast, this is due to the attacks on banks, markets, parks and government departments. The attacks on these commercial areas have led to the migration of people to other parts of the country. Even the Maiduguri Monday Market said to be the biggest market in the city

was reported to have been seriously affected as hundreds of shop owners, especially Southerners were said to have closed their business and left the troubled city. About half of the 10,000 shops and stalls in the market were said to have been abandoned by traders who have fled the city (Okereocha, 2012; Shiklam, 2012) cited in (Awojobi, 2014).

Furthermore, apart from the migration of people who have business in the Northeast to other parts of Nigeria, foreign nationals of Chad, Cameroon, and Niger were being repatriated to their home countries for what the government of Nigeria said they constituted the members of Boko Haram. Evidence has shown that not all the repatriated nationals of the above countries were members of Boko Haram. Definitely, those who have business in cities like Maiduguri, Damaturu and Yola will form part of those that are sent home which will actually affect the economic activities in these cities. Therefore, under this situation, the economy of the North-East will seriously be affected, if foreign citizens who contribute large quota to the development of the North-East vis a vis their economic activities are sent back to their countries of origin (Ovaga, n.d cited in Awojobi, 2014).

The never-ending attacks by Boko Haram in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa States have a severe impact on the economic lives of people living in these areas. A case in point is that the working duration of most commercial banks in the affected areas hit by Boko Haram bombing has been reduced from eight hours to three hours (Mohammed, 2012 cited in Awojobi, 2014). Therefore, the frequent attacks by the Boko Harm sects in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria increased the poverty rate in the affected States in particular and the Northern Region in general.

In addition, evidence also exist that there is a link between Boko Haram and Al-Shahab in the Arabian Peninsula and Somalia. In March, 2010, AL-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) confessed helping Nigerian extremist Boko Haram with training and weapons to confront the Nigerian State. The group was reputed to have said that “we are ready to train our people in men, arms and munitions to enable them defend our people in Nigeria. This was corroborated when about one hundred foreigners in custody in Nigeria were linked with Boko Haram activities in Nigeria. Most of these people were from Niger Republic, Chad, Mali and some Northern African countries (Kertyo, 2015).

Boko Haram now uses guerrilla tactics with resemblance to those used by Al-Qaeda as suicide bombing against government facilities, assassinations and violence against Christians and Muslims who do not agree with their brand of Islam has become rampant. Terrorist attacks in Nigeria have much impact on the foreign policies of countries that have been affected by the activities of terrorism in Nigeria and its people. Bilateral and multilateral relations of these countries with Nigeria have continue to wane amidst issue of terrorism (Okereke, 2010, cited in Agan, 2018).

It is imperative to note that, in contemporary Nigeria, there has been an emerging paradigm shift in respect to international terrorism and Nigeria’s foreign policy. In upholding Nigeria’s foreign policy of peace and security, the President Muhammadu Buhari led government has tackled the Boko Haram menace to the bareless minimal level in the North-Eastern Region of Nigeria than the previous administrations. President Buhari liberated the chibok girls held captive by the Boko Haram terrorist during President Jonathan’s era. Equally, President Buhari ordered the Nigerian Chief of Army Staff to relocate his Command to Borno State to effectively tackle the

Boko Haram menace. Borno State is the most targeted State in Nigeria by the Boko Haram terrorists.

Following the devastation from the Boko Haram insurgency in the North-East part of Nigeria and in order to rebuild and address the developmental challenges in the zone, the Nigerian Senate in October, 2016, passed the Bill for the establishment of the North-East Development Commission (NEDC) and President Muhammadu Buhari assented to the Bill in October, 2017. Umoru (2017) notes that, "the Act establishes the NEDC with the mandate to receive and manage funds allocated by the Federal Government and international donor agencies for the resettlement, rehabilitation, integration and reconstruction of roads, houses and business premises of victims of insurgency as well as tackling the menace of poverty and environmental challenges of the area".

The sum of N10 billion was earmarked for the take-off, of the NEDC, while N45 billion is the Commission's budgetary allocation for the year 2019 (Saharareporters, 2019). The NEDC is domiciled in Borno State, and on Tuesday, April 9, 2019 the Nigerian Senate confirmed the nominations of the Chairman, MD/CEO, Executive Directors and Board Members representing each Geo-Political zone in Nigeria. The NEDC Board was inaugurated on May 8, 2019 by President Muhammadu Buhari.

Conclusion and Recommendations.

This paper takes a look at international terrorism and Nigeria's foreign policy: the emerging paradigms. It observes that the issue of terrorism in Nigeria, especially in the North-Eastern part became alarming during President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan era. The latter's administration failed to pursue Nigeria's foreign policy objectives of peace and security, and economic diplomacy. This led to the destruction of thousands of lives and property by the Boko Haram sects. The terrorist activities deteriorated Nigeria's foreign relations. At home, economic, health care services and academic activities came to a standstill in States affected by the Boko Haram insurgency. These gave a bad impression on Nigeria's international image. Then, Nigeria was seen as a terrorist State.

The coming into being of President Muhammadu Buhari government on May 29, 2015 brought a changed revolution on issues of international terrorism and Nigeria's foreign policy. To promote the central tenets of Nigeria's foreign policy objective of peace and security, President Buhari took zero tolerance regarding terrorism. The Nigerian military forces were now well equipped with military equipment to crush the Boko Haram terrorist. There is now also cooperation among security and intelligence agencies in Nigeria. And in fact, the Buhari administration need to be applauded for taking effective measures to deal with the Boko Haram extremist terrorizing, especially the North-Eastern part of Nigeria.

Notwithstanding, the Nigerian State is still faced with some challenges of combating terrorism in the country and since it is evident that international terrorism is not a one nation fight, and cannot be successfully tackled without the cooperation of other nation-States, therefore, the paper recommends the Nigerian State to seek for international cooperation among all nations of the world and other public multilateral institutions or organizations like the UN , AU and ECOWAS to share information regarding the terrorists profiles, movements, plans and methods. If this is done, then it will greatly facilitate to neutralize the Boko Haram terrorists aims. Again

the paper recommends enhancing capacity building for security and intelligence operatives and agencies in Nigeria.

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