

## **EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC TERRORISM ON NIGERIA'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The present unprecedented escalating terrorist activities in Nigeria is very worrisome, coupled with the observed inability of the government to eradicate the unending catastrophic mayhem. Most scholars have laid more emphasis on the internal consequences of terrorist activities in Nigeria, such as the enormous destruction of lives and properties, as well as the untold hardship of internally displaced persons. However, since no nation is an island unto itself in our interdependent global community, this paper endeavoured to ascertain the effects of terrorist activities in Nigeria on the country's external relations with a view to proffering necessary panacea. To this end, the Conspiracy theory and Systems theory were employed. Qualitative research design, with the attendant secondary sources of data, as well as Content Analysis was also adopted. The paper ascertained dwindling Foreign Direct Investment, negative international image, falling international tourism attraction, increasing phobia of Nigerians in diaspora to return home for useful socio-economic cum political activities, as well as worsening financial incapacitation of foreign policy implementation as the major external adverse effects of the increasing devastating terrorist activities in Nigeria. It also proffered 'good governance as effective panacea or antidote to the emergence' and development of terrorism in Nigeria.

**Key Words:** Domestic terrorism, International Relations, Foreign Image, Foreign Direct Investment, Foreign Debt.

## Introduction

Terrorism, with its catastrophic consequences, is not novel and has continued to occupy global discuss with major attention being centered on the best ways to arrest their violent activities and make the world a peaceful and serene environment to mankind. Today, terrorist insurgencies are experienced in almost all parts of the world that even the developed countries of Europe and America 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 to limelight with the September, 2001 devastating attack in the United States of America's Pentagon and the World Trade Center. The 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, as the United States is seen as one of the most secured countries of the world. In Nigeria, the incidence of terrorism is not of a recent origin as it could arguably be traced to the advent of British colonialism whereby the imperialist (Britain) *ab initio* used terrorist *modus operandi* to intimidate, conquer, forcefully amalgamate and subjugate Nigerian hitherto self-governing and evolving pre-colonial societies.

Present day terrorism in Nigeria is often ascribed to the agitation and subsequent militancy of the people of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria via Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) over federal government's disproportionate sharing of revenues accruing from their 'God-given' oil resources, as well as the unabated annihilation-oriented environmental degradation they are suffering in the hands of the foreign oil Multi-National Corporations in collaboration with the Nigerian government. 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 terrorists. This according to him is a disturbing phenomenon in our body politic. However, Mclean (1996:492) rightly avers that terrorism is:

"A term with no agreed definition among governments or academic analysts, but almost invariably used in a pejorative sense, most frequently to describe the threatening actions perpetrated by politically motivated self-appointed sub-state group.

He further remarks that, "one person's terrorist is another persons freedom fighter" (Mclean, 1996:492), The controversy arising from the

conceptualization of Nigerian terrorism notwithstanding, the acts of terrorism amongst Nigerians came to limelight and caught greater international attention with the attempted bombing of a Detroit bound United States airline on 25<sup>th</sup> December 2009 by a Nigerian Al-Qaeda linked terrorist, Farouk Abdul Mutalab. This unfortunate incident accelerated Nigeria's listing among terrorist countries by the United States government.

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 Islamic sect, The *Boko Haram*". The group which believe that western education is evil has its major agenda as the Islamization of the northern part of the country. The extra-judicial killing of its leader (Mohammed Yusuf) in 2009 under police custody, acted as a catalyst in gingering *Boko Haram* members towards terrorist activities against the then administration of late President Musa Yar'dua. Till date, despite government's military-oriented counter-terrorism efforts, *Boko Haram* members are still ravaging the country (especially in the North-East states) with their suicide bombings, abductions (including Chibok and Dapchi girls), house burning and general destruction of lives and properties,

As if the nefarious activities of *Boko Haram* are not enough, there emerged the on-going horrendous terrorist-oriented activities of Fulani herdsmen (engaged in killings and burning of houses) in the states of Nigeria's Middle Belt (especially Benue, Taraba, among others) and parts of Southern Nigeria (as witnessed in Enugu's Nimbo massacre), Surprisingly, while the federal government (contrary to US, UK position) outlawed Nnamdi Kanu-led Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), who are engaged in non-violent self-determination agitations as a terrorist organization, the AK-47 carrying Fulani herdsmen are freely burning houses, destroying farmlands and killing indigenous land owners and Christians including reverend fathers (FIDES, May 6-12, 2018), devoid of being proscribed as terrorist group and checkmated by security agents. Since the internal effects of terrorist activities in Nigeria has been highly addressed by scholars, the central goal of this paper is therefore to x-ray and ascertain the adverse effects of these terror infernos in Nigeria on the country's external relations with a view to proffering necessary panacea.

## **THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE**

The subject matter of terrorism is very topical in contemporary global discourse and as such, scholars have advocated many theories from the traditional, behavioural and Marxist schools to explain the nature, effects and dynamics of terrorism. Though there is no generally accepted best theoretical framework

among political scientists and the likes, the study hereby, more appropriately adopted the conspiracy and Systems theories for detailed analysis.

The Conspiracy theory boldly explains events as being the result of an alleged plot by a covert group or organization, and that important political, social or economic events are the products of secret plots that are largely unknown to the general public. Adewale (2009) notes that 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. For Bakun (2003), Conspiracy theory is a belief which explains an event as a 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 theory claims to explain what institutional analysis cannot, as 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 source, the conspirators and their agents. Third, Conspiracy theory is often presented as a special secret knowledge unknown or unappreciated by others. For theorist, "the masses are brainwashed into accepting the actions undertaken by the conspirators, while the conspirators congratulate themselves on penetrating the people though by deceptions." (Finster, 1999:36)

Bakun (2003) in a bid to substantially make further explanations on the concept of Conspiracy theory listed three types of Conspiracy theory in an ascending order of breath and they include: Events Conspiracy theory which essentially have to do with limited, discrete events or set of events. Here, the conspiratorial forces are alleged to have focused their energies on a limited, well defined objective; Systemic Conspiracy theory 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 theory which is a case where multiple conspiracies are linked together hierarchically. In Super Conspiracy, Events and Systemic conspiracies are joined in complex ways so that conspiracies come to be rested together. At the summit of conspiratorial hierarchy is a distant and 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 terrorist-oriented activities of many Covert groups or organizations (Such a *Boko Haram*, Fulani herdsmen, Avengers, among others.) that had not only led to declining

economic fortunes of the country, but has also led to the loss of many innocent lives and properties with adverse national and international relations implications. For instance, at the early period of agitation by the people of the Niger Delta over a fair share of the resource in their area as well as environmental degradation, they started with a protest as a way of making their position known to government. At this period, the perpetrators were 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 were rather faceless. Their conduct not only brought down the oil producing quota and revenue of the country, but also created fear among foreign investors.

While the nation was still contending with the activities of the Niger Delta Militants who were later (via negotiation) tamed through 'Amnesty and disarmament programme' culminating in many of them being sent abroad on education scholarship, skill acquisitions, amongst other rehabilitative measures, the country was again visited by the terrorist activities of the dreaded *Boko Haram* sect. The government's military actions against the group notwithstanding, the group is still engaged in devastating bombings, abductions, general destruction of lives and properties especially in the North East part of the country. Their activities amount to terrorism and conspiracy against the government of the day.

Conspiracy theory is also useful for understanding the emergence of Fulani herdsmen terrorist-oriented activities currently ravaging (in a Jihad-like manner) the Middle Belt states and parts of Southern Nigeria. Worthy of note is that the Fulani herdsmen who are opposed to anti-open grazing law demanded by the indigenous farmland owners have their clandestine supporters (in and outside government) and as their killings (including Christian reverend fathers) continue, the Nigerian security agencies (including the military) have not directed much attention against their genocidal activities unlike their on-going war against *Boko Haram* in the North-East states of Nigeria. Besides, the federal government suggested the establishment of 'Cattle colonies' for herdsmen across the country (rather than urging the herders to privately acquire land for ranches as their cattle rearing is purely a non-governmental private business) appears to be an unfortunate governments pro-herdsmen stance that have invariably emboldened the herdsmen to continue their serial killings for purposes of maintaining their destructive open grazing culture in the twenty first century.

Concerning Systems theory, the major propounder is David Easton. Adeniran (1983:2 1 ) noted that "individual human beings, a family, a city or a state are

examples of what systems are. Whatever affects a part of a system could affect the rest positively or negatively, since every system is dynamic and has a set of goals. The approach presupposes a political system and an environment and there is a distinct boundary between the two, although there is also interaction between them."

Similarly, Obi (2006:142) notes that "systems approach sees nations as being in constant contact in an intricate framework of relationships resulting from the process of interaction." In the same vein, McClelland (1966) remarked that a nation's behaviour is a two-way activity of taking from and giving to the international environment and that each small system (sub-system) affects the workings of the large system. Since whatever happens in a sub-system (such as Nigeria) directly or indirectly affect the supra system (i.e International system), the Systems theory is therefore relevant for one's understanding of the effects of terrorist activities in Nigeria on the nation's relations with the outside world.

## **INTERNAL (DOMESTIC) TERRORISM AND NIGERIA'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS**

### **Adverse Effect on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)**

It is a fact that the Nigerian economy has been wobbling under the weight of terrorism and the attendant general insecurity which has obviously punctured investors' confidence in Nigeria's political economy. The economic cost of terrorism can be seen from two dimensions, the direct and immediate cost of productivity. The direct cost has to do with the declining fortunes of investors' confidence culminating in low Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Nigeria, the immediate impact is tied to the loss of man- hour of productivity to bureaucracy and security checks in airports, roads and offices across the country. (Umejei, 2011).

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 has 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 of the quantum of this cost. The direct effect of terrorism is increase in 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 cost which will arise from the need to increase spending on security”.

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 and certainly leads to economic, political and regional instability.

The problem associated with terrorism such as that of *Boko Haram* as ascertained by Bello (2011) has led to the decline of FDI capital to Nigeria. The 2011 World Investment prepared by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) confirms the decline in FDI. According to the report, FDI capital in Nigeria declined to \$6.1 billion in 2010 from \$8.28 billion in 2009. One can now imagine the current adverse effects of the combined terrorist-oriented activities of *Boko Haram*, the Avengers and the ravaging Fulani Herdsmen on the country's FDI.

### **Negative projections of Nigeria’s Image in the international Arena**

The problem of the dwindling international image of Nigeria has been on the front burner of national discourse for long. 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.

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 state. 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 after 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 Nigeria, others see bad governance and ineptitude on the part of government officials as the cause, whereas others see the long period of military rule as a corollary of the country’s bad international image. However, the emerging spate of domestic terrorism appears to be Nigeria’s major image destroyer.

While 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 have more often subjected Nigerians in all parts of the world to international humiliation, another chapter was opened in 2009 with the

attempted bombing of the United States plane by Farouk Abdulmutalab. While the international community was treating internal terrorism in Nigeria arising from the activities of the Niger Delta militants with levity, this new dimension to international terrorism by a Nigerian was enough to give the world an ugly view of Nigeria.

The continued destruction of lives and properties of Nigerians by the defiant *Boko Haram* sect despite the efforts of Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) coupled with the present serial killings by the marauding Fulani herdsmen are already on the world stage as one can see in the recent United States President Trump's charge to Buhari during his visit to the US, to "stop the killing of Christians in Nigeria" (Daily Sun, May 2, 2018:39) is not a good omen for Nigeria's image abroad.

### **Effect on International Tourism**

It is crystal clear that people tend to stay away from troubled areas. This is the unfortunate situation Nigeria is facing now as foreign tourists would prefer to go to other countries where unlike Nigeria, there is no incessant cases of killings, abductions, bombing of public buildings, churches, mosques, markets, schools, houses, government institutions and facilities, police stations, among others. Just as the destination of foreign tourists are safer countries (other than Nigeria) with varieties of tourist attractions (such as good climate, vegetation, cultural festivals, wild life parks, caves, beaches, good hospitality industry.), Nigeria's foreign earnings from tourism therefore continues to nose-dive. In this regard, Tahan (2008) avers that the insecurity generated by *Boko Haram*, for instance, has the capacity to send fear to both potential and actual foreign tourists that want to visit resort spots in Nigeria and in this circumstance, divert them to patronize alternative tourist centers in East Africa and the Caribbean.

Recently, the Daily Sun (June 19, 2018:6) notes that 'the deadly global terrorist group, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), has reportedly found Nigeria a fertile' ground for the training of its 'hardened battle-ready' extremists in an 'exchange programme' with *Boko Haram*." Indeed, foreign tourists' awareness of this new terrorist expansionism in Nigeria is enough to deter foreigners from visiting Nigeria for tourist purposes.

### **Phobia of Return of Nigerians in Diaspora**

With severe security threat to life and property due to terrorist activities of the *Boko Haram* sect, ravaging Fulani herdsmen, The Avengers, in Nigeria, there is consequent fear of Nigerians abroad to come back to their home country for purposes of permanent relocation, social functions, business transactions, exercise of franchise, among others, Given information globalization (via internet sources, new media), Nigerians, abroad are aware of escalating



catastrophic terrorist atrocities in Nigeria, such as the unabated *Boko Haram* killings, abductions (including that of Chibok and Dapchi), destruction of government and private properties, and bombings as was witnessed in the recent two suicide bomb blasts in the city of Mubi, Adamawa State that killed over sixty-eight (68) innocent people with many injured (Daily Sun, May 2, 2018:4). So also is their awareness of the terrorist oriented activities of the alleged Fulani herdsmen who appears to be competing with *Boko Haram* over more houses to burn and people to kill, especially in the Middle belt states and southern parts of Nigeria (such as the Enugu's Nimbo community house burning and massacre). While the killing of indigenous farming communities and Christians in Nigeria by Fulani herdsmen continues to go on unchecked, coupled with their recent killing of two reverend fathers and seventeen parishioners in Benue state on 24<sup>th</sup> April, 2018, the churches led by the President of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) Olasupo Ayokunle issued a statement demanding among others, that the Federal Government "should stop herdsmen's killings" as well as "protect life and properties and not cows" (FIDES, May 6-12, 2018:1).

The globalization of the awareness of the killings of innocent Nigerians, especially Christians can be observed in the interaction between Presidents Buhari and Trump in the former's recent visit to the latter. While, Buhari blamed the on-going killings in Nigeria on the late Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi's fighters, who, he said, fled to West African countries after Gaddafi's death, president Trump however, told him point blank to check the killing of Christians in Nigeria, and that America could do something about that (FIDES, May 6-12, 2018:21). However, even if those responsible for the killings in the Middle Belt and parts of Southern Nigeria are the alleged Libyans, it should be noted that a major de-jure role of the military is to protect the country from external aggression. Be it as it may, it appears that the Fulani herdsmen who are opposed to the suggested establishment of their private cattle ranches, as well as anti-grazing laws in some states are bent on their continued practice of free movement and open grazing of their cows with the attendant destruction of farm crops of land owners. They are emboldened by the initial seemingly indifference of the federal government security agencies over their wanton destruction of lives and properties of the indigenous farmers, as well as federal government's pro herdsmen body language of suggesting the establishment of 'cattle colonies' in Nigeria for supposedly non-governmental or purely private cattle business affair. Worthy of note is the recent killings in Plateau state by the Fulani herdsmen on June 23, 2018. On this Daily Sun (June 26, 2018:6) notes inter alia that "anger, tears and condemnations have continued to trail the weekend attack on Plateau State communities, in which death toll has

reportedly risen to 150." Concerning the worsening in security in the Middle Belt and Southern Nigeria, Ezeife (2017:8) states inter alia that:

"People are being posted all over the south, arms are allegedly being dumped there, and some people are being killed without prosecution. The herdsmen are advancing Islam and they are killing people in every other part of Nigeria, except the North-West. The South and the Middle Belt, particularly, are suffering the more.... They kill and nobody is asking questions."

Given the increasing insecurity of lives and properties in Nigeria, there is exodus of people to other lands (through the fatalistic Sahara Desert, the cemetery-like Mediterranean Sea and elsewhere), those already outside the country therefore see it foolhardy coming home, as they are not sure of their security.

With these lopsided international relations of more emigration (including the brain drain) than useful immigration (in terms of Nigerians in diaspora returning for developmental purposes), like biological 'osmosis', Nigeria woefully continues to lose more of its human resources and development opportunity to the outside world.

### **Worsening Financial Incapacitation of Foreign Policy Implementation**

Apart from the fact that the ongoing continuous destruction of lives and properties has a crippling effect on the economic base of a country upon which credible foreign policy can be pursued, the situation is compounded by the enormous money being spent as well as corruptly diverted by Nigerian leaders in prosecuting the war against terrorism as one can observe in the over \$2billion arms deal Dasuki scandal concerning money that would have been spent for the purchase of arms for the fight against *Boko Haram* terrorism (Premium Times December 13,2015). On how Nigeria losses financially over herdsmen attacks, New Telegraph (June 20,2018:2) notes inter alia that "the Federal Government has said that Nigeria loses about \$14 billion (N5.04 trillion) annually to the frequent conflicts between herdsmen and farmers in different parts of the country," Invariably, as Nigeria financially bleeds profusely in her fight against various terrorist activities, less money becomes available for the implementation of her foreign policy objectives as outlined in section 19 of her 1999 constitution. Thus, there is increase in the problem of meeting her financial obligations to international organizations like United Nations Organization, African Union, Economic Committee of West African States to mention but a few.

This financial crisis also adversely affects the maintenance of Nigeria's foreign embassies across the globe, the playing of big brother role to poorer African countries as the so called 'Giant of Africa' (now amputated by terrorist activities). While the country is fast becoming a beggar-nation, amidst intermittent economic recession, the country's leadership by way of survival strategy travels to advanced countries begging for one form of foreign loans and aids or the other (both military, financial). Eze (2002:78) notes *inter alia* that "foreign aid or assistance is not given to nations in a manner of bazaar or Christian gesture of liberality". As there is no free lunch in international politics, there are some strings subtly attached to the aids by continues the donors from the developed countries. This is what Chinweizu (1978:269) was emphasizing when he notes *inter alia* that "aid is not all charity, not a simple give-away to dumb and pathetic foreigners". Similarly, Ejiofor (1981:111) aptly notes that "the best seller of diplomacy was aid". These foreign loans and foreign aids from Britain, America and the likes engender terrorist-adverse dependency syndrome and erosion of sovereignty as the 'Almighty foreign donors', with their foreign multinational oligopolies, control the economy of the country and decides on what should be done or not done, how, and when and for what purpose should the aid be utilized.

In the ensuing master-servant relationship, Nigerian leaders cannot bite the fingers that feed them in her international relations. No wonder that in spite of her professed 'Africa as Centre-piece' of her foreign policy, she (Nigeria) kept mute and allowed Western interest to prevail in Nigeria and other African countries such as; US-led Western engineered brutal regime change against anti-imperialistic Libya's Gaddafi, France engineered pro France regime change against Cote D'Ivoire nationalistic Gbagbo, US (and her allies) national interest oriented covert support for the military ousting of democratically elected Egypt's President Morsi, to mention but a few.

Worthy to note therefore is that the on-going running around abroad in search of financial and other assistance endeavour in the fight against terrorism in Nigeria, is creating more and more 'pervasive salutary-client mentality' on the part of the Nigeria's state actors in their asymmetrical relations with their advanced counter-parts from donor countries. As the doors and windows of the country's economy must be opened to the parasitic Multinational Corporations of the advanced countries helping (financially technically and otherwise) in the sustenance of the war against terrorism, neo colonialism is therefore increasingly engendered. Karl Marx correctly note that he who controls the economic infrastructure invariably controls the political super-structure (foreign policy inclusive). No wonder, at the stand point of increasing foreign dependency syndrome in view of the fight against domestic terrorism, the

making and execution of Nigeria's foreign policy is woefully becoming more low-keyed, inactive, passive and co-operative with the interests of the overlord donor metropolitan states and suffers credibility crisis for as Nkrumah (in Offiong, 1980:122) correctly noted: "A state in the grip of neo-colonialism, is not a master of its own destiny.

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Indeed, Nigeria, the supposedly giant of Africa, is continuously being amputated not only nationally, but also internationally by the increasing devastating domestic or internal terrorism. In the North-East states of Nigeria (such as Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, etc) destruction of lives and properties continues in the hands of *Boko Haram* despite the counter-terrorist efforts of the Nigerian Military and other security agencies. In the Niger Delta region, in spite of government's taming of the dreaded Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) via late Yar' dua/Jonathan's Amnesty and Disarmament Programme, there has been intermittent resurgence of terrorist-oriented militant activities of the Avengers.

More worrisome now appears to be the unchecked on-going devastating de facto terrorism by Fulani Herdsmen in the Middle Belt states and Southern Nigeria that is out-competing *Boko Haram* in the frequency of killings (especially Christians and indigenous farmland owners), burning of houses, among others. Since Nigeria is a sub-system of the international system, and as whatever happens to a part or sub-system directly and indirectly affects the overall system, one may not be wrong to deduce that the escalating terrorist activities in Nigeria is jeopardizing Foreign Direct Investment with its attendant economic development retardation, tarnishing Nigeria's image abroad, crippling foreign tourist attraction, preventing Nigerians abroad from returning home for socio-economic cum developmental purposes as well as weakening Nigeria's financial capability for effective foreign policy execution.

Venturing a way out of this woeful condition, this study recommends the operation of "good governance" grounded on the rule of law. Note that the extra-judicial killing of *Boko Haram* leader (Mohammed Yusuf) under police custody which acted as a catalyst for *Boko Haram* terrorism was due to government's non-observance of the principles of the Rule of Law, such as right to fair hearing' coupled with present and past poor developmental efforts of Northern Region's States and Local government, which produced army of illiterates and unemployables such as the army of the uneducated 'almajiris' ready to be recruited for terrorism. In a current interview with the mother of the current *Boko Haram* leader (Shekau), Blueprint (June 15, 2018:1), for example recorded that Shekau was an Almajiri that was later indoctrinated and recruited by the late *Boko Haram* former leader, Mohammed Yusuf.

In the same vein, the emergence of terrorist-oriented militant activities in the Niger Delta (including that of MEND and The Avengers) is due to age-long government neglect of the "fowl" (Niger Delta region) that lays the golden egg (oil), environmental degradation and non-payment of compensation to oil producing communities by foreign oil multinational corporations (like Shell BP) in collaboration with various governments in power, government's killing of the 'Ogoni 9' (Ken Sarowiwa and others) environmental activists, Odi Massacre, and government continued "non-practice of fiscal federalism". The same applies to the now rampaging Fulani Herdsmen whose increasing spate of killings in the Middle Belt and elsewhere in the South is greatly a function of government's initial aloofness to their terrorist-oriented activities, and its pro-herdsmen 'body language', like the suggestion which calls for the establishment of cattle colonies (as against prevailing on the herdsmen to buy lands and establish their private business 'ranches' in line with modern international best practices). If some of the herdsmen are financially handicapped to buy lands for their private ranches, government can help them by granting interest-free loans'. The present military strategy against terrorism in Nigeria is 'a mere symptomatic treatment' and not 'causative therapy' since it is not targeting the major root cause which is bad governance by post-colonial governments in Nigeria. Consequently, in order to obviate the emergence and development of the crippling domestic terrorism in Nigeria with its adverse effects on the country's external relations, this paper therefore, by way of causative therapy recommends the practice of good governance based on the rule of law as a sine-qua non panacea.

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