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Terrorism and State Failure: The Nigerian State and Politics of National Security

[1]Isah Mohammed Abbass

FIAMN. FNIM. FMUGA, FICPM, FCAI, MIPMN, MEI (London) MSEAN

Department of Political Science and International Studies,

Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

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Abstract: **Experiments on Nigerian politics and restructuring of the state have not yielded the expected outcomes. Persistent instability, based on the character of politics, has threatened national security. State-terrorism and insurgencies have pervaded the Nigerian politics, and the political economy of insecurity is bizarre with acts of violence conducted and perpetrated by the state against citizens for economic and political goals. Motivated by immoral commitment, polluted with blind partisan politics and constrained by incapacity with as much aversion to violence, state-actors fail and betray the trust reposed in them. Whereas politicians are generally distrustful, contemptuous, deceitful, and destructive, their cynicisms about people's wellbeing and feelings are rooted in their perceptions of and self-interests in governance. The rupture, disillusionment of people's expectations gradually spark-off terrorism and lit-up national insecurity. This nebulosity of insecurity was aggregated by indistinguishable display of character, contemptuous minds of state-actors, and leadership abdication of line of duties/responsibilities in the face of national catastrophe. The study examines the implications of terrorism and identifies how state failures and involvement in the so-called counter-terrorism violate and erode national security; endangered via the internationalization of violence and installed ideological interests. This explores how people's participation in politics and solid electoral support have jeopardized their wellbeing and produced bad governance, fatigued leadership, and weakened institutions. The overwhelming political mistrust in, and lack of trustworthiness on political drivers have undermined the institutional capacity to deliver services. Theoretical and methodological approaches adopt state and political economy theories to underpin the character of terrorism and insecurity. The state of poverty, monstrous politics, and repression in Nigeria are a product of anti-state movements championed by politicians.**

Keywords: **Terrorism, State-Failure, Politics, National-Security, Nigerian-State.**

1. INTRODUCTION

"Any insurgency that lasts more than 24 hours, a government official has a hand it." Gen. Sani Abacha.

Terrorism and state-failure, in most of the states of the global south, are intrinsically compatible. The character of the Nigerian state and the politics of national security have adversely affected and destroyed the leadership statuses or charisma and worsened the governance crisis architecture in the country. These scenaria of the Nigerian state have equally affected the bedrock of harmonious condition of the people and the state-citizen relationship. This is largely due to the destruction of the Nigerian state and economy by both the state and non-state actors supported by international agents. Hence, within the confluence of the state and the politics of national security, the eruption of terrorism and the inevitability of state failure in Nigeria glaringly exhibit the twists and turns of the state-craft in all their manifestations within the aegis of international or global conspiracy.

Part of the greatest challenges of the Nigerian state has been located within the environment that is characterised by varied traditions: legacies of strife, violence, insecurity and fierce competitions from all specifications of ethnicity and religion

over resources and positions. Nigeria's diversity and the contestations therein should be critically seen in its rare opportuned advantage for its real strength, not as weaknesses or threats, to its survival. Nigeria's diversity in culture and the endowed resources must enable the state to prosper and have starling leadership capacity and governance capability with quality and sustainable delivery of basic human needs and other services to the citizens. This should be designed and executed in order to bring about enduring state-citizens relations with harmony and compatibility.

Within the Nigerian state system, however, the governing elites need to accept the potential strengths and opportunities that are accompanied with national diversity and security. This is evident as concerted efforts should be strategically invested to productively harness the essential values from the thoughts of national security and actions of all the categories and specifications of the diversity of Nigerians. These values and thoughts should discard all the misleading and manipulative security devices whose usefulness has ceased but its challenges still chase the Nigerian reality that manifest in the politics of national security and state-terrorism.

The Nigerian state, therefore, needs to develop its unique federalism which can hold and sustain the polity knitted closely together and thus make the best use of the economic opportunities to benefit and satisfy the needs of the citizens. Hence, the dirty politics of the majoritarian or group domination in the struggle for nation-state building must be hinged on the possibility and advantages to strike and reconcile on greater pluralism and devolution of power and resources at the regional, state and local levels. Local democratic institutions must be nurtured and respected as a part of the essential components of political progress and development, and not threats. These institutions can enable the state adequately respond to its role, solidate its form, provide genuine national security and prevent all forms of terrorism.

2. THE NIGERIAN STATE AND THE CHARACTER OF THE STATE FAILURE

The modern Nigerian state evolved out of colonial and imperial circumstances and has continued to operate to primarily serve colonial and post-colonial interests (Abbass. 2010:67-68). The role structure of the Nigerian state must, therefore, be understood and appreciated within the context of fulfilling the objectives of colonialism and imperialism under the pretext of globalisation (Stiglitz, 2002, Odama and Aiyedun, 2004, Khor, 2003, Vaughan, Wright and Small, 2005). Hence, the prevailing situations or circumstances in the country have created paradoxes in the operation of the Nigerian state for failing to serve the interests of the society but foreign concerns.

The fierce and forceful imposition of foreign interests coupled with the appropriate and contradictory opportunities on ground, the imperial overlords have exploited the character of the segmentary Nigerian situation. Hence, the existing internal strains created in Nigeria, the spills that have continued to accrue within the aggrieved parties and the protracted or saturated nature of regional or ethnic and other internal conflicts have consolidated a superiority of state control to the foreign advantage. The Nigerian state has inevitably lost its sovereignty and power to curtail the fierce foreign incursion of all kinds (Lal-Das, 1999, Ul-Haque, 1995). The Nigerian governing elites, the civil-military oligarchs have, therefore, become puppets or stooges of foreign powers.

Due to the continued threats to the survival of the Nigerian state since its creation, the state has not been able to cope with numerous challenges of statehood by the activities of insurgents, terrorists and other anti-state agents. The creation of political, economic and social paradoxes in the character formation and deformed role of the Nigerian states have been transformed into fierce struggle for power, treasury looting and further destruction of the state system. The Nigerian state-actors have further been engaged in the primitive accumulation and other forms of money laundering. These have continued to be actualized by the use of the weakened state institutions with further unleashed repression, oppression, exploitation and deprivation of all the basic needs of life to citizens. Thus, the weakened Nigerian state is run by the predatory dominant economic and insensitive governing class that has continued to fail in its responsibility or role in protecting lives and property as well as its sovereignty (Abbass, 2017:17-20).

The Nigerian state has been transformed as an institution that possesses unlimited power, influence and authority over its electorate and legitimate boundaries. The boundless power of the Nigerian state, therefore, enables it to determine the chosen processes and direction of the economy and policy issues among many others. The role and function of the state are converged within the social, economic and political environment which permeates all forms of transactions or interactions and intrinsically unravelled in the system. Due to its repulsive character, the Nigerian state, with the aid of international organisations, intervenes in everything at the detriment of the citizens. Thus, the emergence of the Nigerian state has, therefore, been rough with contradictions. The role and functions of the state institutions are intrinsically located within the

embodiment of the enfeebled constitution of the state that fails to properly regulate the operations of the system to satisfy the needs of the citizens. The constitution of the state-actors does not regard people's interests prime; notwithstanding the so-called welfare state posture Nigeria and its state-actors usually exhibit.

With varied policies enacted and executed in Nigeria, the outcomes or results have continued to clearly demonstrate state underperformance with dismal failures in the delivery of services, in the protection of lives and property accompanied with the weakening of the economy and institutions, through corrupt practises by the state actors, in all ramifications. Within the assumption of the expected goodwill of the state in the management of the economy for all, the false design to transform people's life and protect their property, the biases of the state in enhancing and facilitating the market force based activities have invariably eroded the fragile political legitimacy through the installation of various forms of crises, violence and instability in the society.

However, the exhibition of structural inequality regime within the social landscape of the Nigerian state has produced various degrees of social tensions resulting in different degrees of social dislocation. All these have become a reality and ubiquitous in the Nigerian state due to how both the domestic and global factors have been combined to take effect and impinge on the society. Hence, "the adverse impact of increasing globalisation of the economy and internalization of capital on trade and manufacturing have already weakened the role of the state capacities and responsibilities in providing social infrastructure for the well-being of the citizens' (Abbass, 2019:71-88). Such a circumstance provides enormous resources that are at the state disposal within the exclusive preserves of the privileged groups based on the authority of the state-actors as determined by international institutions.

The Nigerian state has been incorporated into the worldwide system of production to serve the primary interest of Western Europeans and imperialism. This incorporation of the Nigerian state had been attained through various stages or phases of British imperialism and colonialism, based on the mercantile and liberalist economic systems, which had extended its influence, power and authority in the society. (Lal-Das, 1999). These were however dictated by the international trade and politics of global security. The Nigerian state was, therefore, created to primarily serve the British mercantile and imperial interests.

With a huge and versatile population, the Nigerian state has vast mineral and infinite natural resources with striking agro-ecological and human diversity. Oil in the Nigerian economy has, for example, created unprecedented wealth accompanied with installed corruption and wastes never before experienced in the history of the state. (Watts, 1987:8-14, 65-70) Thus, the oil booms brought in political instability, economic crisis and social tensions with cumulative state failures in all fields of service delivery and protection of lives and property. These state-craft failures in Nigeria have led to unprecedented hardships leading to the erosion of people's hope and trust in the leadership and state governance.

Whereas oil constituted and became the dominant and determinant of the state and the economy, agriculture invariably entered various stage of structural crisis by the deliberate state act of neglected and abandonment of the sector. This act of the irresponsibility of the Nigerian state invariably led to the collapse of agricultural productivity along with deepening implications on the state and economy with impending food insecurity. Food importation had become the dangerous and open politics of the state policy sanctioned by the so-called World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) intervention in the sector. (Shenton, 1987:49-54), Watts, 1987:64-70). These have been actualized through the introduction of projects and programmes that have continued to undermine and underdevelop the Nigerian state and the economy.

The internationalisation of the Nigerian state was accentuated through the global processes of oil-based accumulation and the state's structural dependency. (Shenton, 1987:10). This has been a direct outcome of the domestic and external dynamics of the local and international politics within the orbit of the global market. The oil-based economy of the Nigerian state has, therefore, been characterised with bizarre and unprecedented corruption that has woefully failed to play its expected role and responsibility to the pauperised citizens and the ailing society. Security issues of the lives and property of the Nigerian citizens are jettisoned by the act of the state while the economy is compromised. All sorts of instability emanating therefrom and manifesting in ethnic, religious wars, military coups and counter-coups, insurgencies and terrorism have bedevilled the Nigerian landscape and embodied in foreign debts.

Due to the collapse of agriculture and the soaring prices of food commodities as well as other basic human needs, the form and character of agrarian crises have transformed the Nigerian state into a widespread hunger, poverty and destitution along with the proletarianization of the middle-class elites. (Abbass, 2024). In addition, rural-urban migration has taken

unprecedented twists and turns accompanied with urban squalor, tension, hardships, crimes and violence. The Nigerian state is, therefore, embroidered in all forms of chronic economic crises and stagnation. The weak character of the Nigerian state makes it difficult, if not impossible, to organise a network of complementary local production, action and exchange of goods and services due to the state's alliance and marriage of inconvenience with international financial institutions. With the nature of state intervention in agriculture, "the Nigerian state has failed to critically analyse the entire socio-economic structure, needs and capacities of the peasants and system of production, consumption and exchange" (Abbass, 2014).

3. STATE-TERRORISM AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIA

State-terrorism is a highly repressive model of insecurity with the manipulative use of force as a political instrument against the citizens. The deliberate use of deception against the true state of insecurity situation in Nigeria has become the unique state practise and action. This is effectively used with a widespread manipulative design or tactic to pounce on the Nigerian society for varied reasons and interests. It is therefore with the terror-inflicted situation that the Nigerian state continuously imposes its *pax Nigeriana*. Hence, this populist peacetime and *giant* of Africa propaganda status of Nigeria has been consciously designed in order to build a false peace or goodness in the state with effective and structured means of coercion. This is to further maintain exploitation, sustain looting of the state treasury through the continuation of all forms of violence.

Since the state is identified with the means, control and possession of the monopoly of legitimate violence in the society, it provides it with coercion and enforcement of law and order ostensibly to provides services and regulate economic activities. When the state fails to provide security cover to citizens, the society descends to chaos (Acemoglu and Robinson; 2013:81). Invariably, state-terrorism comprises all acts of inspired violence against the civil society. This involves all forms of political, economic, ideological, religious cleavages directed against individuals or groups by the state or agents of the state. Nigeria is currently engulfed in different forms of insecurity: armed conflicts, insurgencies, kidnapping, poverty, hunger, corruption etc. These forms of insecurity have resulted in the deterioration of people's livelihoods and have thus affected all forms of harmonious relationships amongst societies in all the states of the federation. These have further impacted on the state-citizen relations with far reaching consequences in all facets of state activities.

Such terrorist activities in the Nigerian state have continued to threaten national unity, security and safety amongst citizens. These threats involve all forms of economic activities, educational institutions, and places of religious worship have turned out to be potential targets of attack and destruction, among many others. Nigeria is, therefore, faced with unprecedented security challenges than ever before in its history. These security challenges involve the criminal activities Boko Haram insurgency, Niger Delta Insurgency, the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), armed militancy involved in illegal mining and mineral theft with their installed security threats, smuggling across the borders, farmer-herder conflicts etc.

Nigeria's socio-economic and political setting adequately represents a graphic picture of masses-elites' dichotomy based on the iniquitous and ubiquitous but oppressive structure. Hence, Nigerians are highly riven by a number of social, economic and political factors, most cheaply by the manipulation of the multiplicity of cleavages that divide the elites and the masses by affluence and extreme poverty. This is reflected by the trends and dynamics of the state-terrorism that creates tension endangered by the divide-and-rule tactics that mostly feature in the political and the Fabian liberal democratic practice (Abbass, 2024:12). All these characteristics are represented in the domestic politics that translates into various divisions and conflicts that ignite state-terrorism within the conventional interactions in the state.

The ruthlessness with which the Nigerian state has continued to impose its monopoly of violence is to primarily strike a deal with foreign state-terrorism counterparts that enthrone a systematic reign of global fear and intimidation. Thus, the chain of leadership being installed in Nigeria is not more than a bunch of criminals and blood-shedding politicians that have no faith and interest in the Nigerian statehood and citizens. This class of leadership is, therefore, synonymous with agents of revenue collectors monetized in foreign currencies. As they are not perturbed with the business in the protection of lives and property of Nigerians, their cruelty has continued to inflict more pains or suffering and death to millions of Nigerians.

It should be noted that the Nigerian state's abundant resources and all its power and prosperity are undeniably under the unassailable control of the designers and perpetrators of national disunity, violence and all forms of terrorism. While the deteriorating condition of the majority of Nigerians has remained yoked to the domestic political vandals, all these have transcended the various dominant separate interests. This has resulted in a coalition of both the local and foreign interests that threaten the survival of the state and prosperity of most Nigerians. Such convergence of interests enables the state-

terrorism more enduring which underscores the degree of state repression, deprivation and the ability to apply appropriate social, economic and political measures to cope or deal with any form of dissent.

The Nigerian state system has speedily turned out to be politically unstable, economically deficient and socially bankrupt. All these characteristics of the Nigerian state are a direct representation and manifestation of its fatigued leadership and governance system. Hence, the state's connection with external succour for terrorism makes the status-quo adequately maintained with state security seriously jeopardised. Invariably, any radical rebel and threats to the established edifice would be met with the immediate wrath of the state's dominance of power and authority with terrorism. This has resulted in the constant fear and feeling of anxiety in people generated from the concrete reality of lack of state protection of lives and property. The absence of peace, order and security has also been translated and transmitted into the state of poverty, hunger and destitution in the midst of plenty.

In the six decades of Nigeria's political independence, notwithstanding the abundance of human, mineral and other resources, the venality of politicians has starred Nigerians to early graves. This has also resulted in decades of the grip of excruciating poverty and hardship. Inefficiency in the resource management, waste of opportunities and surrendering of the economy to global powers and the state to extra-foreign powers have landed the Nigerian state into its current quagmire. This has unfortunately underscored the character of the Nigerian state that translates into the current tragedy of the leadership and governance system. While both covert and overt foreign exploitation and domination have not ceased, the repressive character of the Nigerian state is indelible and manifest in all forms and therefore unchanged in its mechanism, motivation and direction. All these are represented in the unlimited executive power being exercised or abused by the executive, legislature, judiciary, the uniformed bureaucracies and other crops of civil bureaucracies that characterise the form or constitution of the state-terrorism.

Hence, the state of insecurity in Nigeria involves high levels of violence which is the outcome of corruption in leadership and governance. This is characterized with inefficient policing and justice system that have combined to ignite the current state of poverty amongst citizens, thus constituting a major cause of terrorism. The military politics in the phenomenon of acquiring arms to ostensibly neutralise or bring down terrorism, through huge and unaccountable budgets have, over time, reflected and reinforced the height of state deceit that beclouds the general atmosphere of real insecurity pervading the Nigerian state. This is seen in the reinforcement of all the terrorist groups to advance a state of violence culminating in insecurity and instability. This has also provided a fertile ground for the new terrorist groups to emerge. All these were designed in order to provide justification to increase military budgets.

With the continued growth of resentment to the unacceptable condition of poverty in Nigeria, state repression has taken a new turn, dimension and intensification of installed conflicts. These have led to the total and state-blown acts of terrorism. The course of insurrections by citizens has taken certain distinct and discernible pattern of insurgencies, terrorism and other forms of conflicts. The historical contexts of these civil wars have differed sustainably from the different locations where they emanated or emerged but with clear similarities in their emergence and modes of operation. The sequence and causes of these events have substantially rested with the state action (or inaction) in not respecting or responding people's rights and demands. The succession of conflicts centres on the potential threats being posed by the vulnerability of the downtrodden proletarian masses located across the states of the Nigerian federation.

4. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICS OF NATIONAL SECURITY

The political economy of terrorism and national insecurity in contemporary Nigeria presents a picturesque of the deliberate and perpetrated acts and conduct of violence and insurgency by the state or its agents on its citizens. This presents an investigation and approach of the political and economic determinants of the home-grown and international dimensions of violent extremism. Since repression ignites terrorism and insecurity, the minds of the Nigerian state-actors have, over time, been polluted with blind partisan politics. These polluted minds are constantly provoked with immoral desire and destructive commitment that are bizarre and intrinsically involved to commit economic and political crimes against humanity.

Such an outlandish desire, without borders for political and economic ends, has transformed the Nigerian modern times politicians as distrustful, contemptuous, deceitful and dangerously destructive (Abbass, 2017:19-20). The quest and mindset of the Nigerian state and its agents have been to continuously inflict pains and sufferings to Nigerians notwithstanding the public proclaimed pacifism by the state and its actors on the so-called war against terrorism and violence. These ostensible

state proclamations have, of course, not fundamentally challenged and changed the Nigeria's status-quo of terrorism and insecurity regime.

In the 21st century, the Nigerian state has ultimately regressed to the Hobbesian state of nature (Starnes, 2021) rather than a civil society. This checkered Nigerian phenomenon has made individuals and groups in perpetual fear, insecurity and mutual distrust. Hence, the inherent designs of wrecking the Nigerian state by the anti-state movements (terrorists) may be aptly described as a direct reversion of the state of nature where life is solitary, nasty, brutish and short (Starnes, 2021). The speed with which the Nigerian political system is crumbling and the ease with which the Nigerian state has been plunged into violence can be adduced to the most inappropriate leadership installed and the form of governance put in place.

Nigeria's terrorism and national insecurity are characteristically inflicted and operated overtly and covertly. Those directly and indirectly involved in these clandestine acts may wear or no wear uniforms. They may occupy a state position of power, authority and influence or may be mere street vagabonds inflicted with anger, hatred and aversion to violence. Those with state power may not be directly associated or admit membership of the terror machine and cultism that disperse fear, violence, deaths and decimation of lives and property. The connections between terrorism and fear along with destruction are inherent and inseparable. All these have compounded and preoccupied the contemptuous minds of the Nigerian government and state-actors or their agents/sponsors. These groups have not been able to pull out of the skid of the Nigerian state roles and responsibilities as well as protect citizens' lives and properties from insecurity and destruction.

The contradictions associated with the Nigerian state and its political actors point to the fact that, notwithstanding the statist character of the federation with high centralization and concentration of power, they have failed to provide counteracting powers to repel and dissolve acts of terrorism and insecurity (Abbass, 2022:88-90). Hence, the possession of power, authority and influence by the politicians, supported by the broad-base of common people that cut across cultural bounds of tribe, language and religion; have only turned out and demonstrated that they are only used for the perpetuation of personal and group interests. Hence, the protection expected to be offered by the Nigerian state and its political actors are lost. The condition of life of most Nigerians has turned out to be nasty due to the selfishness, pleasure-seeking, greedy and blood-thirsty political class.

Whereas there exists an unmindful, uncaring, unmoved and uninterested leadership, the Nigerian state and its economy as well as other legacies are constantly threatened to an open and protracted war and destruction of live and properties. This presents a clear case of complicity and incapacity to deal with state threats by the fatigued and corrupt leadership. Such deep and demoralizing situations are breading and crippling into the Nigerian state of nature. It is obvious that these developments invariably lead to the gradual erosion of the state of confidence and trust in the governance and leadership of the Nigerian state. This precarious situation has, therefore, became replaced with the state of suspicious and uncertainties in leadership and governance.

Invariably these have resulted in the failed leadership that projects malicious and bad governance in the Nigerian state that cannot guarantee the survival and sustenance of the state itself, economic activities and politics. Such negative outcomes have openly expressed that every action and activities bearing on the predatory state are dishonored through plundering of the citizens, the economy, the polity and the entire social settings in all their ramifications (Martinussen, 1997:238-241). The consequences of all these criminal acts make the revival and reestablishment of peace, mutual trust, the economy, and polity very lengthy, hard and herculean. This is partly due to the long and established machinery of spreading fear, anger, hatred, hunger and all other forms of social dislocation have been deep and wide.

Nigeria has languished for a long time on the desperate need for a sustainable national security. But the prevalence and permeance of the cultural characteristics in Nigeria have continuously marked the state of security, over time, with all sorts of breaches, especially by those in charge of the state and security affairs. These security breaches have, therefore, made the Nigerian state in a state of perpetual fear and threats of destruction or withering away. Since security has not been physically and permanently guaranteed, not because the demand and provision of security are excessive, but the fears or concerns for security are essentially real, not unfounded. In essence, these, no doubt, invite for the escalation of all forms of conflicts or wars.

Terror, more often than not, is used in a corrupt society towards terrifying and intensifying the dissolution of social, economic, cultural or moral bonds amongst citizens (UN, 2003, Chayes, 2016, Simpson, 2014). This in effect, brings about the negation of the right to life that leads or regresses to the state of nature. In the condition or circumstances of withering away of the Nigerian state, the primary role of the state in defending itself by force against insurgents that challenge its

power and sovereignty, the lives of citizens and their properties cannot be guaranteed and protected. This situation largely occurs because strategic state-actors are directly involved in wrecking the state, the state invariably ceases to properly function as expected by almost surrendering part of its power and sovereignty to the terrorists. Hence, state-actors or leaders enter a truce with terrorists with the pledge not to use force on the terrorists, the ceding of power by the state is, of course, the height of complicity of the predators camouflaged as state-actors.

Hence, the kidnappers are securely protected by the state. More often than not, the bandits occasionally make arrangements with state-actors on when or where to strike so that the security forces must vacate the scene or vicinity of the identified targets of attacks. When ransoms are demanded and taken, the state or agents of the state covertly or overtly move in to cover or back bandits. Thus, bank officials are always escorted by security to take ransoms to the bandits in the forests. However, commissions for the security and bank officials are always benevolently doled out by the bandits and joyfully shared amongst the bank officials and security agencies involved. The politics and threats to security architecture in Nigeria have adversely produced the malignant features of socio-economic milieu in the society. These are exhibited and perpetrated by the gang and ethnic militia elements in government and civil society.

The forests, where the terrorists live and operate, have turned out to be erroneously referred to as "ungoverned spaces" with no state right and capacity to use force to free abducted citizens. These vast and untamed forests, as threats to national security, with violent crimes where the state fails to eradicate, are often and increasingly being targeted by international institutions for direct intervention (Clunan and Trinkunas, 2010). Hence, when the lives of the citizens have become economically depressed and threatened, such a state of depression and threats demoralizes citizens to rise up in support of the state. These conditions create absolute loyalty, submission and compliance to the dictates of the terrorists' conditions and terms of ransom to be paid in order to effect release of the abducted citizens. The precarious condition has reached a stage where the futility in sacrificing life for the Nigerian state is unquestionable, while the hope for the future of the state is jeopardized, questionable, and doomed. Thus, Nigeria has ultimately descended into barbarity and anarchy. The brutality of a few Nigerians in all facets of terror outlandish on Nigerians has turned a hitherto civil society into a state of chaos and instability.

Nigeria has the capacity to use force and effectively quench the terrorists' uprisings. But the complicity of the state-actors makes the situation worse and unprecedented. The weakening of the Nigeria armed forces as well as the para-military forces is accentuated through the monster of corruption fueled by international forces. The cost of fighting terrorism in Nigeria has become a lucrative venture and too high because corruption makes terrorism possible and encourages thieves without borders. The Nigerian financial sector complicity in the modern acts of terrorism, from the apex to the lowest banking industry, is a salient and grave area of concern. The role and influence of internal financial institutions, in the remote control of the leadership and the commanding height of the Nigerian economy, has unleashed terror and thus plunged Nigerians and the Nigerian state into excruciating poverty, hunger and structural underdevelopment.

Gone were the days when banks in Nigeria were trusted with security or anything important for the ease of life of citizens. The weaknesses of the Nigerian state and its state-actors' complicity to trade security of the nation with the lives and properties of the citizens have given the Nigerian banking industry, from top to bottom, the opportunity or avenue to exploit situation for its own benefits. The situation has been allowed to continuously degenerate and backed by the Nigerian state and state-actors to destroy the economy and economic activities through various forms of corruption and money laundering.

The experimented Nigerian liberal democracy has invariably turned out to be in complete disarray. This is justified on the ground that the democratic practice and all its features have nonetheless been discredited by persistently lacking the capacity or political will to end terrorism. It has invariably not only entered a state of treasonable felony that is tantamount to self-betrayal but simultaneously in complicity for the dissolution and destruction of the Nigerian commonwealth. This relates to, among others, abandoning the protection of the lives and properties of the Nigerian people at the mercy of the terrorist threats and conquests as evidently aided and abated by the state or state agents. The forces of the new Nigerian democracy and all the specifications of politicians cannot, in anyway or manner, advance the interests of Nigerians. Nigerians have, therefore, lived as oppressed and unprotected citizens by the state, state-actors or their agents of terrorism.

Certain arguments may be very persuasive, especially in the transformation or deformation of the Nigerian state within the context of the outbreak of terrorism. Citizens would likely be forced to submit to the whims and caprices of the state power and conform to its authority in the enthronement of sufferings and hardships being inflicted by the state sponsored terrorists. Hence, if considerations for intense insecurity and war against terror by the Nigerian state has been adopted and justified to overweigh the need for national security, dignity and honor, the situation could have been completely different. This

hopelessly nebulous judgment by the Nigerian state has dragged the state into monstrous war and psychological discontent in the land.

The premise of the Buhari regime was that its coming into power was hailed and justified at correcting the evils of the previous PDP regime. But such claims, over time, were unfounded as conditions have demonstrated that it was merely flowery and cosmetic. Thus, the continuation and persistence of the old injustice and terrorism perpetrated on the citizens and economy had been deeply enlarged and enhanced with enraged citizens' anger. As the APC used the so-called democratic means to wrestle the PDP overwhelmingly by asserting its power, it did not mean that there was anything positive brought by the regime to the state and citizens; as the nation has ferociously cried and rejected its entire anti-state and anti-people policies.

The Nigerian state seems not only weakened but has usually failed in the discharge of its responsibilities and duties. The Nigerian state has invariably turned out to be almost of no relevance to the majority of the citizens in all ramifications. It should be noted that Nigeria's early historical legends of insecurity and instability did not present the current scenaria and memories of warfare and expression of insecurity unprecedented in the Nigerian statehood. Hence, is there any moral or any other justification by the so-called leadership emerging from the huge mandate obtained from the electorate, based on the election promises, for the an unprecedented failure in governance and leadership?

As an impediment to economic growth and people's prosperity, the failure of the Nigerian state facilitates institutions that not only impede but also block economic growth. Hence, the politics of the Nigerian state has invariably become the central pillar for the failure of the state role and responsibilities to citizens. This where the vast majority of Nigerians are deeply hurt by the politics and economics of deliberate exclusion. This has forced various groups to take up arms, with foreign and local support, to challenge the power and authority of the Nigerian state and government in all forms of insurgency.

Faced with terrorism, the obligations of a responsible government to protect lives and properties as well as the stability of the state become not only imperative but a must. Therefore, the failure to act fast and decisive is unacceptable. This only expresses the degree of complicity which is even more horrible than the state of nature which terrorism comes along with it. The acts of extreme violence with terrorism have been continuously and flowerly condemned by the state but to no avail except pretentions with lots of resources accumulated and money laundered by the elites occupying state positions in the name of security. Based on the situation on ground, there is no means and road-map deployed by the state to defeat terrorism which is tantamount to self-defeat. Hence, defeating terrorism implies defeating the sponsors of terror camouflaged as state-actors. But the practical plan or strategy to defeat the terrorists does not seem to practically exist in the state agenda.

To openly surrender to the terrorists would mean or imply many things: the terrorists' superior ability to organize, terrorists' possession of better/advanced ammunition/weapons, terrorists' determination and resilient to strike and engage, terrorists' installed resources due to the collection of ransom, terrorists' strategic establishment of networks within the state and with the outside world. Does the government, faced with terrorism, actually aim to be victorious when it negotiates with terrorists and seeks for compromises by weakening its vulnerability and increasing the resilience of the terrorists? Hence, the vulnerability of the government may be due to a number of factors: state corruption, bad state tactics, easy occupation of dangerous and the so-called ungoverned spaces, terrorists' networks outside the country, terrorists' obtainance of supplies of weapons, proliferation of small and large weapons, etc.

Thus, the current extreme violence in the life of the Nigerian state seems to be rooted in the search of solution for security. The unfortunate episodes in the search of national security have led to and located in the hands and in custody of those who apparently pledge to national loyalty and service. This is because national loyalty and service in this context have regressed into extreme opportunism to loot national treasury. This has, of course, created extreme struggles and determination to steal. There is, therefore, the necessity to demand for the security or safety of the state in the hands of the state predators as state-actors who pledge to manage its resources. This tendency is due to the nature of human factors that have been inherently threatened by self-interests. All these lead to the revision of the nasty, brutish and lengthy instability and suffering occasioned or as marked by the current spate of corruption and state-sponsored terrorism in Nigeria.

Even though nationalism is usually characterized with apparent, strong passion and appealing claims to state service and loyalty, it unfortunately faces negative outcomes with great dangers. This is due to self-interests and conspiracies of such individuals saddled with state affairs who have insatiable desires and demands for accumulation. Such people may show that they would be ready for self-service and thus ready to sacrifice themselves to the needs, cause and demands of the state but would mostly prefer to sacrifice fellow and innocent citizens. Such so-called nationalists are covertly and overtly

ferocious and drastic in violence. They are however moved by the logic of capital and its trends of accumulation and not by humanity or the desire to selflessly serve the state and people.

Nigerian state marauders and plunderers are well recognized and indeed rewarded and protected on what they loot or take by force which ultimately becomes illegally sanctioned by the state. State executives, more often than not, meet terrorists, dine and draw up agreements with them with even payment schedules for them in order to temporarily "keep the peace". These aggressively state predators raid and pillage the Nigerian economy and society with impunity. Hence, to seek for and realize sustainable security that is compatible with equal security for all others in a morally and politically universal rule, requires a competent sovereign leader with power and capacity to provide sterling leadership and adequate governance. This leader must be duly in charge and nationally committed to the preservation of lives, property and the economy of the state.

5. THE WEAKENED NIGERIAN STATE AND ITS FAILING ROLE

The Nigerian state continuously fails today because the weakened institutions cannot create incentives or motivations to enable the relevant classes of individuals in the society to innovate, invest and save for viable and productive activities. Such institutions are designed and expected to enhance and cement power and authority to deliver services for the benefit of the people as a whole in order to prevent people's anger and aggression. But these political, economic and social extractive institutions have turned out to be deeply rooted in Nigerian state failure. This can be attributed to the prevailing and gross insufficient economic activities and patronage going on. This is because politicians are too preoccupied with accumulation and various forms of money laundering through corruption and other forms of willful extraction of resources. This is accompanied by the destruction of law and order, compromising security and weakening the judiciary with corrupt practices. These are what have further destroyed such viable economic activities resulting in stagnation, poverty, hunger, conflicts and civil wars in the society.

The Nigerian state has, over time, suffered numerous phases and stages of weaknesses and therefore failing to provide security and deliver services to its people. These have potentially characterized Nigeria as a state of gruesome failure that shelters non-state actors who threaten the security of the state such as Boko Haram, IPOB and all those who operate as terrorists or insurgents or kidnappers etc. (Abbass, 2018a:29). The weakened and the imminent collapse of the Nigerian state institutions and society at large were predicated on the ill-functions of the state that brought about different degrees of failures. The Nigerian state failure, therefore, manifests in the inability to provide physical security, deliver socio-economic services, protect the environment and guarantee political stability as well economic wellbeing. In other words, the realms of security, economic viability and stable political system have become a mirage with the dislocation of the population and creation of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

Other dynamics of the failure rate of the Nigerian state include the gradual or spontaneous emergence of protracted ethnic violence, civil wars and predatory governments or regimes. The frequency with which these engineered components of the state failure express on how they are backed and supported by the correspondingly appropriate bureaucratic inertia with criminal character. These bureaucratic character of the Nigerian state system and state-actors have ultimately created an enabling and flourishing environment of corruption and corrupt practices with accompanying negative economic growth (Abbass 2018a:10). With defective system and weakened institutions, the feeble Nigerian state is characterized by a flawed executive that lacks capacity to lead, govern or function. Whereas, the legislature, judiciary and executive, supported by the entire bureaucracy, as well as the armed forces are immersed in widespread corruption and thus lost capacity and professional etiquette to lead and govern.

Hence, the weakened and disintegrating infrastructures, manifesting the stark failure of the Nigerian state make the society to suffer from and produce loud and uncontrollable hiccups in the delivery of utility supplies, provision of educational and health facilities. All these have resulted in the continuous deteriorations of all specifications of human development indicators. Further Nigerian failure is, therefore, intrinsic to such acts of terrorism and thus associated with the politics of national security. The Nigerian state has nonetheless experienced different forms and phases of terrorism with installed failure to discharge responsibilities primarily due to the vested interests that have reduced the state to its incessant instability and insecurity. The embarrassing failure of the Nigerian state, no doubt, manifests that it cannot provide and guarantee or protect fundamental human rights and other crucial civil liberties for its people.

Since the Nigerian state lacks the capacity to effectively lead and govern its citizens and the economy, there have been rampant threats to a breakdown in political power, law and order with an inevitability to criminality and a state of anarchy. Common characteristics of the failure of the Nigerian state indicate that it is unable to perform or execute fundamental functions of protecting its sovereignty and authority over its territory and people. It is also unable to deliver services to its people for which it was legitimately or democratically elected as guaranteed by the constitution. However, the Nigerian state is also unable to fulfil other essential requirements and tasks of the control and management of people and resources. These ultimately render the people completely vulnerable and thus question the legitimacy of the leadership and the forms of governance put in place.

As Nigeria is mired in leadership crisis, the citizens are plunged into excruciating poverty, and with the state being sunk in deeper political upheavals. Since the Nigerian state activities are essentially dictated and influenced by the dominant interest, via economic classes and social groups, the role of the state effectively turns out to primarily promote and protect such vested interests. Even though the Nigerian state always camouflaged its role to *protect* people but it actually becomes a predator through cloaking its authority to appear otherwise. Anybody and group that challenges the state authority, relevant forces promptly and equally deals with such challengers by doing away with them, in form of imprisonment or death.

Since the landscape of Nigerian politics has gradually crept and turned into a fertile and lucrative land of terrorism and insurgences of all specifications, it has ultimately reached the apex or height of state-sponsored terrorism. These acts have invariably produced colossal state failures in politics, statecraft in leadership and governance that brought about the breakdown of the democratic experiment in Nigeria. Hence, the state of Nigerian politics has, therefore, posed serious questions and threats to the concept and practice of democracy. With the monumental state-corruption that pervades the culture of the state-actors and the fabric of most Nigerians, the impacts and serious drawback it has on service delivery are great and outstanding. With conflicts being sponsored, triggered-off and manipulated on ethnic, religious and other cleavages, the spate and inevitability of further weakening of the Nigerian state are geared towards attaining to their deepening crisis situation.

In addition, the Nigeria's state failure is further characterized by constant use of violence but consistently checked and mostly overridden by other means of coercion that ultimately escalate into near uncontrollable conflicts. This situation has weakened the capacity of the Nigerian state to formulate and execute meaningful and effective security and socio-economic policies that deliver good or positive outcomes. These circumstances have characterized and stigmatized the Nigerian state with involuntary movements of the population and widespread criminality. Invariably, various governments of Nigeria have constituted a hallmark of failures in social, economic, political and other realms. Politics is expected to shape people's network and properly regulate their behaviours and compose their identities and wellbeing by removing all negative emotions and hatred. But inversely, the Nigerian politics fuels negative tendencies by dividing people horizontally and vertically in order to be at each other's throats.

It should be stressed that national security comprises a bulk of multi-dimensional features and a composite of multiple components. Such is not therefore limited to military security alone. These features include the composite of economic, social and financial security as well as those that touch on political health of the state and other forms of security. Thus, all forms of security in Nigeria have been negotiated and compromised by those expected to accord it the highest and cherished respect and priority. The concerns and core values of government and government agencies should be for a stable and safe environment for the citizens and the economy. Hence, the security thinking of state-actors is that the volume of state resources has driven them crazy with corrupt practices that turns them into criminals rather than respected statesmen. When people are disconnected with government, this situation potentially poses a serious national security threat, danger and disaster.

Furthermore, the patterns and dimensions of continuing conflict and acts of repression in Nigeria are likely to generate and produce cloud-ridden waves that could ultimately erupt into stronger contributory factors in the disintegration or withering a way of the state. If, and not only if, the governing elites actually grasp the precarious nature of these conflicts and vigorously sought for a home-grown solution, alternatives to violence with enduring peace are far-fetched. Hence, any sincere policy on restructuring of the political, economic and social relations, within the historical realities of the uniqueness of Nigerian federalism, among the states and corporate institutions, can provide unique avenues to encourage negotiation, accommodation, home-developed democracy, devolution, pluralism, and sustainable peace (Abbass, 2022). These can provide and permit greater trust, means and capacity to deal and overcome the real and potential adversaries: corruption, poverty, hunger, injustice, backwardness, underdevelopment, low productivity, bad governance, international organisations and terrorism.

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6. CONCLUSION

Nigeria is a typical example of a state failure with the paradox of plenty (Karl, 1997). This is exemplified by abundant resources, yet the citizens are poor, faced with poverty, hunger, and destitution and plagued by violence and conflict. These growing Nigerian state recognition and stigma are contradictions in all respects. The virtues and richness of the Nigerian state in human and natural resources diversity have unfortunately catapulted the state as failed in its role and responsibility to itself and the citizens. Stability in diversity, more often than not, makes states enhanced and capable to generate, accumulate and manage resources or wealth for effective service delivery. Forcing the pace of continued instability and violence in Nigeria has led to the institutionalisation of terrorism by the state with the remote control of foreign powers represented by the respective international financial institutions (Abbass, 2024:3). The intended outcomes have, therefore, been attained with the failure of the state characterised by the state of endangered status, impoverished citizens and exploited society with repatriated resources.

After decades of gruesome failure, conspiracy planning and forceful imposition of violence in Nigeria, the enforcement of mass poverty on Nigerians by the Nigerian state has cast serious doubt on the sincerity of the leadership. This situation has also expressed the height of ineffectiveness in governance as the state legitimacy in Nigeria is highly questioned based on the workings and existing structure of the state. Hence, the Nigerian state's brutal and domineering ride over the rights and privileges of its citizens, alongside with the support of foreign powers, the country is paying a heavy price for such decades of roughshod. The short, medium and long term costs will take hundreds of years to recover. Since politics and economics are inseparable, the political economy of mass involvement of people in poverty in Nigeria indicates the deliberate design to institute a state of violence occasioned by deprivation and widespread inequalities. All these are tantamount for the state to fail in all its roles and responsibilities.

The mismanagement of resources and misplacement of priorities by the Nigerian state leadership have caused enormous disruption in the expected good symmetry and flow of the state with impact on all fields of human and natural resources. Thus, the domestic order of things in Nigeria have been drastically disrupted and distorted. This has been accentuated by the blind and wicked emulation of the elites' disastrous flirtationship with alien values. This has resulted in the weakening of their ability to distinguish the diversity between our values, interests and how to sustain and manage resources. The Nigerian state has, therefore, been torn apart by all such conflicts and thus transformed as a theatre of all forms of social dislocations with unquantifiable human and material costs since the commencement of the civil strife. The number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) has continued to rise appropriate to the incursion of international non-governmental organisations' (NGOs) penetration of illegal weapons and capital.

It should be emphasised that the mediocrity in the Nigerian state-craft has continued to threaten national security with unmitigated challenges for the appropriate system, action, structure and direction to follow and adjust. Even the institution and development of the so-called liberal democratic system has unsteadily faltered or threatened and distorted the psyche of people and the state of environment with instability and violence. A situation has nonetheless come to a stark reality whereby unknown and uncultured superstructure in Nigeria has been flattened on the already weakened and destroyed infrastructure. The inherent challenges and instituted or instigated violence have invariably threatened the survival of the state. This is occasioned where the state-actors constitute the roots cause of such challenges contrived in the constitution of the state-terrorism platform and the architecture of the state failure.

These threats to the Nigerian statehood are a direct product of vested interests which have tended to have arisen out of the connivance of both the domestic leadership and foreign counterparts. The Nigerian elites, in charge of power, are at the centre of all these challenges and have enormously profited from the corrupt practises and looting of resources hinged on the political, economic and social divide of the Nigerian state and state-terrorism. In other words, factors that have laid the occasioned violent repression have been designed to cheaply satisfy the domestic elites' goals and behaviour that have birthed the installation of current phase of terrorism. It will, therefore, not going to be easy for such a class of elites to accept any radical change of the status-quo. The firm grips with which the imperial framework has held the Nigerian state, in alliance with the Nigerian elites, makes things appear even more of a herculean task to resolve than anything else.

Notwithstanding the prevailing scenaria in the state, Nigerians need to be organised to revise a new view and focus on national identity and objectives and thus develop a new national ideology to ship a new course of action. This is designed in order to firmly assert ownership and control of the Nigerian state and its direction as well as redefine its means and end of statehood and nationhood. The actualisation of this noble course should be by strategic analysis or assessment of the

current inadequacies of the Nigerian state, its leadership failure and governance crisis structure, economic and social structure and all other vices for radical restructuring. However, all issues that threaten stability should be well articulated and addressed with such a political and psychological engineering for massive support against domestic and foreign collaboration who instigate and fund insecurity.

More significantly, such Nigerians should grab the opportunity to construct and build up a political mobilisation machine and motivational spirit in preventing vested interests to dominate national interests in addressing and resolving national problems. This is by playing and orienting Nigerians on a give-and-take game device in order not to encroach on areas that can trigger-off violence known to have traditionally been a part of the weaknesses of the Nigerian polity. These measures can potentially and really weaken and remove all the internal and foreign forces that instigate all forms of terrorist activities and thus strengthen the Nigerian state and capacity of the leadership to provide satisfactory and enduring governance.

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