

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

SITUATION ANALYSIS OF NIGERIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY: NARRATIVES ON THREATS

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1. Introduction:

I feel honoured and humbled to be invited to deliver this keynote address to this distinguished gathering for the obvious reasons that:

- i. The theme of the meeting is timely, relevant and central to our national survival, unity, oneness and progress;
- ii. The meeting is taking place at the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), which speaks of its centrality, relevance and importance to national policy formulation and implementation;
- iii. The meeting is taking place at this crucial moment in our national life when our internal contradictions are contesting against our collective unity, cohesion and progress;
- iv. The objectives of the meeting are germane and pertinent to the vision of the founding fathers of this great country;
- v. The meeting deliberately select and assemble eminent personalities and experts to brainstorm on our collective security concerns;
- vi. The meeting seeks to dovetail into the overall transformation agenda of the President;
- vii. The conveners of this meeting choose me out of several other experienced and eminently qualified Nigerians to deliver the keynote address; and
- viii. The Director General of National Institute is extending the invitation to me is quite significant.

I must confess that this assignment is not an easy one at all, because of the complex nature of the theme and the requirements on me to undertake situation analysis of national security from a threat narrative perspective. What then is situation analysis? Situation analysis is a systematic collection and evaluation of past and present economical, political, social, and technological data, aimed at (1) identification of

internal and external forces that may influence the organization's performance (*country's performance*) and choice of strategies, and (2) assessment of the organization's current and future (*country's current and future*) strengths, weaknesses and opportunities. The situation analysis consists of several methods of analysis, which include the 5Cs Analysis, SWOT analysis and Porter five forces analysis.

The 5Cs Analysis is considered the most useful and common way to analyze the market environment, because of the extensive information it provides. The 5Cs are company, Competitors, Customers, Collaborators and Climate. Firstly, the company analysis involves evaluation of the company's objectives, strategy, and capabilities. Secondly, the competitor analysis takes into consideration the competitors position within the industry and the potential threat it may pose to other businesses. Thirdly, the customer analysis can be vast and complicated. Fourthly, the collaborators are useful for businesses as they allow for an increase in the creation of ideas, as well as an increase in the likelihood of gaining more business opportunities. Lastly, the climate analysis is to fully understand the business climate and environment, many factors that can affect the business must be researched and understood.

A SWOT Analysis is another method under the situation analysis that examines the *Strengths* and *Weaknesses* of a company (internal environment) as well as the *Opportunities* and *Threats* within the market (external environment). A SWOT analysis looks at both current and future situations, where they analyze their current strengths and weaknesses while looking for future opportunities and threats. The goal is to build on strengths as much as possible while reducing weaknesses. A future threat can be a potential weakness while a future opportunity can be a potential strength. This analysis helps a company come up with a plan that keeps it prepared for a number of potential scenarios.

The Porter models involve scanning the environment for threats from competitors and identifying problems early on to minimize threats. This model can apply for any type of situation, from low to high intensity social situation. The porter five models examine the threat of new entrant; bargaining power of buyers; threat of substitute

product of services; bargaining powers of suppliers; and rival among existing competitors.

Applying a situation analysis to Nigeria's national security therefore requires that both internal and external variables must be considered as having the potentials to impact either negatively or positively on the welfare, happiness, wellbeing, safety and freedom of the nationals. Secondly, situation analysis will assist us to properly study, understand and articulate forces that would constitute threats to Nigeria's national security. Thirdly, situation analysis equally assists us to evaluate strengths and weaknesses of existing security administration and conflict management strategies with a view to adequately mapping out modalities for improvements and adjustments. Fourthly, adopting situation analysis to Nigeria's national security discourse will help us gauge our foreign policy praxis, and assist us in the evaluation or determination of the nature of our international engagements. In essence, situation analysis clearly reveals the interconnectedness of every aspect of our national life to national security discourse. Hence, a thorough discussion of national security requires an in-depth understanding of all the internal and external dynamics that impact negatively or positively on the freedom from fear and freedom from want of Nigerians.

We shall proceed with the following:

- i) That security is broadly viewed from the human security prism;
- ii) That national security is an all encompassing concept that requires the reconciliation of state centric and people centric security conception
- iii) That threats to national security are also all encompassing, and they include danger or risk to the state and the nationals (citizens);
- iv) That the consequences of the threats to national security are both vertical and horizontal in the sense that they impact on inter and intra state relations and the relationship amongst nationals in their groupings and association as Nigerians;

- v) That a national strategy for combating threats to national security must be integrative, broad and comprehensive to respond to existing, new and emerging national security threats; and
- vi) That there is need for paradigm shift from state centrism and militarisation of national security to a more balanced and broad strategy that will not only address certain fundamental concerns of the nationals but that it will also respond to concerns of the future generation.

The point must be made early, forcefully and clearly that the obligation of the state to ensure the safety and wellbeing of the citizens¹ is enshrined in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as Section 14 provides *inter alia*;

The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of democracy and social justice.

(2) It is hereby, accordingly, declared that:

(b) The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government:

By vesting in the state this power, the citizens or nationals are entering into a social contract with the state to protect them in exchange for its monopoly and control over all instruments of force and violence. In fact, Thomas Hobbes notes that freedom yields at that point to the stronger drive for self-preservation. To end the war of “every man against every man,” people agreed to create an organization that could use compulsion to end the violence. Hobbes explains thus:

I authorize and give up my right of governing myself, to this Man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorise all his actions in like manner. This done, the multitude so united in one person, is called a commonwealth, in Latin, CIVITAS. This is the generation of that great Leviathan, or rather (to speak more reverently) of that mortal God, to which we owe under the Immortal God our peace and defence.

¹ The primary objective of national security shall be to strengthen the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to advance her interest and objectives, to contain instability, control crime, eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development, progress and growth, improve the welfare and well-being and quality of life of every citizenry. Olusegun Obasanjo, *Grand Strategy for National Security*, p.1; see also Tyoden, S.G., ‘State and Security in Nigeria’s Forth Republic’ in Gana, A.T. and Omelle, Y.B.C., (eds.), *Democratic Rebirth in Nigeria, Vol.1, 1999 – 2003*, AFRIGOV, 2006

The sovereign's interest, however, like those agreeing to be bound, lies in preserving order and avoiding life-threatening violence.² The sovereign can be expected to use the obedience of its subjects to stamp out any threat of violence or disorder.

Naturally therefore the paper is divided into six sections. Section one introduced the paper. Section two conceptualises security. Section three examines the current state of insecurity in Nigeria. Section four analyses the responses to insecurity in Nigeria. Section five designs a proposal for strategy engagements. Section six concludes on a positive note that Nigeria's unity, peace and stability lays in the diversity of her peoples.

2. Contextualising National Security:

There is no time in the history of this Nigeria has scholars, policy makers, public commentators, media and ordinary grappled with issues security than now. This collective concern stems from contesting whose security and whose interests should national security serve? Cyril Obi³ unwaveringly observes that the state and dominant class interests clearly eclipse national security in Nigeria. Olukoshi specifically posits that "the security thrust is directed toward the interests of the governing classes and their propertied allies, while most Nigerians are alienated from the security process that ironically turns on them from time to time".⁴ Like Olukoshi, Imobighe's⁵ critique of the doctrine of internal security notes the consequence of this conservative approach as the tendency for national security

² Claire Finkelstein, *Hobbes and the Internal Point of View*, 75 *FORDHAM L. REV.* 1211, 1227 (2006)

³ Obi, C. Oil, "Environmental Conflict and National Security in Nigeria: Ramifications of the Ecology-Security Nexus for Sub-Regional Peace", *Arms Control and Disarmament and International Security*, ACDIS Occasional Paper, Program University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, January 1997, p. 4; Olukoshi, A., "Nigerian National Interest and National Security Objectives" in *Geopolitical Study of African States*, Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 1992; Nweke, G., *Some Critical Remarks on the National Security Question*, *Nigerian Journal of International Studies*, 1988, 12; Imobighe, T. "Chasing the Shadow: The Illusory Battle for Law, Order and Security in Nigeria" in *Nigeria: Republic in Ruins*, edited by S. Mohammed and T. Edoh. Zaria: Gaskiya Publications, 1986; Imobighe, T. Editor of *Nigeria's Defence and Security: Issues and Options for Policy*. Lagos: Macmillan and the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, 1987; Imobighe, T. *Nigeria's Defence and National Security Linkages: A Framework for Analysis*. Ibadan: Heinemann, 1989; Imobighe, T., *Doctrines for and Threats to Internal Security in Nigeria's Defence Policy: Issues and Problems*, edited by A. Ekoko and M. Vogt. Lagos: Malthouse, 1990

⁴ Olukoshi, A., "Nigerian National Interest and National Security Objectives", *op.cit.*

⁵ Imobighe, T., *Doctrines for and Threats to Internal Security in Nigeria's Defence Policy: Issues and Problems, op.cit.*, p. 225

planners to respond by strengthening the coercive apparatus of government anytime the nation is faced with internal security challenges, neglecting non-coercive, social welfare oriented approaches.

In his thesis titled, *Freedom of Religion, National Security and Legal Imperatives in Nigeria*,⁶ Dr. JD Gamaliel identified and discussed six approaches to issues of national security, to wit, the realist school, liberal or idealist school, Marxist school, critical security studies, human security approach and third World Perspectives of National Security.⁷ Accordingly, the realists believe that the state should not concern itself with individual morality; they should only be driven by state morality which is the pursuit of national interest. Therefore to the realist security is;

Security is traditionally taken to mean the absence of threats especially military threats, to States. It is predicated on the assumption that insecurity of people living within a given State can only come from outside. It assumes that citizens and all other actors in domestic society agree with both the prevailing order and the nature of justice within their own state. Therefore, in the traditional approach, security is conceived of as the state's ability to preserve its core values, to defend itself from potential aggressors or to have strong military capability to match or deter the power of the external enemy.⁸

This understanding of national security in terms of the protection of the state as against the nationals still persists and dominates defence, security, peace and foreign policies of most members of the international community, especially the developed countries like the United States of America.

The second is the liberal or idealist approach to national security, which is a state centric approach that is opposed to the maximization of State power. The school believes in the total eradication of war by making it unlawful and through mechanisms for regulating interstate relationship. The school believe that this can be achieved through multilateralism in fostering international cooperation by treaties

⁶ Gamaliel, J.D., "Freedom of Religion, National Security and Legal Imperatives in Nigeria", University of Jos: Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis 2011. Print.

⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 66-75

⁸ Zacarias, A. *Security and the State in Southern Africa* (Tauris Academic Studies, London 1999), p.4

and international bodies such as United Nations, International Labour Organization, World Health Organization, etc.

The third is the Marxist approach believes that a classless society, without the oppressors and the oppressed would be conducive to peace and security since it would eliminate global conflict. The challenge of the school is its inability to determine how this new, classless secure, society can be achieved. To Marx, the exploitation of people and their domination by the dominant class, facilitated by the State, is the reason for insecurity, conflict, and war. Peace is only attainable through the overthrow of the capitalist system. He suggests that the formation of capitalist monopolies and financial oligarchies will lead to the world being shared among the great powers, thereby intensifying conflict amongst them.⁹

The fourth school is the critical security studies that found expression at the end of the Cold War, which increased the opportunities for security studies to develop new concepts of security, and create critical thinking around the concept, but at the same time made it possible not acknowledge a whole range of issues as security threats. Thus we have during the last decade and a half seen a number of —new security issues making their way onto the security agenda, such as environmental degradation, civil ethnic conflict, uncontrolled immigration, drugs trafficking, organized crimes, resource scarcity/resource control and transnational terrorism. This new thinking about security focuses on the widening of the security concept by including non-military, and non-State elements, as well as the inclusion of factors connected to identity and culture. In this way critical security studies has opened up the number of areas that are security relevant. It also challenged the traditional perception of the State as the only object referent and source of security.¹⁰

The human security conception though popularized by the 1994 UNDP report seeks to promote and emphasize the security of the nationals as opposed to the traditional conceptions pedaled by realists that is state-centric. Human security recognizes, firstly, that the ultimate referent object of security should be the individual, whose

⁹ Gamaliel, J.D., "Freedom of Religion, National Security and Legal Imperatives in Nigeria, *op.cit* pp.60-61

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 62

well being is not necessarily coterminous with the security of the State. Secondly, it highlights that the sources of threat to individuals go far beyond interstate conflict to include, for example, internal conflict, human rights abuses, communicable disease, environmental disasters, poverty and malnutrition and the proliferation of small arms and mines.¹¹ The UNDP report further observes that:

The concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more with nation-State than to people.... Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people For many of them security symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards.¹²

In the same vein Kofi Anan insists that;

Security, in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment -- these are the interrelated building blocks of human - and therefore national - security."¹³

This understanding is a departure from the state-centric, conventional and traditional conception of security, which emphasises build up of strong military defence as a means of protecting the territorial or national integrity of the state from both internal and external violation. National security has always been equated with state security, and state security is viewed as the security of those who occupy public office. This position is further echoed by Ibeanu thus;

¹¹ Ibid, p. 63

¹² Thomas, C. and Wilkin, P: *Globalization, Human Security and the African Experience*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. London U.K.,(1999), pp.1-4

¹³ Kofi Annan. "Secretary-General Salutes International Workshop on Human Security in Mongolia." Two-Day Session in Ulaanbaatar, May 8-10, 2000. Press Release SG/SM/7382.

Rarely is national security viewed as the welfare and happiness of the citizens, neither is security viewed as 'community security', 'societal security' or securing the 'common good', defined in the most generic way.¹⁴

The third world perspective of security has arisen out of the concern that international discourse on security does not take into consideration events in the third world; the prevalence of internal conflicts and other insecurities in the third world countries; the tendencies of regimes in third world to look after their interests than those of the citizens;¹⁵ and the propensities of states in the third world to be sources of insecurity than protectors of the lives and property of their citizens.¹⁶ These third world countries that are in the global south are viewed by the global north as being weak and incapable of providing the needed protection of their teeming population.

That notwithstanding, this paper is of the considered view that Nigeria's national security should be people-driven with heavy dosage of socio-economic consideration or bias to the social security of the nationals. There is no gain saying the fact that most of cases of threats to peace and security in the country are build up of prolong period of state neglect towards the socio-economic conditions of the citizens. This is so because of the wanton plunder of the public treasury by few individuals through corrupt practices. These incidences of primitive accumulative of wealth at the expense of our commonwealth are the bane of peace and security in Nigeria.

3. Threat Narratives of Nigeria's National Security:

In the study titled, *The Jurisprudence of American National Security Presiprudence*,¹⁷ Robert F. Blomquist insist that the starting point of any discussion on American national security would be the oath of office of the President of the United States of

¹⁴ Ibeanu, O. and Momoh, A., *State Responsiveness to Public Security Needs: The Politics of Security Decision-Making*, Nigeria Country Study, CSDG Papers, Number 14 June 2008, p. 13

¹⁵ Acharya, A. —The Periphery as Core: The Third World and Security Studies. New York University Centre for International and Strategic Studies (YCISS) Occasional Paper No.28, (March, 1995) p.3

¹⁶ Ayoob, M. —Security in the Third: The Worm About to Turn, *International Affairs* Vol.60, No. 1 (1991) p. 10.

¹⁷ Blomquist, Robert F., "The Jurisprudence of American National Security Presiprudence," *Valparaiso University Law Review*, Vol. 44, No. 3 [2010], Available at: <http://scholar.valpo.edu/vulr/vol44/iss3/6>

America,¹⁸ which enjoins and vested in the occupant of the office all the executive powers under a presidential system of government. The writer further notes that;

The presidential oath is properly understood as the constitutional keystone of the American Republic: it commands the President of the United States to preserve, protect and defend—as well as articulate, pursue, and achieve—the *legal embodiment of the American national interest*. A new field of inquiry, which I have coined *presiprudence*, may help scholars elaborate theoretical insights on the President’s pursuit of the legal national interest.¹⁹

Of particular interest to this conversation is that the writer identifies what he teamed national security crises, within the context of American national security crises²⁰, to include:

- (A) regional conflicts—such as Desert Storm—involving the threat of war between conventional armies;
- (B) stabilizing “failed states” like Somalia, where government broke down in toto;
- (C) staying economically competitive with Japan;
- (D) integrating Russia into the international community after the fall of communism and controlling the nuclear weapons it inherited from the Soviet Union;
- (E) dealing with “rogue states,” unruly nations like North Korea that engage in trafficking and proliferation as a matter of national policy;
- (F) combating international crime, like the scandal involving the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, or imports of illegal drugs;
- (G) strengthening international institutions for trade as countries in Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America adopted market economies;
- (H) responding to ethnic conflicts and civil wars triggered by the reemergence of culture as a political force in the “clash of civilizations”;

¹⁸ The unique Presidential Oath is specifically prescribed in U.S. CONST. art. II, § 1, cl. 7. Key specific executive powers relevant to the President’s national security powers are: U.S. CONST. art. II, § 1, cl. 1 “The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America.”; art. II, § 2, cl. 1 (“The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States”); art. II, § 2, cl. 2 (“He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties”); art. II, § 3 (“he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers”); art. II, § 3 (“he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States”). – see, Robert F. Blomquist, *The Presidential Oath, the American National Interest and a Call for Presiprudence*, 73 UMKC L. REV. 1, 51 (2004)

¹⁹ Blomquist, Robert F., “The Jurisprudence of American National Security Presiprudence,” *op.cit.* p.881

²⁰ *Ibid*, p.887

- (I) providing relief to millions of people affected by natural catastrophes like earthquakes, tsunamis, typhoons, droughts, and the spread of HIV/AIDS and malaria;
- (J) combating terrorism driven by sectarian or religious extremism;
- (K) grassroots activism on a global scale, ranging from the campaign to ban land mines to anti-globalization hoodlums and environment crazies;
- (L) border security and illegal immigration
- (M) the worldwide ripple effects of currency fluctuations and the collapse of confidence in complex financial securities; and
- (N) For at least one fleeting moment, the safety of toys imported from China.

This analysis is important and relevant to experts in Nigeria's national security in the sense that a panoramic survey of threats to our national security must take into consideration Nigeria's unique and privilege position in Africa. This geo-strategic consideration is not only important now that Nigeria is currently being faced with challenges coming from other African countries, such as South Africa, but the fact that we need to conserve the interests of our nationals in a globalising world. The negative perception and or orientation of Nigerians towards Nigeria and in favour of other countries is major national security crisis facing us. This is at the heart of unpatriotic tendencies such as oil theft, oil bunkering, oil pipeline vandalism, money laundering, terrorism, human and drug trafficking, sectarianism, kidnappings etc. Secondly and as encapsulated in the concentric cycle of our foreign policy thrust, Nigeria's national security must emphasize and continue to review situations in other African countries, especially our immediate neighbours and within the ECOWAS sub region with a view to securing her national interest and containing threats. This is because as the recent *Boko Haram* terrorist activities have shown, Nigeria will need to ensure that African countries are politically and socio-economically stable and strong to respond to new and emerging peace and security challenges.

There are divergent opinions on the causes of the current state of insecurity in the country. Prominent among these opinions are those that blame the problem on the socio-economic situation on ground, poverty, illiteracy, and inequality. These are challenges that are not peculiar or restricted to just one location alone. But other locations are not experiencing the type of insecurity currently facing northern Nigeria. Some people have blamed the insecurity situation on armed and abandoned

political thugs used during electioneering period who eventually explore their training and experiences to unleash terror on innocent citizens. For instance, the ECOMOG in Borno State that metamorphosed into *Boko Haram*, cells of militants that existed in the Niger Delta before Amnesty, and other similar groups across the country.

In order to properly understand the current state of insecurity in Nigeria certain fundamental variables must be appreciated. They include the forces of globalisation, the impact of the interplay of global terrorist campaign on Africa generally and particularly Nigeria, impact of climate change, porosity of international borders, challenges and consequences of corruption on security, ethnicity and proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

According to Claude Ake²¹ globalisation:

...is about growing structural differentiation and functional integration in the world economy; it is growing interdependence across the globe; it is about the nation state coming under pressure from the surge of transnational phenomena; it is about the emergence of a global mass culture driven by mass advertising and technical advances in mass communication.²²

These phenomena have continued to challenge the capacity of the security operatives to perform their statutory role as expected. But the best method of security management is the capacity of the establishment to be flexible and move with the times. The point being made here is that advancement in information technology particularly has shrunk political, economic, religious and social spaces that were hitherto easily policed by local security operative and introduces new dynamics and perspective to insecurity in the country.

In his *Clash of Civilisation*,²³ Samuel Huntington highlights some of those dynamics. He argued that the world is witnessing an upsurge of clashes among the various identities. And in Nigeria, the spate of ethno-religious conflicts that engulfs the northern part of the country has tended to show, and pay credence to the Huntington thesis that there are indeed the traces of the clash of civilisation in the

²¹ Ake, C., "The New World Order: The View from Africa" in Hans Henrik Holm and George Sorensen (Eds.), *Whose World Order: Uneven Globalisation and the End of the Cold War*, London, WestView Press, 1995

²² *Ibid*, P.23

²³ Huntington, S., "The Clash of Civilisations" in *Foreign Affairs*, Summer, 1993, 72,3, pp.22-49

country, particularly when one views the different identities as levels of civilisation on their own.

In fact, in more recent publication titled, *Clash of Identities*,²⁴ Abdu Hussain, analysed the problem of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria, with special reference to the Kaduna perennial violent clashes between the Muslim-Hausas and others. He also brought in bold relief level of destruction of lives and property, disruption and displacement of population and other deadly incidences. This is another dynamic.

Another variable that has compound insecurity situation in the country is the problem of climate change, especially with the level of desert encroachment in the northern part of the country. The impact of this phenomenon is the mass movement of people southward and the incidences of perennial clashes between the sedentary farmers and nomadic pastoralists, as have become the yearly event in Jigawa, Nassarawa, Benue, Taraba, Adamawa and Yobe States. One of such notable conflict is the perennial Tiv-Fulani conflict in the River Benue valley. But I am aware of the efforts of the Governors of Benue, Nasarawa and Taraba states and the Sultan of Sokoto to finding a lasting solution to this intractable problem.

Again, one of the reasons why insecurity persists in the country is the problem of porous and unmanned international borders, especially borders with the Republics of Niger, Cameroun, Benin and Chad. The conflicts and/or instability in these countries makes for easy availability of small arms and light weapons and their proliferation across neighbouring countries as Nigeria. Secondly, these countries have served as safe haven, breeding and training ground for terrorist organisations before they launch their attack on the country. It has been widely reported that the arm struggle that characterised the 'Arab Spring' led to the eventual proliferation of arms into West African countries. Apart from these there are other illicit routes through which arms and ammunitions as have found their way into the country, and eventually into the wrong hands. The Niger Delta Amnesty programme witnessed the recovery of large turnover of arms and ammunitions from ex-militants. But the 'big question' is how these weapons got into the hands of these unauthorised

²⁴ Abdu, H., *Clash of Identities*, Kaduna, DevReach Publishers, 2010

persons. We must also not forget that the phenomenon of transnational crimes including terrorism go hand in hand with illicit drugs which provide the fuel for terrorism.

One explanation to this troubling situation is that corruption has been so pervasive in the country that public officers easily mortgage the peace and security of the commonwealth for filthy lucre. This is because corrupt individuals are celebrated in the Nigerian society, above the virtues of sobriety, modesty and hard-work. Therefore, the mad rush to meet up societal expectations, border security operatives tends to compromise and bend rules for tips. In fact, it is common knowledge that intense lobbying takes place within border security operatives for posting to strategic border outpost, for the simple reason that you could easily be corruptly enriched there. This is quite unfortunate.

Though the *Boko Haram insurgency* has taken the central stage as a security challenge facing the country, we deliberately review certain variables in order to give us a broader picture of the current state of insecurity in Nigeria. It is in looking at the issue broadly that we will be able to understand and appreciate the enormity of the challenge at hand and proffer actionable, implementable, workable and sustainable responses.

4. Proposal for Comprehensive National Strategy as Response to National Security in Nigeria:

It must be noted from the onset that three broad arguments have emerged on how to handle the problems of insecurity in Nigeria. The first school argues that the current state of insecurity require the state to be tough in asserting and controlling the situation by deploying the maximum force and strength in quelling the spate of violence in the country. The second school argues in the opposite direction. They insist that the use of force would be a reminiscence of the incidences in Odi and Zaki Biam, which may not speak well of a democratic government like ours. Therefore, to them the best method of combating this present insecurity situation is to use non-violent mean of resolving the problem, preferably through the use of dialogue. The third school tries to strike a balance from the two arguments by urging for the use of

the carrot-and-the-stick strategy whereby the state will not sheer away from using force where the situation demands, but use persuasion and incentives to reach amicable settlement with contending individuals or groups in the country.

The third argument was employed by government in managing the Niger Delta conflict. While not tolerating kidnapping, oil bunkering, pipeline vandalism or hostage taking, government through the Joint Task Force (JTF) was able to contend the criminality that almost clouded the genuine Niger Delta agitations before granting amnesty to repentant militants. In fact, government went ahead to establish the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs and showed political will to address the socio-economic and infrastructural problems facing the area. Some of the salutary steps taken include, the multilayer dialogue sessions with stakeholders from the Niger Delta area, establishment of the NDDC, the inauguration of the Niger Delta Technical Committee to harmonise previous recommendations on the Niger Delta issues.

Similarly, government was proactive in responding to the post-2011 presidential election conflict that claimed many lives in some states in northern Nigeria, by quelling the violent aspect of the conflict before setting up the Sheik Lemu and Galtimari committees to look into the situation alongside other security challenges in the affected zones. In fact, if government was not prompt in containing the situation, it would have spread beyond Kaduna state. I am also aware that Government has also directed the Secretary to the Government of the Federation to commence the process of harmonising the recommendations of previous commissions/panels of inquiry into civil disturbances in the country for implementation. I consider this a landmark step because failure to implement recommendations of past reports itself is a fuel for crisis that portrays government as condoning impunity. Also as part of the recommendations of the Sheik Lemu and Galtimari committees, government is proactively addressing the problem of *Almajiri system* in the northern states by establishing *Almajiri Model Schools*.

One major problem with these laudable initiatives is the fact that they are curative and not preventive in nature. And considering the destructive nature of insecurity in

the country, especially the extent of human casualties, loss of personal and public effects, and investments, more should be done to nip the problem in the bud. This is the concern of the next section of the paper.

5. Proposal for an Integrated and Scientific Security Engagement in Nigeria:

It is therefore our humble submission that in consideration of internal and international dimensions of the security problem facing the country, the proposal will equally be proactive and multifaceted on a broad-based and integrated approach to gather intelligence and sharing same among the various strategic institutions.

At the internal level, the engagement of the citizens is very critical, but inadequate institutional synergy is a major challenge impeding on the capacities of the various security operatives in the country to protect and secure the lives and property of citizens as they ought to in situations such as this. Apart from the problem of inadequate institutional synergy or collaboration is public perception of the security agencies. This problem arose from years of regime protection by these agencies to the detriment of the citizens. This has made it difficult for the populace to trust the security agencies with information since it can easily be used to suppress them. What then can be done to restore this lost confidence and win the fight against insecurity in the country?

Internally, civil and peace education must be intensified at all level, especially by these agencies engaging the populace, on a sustained basis, in dialogue and symposia. We are aware of the ongoing media campaigns on the need to see security as everyone's business and citizens are urged to report any suspicious movement to the police. But it must go beyond that to a change of attitude by Nigerians and embrace civil ways of handling security problems by security agencies.

The critical role of traditional and religious institutions in providing vital security information to nip in the bud threats have been well stated elsewhere. But suffice it to restate that traditional and religious institutions are in good position to say who enter what community at what time. They can also raise the alarm on inciting messages capable of causing disaffection among the people. Therefore, I challenge

first and foremost elders and elites in the north as a very critical group who should have the responsibility in providing necessary basis for the required information for solution of this menace.

At the international level, Nigeria is signatory to many bilateral and multilateral agreements, which can be exploited for the benefit of the country's peace and security. The role of the various Defence Attachés in our foreign missions should be reviewed and strengthened. Since the involvement of foreign nationals have been identified as critical factor in most conflicts and other cases of insecurity in the country, Defence Attaches should be able to supply useful information on how to control the menace. In the same vein, heads of foreign missions should complement government efforts by providing vital information on activities taking place in their respective countries of assignment. Similarly, government must broaden its network of collaboration in information and intelligence sharing to fight insurgency, which currently defines the nature of insecurity. This type indeed can only be fought through focus efforts and multidimensional approaches.

6. Conclusion:

In conclusion, the paper viewed security as an all encompassing phenomenon that pertains to the freedom and happiness of the citizens. It further situate the problem of insecurity in Nigeria within a broader perspective taking into consideration both internal and international variables such as forces of globalisation, international terrorism network, effect of climate change, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, ethnicity, and corruption. The paper analyses the nature of responses to cases of insecurity in the country and agrees with the carrot and stick method, which does not condone impunity, but it is flexible to accommodate the diversity and different sheds of views. The paper criticised the curative methods being employed in tackling the problems of insecurity in the country, and therefore call for a preventive strategy that is information-driven. It is our strong recommendation that all avenues at national and international levels must be explored in arriving at

decision of either use of force, dialogue or use of force and dialogue with contending individuals or groups in the country.

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