

POLITICS AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIA: WAY FORWARD
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INTRODUCTION

1. I consider this invitation to speak on such a timely topic a mark of distinguished honour and an opportunity to share my thoughts on the topic especially now that I am in partisan politics as a civilian. What I intend to do today is to say it as it is; to take the bull by the horn so that we can at the end of this lecture get a better understanding of our peculiar security challenges as a country, and know what and how to get solutions. The organizers of this program asked me to speak on the topic titled ***POLITICS AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIA: THE WAY FORWARD***. The fact that high level of political terror had been an issue in Nigeria since 1993, with the country scoring a 4 on the *Political Terror Scale* every year since 1993 has always been a source of concern to me. When a country is graded with the 4 points on the Political Terror Scale, it means that civil and political rights violations have expanded to large numbers of the population. Murders, disappearances, and torture are a common part of life. In spite of its generality, on this level terror affects those who interest themselves in politics or ideas (See Political Terror Scale,2020)

2. Let me pause to formally thank the organizers of this event and for choosing such a timely topic because it is glaring to us all that insecurity has become a hydra-headed monster that is threatening the survival of our nation. I am by nature a very optimistic person and I know that there is no benefit for one to be pessimistic in whatever situation one finds himself. I am here to assure Nigerians that we will eventually and finally defeat this hydra-headed monster called insecurity. While it is not my duty or job prescription as a retired soldier cum diplomat to hold briefs for the president in this circumstance, I still believe that as someone who worked with him as his Chief of Army Staff (COAS) for sixty-six months, I can say it with all sense of responsibility that he is concerned about the security challenges confronting this country and he is doing his best to address the situation.

But it is also a fact that defeating this hydra-headed monster of insecurity requires a comprehensive approach that involves all the machinery of government and non-governmental agencies. By this I mean institutions like the three tiers of government especially the local government system and MDAs. The Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Paramilitary organizations and of course the Armed Forces of Nigeria.

3. Nigeria as we all know is a unique country in the world not just because of the nature and caliber of its people but because of the journey it went through to become a country. There is a general belief that the *Big Three*, that is Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Sir Ahmadu Bello are the founding fathers of Nigeria but there is another school of thought that said that modern Nigeria existed long before these three people were even born. When the Northern and Southern Protectorates were amalgamated in 1914, Dr. Azikiwe was nine years while both Awolowo and the Sardauna were four-year-old boys. Ayomide (2022) wrote that Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, Captain James Pinso Labulo David, the millionaire ship owner who single-handedly sponsored Thomas Babington Macaulay's plan to establish the CMS Grammar school in Lagos and later married Princess Aina Sarah Bonnet, the goddaughter of Queen Victoria in 1862; and Herbert Macaulay who happens to be the grandson of Bishop Crowther are the real founding fathers of Nigeria.

4. Whatever the case, the fact that the *Daily Times* presented the *Big Three* to the world when the trio through the intervention of John Macpherson resolved their differences after Anthony Enahoro's 1954 motion for independence created a constitutional crisis that threatened the existence of Nigeria made them be recognized as the founding fathers of Nigeria. Their tribes and their parties were, of course, the biggest in Nigeria so everyone accepted them as the founding fathers which to me is still okay. The country eventually secured independence from British rule in 1960 and experimented with the parliamentary system of government which got truncated by the military in 1966. There were coups and counter-coups that eventually saw the country adopting the presidential system of government in 1979 and the emergence of Alhaji Aliyu Usman Shehu Shagari as president. Since then we have been using the presidential system of

government although with different modifications during the periods of military government. Fast track the journey to 1999 when some stakeholders whom I prefer to just say were the contemporary military leaders decided to zone the presidency to the southwest because of the injustice done to late MKO Abiola. It was done in such a way that both the PDP and the APP fielded Yoruba flagbearers. From 1999 to 2022 is 23 years of uninterrupted democratic government and leadership. Has Nigeria fared well under this democracy? Did this democracy succeed in providing Nigerians with security and catered to their welfare as it should? How can we make our democracy work so that Nigeria becomes a country with greater national power?

5. Let us not forget that the security and welfare of Nigerians ought to be the primary purpose of any democratic government according to the 1999 Nigerian Constitution as amended. The cornerstone of the Nigerian constitution is the provision of national security and catering to the welfare of every Nigerian. This is because without security virtually, nothing positive will thrive in Nigeria; no meaningful development and progress can occur without security. Therefore, security is important because it is the only sure means to guarantee the welfare of the Nigerian state and its people.

6. In Africa, like other climes, politics play a major role in determining peace and tranquility. For instance, the ongoing insecurity challenges in Libya dates back to the Arab Spring protests that occurred in 2011 which ousted President Gaddafi from government. The chronicles of the current insecurity experienced in Libya revolves around the manner in which politics was played following the elections of the General National Council (GNC) as the legislative authority of Libya by popular vote on 7 July 2012. From 8 August 2012, the GNC replaced the National Transitional Council (NTC) that had governed the country since the end of the 2011 Political crisis. However, following the election of the House of Representatives (HoR), not all the stakeholders were satisfied. This led to fresh political crisis that impeded the polity. Supporters of the GNC swiftly seized control of Tripoli, forcing the newly elected parliament into virtual exile in Tobruk, near the Egyptian border (Leitch, 2022). The HoR enjoys widespread international recognition as Libya's official

government. However, the Tripoli-based Supreme Court declared it illegal and voided the results of the election in November 2014. The court ruling was hailed by the GNC and its backers, but it was rejected as invalid by the HoR and its loyalists (Leitch, 2022). Establishing these conflicting and divergent political opinions have exacerbated the insecurity and weakened the political structure in Libya.

7. Nigeria's political landscape has been inundated with unhealthy rivalry and inter-ethnic struggle. To a large extent, these events have shaped how we can understand the different forms and dynamics of politics in Nigeria today. They have also had an impact on democratic processes, peace and tranquility, and Nigeria's development trajectory. Having transited through 4 republics, the transition to the Fourth Republic in 1999 served as a turning point in the nation's politics. So far, it has been Nigeria's longest period of democratic administration, during which the country's political environment has matured from an embryonic state. Despite this, the Fourth Republic is still plagued with insecurity in the form of terrorism, secessionist agitations, armed banditry, kidnapping, armed robbery and piracy among others. In the political sphere, lack of patriotism and sectional convulses have hindered the development of politics in Nigeria. The purpose of this paper therefore is to proffer ways of curtailing insecurity caused by unhealthy politics in Nigeria. The paper will be limited to politics and insecurity from 1999 – June 2022.

AIM

8. The aim of this paper is to discuss politics and insecurity in Nigeria with to proposing the way forward.

SCOPE

9. This presentation will cover the following:
- a. Conceptual Clarifications.
 - b. Global Perspective on Politics and Insecurity.
 - c. Politics and National Power.
 - d. Nigeria's Democracy since 1999 and the Challenge of Insecurity.

- e. Roles of State Institutions and Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria.
- f. Way Forward.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

10. The paper would make clarification of some key concepts of the topic. These include politics, democracy, security, national security, insecurity and the concept of peace.

POLITICS

11. Politics entails activities involved in getting and using power in public life, and being able to influence decisions that affect a country or society. It is that which relates to the state, government, the body politics, public administration, policy-making in a nation. It is organized or ordered with respect to government (Collins 2005). This definition focused mainly on the role of the state in politics and does not cover how politics could engender security or insecurity within a state. As such the definition did not serve the purpose of this study and is thus not adopted.

12. According to Crick (1964), politics is the activity by which differing interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and the survival of the whole community. It is also a way of solving problems or challenges of order through reconciliation rather than violence or coercion. This definition tends to be comprehensive as it dwells on how resource are shared which often engenders conflict that leads to insecurity. This definition thus serves the purpose of this paper and as such adopted.

DEMOCRACY

13. According to Abraham (1988) democracy is the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people. It is a

government by the people in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected agents under a free electoral system. This definition focused on the importance of the people in a democratic arrangement, but fails to discuss how leaders allocate or distribute resources which often fuel insecurity. Thus, the definition is not adopted for this paper.

14. On the other hand, Schmitter and Terry (2012) view democracy as a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens. The rulers act indirectly through the support and cooperation they get from their citizens which depends on the level in which the ruler is able to guarantee their security. This definition is able to relate democracy to leadership accountability as well as security. This is in line with the purpose of this paper and thus, adopted.

SECURITY

15. Security is a state of existence that is free from danger, fear, threat, anxiety and uncertainty. It embraces the establishment of protective and defensive measures to safeguard all persons, materials and information from danger and indeed peace and tranquility in the society (Ismaila, 2018). This definition though elaborate failed to identify measures to keep individuals and properties safe. Thus, the definition is not adopted.

16. According to McNamara (1968), security means development and development means security. Security focuses on human life and development. Anything that threatens the survival of the citizens of a nation is also a threat to the security of the nation. McNamara's definition tends to be holistic in its conception of security as it focuses on all facets of security in relation to development. The definition serves the purpose of this paper and is therefore adopted.

NATIONAL SECURITY

17. National security is the preservation of a way of life acceptable to the people and compatible with the needs and legitimate aspirations of others. It includes freedom from military attack or coercion, freedom from international subversion and freedom from the erosion of the political, economic and social values which are essential to the quality of life (National Defence College, Canada). This definition focused on external factors that influence national security but failed to take cognizance of internal political dynamics that influence national security. As such the definition is not suitable for this paper and thus, not adopted.

18. According to Obasanjo (2001), national security is the aggregation of the security interests of the individuals, political entities, human associations and ethnic groups which make up the nation. The security interests include safety of life and property, economic, physiological, mental well-being and freedom to pursue the attainment of legitimate objective without hindrance. This definition is holistic as it take cognizance of both external and internal factors that affects national security, thus it is adopted for this paper.

INSECURITY

19. Sauter and Carafano (2015) defined insecurity as the unavailability of the full scope of activities involved in protecting a territory's domestic and foreign interest. This view of insecurity depicts state-centric perspective which emphasizes lack of territorial and state protection rather than general insecurity. The definition is therefore, limited in scope and as such not adopted.

20. On the other hand, Matt (2018), posits that insecurity is more encountered in an ungoverned spaces characterized with corruption, poverty, weak institutional response to the demands of the people. Insecurity is incapability to prevent citizens from all forms of threats which maybe economic, social,

environmental, political, military or epidemiological in nature. This definition rightly serve the purpose of this paper as it identified political factors that engender insecurity. It is thus adopted.

CONCEPT OF PEACE

21. According to the American military history, the word peace essentially means absence of war (Answers.com, 2008). Therefore, by militaries' views, they fight wars to win the peace, or they use force to maintain peace. In military paradigms, peace is seen as an ultimate or ideal goal rather than a means to an end. This definition is limited as it focuses mainly on military concept of peace, which is absence of war. It fails to take cognizance of factors that could foster in the society justice and equitable distribution of resources. Thus the definition does not serve the purpose of this paper and thus not adopted.

22. However, according to Aarne (2005), peace is not only the absence of war, but it means or includes the presence of justice, law, order or government in the society. This view is encompassing as peace is seen beyond the absence of war and other factors that engender peace were identified. The definition thus serves the purpose of this paper and is adopted.

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE ON POLITICS AND INSECURITY

23. Globally, democracy, which is usually entrenched through politics, is the most acceptable form of government that is viewed by the international community as legitimate because of certain characteristics, which include periodic elections, term limits, participation of the citizenry, and most especially its unique ability to pave the way for the majority to elect those whom they want to lead them. Democratic governance are now the universally accepted system of government because they can also eliminate the need to use violence and bloodshed to get power; instead, any citizen who thinks he or she has the support of the populace can join a political party and stand for elections. The conundrum with Africa's democracy and politics is that the global

community is not really impressed with the level of transparency and fair play in the process. African politics is often characterized by a lack of inclusion, violence, rigging, and the use of political thugs because some of the politicians are desperate for power. A number of factors account for the high level of political violence associated with the electoral process in Nigeria, including deeply entrenched informal patronage systems, politics of exclusion, anxiety to remain in power, election fraud, and the general lack of transparency of elections and rules governing the electoral process.

24. Nevertheless, it is a thing of joy that, over the years, our elections are getting better and more transparent by the day. Nigerian politicians are also leading the way in showing how political leaders ought to behave. For example, when former President Goodluck Jonathan graciously accepted that he lost the 2015 presidential elections to President Muhammadu Buhari, and said that his ambition was not worth the blood of any Nigerian. Recently, the President signed the 2022 Electoral Act into law, which will go a long way towards strengthening our democratic process by making the way we elect our leaders more transparent. This is a step taken in the right direction, and I can assure you that if we continue on this track, our democracy will one day be a point of reference to other African nations.

25. The global perspective on politics and insecurity in Africa is that our democracy breeds violence because of low per capita income. In Collier, Hoeffler and Rohner (2009) the three scholars argue that rebellion takes place whenever it is feasible and that democracy is more dangerous in poor countries. Therefore, democracy which is universally a means of achieving peace since the end of the Cold War is also a double-edged sword that can trigger violence in poor countries.

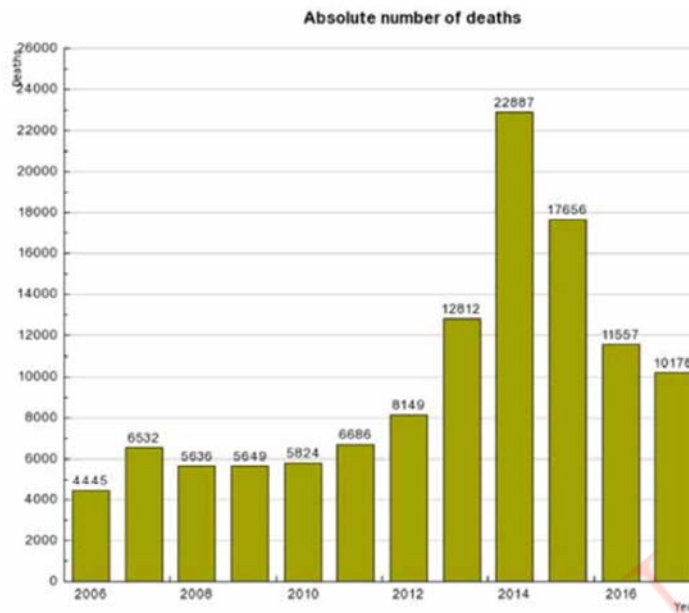


Figure 1: Main trend of violence 2006 – 2017

(Source: Nigeria Watch, Seventh Report on Political Violence in Nigeria, 2017).

Figure 1: Political Violence and absolute Number of Deaths 2006 to 2017. Source: Nigeria Watch, Seventh Report on Political Violence in Nigeria, 2017

26. There is another school of thought that says that insecurity and political violence occur not only because of low income per capita but also because of weak institutions. Scholars of 'logic of political violence' argue that political violence is largely an attribute of 'weak institutional polities' (Besley and Persson, 2010). In many states in Nigeria, the Presidential, Gubernatorial, and National Assembly elections are marred largely by violence. Suberu (2006) argued that electoral competition is generally pursued as a zero-sum game. Political opponents are subjected to intimidation, harassment, violent displacement, and even death. That the winner of an election gets to control nearly every aspect of the state system raises the specter of violent contestation of electoral outcomes. This lecture is to dissect the Nigerian political sphere vis-a-vis security and proffer solutions on how it can be transformed into a conduit for sustainable peace and development. This is because empirical evidence shows that insecurity is steadily growing at an alarming rate in Nigeria since the return of democracy in 1999.

27. Political violence on a micro-level refers to violence against an individual or a group of individuals. It is a psychological approach to violence that is linked to issues like frustration, rage, greed, grievance, or other micro-level triggers of individual disagreement. According to the frustration-aggression theory, when an individual is comparatively deprived as a result of the gap between what is sought or desired and what is attainable in reality, he becomes angry. Aggression, in other words, is a product of dissatisfaction (Dollard et al. 1939; Jepperson 1991; Amenta 2005). Once an individual has needs that cannot be satisfied, he becomes aggressive. Thus, when a basic desire is thwarted, the individual is frustrated and directs his aggression towards perceived authorities standing in the way of his achieving or attaining his desire. The Nigerian scenario has reflected such frustration since the 1990s as politics in Nigeria is riddled 'with promises made and unfulfilled' as well as complex violence. First was in 1993 after decades of military dictatorship. Then the June 12th, 1993 presidential elections adjudged as free, fair, and credible were annulled. This triggered frustration and violent political agitation in Lagos and other parts of Western Nigeria. Thus, violence is located within the feeling of dissatisfaction that arises from the comparison between what one is currently benefiting from, what one ought to have benefitted

and what is regarded as the ideal in the society.

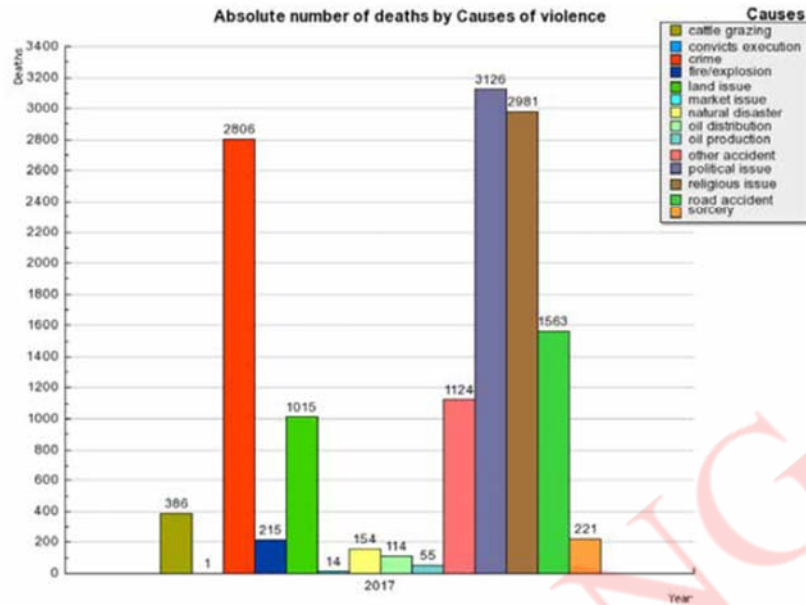


Figure 2: Number of fatalities resulting from different causes of violence in 2017. Source: (Strøm, Myhre, Wentzel-Larsen, and Thoresen 2017).

28. The group violence theory on the other hand holds that in order to understand violence, one must look beyond the individual. The theory contends that to understand violence is to understand the social context of society (Strøm, Myhre, Wentzel-Larsen and Thoresen 2017). Proponents of the critical mass or mass action suggest that group violent action leads to popular uprisings involving civil society such as the Arab Spring (Amadi 2012) and the October 2020 “End SARS” protest in Nigeria as a result of accumulated oppression, victimization and violation of human rights by the Special Anti- Robbery Squad (SARS).

29. Thus, group violence such as mass action (Patten and Arboleda-Flórez 2004; Haque 2005; Amadi 2012; Simpson, Willer and Feinberg 2018), inter-ethnic conflicts, wars, crises, violent demonstrations or uprisings, separatist agitation, religious crisis, etc. has implications for democracy. Adil Ahmad Haque (2005) argued that group violence could emerge as a form of retribution. It is further held that political violence is first and foremost the

product of socio-structural configuration.

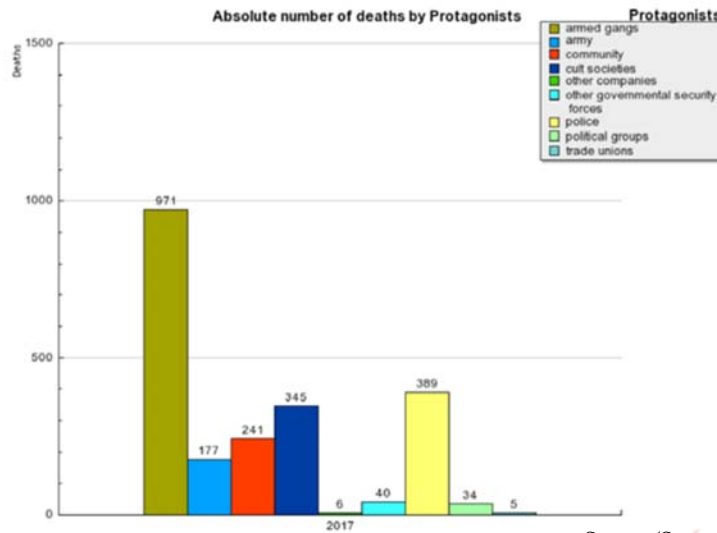


Figure 3: The main protagonists of violence in 2017, per number of fatalities

Source: (Strom, Myhre, Wentzel-Larsen, and Thoresen 2017).

POLITICS AND NATIONAL POWER

30. In politics, power entails physical strength and capacity to impose one's interest or will on others. This includes the ability to exercise rule and control over others (Samson, 2016). Within the political context, national power is the capability of the state to secure the goals and objectives of its national interests in relation to other nations. It involves the capacity to use force, threat or any other influence over others in order to secure goals and objectives of national interests (Malcolm Chalmers, 2012). In other words, this may also mean voluntary commitment of nationals to ensure positive achievements of national interests.

31. National power entails the state's reliance and the use of multitude instruments of power such as diplomacy, informational, military and economy. This could be hard or soft power and others to influence, gain an upper hand, dominate or control issues and affairs in order to maximize its external power and benefits, and also increase/maximize its national interests (Iyanlu, 2011). National power has to do with a state's capacity to use politics to influence the actions and reactions of other states towards its interests. This implies that national power is the

influence possessed by a state in the exercise of its sovereignty, pursuit for multi-sectoral growth and development and relations vis-à-vis other states. I have realized over the years that many state institutions were always hesitant to apply national power to achieve national interest in furtherance of sound administration.

NIGERIA'S DEMOCRACY SINCE 1999 AND THE CHALLENGE OF INSECURITY

32. The transition to the Fourth Republic in 1999 set the pace for the development of Nigeria's democracy. Having held 6 successive multiparty democratic elections, Nigeria is currently enjoying the longest period of civilian rule since its independence. It has a vibrant public space which has benefitted from the dividends of democracy. However, wrongly played politics has over the years led to an increase in insecurity in the country. Some of the major security challenges facing Nigeria include insurgency and terrorism in the North East, armed banditry and kidnapping in the North West and farmers – herdsman clashes in the North Central. Others include agitations for secession in the South East and South West as well as oil theft and piracy in the South South. Some of these security challenges will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

INSURGENCY AND TERRORISM

33. For the past decade or so, Nigeria witnessed the emergence of the Boko Haram terrorist group and the Islamic State West African Province (ISWAP) with their activities transcending national boundaries. These groups are supported by external terrorist groups such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and al Qaeda in terms of funding, training and provision of sophisticated weaponry. Over the past years these groups have terrorized innocent citizens and caused wanton destruction of lives and properties with huge economic losses to the North East region. The coming of the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari in 2015 marked the beginning of the

degrading of these groups. At this point, we must give credit to Mr President for the strong political will, strategic direction and provision of essential resources towards the defeat of Boko Haram in the North East. It is quite evident that the present situation cannot by far be compared to pre-2015 and the people of the North East can better attest to this. What we have now are pockets of ISWAP who continue to attack soft targets and terrorize innocent civilians.

34. Sadly also, after their dissemination from the North East, some of the ISWAP members penetrated into the society and teamed-up with bandits in the North West and North Central causing havoc in these areas. Therefore, despite the successes recorded by the Armed Forces of Nigeria (AFN), the terrorists in collaboration with bandits have continued to change tactics from large-scale attacks to staging of lighter attacks, mounting of roadblocks to kidnap innocent commuters and ambushing of military convoys. This calls for a comprehensive and whole of society approach to combating insurgency and terrorism in Northern Nigeria.

BANDITRY AND KIDNAPPING

35. Banditry and kidnapping are 2 inter-related security threats that have become common occurrence in the North West where terrorists engage in killings, kidnappings for ransom, cattle rustling, attack of critical infrastructure and military establishments as well as operational bases. According to the 2020 Report of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNCHR), the activities of bandits in the northwest have resulted in the internal displacement of over 160,000 persons. Furthermore, a lot of students and teachers have been kidnapped from schools with huge amount of money paid as ransom. Apparently, the lucrative nature of kidnapping for ransom coupled with the slow judicial process of prosecuting offenders seems to have emboldened and encouraged the bandits to persist, particularly with the large areas of ungoverned spaces in

the country. Although, some state governments have enacted capital punishment to deter kidnapping, the desired result is yet to be achieved. Nonetheless, military efforts to contain the situation in the North West are improving by the day with the acquisition of more equipment and platforms.

FARMERS – HERDSMEN CLASHES

36. The incessant clashes between farmers and herders in North Central Nigeria have increased in recent years. Unlike in the past where such conflicts were easily resolved through traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, certain factors such as population pressure, changes in land use and resource access, growing social inequalities, and declining trust between communities has made it more difficult to resolve the crisis in recent times. This is further exacerbated by emotionally potent issues of ethnicity, religion, culture and land which have been exploited by some politicians to fuel grievances. According to the Crisis Group, it is estimated that farmers-herders clash in the country has left more than 1,300 people dead and about 300,000 people displaced from January-June 2018. Undoubtedly, the clashes have resulted in population displacement, low agricultural output, and increase in the level of unemployment.

AGITATIONS FOR SECESSION

37. There have been agitations for secession by some separatist groups in the South East and South West with the activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) being more pronounced. The activities of this violent separatist group has resulted to incessant loss of lives, internal displacement of persons and the wanton destruction of properties as well as attacks on police stations and security forces. Of recent, this group has intensified its activities and resorted to brutal killings as well as ethnic chauvinism thereby threatening Nigeria's national security. Therefore, concerted kinetic and non-kinetic approaches must be intensified and sustained to contain the situation as soon as possible.

ROLES OF STATE INSTITUTIONS AND THE CHALLENGE OF INSECURITY IN NIGERIA SINCE 1999

38. National security is a collective responsibility and various state institutions have different roles in combatting insecurity challenges in the country. This paper will however discuss the role of Governments at all levels, the judiciary, the AFN, the Nigeria Police and the intelligence organisations.

GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS

39. Governments at the federal, state and local levels have key roles in maintaining national security. It is important for security to be viewed not only in the traditional notion of physical security but as a holistic concept of human security which includes, economic, food, health, political, community and environmental security among others. This approach to security focuses on the overall wellbeing of the citizens. In this wise, the federal, state and local governments must come –up with appropriate policies, programmes and initiatives to ensure security and prosperity of the citizens.

MINISTRIES DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

40. The Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) have key roles of ensuring implementation of government policies, programmes and initiatives geared towards promoting national security. For example, under this administration, many MDAs were created to improve the humanitarian situation in the North East such North East Development Commission (NECD) and the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs, Disaster Management and Social Development.

THE JUDICIARY

41. The judiciary has a critical role to play in tackling insecurity in the country. In the fight against terrorism and other related crimes, the government and its security agencies have often been up against a brick wall in the courts. The timely and speedy dispensation of justice is vital to the prevention of crimes because it has the unique power to serve as deterrence to potential criminals. It is evident that both state and federal authorities are rather slow in signing death warrants and this in turn discourages the police and other security agencies. One of the key factors that made Egypt to succeed in the fight against terrorism was the stiff penalties and speedy dispensation of justice.

THE ARMED FORCES OF NIGERIA AND OTHER SECURITY AGENCIES

42. The AFN has been instrumental to the enhancement of peace and security in Nigeria by actively confronting various internal security situations in the country. The AFN launched various operations such as, Operation LAFIYA DOLE now HADIN KAI against the Boko Haram terrorists and ISWAP in the North East and Operation SHARAN DAJI against terrorists, bandits and cattle rustlers in the North West. Others include Exercise CROCODILE SMILE and PYTHON DANCE, now GOLDEN DAWN AND STILL WATERS IN THE South East and South South as well as Operation TSARE TEKU by the Nigerian Navy to support Operation DELTA SAFE in the Niger Delta region among others.

43. These operations have largely been successful in containing the insecurity across the country. The present administration of President Muhammadu Buhari has in the last 7 years supported the AFN with the procurement of modern equipment and platforms which has significantly impacted positively on the operational efficiency of the various Services. However, to sustain this effort, it is pertinent for the nation to strengthen the capacity

for indigenous and local production of arms, ammunition, vehicles and specialized platforms in order to meet the increasing demand. To sustain the equipment drive of the AFN in the face of current and emerging security threats, we need to look inwards and enhance indigenous production.

44. It is in realization of this, that I established the Command Engineering Depot in Rigachikun which partnered with the Defence Industries Corporation of Nigeria (DICON) for the production of arms, Armoured Personnel Carriers and Mine Resistant Anti- Ambush Protection Vehicles (MRAPs) for the Nigerian Army. This initiative significantly boosted the operations of the Nigerian Army. The Nigerian Navy and Nigerian Air Force have also embarked on indigenous efforts at ship building and drone technology among others. It is therefore expedient to strive to further develop our indigenous production capacity to effectively meet current and future equipment requirements of the AFN.

THE NIGERIA POLICE

45. The NP is the principal law enforcement institution delegated with the duty of maintenance of internal security in Nigeria. It is saddled by law with the responsibility of preventing and detecting crime, preserving peace and order, and enforcing all laws and regulations. The police are closer to the citizens and as such should be capable of intervening swiftly in internal security crises. However, over time the capacity of the NP to effectively intervene in internal security situations as the first line of defence has reduced. This has resulted in the military almost taking over internal security issues which should not be the case. It is therefore imperative for the nation to have a robust and effective police force capable of tackling current and emerging internal security crises in the country.

INTELLIGENCE ORGANISATIONS

46. The intelligence organisations have crucial roles to play in combating insecurity in the country. The significance of accurate and timely intelligence cannot be over-emphasized. In this regards, the importance of intelligence organisations sharing vital information with relevant agencies on a 'Need to Know' basis is very germane to checkmating the potency of current and emerging threats. The availability of vital information to decision makers will not only facilitate swift response but also assist in prioritizing resources. Arguably, no single agency may have all the intelligence that it requires to know on an emerging threat without seeking for inputs from other agencies. It is thus necessary to have good collaboration and synergy among the various intelligence organisations in the country.

WAY FORWARD

47. In charting the way forward, it is imperative to adopt a whole of society approach in confronting insecurity in the country. Focus should be geared more towards non-kinetic measures that would aim at addressing the underlying root causes of the insecurity rather than treating the symptoms. It is also pertinent to note that kinetic means are employed to create conditions for negotiations, mediations and dialogue. Accordingly, some of the ways that could be adopted to contain the challenge of insecurity include adoption of a comprehensive and integrated approach and sustaining the ongoing judicial reforms. Others include revitalization of DICON, sustaining the ongoing reforms of the NP and procurement of modern platforms and systems for intelligence gathering.

ADOPTION OF A COMPREHENSIVE AND INTEGRATED APPROACH

48. Adoption of a comprehensive and integrated approach would entail MDAs and the entire society playing key roles in

tackling the country's security challenges. Crucially, it will entail the involvement of critical stakeholders from different sectors of the society, such as religious leaders, youths, teachers, women, civil society, media, law enforcement as well as the security and intelligence agencies. Currently, most of the citizenry consider security challenges as the sole responsibility of the police and security forces. However, the possibility of the military or the police being ubiquitous is not possible. There is thus the need for the public to be constantly sensitized and enlightened on their roles as stakeholders in the security architecture of the country. The FGN can do this through agencies such as the National Orientation Agency.

REVITALIZATION OF DEFENCE INDUSTRIES CORPORATION OF NIGERIA

49. The revitalization of DICON would mitigate the challenge of lack of specialized equipment and platforms for the AFN to curb insecurity. The objective is to train adequate and requisite skilled as well as specialized manpower saddled with the responsibility of providing technical support in enhancing equipment production for the AFN. This is crucial in meeting the increasing equipment requirements of AFN to confront current and emerging security threats. To achieve this, the MOD in collaboration with stakeholders could put structures in place for adequate manpower training for DICON staff. This would enhance their specialized manpower and increase their capacity for the production of military hardware for the AFN.

SUSTAINING ONGOING REFORMS OF THE NIGERIA POLICE

50. It is necessary to sustain the ongoing reforms of the NP to enhance its capacity to tackle internal security crises. The reforms should be holistic to include manpower increment, improved training and provision of modern equipment. Other

areas include improved welfare, living accommodation and essential services.

PROCUREMENT OF MODERN PLATFORMS AND SYSTEMS FOR INTELLIGENCE GATHERING

51. The fluid nature of current and emerging threats presupposes that intelligence organisations must have a round-the-clock situational awareness of areas of interest where threats emanate. This could be effectively achieved with adequate number of Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) platforms to reinforce other sources of intelligence. Currently, most intelligence organisations in the country lack organic Unarmed Aerial Vehicles (UAV) platforms and often rely on either the Nigerian Air Force or international partners to monitor activities in the operation areas. There is thus the need for the country to acquire more ISR platforms for intelligence services considering the vast border area through which some emerging threats are facilitated.

EFFECTIVE BORDER CONTROL

52. The porous nature of the borders has made contemporary threats to be transnational. Most of borders have illegal routes used for drug trafficking and smuggling of small arms and light weapons. Accordingly, Nigeria can checkmate current security threats through strict border control measures. This can be achieved through an Integrated Border Management System, installation of appropriate equipment at the border posts, constant monitoring of the borders using Science, Technology and Innovation (STI) and effective collaboration and sharing of information amongst agencies and external stakeholders. This would go a long way in enhancing national security. It will not be out of place for Nigeria to establish a National Border Force like many countries of the world including India, Bangladesh e.t.c.

DIALOGUE

53. A growing practice of engaging in dialogue with all parties to a conflict has emerged since the mid-1980s. Such dialogue includes both governments concerned and armed groups. In addition to this kind of dialogue, the issue of the carrot and stick approach can be used to explore ways to end some of the conflicts confronting Nigeria. It has worked in places like the Philippines and even Egypt. Let us not forget that the Islamic Brotherhood was once a dangerous terrorist group and it was responsible for the death of late President Anwar Sadat of Egypt in 1982 but the use of the carrot and stick approach saw them transformed into a party that eventually fielded Muhammad Mursi to contest and win presidential elections. The office of the National Security Adviser should collaborate with the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, National Intelligence Agency, and the Defense Intelligence Agency to see how all foreign patrons or allies of the insurgents and bandits cut off their support. They should employ every diplomatic strategies, and where necessary subterfuge to block off.

COUNTERING NARRATIVES

54. The Federal Ministry of Information and the National Orientation Agency should be more proactive and up and doing in countering the narratives of violent extremist groups and organizations that are out to destabilize the unity and peace of Nigeria. In addition to this, these government institutions should see how they can garner support for the government and its security forces through musical concerts, media advocacy, and community engagement so that a critical segment of the population will take a side with the government. Criminal organizations like Boko Haram, IPOB, and the rest thrive because of the tacit support some people in society are giving them.

DOMINATION OF UNGOVERNED SPACES

55. There must be a concerted effort by the government to see that there are no ungoverned spaces in this country. State and local governments must see to it that they establish their presence in their areas of responsibility. I do not need to mention here that the failure of some state and local governments to establish their presence in some parts of their states is the major

reason why insurgents and bandits find it easier to move around and operate.

CONCLUSION

56. The presentation discussed politics and insecurity in Nigeria. Some key concepts that would aid understanding of the subject matter were explained. These concepts include politics, democracy, security, national security, insecurity as well as concept of peace. The presentation subsequently, highlighted the features and elements of politics and national power as well as how they influence national security and international relations which are critical to the survival of every nation.

57. The transition to the Fourth Republic in 1999 set the pace for the development of Nigeria's democracy. Having held 6 successive multiparty democratic elections, Nigeria is currently enjoying the longest period of civilian rule since its independence. However, this period has also witnessed an increase in insecurity in the country. Some of the major security challenges facing Nigeria include insurgency and terrorism in the North East, armed banditry and kidnapping in the North West and farmers – herdsman clashes in the North Central. Others include agitations for secession in the South East and South West as well as oil theft and piracy in the South South.

58. In suggesting the way forward, the presentation emphasized the need for a whole of society approach in confronting insecurity in the country. Focus should be geared more towards non-kinetic measures that would aim at addressing the underlying root causes of the insecurity rather than treating the symptoms. It is also pertinent to note that kinetic means are employed to create conditions for negotiations, mediations and dialogue. Accordingly, paper discussed the way forward in addressing the security situation in our country Nigeria.

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